





2625. I. G. c. 1. d.













V O Y A G E S  
A N D  
T R A V E L S

T H R O U G H  
THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE, TARTARY, AND  
PART OF THE KINGDOM OF PERSIA.

By JOHN COOK, M. D. AT HAMILTON.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

THE SECOND EDITION

VOL. II.



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*Si ad honestatem nati sumus, ea aut sola expetenda est, aut certe omni pondere gravior est habenda, quam reliqua omnia. TUL.*

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EDINBURGH:  
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR, AND SOLD BY  
E. & C. DILLY, LONDON.  
M,DCC,LXXXVIII.



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LONDON: Printed by J. DODD, in Pall-mall.

1791.

MDCCXCII.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
THE COUNTESS DOWAGER OF  
**H Y N D F O R D,**  
RELICT OF  
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
**JOHN EARL OF HYNDFORD,**  
VISCOUNT INGLISBURY AND GRANGE,  
LORD CARMICHAEL OF CARMICHAEL,  
KNIGHT OF THE  
MOST ANCIENT ORDER OF  
THE THISTLE,  
ONE OF THE LORDS OF  
HIS MAJESTY'S BED CHAMBER,  
LORD LIEUTENANT AND  
PRINCIPAL SHERIFF  
OF THE  
COUNTY OF LANARK,  
ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S  
MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL,  
AND  
VICE ADMIRAL OF SCOTLAND.

MY LADY,

**T**HOUGH fulsome flattery finds the matter, and forms the manner, of most of our modern dedications, yet true merit shuns praise, where the semblance of it, fond of fame, seeks no more: Hence the pen of a parasite charged with adulation, decorates his patron with divine honours, who is, perhaps, devoid of every human virtue.



THE purpose, my Lady, of the present dedication is very different ; it is not to play the panegyrist, but to publish the truth ; and even now, as formerly, to declare that gratitude which still glows in my heart for the countenance and protection with which your late and much lamented Lord was pleased, in the year 1748, to honour me at the court of St Petersburg ; as also, to the last hour of his Lordship's precious life, to distinguish me with the amiable appellation of *Friend*.

THE great dead are held in everlasting remembrance ; as the good man, and the true patriot, though ordered, with others, to the chambers of death, still lives, and will ever be a memorial, and a minister of virtue, even to those on whom the end of the world shall come.

SUCH, my Lady, so full of merit, so remarkably renowned was your late Lord, and hence so highly honoured by foreign courts ; particularly by that of St Petersburg, where his Lordship so long, and so worthily represented his late Majesty, of glorious memory. There his Lordship did signal deeds ; and, favoured by the Empress Elizabeth, a great and magnanimous Princess, found no difficulty in accomplishing what his predecessors could only attempt.

THE Empress of Germany, and the King of Prussia, two mighty potentates, charmed with his Lordship's character, and conscious of his great wisdom and worth, were pleased, with his Britannic Majesty's permission, to lodge with him a *carte blanche* to arbitrate a peace between them; which he effected to the entire satisfaction of those high contending powers, and much to the honour of Great Britain!

YOUR Ladyship's most amiable and excellent endowments open a large field; but, certain I should offend, I must here be silent, and cease to celebrate them; honoured, however, with your permission, I humbly beg leave to lay the following sheets before you, in the pleasing hope, that, whatever judgment the public may form of them, they will be graciously received by you as a proof of that gratitude, respect, and esteem, with which I have the honour to be,

May it please your Ladyship,

Your Ladyship's most obliged,

Most humble, and most obedient servant,

JOHN COOK.





ERRATA in Vols. I. & II.  
Page 100. 2. For "and" read "or".  
Page 101. 1. For "and" read "or".  
Page 102. 1. For "and" read "or".  
Page 103. 1. For "and" read "or".

# ERRATA in Vol. I.

## Page. Line.

101. 9. For 600, r. 6000.  
 153. 19. For *matals*, r. *materials*.  
 190. 31. For 6000, r. 60,000.  
 197. 23. For *did take*, r. *did not take*.

# ERRATA in Vol. II.

## Page. Line.

234. 19. For *would be*, r. *would not*.  
 380. 11. For *talkoners*, r. *falconers*.  
 469. 29. For *Turks*, r. *Persians*.  
 575. 26. For *none*, r. *done*.



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# V O Y A G E S

A N D

## T R A V E L S.

### C H A P. I.

*Concerning the memorable revolution at the Court  
of St Petersburg, in the night betwixt the  
24th and 25th of November O. S. 1741.*

**I**N treating of this extraordinary revolution, I shall first give an account of what I observed myself the day before, and the day after it happened; I shall next give such account of the manner, and the assistance the Princess had, to carry on this surprising revolution, as I had from good authority; altogether disregarding what at that time was published in news-papers, magazines, &c. because I am very certain they were really erroneous.

About three o'clock in the morning of the twenty-fifth instant, I was roused out of my sleep by a very rude knocking at the gate of my wife's father's house, where I then lodged. The gate being opened, a serjeant of the guards entered, and went to Mr Selkirk surgeon to their regiment, who lodged in the



next room to mine. The serjeant acquainted him, that, by orders from Court, his attendance there, in the winter palace, was expected with all convenient speed; that he did not know the reason of these orders, but that he was going through to warn all the officers belonging to that company to make their immediate appearance in the winter palace: Upon which he went off, and I went to Mr Selkirk, who had very many years served in the guards, and asked him, What he thought could be the reason of such orders at that time? He said, that he suspected the young Emperor was dead; for he never got such orders in the night-time, except upon the like occasions. I told him that yesterday morning I had seen the guards pay their respects to the Emperor, who was in his nurse's arms at a window; that I also saw his father, the generalissimo with his brother driving in an open sledge, unattended by any, except his liverymen, through the streets; therefore, at that time, it was not probable that the Emperor was sick. He went away, nor did he return when I left the house at ten of the clock forenoon; nor had any thing as yet transpired in that part of the city where I lived. I went straight to the admiralty, distant about a mile, and observed many soldiers marching from the neighbouring villages into the city, in deep silence, dragging their arms upon small hand sledges.



fledges. Few citizens appeared on the streets. When I came near the admiralty, I saw many thousands of soldiers on the great area before the winter palace, tossing their hats high in the air, calling out at the same time : But the distance I was from them prevented my hearing distinctly what they said, and I judged it not prudent to ask any questions as I was a foreigner. I therefore continued my journey, and past all the centinels about the admiralty, without their speaking one word to me : At last, when I entered into the chamber where I was expecting to get my affairs soon ended, I observed the writers, (not employed as they used to be) sitting whispering somewhat amongst themselves : When I had made inquiry about my affairs, they let me know that no affairs would be transacted that day. I retired, now not doubting of something extraordinary having happened at Court, but never dreamed of the true affair : I proceeded next towards the draw-bridge, but the centinel said that he had orders that morning not to permit any person to go out of the admiralty, but to hinder none to come in.

The reader must know, that there is always a considerable party of men from the guards, and also a command of sailors. The guards are obliged to obey the orders of the admiralty, and these were the orders for that day.

day. Understanding that Mr Caithness was in the admiralty upon duty, I went to him, and he confirmed what the centinel had said to be true ; but I observed to Mr Caithness, that such orders could only respect properly the servants of the admiralty, because it would be very absurd to imagine that the board could think of detaining every person belonging to the fleet, and far less me who belonged to the port of Astrachan. I therefore proposed, that he should go with me to the captain of the guards then upon duty, and be made certain of this affair. To this he agreed ; but said I would be welcome to his table and bed, if the captain should insist on detaining me. He said, that such an order never had been sent to the admiralty since he began to serve ; but though he was sure the orders proceeded from the Court, he could not guess what the cause might be, and thought, for my own safety, that I would do well to remain where I was ; but all the world knows, that new married people think otherways. Accordingly, when we went to the captain, he was of my opinion, and said, there was extant a special order from Peter the Great, commanding that people in the medical way should, under no pretence whatsoever, except for capital crimes, be detained, either by night or by day; and this order he showed us, but jokingly said, he would take upon him to detain me till we had taken

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ken a glass of good wine, to which, at that time, I could have no manner of objection, having wandered long about the streets and admiralty.

Thus having, as I thought, got my freedom, I retired out of the admiralty, and directed my steps towards the street where the British live, on the west side of the admiralty, I was necessarily obliged to pass by two gates leading into the grand chancellor's court, which were open, but two centinels placed at each of them; and instead of noblemen and the ribbon-gentry walking in the court, I could discover only soldiers, who kept a profound silence. This, I imagined, had no promising appearance. I next went to Prince Golitzin, nephew to my commander; the door was open, and I went into the lobby, but discovered no person; I then shut the door, and passed through the anti-chamber into the bed-room, but not a person was there, which never used to be the case formerly. I now began to be uneasy that I had proceeded so far, though I was well known to the Prince and all his servants; I therefore retired, and was determined to chide the servants for taking so little care of the house; but after having wandered amongst the servants rooms, bawling as loud as I could, I could see no person. At last, I entered the kitchen, and there I disturbed a poor scullion out of a deep sleep, who, in answer

swer to the questions I put to him, only said, that no part of the house was intrusted to him but the kitchen ; that he neither knew where the Prince nor his servants were, but that about midnight all was in a great hurry, since which time he was thankful for having got a good sleep. I advised him to go with me to make the street-door secure, which he declined. As I came to the lobby, a grenadier of the guards, much the worse of liquor, was staggering about the house ; he eyed me, as if mischief was his intention, and, in a very uncommon rude manner, abused me, though I was dressed in the uniform, calling me foreign blood-sucker, and the like. Not being able to get out of the house without passing through the lobby, which was very large, I laid my hand on my sword, and desired him to be quiet, for I intended him no hurt ; but assured him, that if he offered to touch his sword, or otherways attack me, I would instantly, in my own defence, dispatch him. This had the desired effect. I got out of the house without further trouble, and went to Mr Finche's, where I met with one of his secretaries, who said that Mr Finche was to be spoken with by none, but desired that I would return at dinner time, and spend the afternoon with them, when I would be informed more certainly of what had happened at Court, than was possible for him to do at that time. He told me, however, that  
the



the Princess Elifabeth had mounted her father's throne, and had put under strong guard the royal family, and sent the late ministry to the castle. I promised not to fail to come at the time appointed, and immediately passed by the Russian noblemen's houses, whom I had any concern for, without speaking to any, except where I was well acquainted. I saw Admiral Golovine's house in good order, as also Count Lacy's. Count Levold's house was beset with soldiers, as was Count Golofkin's, and the Field-marshal Count Muinich's. Having made my tour, I returned to the secretaries. I cannot help acquainting the reader, that at this time I was sensibly touched for the safety of the royal family, and deeply affected with the thoughts of the vanity and fluctuation of all human grandeur, though I really was so far from knowing personally any thing of that illustrious family, that I never spoke to one within the precincts of the palace, except to the archiator. Whatever right the Princess Elifabeth might have, still I felt for the royal prisoners, who never had acted, as far as I knew, but with great equity, mildness, and moderation, during their short regency.

## C H A P. II.

*A relation of what the Author was informed of concerning this revolution.*

**S**PIES had been sent every where to bring information of every thing which had happened, and whatever news could be picked up. I shall not only relate what I was informed of that day, but give a concise account of these affairs, which I had from very good authority. On the 24th of November 1741, a messenger, it was said, was sent from the Grand Chancellor Count Osterman, by a major of the guards, who is commonly major-general of the army, to the Princess Elisabeth, demanding to know whether her Highness would not be pleased to keep her court in Moscow, or any other place, rather than in St Petersburg; secondly, acquainting her that the Court was displeased at her surgeon Mr Lestoig's going so frequently amongst foreign ministers, especially the French; and lastly, desiring her to keep that man at home, otherways they would be obliged to take care of him. The Princess returned this answer, That though she had all manner of regard for the messenger, (the major-general,) yet she could not help taking notice, that she thought it well became Count Osterman, or any subject



ject in Russia, to have brought the message himself to the only surviving daughter of Peter the Great. That she could entertain no notion, that her cousin the Grand Duchess, nor any of the Royal Family, could be jealous of a single helpless lady, who had her sole support from them ; and therefore suspected that Count Osterman only intended to affront her, as her cousin and she had ever lived in the strictest and most cordial friendship. She said, that every one knew Lestoig to be a very rambling man, and a lover of game ; therefore she was certain he could have no other motive of going to the Marquis Chetardie, but for play : However since that was disagreeable to Count Osterman, she would not fail to lay her commands upon him, to forbear going there any more, which if he disregarded, she would acquaint Count Osterman, therewith, so that he might take what measures he pleased. Lastly, she expressed much surprise that so great a politician as Count Osterman, could be any way alarmed at the actions of such a gamester as Lestoig. It seems the answer lulled Osterman and the whole court asleep ; they thought no more of it. But it was otherways with the Princess, she was extremely uneasy, nor could she be prevailed upon to go to bed. She complained that she was indisposed, yet would not let any of her servants go for

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Lestoig,

Lestoig, who at that time was at the Marquis Chetardie's house.

At last he arrived, (for he lodged in her palace,) at midnight, when they had private discourse together. What passed at that private conference was reported, and as this dangerous affair took a happy turn, it is probably true : For Lestoig was a man of no great delicacy, and besides, he ran no risque in telling it when the Princess was fixed on the throne. The Princess having related what had passed between her and the Major General, Lestoig fell on his knees, conjured her to lose no time in carrying their concerted project into execution ; for said he, if you do not, I can easily foresee what is to happen. This affair has taken air. They have got hold of the end of a clew which you may depend upon they will not part with, till all is found out ; if you do not immediately proceed we are undone ; your Highness will be happy in being shut up in a monastery during life : But I, who, you are sensible, have always been faithful to you, after having undergone extreme torments, have the only chance of being broken on the wheel, or hung up by the ribs alive ; therefore lose no time, you know the guards adore you, go with me immediately to the barracks, and I will pawn my life to get as many men, without their officers, as will fix you on your father's throne. To this the Princess



Princess consented, and Mr Lestoig ordered his own sledge to be gotten ready, and, having seated himself in it, ordered his servant to bed, saying that he had a patient to visit, and would call upon another to take care of the horses at his return. He then drove to the place agreed upon to meet with the Princess, who very pointedly was there with a trusty groom, a German, called Greenfield. The Princess took her seat in the sledge, the groom drove the horses, and Lestoig, as lacquey, stood behind, and in this manner they drove to the barracks.

Some years before this happened, the Court thought proper for the conveniency of the guards to build, on the south side of St Petersburg, large good timber houses for the guards, planned out in large straight streets: The officers have all houses with their regiment a-part: There are no walls about them, so that any person may drive through amongst them in the night-time without hindrance. The rooms where the soldiers sleep are so large that forty men sleep in one room.

The Princess arrived at the first of those houses, and Lestoig summoned them to get up. At first, the soldiers were out of humour at being disturbed: But they no sooner saw the Princess Elizabeth, who did not fail to let them know that her life was in danger, than they fell on their knees, and  
 swore

swore to stand by her, and place her on her father's throne. They assembled only three hundred well armed men without one officer, so that all the accounts in these times, given in the public papers and magazines, are absolutely false. Thus equipped, they marched with the greatest privacy to the winter palace, it was said, and possibly true, that the Princess was much disturbed about the consequence ; but Lestoig fortified her, and bade her fear nothing. At last they arrived at the gate, and were challenged by the horse-guards. The Princess who had the love of all the guards, made answer, by advising them as they loved her and their own lives to make no noise : For her life was in the utmost danger, and immediately she with her followers entered, and, as had been formerly concerted, a party disarmed, without any noise, or bloodshed, the two grenadiers at the standard, and the Princess with her own hands cut all the drums which were laid up in the entry to pieces. Lestoig screwed an iron instrument into the guard house door, and made it so fast, that not a soul could get out, securing, as they proceeded, every place with her own men. She then proceeded to go through the well known palace, disarming all the centinels and placing her own. They arrived at the bed-chamber door : Where two centinels denied entrance, but her soldiers instantly secured



secured and carried them off. Then they forced open the door; but which was very fortunate for them, neither the Grand Duchess nor Prince was there: Princess Elizabeth told her followers that they certainly were in the nursery, ordered the soldiers to put off their shoes, and follow her: The consequence was that the Royal Family were instantly made prisoners without the smallest resistance, except from a Livonian lady Julia Mengden, who gave them some opprobrious language, for which one of the soldiers knocked her down, but the Princess Elizabeth begged to spare her life. The Prince's brother made some resistance but as he was in bed, there was no harm done on either side.

It is said that the unfortunate Prince begged that the Princess Elizabeth would be gracious to his unfortunate Princess, and his children, as for himself, he said he would not ask any favour. Princess Elizabeth took God to witness, that she meant not to hurt any of them, only put them in mind that it was very necessary to keep them confined for her own safety: But that they nevertheless should be kept in a princely manner, and that their children should have such education as their rank in the world required, nor should they ever be separated, providing they kept themselves within the bounds of moderation. I verily believe that this promise

mise was kept with all honour. She next sent them all to her own palace, and whilst she summoned the grandees and officers of the guards to the winter palace, Lestoig arrested the Grand Chancellor Osterman, the Counts Muinich and his son, Golofkin, Levold, and a few more, were confined to their houses, but the rest were sent to the castle. It was said, that a rude soldier stabbed with his bayonet the poor old gouty Osterman; and this was the only instance of cruelty which I ever heard of in this affair. The day following, being the 26th, all persons were obliged to go to church, to give their oaths of allegiance to her Imperial Majesty; and thus this great change was carried on, almost altogether, without bloodshed. I am persuaded that such another never happened before, at least I never have read of any.

### C H A P. III.

*Anecdotes which happened in St Petersburg during the Author's stay.*

**F**requently I have taken notice, that when I have been giving some account of my travels, the reader has been pleased to be informed of incidents which either happened to me or others: For these reasons, I have thought proper, in different places of my book,



book, to treat of different subjects not properly related to travels, which, though they may not be agreeable to some, can scarce fail to please others.

On the 25th November, I staid very late in the city, hoping that drunk and mad people would be either in their houses or beds; but this night I was mistaken. I walked from the British line to the Green-bridge, where a centinel was placed, and, according to custom, made enquiry who I was? I answered a sailor. He was drunk, and bawled out, Long live our most merciful Sovereign the Empress Elisabeth Petrovna! may she be greater still than the mighty maiden Queen Elisabeth of England! I answered him properly, by putting up the same prayer, when my servant, a simple fellow, asked him news, by whose authority, and for what service he was placed there? The soldier immediately made as if he intended to have plunged his bayonet into him. In order to save the poor fellow's life, I got him by the hair, drew him to a small distance, and gave him a few blows with my cane. This had the effect; the soldier was well pleased that I had punished him for his imprudence, and I assured the soldier that he was only an ignorant clown, and that nothing better could be expected of him, as he never had been in any city above three months. The soldier and I parted in good terms, and said that forty soldi-

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ers were stationed in different parts of the city, with private instructions.

I had still about one mile to go to my lodgings, and was frequently met with, or overtaken by soldiers in great hurry, some on foot, and others in sledges, but universally drunk. These in sledges drove as fast as the horses could run ; and the under-officers kept their halberts pointed forward, so that it was dangerous for any person to meet them ; however, I got safely home, where my safety was much doubted ; for all the soldiery, both guards and others were quite mad with drink.

At Astrachan I was acquainted with Ivan Antonovitch Cherkassoff, who formerly had been secretary to Peter the Great, who sent him there in exile, it was said, for speaking too freely. He had in Astrachan a very small salary to support him and a numerous family. After the death of the Empress Anne, the Grand Duchess recalled him, and replaced him in his former rank, with a suitable salary. As I had taken care of his Lady and children when sick, I thought I would wait upon him in Petersburg ; but my countrymen dissuaded me from it, saying, that many ribbon-gentry paid attendance to his levee daily, and seldom got admittance. I thought I should see him, and was determined to make the trial, as I could risk nothing by it but a denial, which would undoubtedly have been a greater affront to him than me ;



me; add to this, that I had ever done his family all the service which was in my power, who, at that time, as was said, had it not in their power to make me any suitable consideration for my trouble.

They said that he had treated the French ambassador in a very indecent manner, and consequently thought he would do the same by me: They said, that at court the Marquis la Chetardie had frequently invited him to his house; at last he accepted of an invitation, and appointed the time of going, and when he arrived, the Marquis was putting on a shirt, but ordered the servant to desire Mr Cherkassoff to walk in, and politely begged his excuse for being in that condition; Cherkassoff seemed to take no notice of it; but at parting, insisted upon the ambassador's honouring him with his company at his house. This being readily agreed to, when the ambassador had arrived, he was introduced into a room where Mr Cherkassoff was sitting in a very indecent manner on a close-stool. He made many excuses, that nature must be obeyed, &c. but continued so long, using very disagreeable gestures, that at last the Marquis was so affronted, as to go off in a pet; at which Cherkassoff forced a ridiculous laugh: That notwithstanding the Marquis at that time was very much caressed at court, Cherkassoff's interest was so great, that he could get no other satisfaction, than in-

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significant excuses, and being universally laughed at.

I went accordingly, and, contrary to all their opinions, not only got very ready admittance, but was treated with all the intimacy and frankness he was accustomed to formerly; and at parting, was desired to make my visits frequent, especially at dinner-time, during my intended stay in St Petersburg. I took the liberty to tell him, that people had dissuaded me from venturing to visit him, but that I was determined to make the trial, if it was only to confirm myself in the opinion I had ever entertained of his honour. He answered, that he endeavoured always to have all the regard for those who he had reason to believe to be honest, let their station in life be high or low. He said, that he really had not time to perform the business entrusted to him for many people paying court to him at that time, purely with a view to their own interest, who, he knew well, would scarcely have taken the smallest notice of him when living in adversity, and overclouded by the imperial displeasure; and said, that this numerous attendance proceeded purely from some very gracious expressions of the Grand Duchess used to him in public, and the honourable commission she had trusted to his care. I took my leave of him, and was glad to find, that, at the revolution, the Empress Elisabeth retained him in her favour, and



and in the same honourable post as formerly, and added the title of baron to himself and his family.

A few days after the Empress Elisabeth mounted the throne, my good commander, Prince Golitzin, arrived in St Petersburg: He had been sent for in the time of the regency of the late Grand Duchess: That tender hearted Lady had given orders to recall all such as were undeservedly overclouded in the reign of the Empress Anne; and the Golitzin family were very dear to the Empress Elisabeth, who was related to them by the ties of blood, as well as by an invariable disposition in them at all times to befriend, with great hazard to themselves, her great progenitors, as well as herself, and for whose sake they and the antient family of Dolgaruka had suffered so much; who were also sent for, and the old field-marshal was caressed and honoured by her, as if he had been her father. This nobleman never would allow his beard to be shaved till he was brought into her Majesty's presence, when, as white as snow, it reached down to his belt.

My good Prince would gladly have kept me in St Petersburg, but my orders and dispatches being finished the day before he arrived, prevented that. He had left the Princess with her children at Moscow, except his two eldest sons, whom he brought with

with him to St Petersburg, to be presented to her Majesty.

Three days after the Empress had fixed herself securely, I think it was on St Andrew's day, she invited the foreign ambassadors to court, and in their presence declared Mr Lestoig to be her Archiator and actual Privy-counsellor ; placing her hand on his shoulder, she said, that he was truly no less, for that it was owing to him alone that she now had so prosperously succeeded to her birth-right. Mr Lestoig confined Archiator Fisher to his lodgings in the palace, and it was universally believed, that Dr Fisher was in a dangerous situation. The day that I got my dispatches, I went, contrary to my friends advice, according to my promise, to receive a letter from him to one in Astrachan, who was wont to buy some curiosities which he wanted. I easily passed all the guards into his antichamber. His servant introduced me into his presence. He seemed somewhat surpris'd, and said, that all power was now taken from him, and that he could do nothing for me. I answered, that I had been made acquainted with that by an order from the Chancery ; but that as I had promised to carry a letter from him to Astrachan, let his condition be what it would, I was determin'd to keep my promise. At this he desired me to sit down, and, for the first time, ordered me a dish of coffee, and said, that he wished,  
now



now he knew ; me that it was in his power to do something for me ; that he had befriended very many in St Petersburg, who had all deserted him in time of trouble, and that he had not used me very friendly, which grieved him much to think that at this time of life he did not know mankind better. I answered, that as I was quite a stranger to him, I could not, nor did I blame him ; that I well knew, that men in a high station of life, and especially such who had daily a variety of very different and intricate business to perform, were well acquainted but with those immediately under them, by their clerks and writers ; and that generally these men were friendly, or otherwise, according as they were bribed. I said, that at the first beginning of my service, I was well assured, that Peter, the parent of his country, had forbid giving bribes, to which I had a great aversion ; that therefore I never gave any ; that I hoped in time my industriously attending my business would, in spite of all opposition, recommend me. But, observing the tears running plentifully down the old man's cheeks, I took a sudden farewell, and withdrew, reflecting upon the instability of fortune, and the slippery situation of the great at court. I passed all the guards without a single question being asked.

I was told, that soon after I was gone, Dr Fisher was informed that Mr Lestoig was determined

terminated to cause examine most strictly his by-past affairs, with a design to have him severely punished, if he could detect any fraud : But Archiator Fisher was an old physician, and had experience enough to apply a proper remedy. He made Mr Lestoig a present of 20,000 rubles to pass all accompts, and this was the catholicon which at once consolidated all differences.

I, being quite ready to proceed on my journey, got an invitation from some British merchants who were ready to go for Astrachan, in their way to Persia, with a very considerable caravan of goods, desiring me to accompany them, as I was heavy loaded, and therefore, by the regulations, was only obliged to travel at the rate of fifty versts in three days. I made no objection. They were Messrs Mungo Græme, Panton, Brown, and Van Miropé. Mr Græme knew the customs of the country as well as I did, and was master of the language ; but he well knew that merchants are frequently much harassed by the governors and vorbodes, unless in company with some in the government's service. Accordingly they set out the day before me ; and I set out on the 20th of December at midnight, an hour I constantly chused to travel from great cities, that I might have the least chance to meet with robbers ; because about such times they are generally housed for the night, as few people travel at so late an



an hour. I was of opinion that my wife and her relations might have some uneasiness at parting; to prevent which, I only let them know, that, my dispatches being ready, I waited the last verbal orders to march; wherefore I begged their company to supper, because I suspected I should have little time to stay; but I gave private orders to my people to hold themselves in readiness at the time appointed, and directed a very active young lad to get horses and carriages ready by that time, and when all was ready to acquaint me. Thus, whilst we were all very merry, and speaking of going to bed, this man entered the room, and told us that every thing was ready, the horses being harnessed; so that, without any unnecessary trouble, or much pain at parting, about ten minutes after that we were gone. Her relations had made objections, but my answer was short, that her Majesty's orders must be obeyed.

But before I leave St Petersburg, it may be agreeable to give some account of the royal family preceding the present times, contained in the following remarkable manifesto, which her Imperial Majesty caused publish immediately after her accession to the throne.

## C H A P. IV.

*An Account of the Royal Family preceding the present Times, with a Copy of the Manifesto published by her Imperial Majesty, immediately after her Accession to the Throne.*

**P**ETER ALEXOWITZ, justly stiled *The Great*, was, in 1682, conjoined in the government with his elder brother John, who was a weak Prince. John died in 1696, leaving issue two daughters, Katharine Joannowna the eldest, who was married to the Duke of Mecklemburgh in 1716, as her younger sister Anne Joannowna had been in 1710, to the Duke of Courland, who died next year without issue. Peter had issue, by his first wife, Alexius, who, in 1718, was by some thought to have been put to death by his father's order, for a tract of disobedience; but left issue, Peter II. and Nathalia, designed the Great Duchesse. Peter I. took for his second wife, Katharine Alexiowna, said to be a Swedish under-officer's widow, and by her left issue, Anne Petrowna, born in 1707, (who, in 1725, was married to the late Duke of Holstein, by whom she has left issue the present Duke of Holstein, and Elisabeth Petrowna, born the 9th of December 1709.

Peter



Peter I. who died in 1725, being sensible that he might rely on the fidelity of his Empress Katharine, and knowing the disposition of his people too well to expect their submission to her, if he left her only regent to his grandson, vested her by his will with sovereign authority, and likewise gave her a right to settle the succession of the Empire. Her reign was at first very agreeable to the Russians; but when, under a pretence of a conspiracy, she banished Count Tolstoi, Prince Alexander Nariskin, and the young Prince Dolgarucki, into Siberia; and at the same time discountenanced the rest of the Russian nobility, they began in earnest to cabal against her, and would probably have destroyed her, had not death prevented them in May 1727. She appointed, by her will, Peter II. to be her successor, then about twelve years of age. He recalled those whom the late Empress had banished, and was intirely governed by the Dolgaruckis, whose sister he was upon the point of marrying, when he died, 29th January 1730. The Dolgaruckis, neglecting the will of the Empress Katharine, called to the succession the late Empress Anne Joannowna, daughter of John, elder brother of Peter I. pretending to exclude her elder sister of the same marriage, Katharine Duchess of Mecklemburgh, by an antient regulation, which secludes from the succession all those who are in possession of foreign dominions.

The Empress Anne was raised to the throne, with an intent to limit her power by a capitulation, which she accepted in order to obtain the diadem, but declared it void as soon as that was fixed upon her head. The Russian patriots thenceforward fixed their eyes upon the Princess Elifabeth, daughter to Peter I.

The Empress, having no issue, settled the succession on the issue of Anne, the daughter of the Duke of Mecklenburgh by her eldest sister Katharine, who, in 1739, was married at Petersburg with great magnificence to Prince Anthony Ulric of Brunswick-Luneburgh; but, towards the close of her reign, she apprehended her schemes might be disconcerted, which put her upon those severities that, instead of answering her purpose, strengthened that interest which she sought to destroy. However, upon her death, which happened in October 1740, Prince John, son of the Princess Anne and Anthony Ulric, then an infant of three months old, was, in terms of her will, declared Emperor of Russia, and the Duke of Courland Regent during his minority; but in about a month thereafter, the Duke of Courland was degraded, and afterwards banished; when the Princess Anne, mother of the infant Emperor, was declared Regent. This Princess's promotion was openly approved of; but it seems the former discontents were but smothered, and the people



ple wanted only a fit opportunity for discovering their attachment to the Princess Elizabeth.

The war with Sweden was a means of bringing this about, for it obliged the court to draw together a great part of their troops in the neighbourhood of Petersburgh, which the chiefs of the party knew were all devoted to their interests; and the victory at Wilmanstrand afforded a pretence for the generals who were in secret of coming by turns to the city, and there concerting with the heads of the confederacy, the method of putting their designs in execution. It was at last agreed, that General Lacy should return to the army, in order to dispose it to act as should be required, and that all military affairs in the city should be directed by the Prince of Hesse-homburgh, a person of great address and impenetrable secrecy. On the 23d of November O. S. it was resolved to act immediately; and accordingly an express was dispatched that night to General Lacy, with the strongest assurance, that before the letters should reach him, the Princess Elizabeth would be peaceably seated on the throne, and that he might safely proclaim her. All the next day was spent in making preparations; and in the night betwixt the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth, the ministers of the Empire, the generals, and the members of the senate attached to the Princess

Princess Elizabeth, assembled at her palace; where the chiefs of the party set forth the inexecution of the declarations which Peter the Great had so solemnly made concerning his last will; the usurpations which ensued upon the death of Peter II. for a series of years; the abuse made of their authority by those who had been charged with the chief management of affairs; the engagements entered into to the prejudice of the empire; the exhausting of the finances by the late wars; the numerous subjects of discontent raised in all parts of Russia; the many violences committed, which gave room to fear the just wrath of heaven; the numberless actions capable of sullyng the glory and splendor of the Empire, and the necessity there was of checking such horrid disorders by a speedy and happy change. Whereupon the whole assembly unanimously declared, that this change could not be brought about, but by conforming to the last will of Peter the Great, according to which the Princess Elizabeth was the sole heiress to the throne. The states then intreated her to accept the crown, and to comply with the desire of the troops and the whole nation. Upon this, the chief officers of the regiments of guards came in, and throwing themselves at her feet, joined their supplications to those of the states. Whereupon the Princess went, about one o'clock



o'clock in the morning, to the barracks of Preobrezenski guards, accompanied only by one of her chamberlains, Mr Vorantzoff, Mr Lestoig her surgeon, and Mr Swartz who was her secretary; and putting herself at the head of the three hundred grenadiers of that regiment, with their bayonets fixed, and granades in their pockets, she marched directly to court: Where, after having made the proper disposition, and possessed herself of the different avenues, she seized the young monarch, and the little princess his sister in their cradles, the Great Duchess regent, and the Duke generalissimo in their beds, and sent them all, with Mademoiselle Julian Mengden to her house. The Princess immediately after ordered Field-Marshal Muinich, Counts Osterman, Golofkin, young Count Muinich master of the household to the Great Duchess, and the president of the college of commerce, Mengden, with the wives of the two last, to be seized in their beds, and carried to her own house or those adjoining to it. Prince Lewis was under arrest in the palace, the Grand Marshal Count Lowenwold, Mr Lapokin, Count Golofkin's lady and his sister the Countess Tagozinski, were likewise confined to their houses; as were also the dukes, two adjutants, Haimboug at court, and Grammartin in his lodgings. After all these orders had been executed with the greatest expedition, the Princess

cess returned to her own house ; whither almost every body in town immediately resorted, and before which the regiment of horse guards and the three of foot were drawn up, and she was unanimously declared sovereign of Russia and the oath of fidelity taken to her ; and a proclamation was issued at the same time, and sent all over the Russian empire, and to the ministers at foreign courts, to notify her accession. About two, her Majesty took possession of the winter palace, and the cannon of the citadel and admiralty were fired between two and three. Her Majesty had sent some time before for Captain Deidron a Swedish officer, who was prisoner at Petersburgh, returned him his sword, and gave him five hundred ducats, with orders to make all the expedition he could with letters to notify her accession at Stockholm. In the evening, the express returned from General Sancy, with the news of her being proclaimed in the army, with all the signs of joy and unanimity ; at night, gentlemen of the court were sent round to notify this event to all the foreign ministers ; and the 28th, the following manifesto was published.

“ ELIZABETH the First, by the grace of  
 “ God, Empress of all the Russias, &c. &c.  
 “ &c. to all those to whom these presents  
 “ shall come, greeting,

“ Whereas in the year 1727, on the 7th  
 “ of May, the Emperor Peter II. was declar-

“ ed



“ ed successor to the throne of the Russias,  
 “ after the demise of our dearly beloved  
 “ mother the Empress Catharine Alexiwna,  
 “ by virtue of the first article of her will, con-  
 “ firmed by the oath of fidelity of our sub-  
 “ jects as well ecclesiastic as secular ; and as  
 “ in the 8th article of the said will, the suc-  
 “ cession of the empire was regulated in  
 “ the manner and terms following.

“ If it shall happen that the Great Duke  
 “ dies without issue, the Princess Anne Pe-  
 “ trowna, and her descendants, and in de-  
 “ fault of them, the Princess Elizabeth Pe-  
 “ trowna and her descendants, after all these,  
 “ the Great Dukes shall succeed to the  
 “ throne of the Russias ; it being understood,  
 “ that the masculine line shall be always pre-  
 “ ferred to the feminine ; and that all those  
 “ who do not profess the Greek religion, or  
 “ who already wear a foreign crown, shall  
 “ be for ever excluded from the throne of  
 “ this empire.

“ We had by virtue of this article, an  
 “ incontestable right to ascend the throne  
 “ of our ancestors, as soon as it pleased the  
 “ Almighty to take from this world the  
 “ Emperor Peter II. but by the evil prac-  
 “ tices, craft and intrigues of Count Oster-  
 “ man, at that time great master of the  
 “ household to his Imperial Majesty, the  
 “ said will of our most honoured Lady and  
 “ Mother was suppressed after his death :

“ For,

“ For, in the lifetime of his Majesty the Em-  
 “ peror Peter II. all the affairs of state of  
 “ such like importance were in the hands  
 “ of Count Osterman, who, well knowing  
 “ that we were sufficiently informed of his  
 “ proceedings, so prejudicial to our Empire,  
 “ caused by his artifices, her late Majesty  
 “ the Empress Anne Joannowna, of happy  
 “ memory, to be elected and declared, to  
 “ our exclusion, who, as is known to all the  
 “ world, were intitled to the throne of the  
 “ Russias.

“ During the illness of her said Majesty  
 “ in 1740, the said Count Osterman made  
 “ the regulation, printed and published the  
 “ 6th of October of the same year, con-  
 “ cerning the succession after the demise of  
 “ her Majesty ; by which regulation she  
 “ named for her successor an infant of two  
 “ months old, John, son of Prince Antho-  
 “ ny Ulric and of the most serene Princess  
 “ Anne of Mecklemburgh, who could not,  
 “ either by virtue of his descent, nor by a-  
 “ ny other right, pretend to the Imperial  
 “ Crown of the Russias, though the title of  
 “ Grand Duke was given him in the same  
 “ regulation.

“ Neither was the said Count ashamed to  
 “ insert in it, to our greater prejudice and  
 “ mortification, in order to deprive us o-  
 “ penly of our right of succession, that, af-  
 “ ter the death of the said Prince John, his  
 “ brother



“ brother should succeed him, and after him  
 “ the other Princes born of the marriage of  
 “ Prince Anthony of Brunswick-Luneburgh  
 “ and the Princess Anne of Mecklemburgh,  
 “ who have themselves no manner of right  
 “ to this Empire.

“ By virtue of this regulation, which her  
 “ late Majesty did not sign till the 5th of  
 “ October, when she was at the last extre-  
 “ mity, the Prince John was declared, on  
 “ the 17th of October (after the death of  
 “ the Empress) Emperor of all the Russias,  
 “ through the procurement of Count Oster-  
 “ man and the late Field-marshal Count Mui-  
 “ nich; and at that time our guards, as well  
 “ as our other troops, were under the com-  
 “ mand of the said Count, and of the Prince  
 “ Anthony Ulric of Brunswick-Luneburgh,  
 “ father of Prince John; and, all the milita-  
 “ ry force being in their hands, all our faith-  
 “ ful and well intentioned subjects were, in  
 “ that extreme oppression, obliged to take the  
 “ oath of fidelity to Prince John as their  
 “ Emperor.

“ At the same time, they were obliged to  
 “ take another oath of fidelity concerning  
 “ the regency, during the minority, which  
 “ regulation had been presented by Count  
 “ Osterman alone to her Majesty to be sign-  
 “ ed the 6th of October.

“ In consequence of these two regulati-  
 “ ons, Prince Anthony Ulric and his con-

“ fort, flattering themselves that they should  
“ be able to preserve for their son the Imperial crown of the Russias, subscribed themselves the oath of fidelity : But soon after,  
“ assisted by the Counts Osterman, Muinich,  
“ and Michael Golofkin, they slighted their  
“ oaths, and acted openly contrary to what  
“ had been regulated concerning the regency of our Empire, which they took into  
“ their own hands, under the name of the  
“ Princess Anne of Mecklemburgh, who was  
“ not ashamed to assume to herself the title  
“ of Grand Duchess of all the Russias, which  
“ could in noways belong to her. Thence  
“ came the great disorders which have happened in our kingdoms ; thence the infinite vexations and oppressions of our faithful subjects. Nevertheless the said Counts  
“ Osterman and Golofkin, in concert with  
“ the Prince Anthony Ulric and his consort,  
“ yet farther to increase the load of injustice, and to the evident danger of our  
“ own person, made a certain regulation, by  
“ which we should be intirely excluded from  
“ a succession which belongs to us by the laws  
“ of all nations, and by the blood from  
“ which we are sprung. It is by this regulation that they had pretended to settle on  
“ the throne of the Russias the Princess Anne,  
“ in declaring her Empress, even in the lifetime of her son Prince John.

“ For



“ For these reasons, having taken to heart  
“ the said estate of our Empire under this  
“ infant, who is but fourteen months old ;  
“ and being moreover convinced, by so ma-  
“ ny misfortunes as our faithful subjects  
“ have hitherto suffered, that they had no-  
“ thing to expect, during the said regen-  
“ cy, but troubles and disorders of all  
“ kinds, whether within or without the Em-  
“ pire ; considering, lastly, the imminent  
“ danger to which our own person was ex-  
“ posed, we resolved, with God’s assistance,  
“ at the most humble request of all our faith-  
“ ful subjects, and particularly of our guards,  
“ to ascend our paternal throne the 25th of  
“ this month. And although the Princess  
“ Anne, as well as her own son the Prince  
“ John, and her daughter the Princess Katha-  
“ rine, cannot, as has been sufficiently proved  
“ above, in any manner pretend to the suc-  
“ cession of the throne of the Russias ; ne-  
“ vertheless, in consideration of the alliance,  
“ on the mother’s side, between the Princess  
“ Anne, Prince Anthony Ulric, and the late  
“ Emperor Peter II. and to give the said  
“ Prince and Princess a mark of our Impe-  
“ rial grace, we have given orders to have  
“ them all conducted into their own coun-  
“ try, with the honours that are due to them,  
“ generously forgetting on our side all the  
“ steps that they have taken to our preju-  
“ dice.”

Such

Such was the manifesto issued into the world at that time, and such was the account of the Empress Elisabeth's mounting the throne of Russia; but I have all the reason in the world to believe what I have formerly related, particularly concerning the revolution, to be the truth. That the Empress Elisabeth might have had a few friends who consulted with her, I am in no condition to dispute; but that they were so numerous, and that the night preceding her invasion of the palace, she had had so great a levee of principal officers, is absolutely false, as it would not have failed to have alarmed the Princess Anne. The Princess Elisabeth's greatest counsellor in this affair was the Marquis Chetardie; and though he pretended to espouse the cause of the Princess, yet it is no secret, that all he intended and hoped for, was to cause great confusion in St Petersburg, and probably the destruction of every branch of the royal family; that, by such base means, the Swedish generals might have an opportunity, in the height of confusion, to make an easy conquest, not only of St Petersburg, but of a great part of the conquered provinces. Of this very many of the knowing Russians were certain, and did not scruple to speak among their friends freely about it, and expressed no small surprize that the Empress Elisabeth did not only permit him to remain at her Court, but loaded him with much honour,  
many



many presents, and lastly with a very costly order of St Andrew, enriched with much gold and many large diamonds of the best water. What might have happened between the Princess Elisabeth and the Prince Hesse Homburgh, I do not in the least pretend to know; but it is extremely certain, that she took great notice of him the day after she was declared Empress. I cannot however pass by taking notice of the figure he was known to make, the very day she mounted the throne, in the streets of St Petersburg, haranguing the foldiers of the guards, when he exulted much at the misfortunes of the unfortunate royal family and their adherents. How far this was acting like a Prince, and how far such actions became a man of honour, let the world judge. I ever wished, that every blessing which heaven bestows on mortals, might be poured down on the Princess Elisabeth; but at the same time, I cannot help declaring, that I truly felt very sensibly for the distress of the royal family, and when I was well informed of the unprincely behaviour of the Prince Hesse Homburgh, it filled me with indignation, and I held him in contempt ineffable.

## C H A P. V.

*The Author's Return from St Petersburg to Astrachan.*

THE British caravan having set out the latter end of December, I left this city the day after them, accompanied with my wife, two servants, two mates, and four students of surgery. We very soon overtook the caravan, and kept company with them till we arrived in Moscow, on the 2d day of January 1742, without any thing remarkable happening on the way. The day following I went to my countrymen, and acquainted them that I was sorry I could not leave that city sooner than eight or ten days, because the beautiful Princess Katharine Golitzin was ill of the small pox; and as that noble family had earnestly desired my waiting so long, till she was free of danger, I could by no means deny their request. They seemed indifferent, as they thought there would be no great need of me; which I remarked, and was determined to trouble myself no farther about them; wherefore I remained till the young Lady was out of all danger, nor had the malignant pox made any pits, or left any marks on her beauteous face, and lovely features. That good family recompensed my  
trouble



trouble beyond my desire or expectation ; and over and above this, the young Princess made a present of a very handsome silver snuff box, well lined with ducats, to my young wife, which will be kept as long as we live. Before I left Moscow, the Princess engaged me to go five miles into the country to dine with her sisters: They were two old maiden ladies, who lived in a beautiful village, belonging to the noble family of Narishkin. After dinner we staid too late to return to Moscow, and therefore we determined to proceed early in the morning. We passed the evening very agreeably, and were entertained with vocal and instrumental music, in which the ladies delighted much.

Next morning we returned to Moscow, and after breakfast, every thing being ready, we departed from that noble family, and proceeded with the utmost expedition night and day till we reached Tamboff, five hundred miles from Moscow. We had, I suppose, in the night time passed the British caravan ; for we never heard any thing of them.

We went through the city Columna, built on the north side, and distant about four versts from the river Ocka. This city is large, well fortified with brick walls and bastions. It is not a regular fortification, and is distant about one hundred and eighty versts S. E. from Moscow. We crossed the  
Ocka

Ocka upon ice, and proceeded to the city of Pereflave Bezanskoï upon the river Ocka, about fifty versts distant from Columna : Then we arrived at Rezan the metropolis of the dutchy of that name, situated also on the banks of the Ocka seventy versts distant from the Pereflave, which is subordinated to Rezan. It is said that the dutchy of Rezan is inferior to none in Russia in richness of soil, and, as I have had occasion to travel that country in the summer time, I have reason to believe it, and think there are few countries, which produce more plentiful crops of all sorts of grain, and vast quantities of honey. Many wild beasts inhabit this country, and the inhabitants are not only very numerous, but very rich. It is full of fine villages. From Rezan, we proceeded through many large ones till we arrived at Debroï about forty versts from Tamboff. It was a market day, and happening to see two horses which I conceited, I bought them : The one was a large beautiful Persian horse of a bay colour, the other was a Russian horse which paced naturally ; I bought them for a very small price, and that day proceeded on my journey twenty versts farther, to a village situated on the side of a desert one hundred and eighty miles over : Before I had driven five versts my beautiful Persian turned lame, which prevented my proceeding farther than



than the village: A farrier promised to recover him that night, but failed in his promise, and next day a very great fall of snow kept me till the afternoon. I was stepping into my sledge, when an express arrived, and putting a letter into my hand, said that the English gentlemen were in Tamboff, and he had reason to think, that they had dispatched him from Debori by post horses to overtake me if possible, and beg that I would wait their arrival, which would be as soon as possible for their horses to proceed. The letter from Mr Græme was to the same effect; he said that they had met with very much trouble on the road from the Voivodes, or petty governors, and their writers, ever finding objections to their peasants not answering exactly the descriptions given of them in their passports, and that they never could get free without presents of wine, tea, or sugar, and, not seldom, money. This the gentlemen confirmed to me at their arrival, which was that very night about ten of the clock; their horses being extremely fatigued, we determined to rest all night, and set out into the desert at break of day.

After a few reflections, we were all in good spirits; nor did I ever part with them till we arrived in Tzaritzin, except in one town where they could have no need of me. I could not help telling them that I

F

had

had observed in Moscow a reservedness and indifference whether I went with them or not, which behaviour I would not have forgiven in any but my countrymen, the more so, since I was well assured that they were not all of a like mind. Messrs Græme and Brown acknowledged that my remarks were not ill-grounded, but assured me that they never gave encouragement to such undeserved treatment, for I was neither burdensome nor troublesome to them, and I was determined never should. But Mr Græme, not ill pleased, said that they had paid for their indifference very deservedly.

Thus this affair ended, and next morning we entered the desert, where nothing was to be seen but clouds, snow, and a few pitiful posthouses distant one from the other twelve or fourteen versts. We arrived in Chopra Crepuist, or Castle, early in the afternoon on the fourth day after we set out from the last village, and now the merchants had occasion to see that I had a great deal of trouble to get their people free passage from this place. The customhouse officer was drunk, nor would he act honestly, or hear reason, but said that he was determined to stop the caravan, which consisted of about one hundred horses. Seeing this, I got a copy of the treaty of commerce agreed upon between the Courts of London and St Petersburg, and went straight into the castle



castle to demand justice. I happened to be dressed in a frock for travelling and a furred cap, having no mark of belonging either to the fleet or army, and the governor, who was a captain, scarcely would vouchsafe to speak to me, taking me for a merchant. I plied him with good words long, and could easily discover that there was a very good understanding between him and the customhouse officer : When I had found out this, I did not fail to discover that I had the honour to serve her Imperial Majesty : That I was desired by Count Golovine to proceed in company with this caravan ; and lastly, that if they should meet with any groundless hinderance on the road, I should instantly send off an express to him with an account of it, which would not fail to meet with immediate redress. I then desired him to read some paragraphs of the treaty of commerce, in one of which it was agreed by the Empress, that, if British merchants trading or travelling through Russia, should be stopped upon any unreasonable pretence, that the persons who did so should be obliged, if I mistake not, to pay to the merchant two ducats of gold for every hour they were stopped. I then desired him to reflect upon the consequences, that he was an old gentleman, who had now an honourable post, that he certainly, which I should be sorry for, would meet with severe punishment, and scrupled  
not

not to chide him for joining with a stupid drunken knave to distress the inoffensive stranger. Lastly, I said that I had some trusty men with me who would not fail to make quick dispatch, and that neither the merchants nor I would go from this place till justice was done us. The governor bethought himself: The customhouse officer was sent for, threatened, and beaten before he could be brought to reason; and the old governor was so well pleased that I had brought him to a sense of his duty, that he went into the town, and supped with the merchants, who did not fail to make him so very drunk that he was carried into the castle by his foldiers. Next morning we had a message from the governor, entreating that we would breakfast with him: When we arrived at his house, a large table was covered, and as much provision ready dressed as would have been sufficient for forty men. I excused myself as I was obliged to wait upon Major General Butturlin: At my return however, I found my countrymen very merry, and the old governor almost drunk.

We then proceeded on our journey to Mikaclova: When we were going to dine, one of my servants told me that the governor of Chopra had loaded my carriages with provisions, such as hens, ducks, geese, turkeys, enough to serve us for eight days; that he had also sent a small barrel of mead, one  
of



of ale, and one of corn brandy, the last of which I gave amongst the servants. From this place we marched on without any hinderance, except that in a desert we saw at some distance twenty or thirty Kalmucks on horseback. The merchants had twelve soldiers, and I and my people were eight men well armed. The merchants and their soldiers divided one half to each end, and I kept the center ; so that had the Kalmucks, made an attack, we would presently have formed a hollow square : But the Kalmucks having observed so many well armed men, thought proper to let us pass on unmolested ; after this day however, we left the desert, and, though the road was longer, we travelled upon the river Don amongst villages, which have been described formerly. As the merchants were quite safe among the Cossacks, and my wife was sickly, being with child, I used to drive before them, but always met at dinner time, and at night, till we arrived on the west end of the famous line which crosseth the country betwixt the Don and Volga. I then set out for Donskaja, and took my leave of my countrymen, proposing to wait for them at Tzaritzin ; because they ran no risk of being stopped, or of any danger upon that line. I arrived at Donskaja about midnight, and sent to the magistrates, who were in bed, for horses to Tzaritzin. They returned for answer that I  
had

had no right to demand horses there, and advised me to go to a town at some distance which was in the road. The horses which had brought me there were discharged, and I knew not what to do. In such cases, I never thought it any crime to use a little policy. I was certain that I had no right to force them, even supposing that I had strength, which I had not, and the Cossacks are a very obstinate people if you threaten them, when they know that you have no right: But I observed formerly that they universally bear no good will either to the army or fleet, and this animosity is reciprocal; wherefore when a strong body of men is upon a march, they seldom care to dispute with them. They having seen my passport, and by it, having been informed that I belonged to the admiralty at Astrachan, I gave them to know that as I had dismissed my horses I could not proceed that night at least, but if they scrupled to find me horses they would find it more difficult to provide for a great number of men next morning, and probably would not relish such a meeting, when they should be informed that I was stopped on the road by their frivolous objections: This message had the desired effect, and they instantly came to me, were very obliging, and wanted much to know their number. I answered them constantly in general, and they never doubt-  
ed



ed that they were all either soldiers or sailors belonging to Astrachan admiralty. In consequence of this, I had my horses without further trouble : And as I told them that I could not drive fast or far at a time, on account of my wife's sickness, they gave me as good horses as were to be had in the place. The lower classes of mankind, who never have had any opportunity of studying, or seldom, practising morality and humanity, are very hard to be persuaded to do a good action to any man who belongs to a class of men for whom they have any natural aversion, unless forced by fear. The Cossacks, as has already been said, bear an ill-will to the army and fleet, and probably they have cause for so doing ; wherefore they will not do an obliging thing to any person belonging to either, unless they may have reason to suspect that they may be forced to do it, and punished for making any delay. This they were afraid of, and therefore granted my request as soon as they could, and, to be certain of my friendship, treated me abundantly. I have, it is true, alone, travelled through this country without meeting with any hardship or being put to any expence for myself, servants, and horses : but this was owing to my profession, for their villages are all very large ; they have few people professing any branch of medicine and surgery ; they therefore very reasonably conclude,

conclude, that men regularly bred, and who have daily experience of a variety of diseases, such as those in the Imperial service, are the only people to whom they ought to apply for advice. They seldom offer, unless remarkably rich, to pay a fee; and to offer a trifle, would probably be taken as an affront: Therefore, their country abounding in all kinds of provision for man and beast, they send their acknowledgments of this kind, in such plenty, that I was ever obliged to cause return the greatest part of them.

The Ukraine is a most delightful, pleasant country, and the people though warlike, and consequently not easily driven out of their own way, are very humane, and most obliging to strangers, such as merchants, who they are certain dare not presume to hurt them. All Christian strangers from whatever country are looked upon as brethren, and enjoy without any trouble or form, all the emoluments of a Cossack. And though they are under the government of Russia, that court knows its own interest too well to burden them too much, and therefore lets them live under the government of their own laws, providing only they do not clash with the interest of the Russian Empire. Next day at night I arrived in all safety in Tzaritzin, and there waited for my countrymen. I was very well acquainted with the



the commandant, Mr Cultzoff was his name, and he was a brigadier. To him I recommended them, and got assurance that he would do them all the service which was in his power : I met there also Lieutenant Colonel Kishinskee of the Astrachan garrison : He had been sent there to transact some secret commission which was finished, and he was ready to return to Astrachan, but, that he might travel down the river with greater safety, waited till the British caravan arrived. At their arrival, I was told that they resolved to discharge their horses at Tzaritzin, and wait till open water, when they could transport their goods in barks, at which I was not sorry, though they had kept me waiting two days for them. They were much pleased however that I had recommended them effectually to Mr Cultzoff's protection.

I think it was in this city I asked them, How they came to know that I had passed them on the road betwixt Moscow and Tamboff? Their answer was, That it is well known that necessity is the mother of invention ; they had been so very much encumbered by Voivodes and customhouse officers, out of whose clutches they could by no means get, without great loss of time, and considerable expence in treating, and presents. They therefore wished that I had been with them, and feared that I had passed them on

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the road, at no great distance from Tamboff. They passed no village without asking after me. At Debroy, where they halted, they had notice that one of my profession, a foreigner of a small size, with a young sick wife, and eight attendants, had stopped a short time there, and shot many of their pigeons. From the description given of me, they made no doubt that I was the person described, and therefore sent off by post; but, if I had not bought these lame horses, they could scarcely have overtaken me, till I was within a small distance of Tzaritzin.

Lieutenant-colonel Kishinskee, escorted by eight good soldiers, and I by seven brisk young men, all well armed, set out from Tzaritzin, and arrived in all safety in Tchor-nayar, in two days, being one hundred and eighty versts distance. We dined with the commandant, where we were desired to stay a short time, because they were assured that a body of twenty or thirty Kalmucks were seen in the desert lately, and that their appearance, at that time of the year, in these parts, portended no good design: However, the colonel and I agreed to proceed: Having got fresh horses, we thought we could be in no imminent danger; for the Kalmucks have not much iron, and the Russians take very great care that they shall get none from them; consequently they never shoe their horses, which renders them unfit to ride fast upon ice; whereas



whereas the Russian horses are always very well shod, so that they go as firmly, or rather better, upon ice than on the ground. The commandant's report however was true; for, when we were distant but about fifteen versts from Tchornayar, we discovered a body of horsemen upon the banks of the river, though we could not number them, being ever in motion, but supposed they might be about twenty or twenty-five men. They were very well mounted: We were in readiness to receive them, but thought it proper to keep near the east side of the river at a distance from them. They scampered down the river, keeping equal pace with us, till a great thicket of brush-wood obliged them to ride off.

We kept our course; and, as the strongest fisheries on the river were well known to the colonel, he determined to go at least thirty versts from Tchornayar before we halted. These fisheries are no otherways strong than by the number of men inhabiting them, who are always well armed, and live on islands in large zemlenkes built under ground; as they have been described in the first volume, I shall say no more of them here. We halted a considerable time, keeping a good look-out, and then departed, and met with nothing uncommon till we arrived in Astrachan. At the distance of about twenty versts from it, our horses being much fatigued, we were obliged

to halt, and on the banks of the river roasted small bits of mutton for our dinner in the open field, under red gravelly cliffs. The colonel told me, that, since my departure from Astrachan, a few merchants travelling this way halted for refreshment at that place, and, when they were taking their dinner, part of the cliff fell down, and with it, an earthen jar full of old Tartar coin, some of which he had seen, both gold and silver. At about four versts distance from Astrachan my horses were so tired, that without some refreshment they could proceed no further. I acquainted the Colonel of it, who said that he would proceed, but was so kind as to invite me to his house, telling me, that a good warm supper should be got ready by the time of my arrival. I was glad enough to arrive at the Colonel's house, because it was too late to procure any good lodging for the night. There I met with a polite reception, and next morning I saw my sea-officers, and got proper lodgings till my house should be finished, which was building, with a fine new hospital. But, since my departure, Astrachan appeared to me quite different from what it had formerly done.



## C H A P. VI.

*Concerning what happened remarkable in the year  
1742 at Astrachan, and in the Neighbour-  
hood.*

A STRACHAN, I say, did not appear the same as formerly to me. We had now a new Governor, Vice-governor, and Commandant, neither of whom I knew, in place of one of the best men, I believe, the world ever produced. We had one now whose moral character was not so very agreeable to good men. From what follows, some part of it will be pretty well known. After having been received into the fleet, I thought it my duty to pay my respects to our new Governor, and the other two new gentlemen just now named, though I was not under their direction, as the fleet at this time was quite independent of the Governor. When I went to the Governor's palace, the captain of the guards told me, that the tables were turned ; that, in place of seeing a man endued with equity and goodness, I was going to see a tyrant, and one in every respect the reverse of good Prince Golitzin. I answered, that I imagined it was my duty to pay, at my first appearance in the city, my respects to our Governor ; that I wanted nothing from him,  
and

and that I hoped he never should have it in his power to oppress me, nor do me any harm. I went into the well known hall, and paid my respects to an old, tall meagre man, by the title of Excellence. He was playing at chess with the Commandant, and took very little notice of me. After one game was done, he rose, came to the window where I stood, and looked out over my head, but never spoke one word. I could not get from the window, without endangering the upsetting of him. As he was returning to his place, I went out of the room, not ill pleased that I had seen the man of whom I had heard so many ridiculous odd stories; but was determined to pay him no more visits, without invitation. I next went to our Vice-governor, Prince Michael Baretinske: He was a brigadier, and of an antient noble family, an old man, of an exceeding good character. He received me in a very genteel hospitable manner, told me that he had frequently heard of me, and that he was glad that I had returned to Astrachan; because, he said, that he had intended to employ me in his family when needful. He introduced me to his Lady, who was young, and very agreeable. He kept me very late, and amongst other things said, that Vasilic Nekititch Tatishoff was a very singular man, and that his not taking notice of me was his common way of receiving strangers, especially his inferiors;



feriors; and that he but seldom paid due respect even to his superiors.

Having now got my hospital built, and in good order, I followed my business closely without troubling myself about any thing else for about six weeks, when there was received in Astrachan, a manifesto in relation to the following great state-prisoners, signed on the 22d January 1742.

COPY of the Empress Elisabeth's Manifesto.

“ By the Grace of God, we Elisabeth the  
 “ First, Empress and Sovereign of all Rus-  
 “ sia, &c. make known by these presents.  
 “ It is already sufficiently known to eve-  
 “ ry one, by our manifesto of the 28th of  
 “ November 1741, how, by the wicked and  
 “ ill-designing intrigues of the late High Ad-  
 “ miral and Minister of the Cabinet, Count  
 “ Andrew Osterman, carried on against us,  
 “ in despite of his better knowledge and his  
 “ own conscience, we were, upon the de-  
 “ cease of the Emperor Peter II. of glorious  
 “ memory, deprived of our paternal here-  
 “ ditary throne of all Russia, which already  
 “ at that time belonged to us as lawful heir-  
 “ ess without exception, by virtue of the last  
 “ will established by her Imperial Majesty,  
 “ our dear mother, the great Lady and Em-  
 “ press Katharine Alexiewna, now resting  
 “ with God : As also, how, by wiles, offen-  
 “ sive to God, and prejudicial to our Em-  
 “ pire,

“pire, he C. Osterman, jointly with the late  
“Field-marshal Count Muinich, and some  
“others their associates, at the decease of her  
“Majesty the Empress Anna Joannovna of  
“most blessed memory, when her Majesty  
“was already in the utmost weakness on her  
“death-bed, again excluded us from our pa-  
“ternal hereditary throne, by the means of  
“an ordinance and settlement of succession,  
“drawn up by him Osterman, naming and  
“appointing for his heirs and successors,  
“Prince John, born of the Serene Princess  
“Anne of Mecklemburgh and of Prince An-  
“thony Ulric of Brunswick-Luneburgh, tho’  
“he had not the least pretension nor birth-  
“right whatsoever, and besides, was but an  
“infant of two months of age ; and after  
“him his brothers that should be born of  
“the said Princess Anne. At the same  
“time, they not only conveyed the admini-  
“stration into foreign hands, to the greatest  
“disorder in our Empire, and to the ut-  
“most oppression and ruin of all our faith-  
“ful subjects ; but even afterwards, Count  
“Osterman, and with him the late Vice-  
“chancellor Count Golofkin, and the rest  
“of their accomplices, to our insupportable  
“grievance, and to the manifest danger of  
“our own person, drew up a particular re-  
“gulation of the hereditary succession, in  
“order to exclude us intirely and for ever  
“from the possession of the Imperial throne  
of



“ of Russia, belonging to us by our lawful  
“ hereditary right, as well as by the law of  
“ all the world : By which foresaid regula-  
“ tion, they audaciously attempted, not only  
“ to declare all the females descended from  
“ Princess Anne capable of succeeding to the  
“ throne, but also to appoint the Princess  
“ herself to be Empress of all the Russias :  
“ All which wicked attempts and impious  
“ designs of Osterman, Muinich, and Golof-  
“ kin, are set forth more at large in our ma-  
“ nifesto of the 28th November last year.

“ In this lamentable and dangerous situ-  
“ ation, we were at last inevitably necessita-  
“ ted, by the assistance of Almighty God, at  
“ the most humble request of all our faithful  
“ subjects, but especially of the regiments  
“ of our guards, to mount our hereditary  
“ paternal throne, and immediately to take  
“ into custody the shameless disturbers of  
“ the public tranquillity, viz. the said Oster-  
“ man, Muinich and Golofkin, as traitors  
“ to the Empire, and malefactors, together  
“ with their adherents and accomplices, the  
“ late High Steward of the household Levold,  
“ the President of the College of Commerce,  
“ Baron Mengden, the actual Counsellor of  
“ State Temeraizoff, and the rest who are  
“ concerned with them. But in order that  
“ every thing relating to their audacious  
“ conduct, odious to the Almighty, and their  
“ designs pernicious to our Empire, might be  
“ brought

“ brought to light, and made known in eve-  
 “ ry circumstance, and in order to restore the  
 “ public general tranquillity and content: As  
 “ also, such a love and peaceableness among  
 “ the people as might please the Almighty,  
 “ we did appoint a particular commission of  
 “ enquiry, before which the said Osterman,  
 “ Muinich, and Golofkin, with the rest of  
 “ their accomplices, should be examined  
 “ concerning their grievous offences against  
 “ the State, as also other crimes committed  
 “ contrary to their oaths and duty, tending  
 “ to the open ruin of the Empire, and the  
 “ disturbance of the public tranquillity. The  
 “ main result of which enquiry was found to  
 “ be as follows :

“ The late Admiral Andrew Osterman  
 “ did not only knowingly and willingly,  
 “ contrary to his oath and duty, conse-  
 “ quently in the most flagrant manner, sup-  
 “ press and leave unexecuted the last will  
 “ made by her Imperial Majesty, our dearest  
 “ mother, the Empress Katharina Alexevna,  
 “ now resting with God, and by him, as  
 “ well as others, subscribed and confirmed  
 “ by solemn oath ; by which we were actu-  
 “ ally, and in express terms, called to the  
 “ succession of the Imperial throne of Russia  
 “ in proper time ; but also, after the decease  
 “ of his Imperial Majesty Peter II. at the e-  
 “ lection, by which the Empress Anna Joan-  
 “ novna was placed on the throne of Russia,  
 “ as also at various changes which happen-  
 “ ed



“ ed afterwards, especially when the Em-  
“ press Anna Joannovna made a new ordi-  
“ nance concerning the succession, and pub-  
“ lished her last will on the 5th of October  
“ in the year 1740 (which he alone had  
“ drawn up in his own house) he not only  
“ made no mention of the above said last-  
“ will, nor any representations concerning  
“ it; but did designedly conceal and sup-  
“ press it, endeavouring, by various false  
“ suppositions, to render it absolutely inef-  
“ fectual, and totally to annul it. Nay, e-  
“ ven such were his abominable designs,  
“ that, by divers schemes set down in wri-  
“ ting, which, after his arrest, were found a-  
“ mong other papers in his own house, and  
“ which he had some time before, without  
“ regard to God, to his oath, and to his du-  
“ ty, drawn up in his own hand-writing,  
“ he intended to keep us intirely from the  
“ Russian throne, as well as our nephew his  
“ Royal Highness the Duke of Holstein,  
“ grandson to his Imperial Majesty, our  
“ dearest father, Peter the Great, just as if  
“ neither we nor his Royal Highness had a-  
“ ny right or pretension to the Russian  
“ throne. But, in order to remove all ob-  
“ stacles he might apprehend from our side,  
“ he devised a project to marry us to some  
“ poor prince out of this country, from  
“ whom there might be never any cause of  
“ apprehension. The question being put to  
“ him

“ him as to these designs, by him so wick-  
“ edly and unanswerably devised and drawn  
“ up by his own hand, he did indeed own  
“ himself, he had done all this contrary to  
“ his better knowledge and his own consci-  
“ ence, and though absolutely convinced,  
“ that, pursuant to the said last will and dis-  
“ position of our dear mother the Empress  
“ Katharina Alexevna, we had the most in-  
“ disputable right to the succession of the  
“ throne, yet he falsely pretended at the same  
“ time, that he did this out of mere compli-  
“ ance to the late Empress Anna Joannovna,  
“ in order to be freed of the suspicion, which,  
“ as he falsely pretended, he lay under with  
“ her Imperial Majesty, on account of ha-  
“ ving prepared the above said last-will. He,  
“ Osterman, in particular has dared, to the  
“ greater infringement of the public laws of  
“ the Empire, and to the disturbance of the  
“ domestic tranquillity, to draw up in his own  
“ hand-writing, and to suggest divers schemes  
“ how the succession to the Russian throne  
“ might be extended also to the Princesses  
“ descending from Princess Anne of Meck-  
“ lemburgh, in which he has had the bold-  
“ ness to alledge, that in the ordinance a-  
“ bout the succession published by her Ma-  
“ jesty Anna Joannovna, the Princesses de-  
“ scending from Princess Anne were indeed  
“ not expressly mentioned, yet neither were  
“ they excluded; just as if this affair was in  
itself



“ itself of no great importance, but only this  
“ to be taken into consideration, how to  
“ proceed in it, and in what manner the  
“ succession, to prevent all manner of disorders on future emergencies, might be  
“ brought and settled in express terms on  
“ the sisters of Prince John. When the rest  
“ of the ministers thereupon objected, that  
“ such an affair ought first, above all things,  
“ to be deliberated upon, particularly, because, pursuant to the last-will, the late  
“ regent, jointly with the cabinet-council, the synod, the senate, and the general officers, were to chuse a successor : That afterwards it was to be considered what reasons might be pretended for it ; and when  
“ moreover, they begged sufficient time well  
“ to examine an affair of so great weight, Osterman returned this profligate answer,  
“ That the same ordinance about the succession did not at all run counter to the  
“ last-will: That if only the rest of the ministers would join in their votes, there  
“ would be easily found such reasons, as  
“ might be laid before the world ; and that  
“ there remained nothing else to be done, than to take the business itself in hand.  
“ Thereupon he laid before Princess Anne  
“ his opinion, written likewise with his own  
“ hand, representing, that the regulating of  
“ the succession always depended on the will  
“ of the Sovereign ; and that the Princess  
“ Anne,

“ Anne, in the Emperor’s name, might act  
“ in the administration of the Empire with  
“ the same unlimited power and authority  
“ as belonged to any reigning Emperor :  
“ That therefore, after the example of the  
“ succession’s having been settled upon Pr.  
“ John and his brother, it might also in his  
“ name be secured to his sisters descending  
“ from Princess Anne, by oaths signed by  
“ the states spiritual and temporal, accord-  
“ ing to the custom of this country; and  
“ thus this design might at once, without  
“ loss of time, be brought to its execution  
“ and perfection. To which he added, that  
“ if this affair was not taken in hand una-  
“ nimously, and without any private views,  
“ or if perhaps every one would follow his  
“ own head, it was easy to conceive, that rather  
“ than delay prompt execution ought to be  
“ expected. In divers conversations with  
“ Levold and Mengden, Osterman did not  
“ scruple to tell the latter, that if the affair  
“ was managed with good order, Princess  
“ Anne might be Empress herself, with this  
“ profligate expression, That she might in e-  
“ quity pretend to the succession as well as  
“ her children, though it is known to the  
“ whole world, that these latter never had  
“ nor can have a succession to the throne of  
“ Russia. To Levold he opened himself,  
“ that one could not know how things  
“ might turn out, and it might be that the  
“ Princess



“ Princess herself might seize on the suc-  
“ cession before all her daughters ; to  
“ which he added, that the affair must be  
“ done, either by force, viz. by letters pa-  
“ tent, or by bringing things about so, that  
“ the people themselves should demand it.  
“ The question being put to Osterman, con-  
“ cerning these projects and devices, he did  
“ own, that all this had been written and  
“ proposed by him, out of a well meaning  
“ view and officiousness for Princess Anne,  
“ to the end that if there were even no  
“ Princes born by her in being, yet she  
“ might not meet with any obstacle from us,  
“ as the only lawful heir : Furthermore, that,  
“ contrary to the last-will above-mentioned,  
“ in pursuance of which he had obliged him-  
“ self by oath, to cause the succession to the  
“ Russian throne, which, upon the decease  
“ of his Imperial Majesty Peter II. lawfully  
“ belonged to us, he not only worked against  
“ us when the case existed, but even, in  
“ further defiance of his oath, acted against  
“ us upon the decease of her Imperial Ma-  
“ jesty Anna Joannovna ; as also after the  
“ deposition of the regent, only to gain Prin-  
“ cess Anne’s favour and obligation ; and  
“ thus preferring his own private advanta-  
“ ges to the public happiness of the Empire,  
“ setting aside his own conscience, and abso-  
“ lutely forgetting the dreadful judgments  
“ of Almighty God, he endeavoured, in the  
“ most

“ most wicked and unjustifiable manner, by  
“ divers intrigues, to deprive us of our pa-  
“ ternal hereditary right, which we were  
“ born to, and which in justice belonged to  
“ us by all the laws in the world. Besides  
“ these, Osterman has committed many of-  
“ fences against our person, of which he has  
“ been convicted as to every particular in his  
“ examination. Moreover, many other grie-  
“ vous misdemeanours, tending to the open  
“ prejudice and ruin of the Empire, have  
“ been proved against him : He has been  
“ remiss in sufficiently providing, according  
“ to his duty, for the defence of the Empire,  
“ when it was most necessary : He never con-  
“ sulted, as he ought to do, concerning the  
“ weighty affairs of the Empire, with per-  
“ sons of trust, and appointed for it ; but  
“ transacted most of his own head. In va-  
“ rious cases of great consequence he nei-  
“ ther would call a great council, nor suffer  
“ one to be called ; though by his office he  
“ ought to have been the first to make re-  
“ monstrances concerning such persons as  
“ were trusted with many and great expen-  
“ ces of the Empire, yet he never looked to  
“ it, that they should give an exact account.  
“ In affairs of such importance as concern-  
“ ed the well-fare of all the Empire, he em-  
“ ployed, to the prejudice of all the Russian  
“ nation, utter strangers, of whose circum-  
“ stances and conduct nobody ever had suf-  
“ ficient



“ ficient knowledge besides himself, whilst  
“ native Russians in these cases were set a-  
“ side, only the others were admitted to re-  
“ wards, but the Russians were abridged to  
“ all profits, nay, rather employed to their  
“ detriment ; his dependents and adherents  
“ he not only employed on all occasions for  
“ rewards, but even protected them to such  
“ a degree, that he commended their paul-  
“ try services equal to the greatest merits of  
“ others, and when they acted wrong, or ne-  
“ glected any thing to the prejudice of the  
“ Empire, he not only shifted it, but approved  
“ of them and of their actions ; he issued great  
“ sums of money out of the treasury of the  
“ Empire, and other offices of the revenue,  
“ without consulting other members of the  
“ cabinet-council, but only sent to their  
“ houses their solutions, drawn up for their  
“ signing : In important affairs of the Em-  
“ pire, he has often changed his opinions, as  
“ they were to please others, but not as his  
“ sworn duty and the interest of the Empire  
“ required ; he burthened and distressed the  
“ Empire by his excessive raising of recruits  
“ of men and horses ; the reports that came  
“ from the commanding admirals concern-  
“ ing the state of the fleet, he did not send  
“ to the board of admiralty, but had them  
“ all brought to his own house, nor ever  
“ communicated to the said board those ad-  
“ vices and papers that formerly had been  
“ sent

“ sent to him ; he helped to procure to the  
 “ Field-marshal Muinich an ukause, or let-  
 “ ters patent, for dispensing him without  
 “ giving any answer or account to whomso-  
 “ ever, concerning the command he had o-  
 “ ver the works of the canal of Ladoga,  
 “ though he Osterman very well knew that  
 “ this was an affair and pretension contra-  
 “ ry to the common laws, against which he  
 “ ought to have made remonstrances. He  
 “ advanced all his relations, without any  
 “ service or merit ; during his ministry,  
 “ when he had in a manner seized the  
 “ whole Empire, he had the impudence to  
 “ ruin and to extirpate many antient and  
 “ considerable Russian families, to make many  
 “ men hated and undervalued by the se-  
 “ veral sovereigns, to cause many to be sent  
 “ away from court, and to cause unheard  
 “ of cruelties and executions to be commit-  
 “ ted on high and low, without sparing e-  
 “ ven the clergy ; to sow misunderstandings  
 “ and create variance among the Russian  
 “ subjects : Nay, he has carried his audaci-  
 “ ousness so far as to abrogate many regu-  
 “ lations established for the public good by  
 “ his Majesty our dear father, now resting  
 “ with God, the Emperor Peter the Great,  
 “ particularly that concerning solicitors at  
 “ respective boards, and thus openly to ex-  
 “ pose and to censure the profound pene-  
 “ tration and wise disposition of so glori-  
 “ ous



ous a monarch, not to mention other such misdemeanors and neglects of the interest and welfare of the Empire; more of which is to be seen at large in the journals of the trial.

The principal crimes of the Fie'd-marshal Muinich are as follows; During the various changes that have of late happened, he neither did observe nor support the aforesaid last will left by her Majesty our dear mother the Empress Katharine Alexevna, tho' he, with many others, had sworn to it and signed it; on the contrary, upon the decease of her Majesty Anna Joannovna, he took particular pains to play the administration of the Russian Empire into foreign hands, and accordingly contributed most towards the late Duke of Courland Biron's entering upon the regency: He, Muinich having been the first, and who talked most with him about it, instantly desired it of him, and pressed him to it. Biron thereupon having, directly contrary to the interest of the Empire, taken upon himself the administration, by Muinich's fraudulent intrigues, was again turned out by the same Muinich, for this latter's own private views; who, upon his going to seize the late regent, knowing the particular and sincere inclination which the soldiers of the Imperial guards, then upon duty, had for

us,

“ us, used this fraudulent shift, in order  
“ sooner to gain them, falsely to pretend  
“ that we and our nephew were oppressed  
“ by the regent, who therefore was to be  
“ seized, and that afterwards they might  
“ have for their master whomsoever they  
“ pleased, be it Prince John, or his Royal  
“ Highness the Duke of Holstein. This  
“ having been effected, though the said  
“ Muinich was convinced in his own con-  
“ science that we and our nephew the Duke  
“ of Holstein had the most indisputable right  
“ to the succession to the throne of Russia,  
“ yet he never made use of the power he  
“ then had in his hands to maintain us in  
“ our rights ; on the contrary, afterwards,  
“ when other changes ensued, but particu-  
“ larly, when Baron Mengden, and his own  
“ son, the late steward of the household,  
“ informed him of all the particulars of the  
“ above said wicked design, tending to o-  
“ verturn the public tranquillity, which he  
“ himself disapproved as impracticable ; he  
“ again, contrary to the duty and oath of a  
“ faithful servant, did not in the least en-  
“ deavour to obstruct it : Nay, even pro-  
“ ceeded to offend us in various ways, hav-  
“ ing suffered himself in a manner, most  
“ unbecoming his office and dignity, to be  
“ employed as a secret spy on our own per-  
“ son and court ; as also having placed a cer-  
“ tain subaltern in our palace, on pretence of  
“ being



“ being appointed to have the inspection of  
“ the buildings ; and having furnished him  
“ with horses and carriages to follow us eve-  
“ ry where, and to inform him of all our  
“ actions and steps.

“ With regard to his conduct when with  
“ the army, he has been convicted of many  
“ disorders and misdemeanours tending to  
“ the no small detriment of our Empire, *viz.*  
“ that he did not take the least care to main-  
“ tain and to spare the troops ; that in many,  
“ the most important, expeditions he pro-  
“ ceeded contrary to the laws and articles  
“ of war, merely following his own ambi-  
“ tion, and did every thing of his own  
“ head and will, without the least consulta-  
“ tion with the rest of the generals, to hear  
“ their sentiments ; which during the war  
“ necessarily occasioned many considerable  
“ losses of men. During the time when he  
“ was in the army, he not only inflicted un-  
“ becoming punishments on the lesser Rus-  
“ sian officers, often without any court-  
“ martial, and without any regard to the  
“ rank of the officers, but he also laid pu-  
“ nishments on staff-officers, which were  
“ only fit for common soldiers ; for instance,  
“ in the first campaign in the Crim, he  
“ caused many Russian colonels, descended  
“ of antient and noble families, to carry  
“ muskets to their utmost ignominy, and to  
“ be led about the army for a show ; some  
“ of

“ of them he got put in irons and fetters,  
“ and let them for a long while go about in  
“ that shameful condition : His friends, relati-  
“ ons, and dependents he raised and pre-  
“ ferred to others, without any merit or  
“ desert ; to himself he procured great  
“ sums at diverse times, especially during  
“ the regency of the Princess Anne, when  
“ he had made himself prime minister, and  
“ besides that an extraordinary pension, to  
“ the great draining and exhausting of the  
“ treasury of the Empire ; of all which dis-  
“ orders and iniquities being convicted, he  
“ confessed them himself, as is set forth  
“ more at large in the journals of the trial.

“ The late vice-chancellor Michael Go-  
“ loskin was the first contriver of the above  
“ mentioned affair concerning the altera-  
“ tion of the succession ; for at the time  
“ when Princess Anne had entered upon  
“ the regency, and he, after being recover-  
“ ed from his sickness, went to her for the  
“ first time to congratulate her, he immedi-  
“ ately represented, it was pity, that in  
“ some points concerning the succession,  
“ the affair was not plainly enough expres-  
“ sed, in particular that there was no men-  
“ tion at all made of the Princesses. Soon  
“ after Princess Anne ordered him to con-  
“ fer with Andrew Osterman about this af-  
“ fair ; and at the same time he drew up a  
“ project to be laid before the cabinet coun-  
“ cil,



“ cil, for the Princess descending from  
“ the Princess Anne to have an equal share  
“ in the succession to the Russian throne :  
“ He also produced another project, of the  
“ same tenor with the former, and sent both  
“ these writings to the Princess Anne. In  
“ them he alledged, among other things,  
“ that it was not adviseable in this case, to  
“ proceed to the election of a successor to  
“ the throne of Russia in an open assem-  
“ bly with the regent, so as it was pre-  
“ scribed ; but it would be better that the  
“ Princess Anne should declare herself Em-  
“ press, by which means; according to his  
“ opinion, all obstacles and impediments  
“ would be avoided and removed, that  
“ might arise on the part of our Impe-  
“ rial Majesty. This, Golofkin owns to  
“ have written with this view, that if  
“ Prince John should have died, and  
“ no other Prince extant, there might not  
“ always be a foreign and uncertain regen-  
“ cy, for want or in expectation of another  
“ prince, but rather Princess Anne herself  
“ ought to be made Empress ; and this so  
“ much the more, as he had already respect-  
“ ed her to a degree, as if she was actual  
“ Empress, and as, at the same time, he  
“ had always endeavoured to exclude us  
“ from the succession, contrary to the laws  
“ of all the world. Moreover, Golofkin  
“ has owned himself guilty, that being in  
“ the

“ the Princess Anne’s greatest and closest  
 “ confidence, and very well seeing that  
 “ such vast sums of money from the treasury of the Empire were squandered away,  
 “ yet he never dissuaded the Princess from  
 “ it ; that consequently he had neglected  
 “ his sworn duty, in not obviating any  
 “ ways such a needless waste.

“ The high marshal of court, Levold, (in  
 “ all foreign prints erroneously called Le-  
 “ wenwold) had particular knowledge of  
 “ the last will made by her Majesty Katharine Alexevna our dear mother, now with  
 “ God, pursuant to which the succession of  
 “ the hereditary throne of Russia was appointed and settled upon us in due time ;  
 “ notwithstanding which, upon the decease  
 “ of her Majesty Anna Joannovna, he did  
 “ not make the least remonstrance for the  
 “ putting in execution the said last will. He  
 “ assisted at all the deliberations, both about  
 “ the appointing of the regent, and but  
 “ lately, concerning the daughters of the  
 “ Princess Anne, and the alterations in the  
 “ succession. Furthermore, he was in the  
 “ most intimate consultations with Princess  
 “ Anne herself, and particularly very frequently with Andrew Osterman, to deliberate how it could be best brought about  
 “ to raise Princess Anne to the Imperial  
 “ throne, and to extend the succession to  
 “ the Princesses also. He never endeavour-  
 “ ed



“ ed pursuant to his sworn duty to defeat  
 “ and obstruct these vows pernicious to  
 “ the public tranquillity, but rather encour-  
 “ aged them; and therefore consented to  
 “ all Osterman’s projects, promoted them,  
 “ approved the most villainous undertakings,  
 “ and entered with Osterman into the most  
 “ confident and secret consultations about  
 “ them. He also procured for himself and  
 “ others, grants and pensions amounting to  
 “ vast sums, out of the salt revenue which  
 “ was under his inspection, to the great  
 “ draining of that branch of revenue; and  
 “ with great application at last procured,  
 “ that he should not be answerable to any  
 “ body concerning that revenue, no nor e-  
 “ ven deliver in his accounts to the board  
 “ of revision, or to any other, as he ought  
 “ to do, pursuant to the Imperial ordi-  
 “ nances.

“ The late president of the board of  
 “ trade, Mengden, after the decease of her  
 “ Majesty Anna Joannovna, endeavoured  
 “ to the utmost to have the late Duke of  
 “ Courland declared regent of Russia; and  
 “ with this view falsely insinuated to many,  
 “ that if Biron did not obtain the regency,  
 “ all the foreigners would be cut off; but  
 “ that Biron himself could not ask it. Nay,  
 “ even long before he had proposed the  
 “ question Whether it was not adviseable that  
 “ her Majesty herself the Empress Anne

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“ should

“ should be requested to do it? to which  
“ end, after a long consultation with the late  
“ Field-marshal Muinich, he drew up a pe-  
“ tition in the name of the whole Empire.  
“ In the mean time, he Mengden went to  
“ the Princess Anne in the name of the  
“ Duchess of Courland, to persuade her to  
“ consent to the said regency, and to help  
“ to promote it. He also knew of every  
“ thing that passed, and was to be brought  
“ about in the affair of altering the succes-  
“ sion, relating to which he entered into  
“ private interviews and deliberations with  
“ the rest, but particularly with Osterman.  
“ As for what relates to his misdemeanours  
“ at the board of trade, he has been found  
“ guilty of the following offences to the da-  
“ mage of the public, and to the prejudice  
“ of the Empire. Upon his suggestion,  
“ great quantities of corn were exported  
“ from Petersburgh, Archangel and the  
“ conquered provinces; the consequence  
“ of which is, that corn is now as dear again  
“ as formerly, to the great distress of the in-  
“ habitants, and prejudice to the Empire in  
“ furnishing the necessary provisions; but  
“ particularly to the peasants in Livonia,  
“ who were so much blinded by the advan-  
“ ced price, that they sold all their corn,  
“ and are now reduced to such want and  
“ distress, that there has been a necessity of  
“ nourishing them chiefly from our own  
“ magazines.



“ magazines. This exportation of corn  
“ Mengden undertook of his own head,  
“ without the knowledge and consent of  
“ the board, but with the agreement and  
“ concurrence of Osterman and Golofkin.  
“ In this corn-trade, he acted directly con-  
“ trary to that ordinance, by virtue of  
“ which no person who sits and votes at the  
“ board is to meddle with any trade what-  
“ soever; whereas he Mengden engaged  
“ with Bardewick the merchant in this corn-  
“ trade, and paid him fifteen thousand  
“ rubles towards it. As soon as he was  
“ made president of the board of trade, and  
“ was to inspect the state of the works and  
“ manufactures, he took considerable pre-  
“ sents of several people, and attempted to  
“ change, according to his own pleasure,  
“ contrary to the ordinance of his Majesty  
“ our dear father the Emperor Peter the  
“ Great, now resting with God, the mer-  
“ cantile law, or law of exchange, formerly  
“ prepared, and long since confirmed.

“ The actual counsellor of state Ivan Te-  
“ meriazeff, of his own motion, and for his  
“ private interest, to the endangering of the  
“ public tranquillity of the Empire, and  
“ with a view of keeping us from the Impe-  
“ rial throne of Russia, has devised several  
“ interpretations concerning the succession  
“ to the Empire of Russia, how daughters  
“ descended from the Princess Anne of  
“ Brunswick

“ Brunswick Luneburgh might come in for  
“ a share of the succession. Princess Anne  
“ thereupon having committed to him, to  
“ draw up a manifesto on this subject. He  
“ went to Adrejan Posniacoff, secretary of  
“ the college of the Empire, and charged  
“ him with this commission, as coming from  
“ the Princess herself. The latter readily  
“ and willingly drew up two manifesto’s for  
“ this purpose ; one concerning the daugh-  
“ ters of the Princess Anne, in case the  
“ males descended of the said Princess  
“ should fail : And the other to the intent,  
“ that the Princess Anne should be made  
“ Empress herself ; both upon false grounds  
“ suggested by Temeriazeff.

“ It being necessary exactly to enquire in-  
“ to, and to get at the true circumstances,  
“ and nature of the grievous offences of the  
“ above-mentioned persons, viz. Osterman,  
“ Muinich, Golof kin, and the rest of their  
“ accomplices, they were to have been ex-  
“ amined upon certain points after the usu-  
“ al way of process, and tortured : But out  
“ of our mere lenity and clemency, as the  
“ mother of our country, we would not by  
“ any means suffer that penal inquisition  
“ to be made use of against them ; but gave  
“ orders to our senate, to give judgment in  
“ the assembly of the states military and ci-  
“ vil, pursuant to the constitutions and laws  
“ of our Empire, upon the circumstances  
“ plainly



“ plainly appearing as above said, and their  
“ own depositions and confessions. In  
“ which high court of justice it was deter-  
“ mined and sentence pronounced, that  
“ they all were to be punished with death:  
“ Osterman to be broken on the wheel;  
“ Muinich to be quartered, Golofkin, Le-  
“ vold, Mengden, Temeriazeff, to be be-  
“ headed, and their several estates real and  
“ personal to be confiscated. And though  
“ the said malefactors, considering their  
“ most wicked, grievous, and ill designed  
“ deeds, as also the rest of their enormous  
“ high treasons and crimes, tending to the  
“ apparent ruin of the Empire, and to the  
“ endangering of the public tranquillity, ac-  
“ tually deserve by all the constitutions and  
“ laws of the Empire, the sentence of  
“ death thus pronounced against them; yet  
“ out of our innate lenity and clemency,  
“ as the mother of our country, and out of  
“ our greatness of mind, vouchsafed to us  
“ by the Almighty, we have graciously or-  
“ dered the aforesaid punishments to be sus-  
“ pended as to their lives, and to commute  
“ them into prison and exile into remote  
“ places, viz. Osterman to Berezova, Mui-  
“ nich to Pelim, Golofkin to Germanga,  
“ Mengden to Kolymiskoi Ostrog, Levold  
“ to Solikamskoi, and Temeriazeff to Sibe-  
“ ria; that their wives, if they desire it,  
“ may follow their husbands; but that all  
“ their

“ their estates real and personal be confiscated  
 “ to our exchequer. Now, to the end that  
 “ all our faithful subjects may be acquaint-  
 “ ed with this, and learn by it, that the  
 “ just God knows how in due time certain-  
 “ ly to find, and to extirpate all those who  
 “ are faithless and forsworn, and that, by  
 “ his wise providence, these wicked thoughts  
 “ and views they harbour in their hearts,  
 “ never fail to be discovered to their tempo-  
 “ ral and eternal condemnation : Nay, that  
 “ considering what is set forth above, all  
 “ and every one may carefully guard them-  
 “ selves against such undertakings as highly  
 “ displease the Almighty, and in every re-  
 “ spect demean themselves so as becomes  
 “ faithful subjects and true patriots, pursu-  
 “ ant to their sworn duty; for which they  
 “ will be blessed by the Lord our God, and  
 “ always be looked upon by us with our  
 “ Imperial favour: We have most graciously  
 “ ordered this manifesto to be printed, and  
 “ to be published by our senate all over our  
 “ Empire.”——This was signed by the Em-  
 press’s own hand at St Petersburg, January  
 22d O. S. 1742.

I thought that it might be agreeable to  
 the reader to insert *verbatim* this manifesto,  
 that any may at once see the method of pro-  
 cedure in the courts of Russia against crimi-  
 nals. I do not propose to make any re-  
 marks about the justice and equity which  
 may



may be expected in these courts, nor about confessions which may be extorted by the pains and shame of racks and tortures: Few people who have been guilty of any such crimes as may by the laws of the country, infer the pains of death, will deny to say any thing their judges put to them, when they are certain if they do not, whether right or wrong, that torture will be used; the extreme pains of which scarcely any can suffer. There is clear enough evidence that these gentlemen never intended to set the Empress Elisabeth on her father's throne, how far they were right or wrong let better judges relate, I pretend to no knowledge of these things; only I think they were proceeded against with rigour; considering the severity of the late Empress Anne's government, whose conduct was well known to be altogether directed by Biron Duke of Courland. A word of advice contrary to his plan and schemes, would have been instantly punished with cruel death, or loss of honour, estate or liberty!

## C H A P. VII.

*Concerning public Affairs which were transacted in Russia, and on the Borders of Astrachan during the year 1742.*

**I** Gave an account of the Princess of the Kalmucks having defeated Donduk Dasse, but what then was his fate, I could not tell. It seems, that in the heat of battle he got safely out of danger, but most of his men were cut to pieces. The Princess of the Kalmucks crossed the Volga, encamped in the desert on the west side, and, fearing the Russians would make use of their regular forces to reduce her to obedience, retired sooner last year to the borders of Circassia, that she might either influence her relations to use their interest with the court of Russia in her favours, or if that could not be done to her liking, it was said that she, with her faithful followers, were determined to put themselves under the protection either of the Turk, which her husband had formerly done, or fly to Kouli Khan.

Whatever the public papers then reported, I can assure the reader, that we were very much afraid of that Persian tyrant at my arrival in the city of Astrachan, and consequently it would have been exceeding ill policy



licy to have irritated a Princess of such power and prowess as she possessed. The great power of the Kalmucks adhered firmly to her interest, and the connexions she had in Caburdee or Circassia, were thought to be very weighty. It was probably for these or the like reasons that the court of Russia thought proper at such a time to send Tatishoff governor; a man who did not want great abilities to manage affairs with such wild, fluctuating, and unsteady people as the Kalmucks, Persians, and Circassians then were; because he had had very long experience amongst such people when governor in Oranburgh, and likewise in Siberia: Add to this, that he was neither tied down by the laws of honour, honesty, religion, nor any thing else invented for keeping mankind in good order: No, Tatishoff laughed at all laws human and divine, providing he could only keep himself in safety. He did not, on many occasions, hesitate to say as much, and did not spare the greatest Lords at court, who were truly afraid of him, knowing him to be a man of no principle, who would stick at nothing which could be of use to himself. Early in the spring, Mr Tatishoff sent great presents to the Princess of the Kalmucks, and wrote her that the Empress had not only insured her and her children after her death, to rule over the Kalmucks, but had, to show what trust her Imperial Majesty put in

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her, appointed her general Governess over the whole kingdom of Astrachan, and had ordained him Tatishoff to receive, with the most profound submission, and obey all orders which her Highness might think proper to honour him with, providing only that they did not clash with the Christian religion, (which by the by Tatishoff cared as little for as the Kalmuck Princess) and the fundamental laws of the Empire. He sent several honourable officers to assure her, that all what he had wrote was true, and that the great palace in the citadel was in order for her to live in, or Peter the Great's palace in the country. The rich presents, the honourable deputation of officers sent to her, and the many letters, most of which he Tatishoff forged, as if from the Empress, had at last the desired effect. The deluded Princess even made haste to fall into the trap laid for her, by thinking that every thing said or wrote would be adhered to, with as much candor and honour as when Prince Golitzin governed that kingdom. She marched day and night till she arrived on the west bank of the Volga, over against the city. Mr Tatishoff lost no time in waiting upon her, and of throwing himself at her feet, assuring her that nothing could be more agreeable to him than to obey implicitly her high orders, begging to know, at same time, when her Highness would condescend to visit the metropolis, and there, in the presence of



of all the principal officers, receive the *insignia* of her high office. She either could not, or thought it needless to hide the pleasure it gave her to have such marks of the Empress's high esteem, as she thought conferred upon her; but told the Governor, that she would first consult with her elders or leading men, and send him an order to acquaint him with her pleasure, at a convenient time. This farce continued six or seven weeks before it was brought to an issue; in which time I was not only acquainted with the Governor, but was employed in his family, and for himself; for which, besides elegant presents, he granted me one hundred rubles *per annum*, only for my advice. At table I very frequently heard the Governor send messages, which I thought to be with the greatest sincerity; and though I could not help wondering that the court of St Petersburg intended to make so many thousand Christians subject to the orders of a heathen, yet sometimes did not scruple to hint as much to the Governor in private, though I never thought that this was any thing more than political chicane. At last, however, the Princess declared her intention of crossing the Volga, and receiving the investiture of the government. Great preparations were made; four thousand men lined the streets, forming a lane from the water-gate to the Governor's palace; the cannon were fired, bells rung, drums beat, and  
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the musick played interchangeably: She walked from the river to the palace; for she neither would go into the Governor's coach, nor mount on horseback. She had a fine presence, and was truly a stately, comely, beautiful woman. Her eyes were large, black, and had a lustre which very few can equal; and she expressed much sweetness in her countenance. In a word, though she had seen forty years, she was one of the prettiest women I ever beheld. When she went into the great hall, followed by about forty of her own principal subjects, she was seated at the head of the table, with twenty Kalmucks on each side: The Governor sat at the foot of the table, and more than a hundred officers in the garrison stood the whole time of dinner.

After dinner, the Governor rose from the table, paid his respects to the Princess, and signified a desire to speak with her in the gallery looking to the Volga. Major Cherkassoff, of whom mention will be frequently made in the course of my journey, told me what passed there, for he interpreted betwixt her and the Governor. When they entered into the gallery, which had three doors, one at each end, and one from the great hall, entering into the middle, these doors were all immediately shut, and each secured by two grenadiers with screwed bayonets. The Governor then made no secret to let her know, that



that she was his prisoner, and begged that she would not be alarmed nor terrified, because he assured her that no harm would happen either to her or her children ; but that the Empire had pledged its honour that Donduk Dashee should be created Prince of the Kalmucks after the decease of her husband ; that now it was to be put in execution. He observed to her, that if the Kalmucks who were in the great hall offered to rescue her, they would instantly be put to death. He said a great deal more : At last, when the Princess had dried up her tears, and first put him in mind of his many false promises, alledging, that the Empress never could be guilty of such baseness ; then she upbraided him, and assured him that though he might detain her, he never would get her children ; for, said she, I have left directions with the elders on the other side not to deliver them up, even if she should be forced to send orders for that purpose ; she then represented that the Kalmucks would desert the Russian protection to a man ; but added, that if he would permit her to return, she would rather try what she could do to get the leading Kalmucks to submit to the Empress's pleasure. She used many more arguments, but the most powerful were her tears, which flowed plentifully, and had that effect to make the old Governor join in chorus. The old man, weeping like a child, agreed that she should be allowed

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ed to return, if she would submit to be guarded by five hundred soldiers under the command of his son. This being agreed to, and tears dried on both sides, they again returned to the Kalmucks, who were acquainted with all that had passed, but in the gentlest manner; the Princess, hoping for better times, confirmed the whole, and desired her Kalmucks to take all in good part, assuring them that all would be well again.

The Princess repassed the river, escorted by five hundred regular troops, and a few irregular. I had heard nothing of them for several weeks, though we could see their camp daily from the walls of the city. At last, Major Tatishoff, the Governor's only son, sent a report to his father, acquainting him that the young children had made their escape, but whither he could not tell; but that the Princess still was under custody, having seized her, just as she was going to take her horse at midnight.

This was a terrible blow to the old Governor, who by his chicanry had them once in his possession, so simply to let them go; nor could he tell how to come by them, nor what excuse to make to the court, which had expressed great satisfaction at his conduct in having got possession of them.

The regiment of dragoons, all the Cossack and Tartarian horse, were transported over the Volga. They scoured the desert every  
where



where for six days, to no purpose, after having rendered both men and horses almost useless with the great fatigue. The Princess would tell nothing, but smiled at their distress. The Governor's eloquence was for once cast away: He knew not what to do; his sleep left him; and his appetite failed. He durst not offer to use her cruelly; and indeed, if he had, the consequence might have proved fatal to her, which at that time she seemed very indifferent about. At last he determined to leave the city, and encamp with her. He sent orders for two regiments of dragoons and four thousand Cossacks to march directly where he was; but whilst he lay opposite the city, a boat was intercepted bringing letters to the Princess, acquainting her that her children were in good health on the opposite side of the river, guarded by a respectable body of Kalmucks, who determined to lose every drop of their blood in their defence; but that they were farther up the river, at the distance of three hundred versts at least. Bad as these news were, the Governor was glad at this intelligence; and, to prevent, as much as possible, a junction between the Kalmucks on the east and west sides of the river, and also to prevent the children's getting to the west side, and then probably to Circassia, Tatishoff caused seize all their boats and stave them. After this he marched with his prisoner the Princess up the  
west

west side of the Volga, and permitted her to send and receive messages as often as she pleased, in company with some of his men ; by which means he was well assured that a very great number of the most resolute Kalmucks had formed a strong camp, nor were to be forced by any regular troops ; wherefore nothing remained but to try what policy, of which the Governor was a great master, would do. He permitted, as I said, any number of the Kalmucks to go from their Princess with messages to the Kalmuck army. Neither did he hinder any small number from their army, to pay their respects to the Princess ; only he obliged them to permit one or two of his interpreters to be present, that they might give him an account of whatever passed.

This affair exercised the Governor's abilities through the summer. In the month of September, about midnight, as I was going home, a message from the Vice-governor Prince Bazzetinske required my immediate attendance upon a most pressing affair. I imagined that his Lady had been taken sick, therefore drove directly to his house. The Prince had a secretary with him, and ordered him to read an order from the Governor, acquainting him, that he had been for some time taken ill of some disease ; that he had taken the advice of all the regimental surgeons in the neighbourhood, but hitherto could  
observe



observe no change for the better ; that these surgeons apprehended danger, therefore commanded the Vice-governor to send me to his assistance ; and, as he apprehended that the Commander of the fleet would make some hinderance, he ordered the Vice-governor to send me away without permitting me to acquaint the said Commander. Though I had not the smallest objection to do all in my power for the Governor's recovery, yet I told the Prince, that the regulations would find me blameable to leave the city without acquainting my principal commander; therefore I desired time to consider of it, and of proper measures to make Mrs Cook easy, who was within fourteen days of being delivered of her first child. To this he made answer, that he would take care to acquaint the port properly ; that much at that time depended upon the safety of the Governor, and consequently, in such cases, no regulation was ever considered ; that they would not fail in the morning early to send a memorial to the port to acquaint them, that they had taken me by force, which would free me from any blame whatever. He said, that whilst I was getting a few medicines from the field-apothecary, I might write to Mrs Cook, and that he and the Princess would take all the care of her possible. I followed this advice, and, having every thing in readiness, passed the Volga in a boat, mounted on horse-back, and

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arrived

arrived at the Governor's camp, distant from Astrachan three hundred and twelve versts, on the third day in the forenoon. Though horses were ready at the distance of eight or ten versts, yet it was thought to be very expeditiously performed by one not accustomed to such violent exercises.

Two accidents happened in the course of this journey, which I shall take notice of: Having rode about sixteen hours in full gallop upon Tartarian horses, I arrived at the last Tartarian stage, where the horses were not ready; the weather was very warm, and I was no doubt tired. I stretched myself on the ground, and instantly fell asleep; but in half an hour was acquainted that the horses were ready. I imagined that I could proceed no farther, scarcely a part of my body being free from stitches. A serjeant who was sent with me, begged that I would mount a very easy going horse, and move on eight miles farther, to a post where a lieutenant of dragoons commanded, who would have it in his power to give me more assistance than I had reason to expect there. I followed the serjeant's advice, and, supported on one side by the serjeant, on the other by the Tartar, I was in very great distress thus carried forwards. The lieutenant afforded me all the assistance in his power; and, as I assured him I could proceed no farther on horse-back in such distress, he sent me in his boat, with  
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a few dragoons, with orders to press boats constantly, till I was carried to the Goveruor's camp. A little before sun-set, I was brought to the first fishery, and the people were boiling sturgeon for their supper, which they do in water with a little vinegar, salt and pepper; I begged some of the broth, and drunk a large quantity as warm as I could. I laid myself down in the bottom of the boat, and fell asleep. About three or four o'clock next morning, lifting up my eyes, I saw, at a great distance upon the top of a hill, a camp, and upon enquiry was told, that a captain of dragoons commanded there. I assured the people, who were rowing very hard, that I was quite free of the stitches, and least I might be suspected to make unnecessary delay, I would take horses at that place. They told me that I no sooner had drunk the broth, than I fell into a deep sleep, and was instantly covered all over with a plentiful *diaphoresis*; they were afraid that I might have catched cold, therefore the serjeant covered me with his mantle, and the fishermen also put some of their spare cloaths under and over me. They said that they had removed me out of one boat into another four different times, of all which I was quite insensible; till at last, after a long sleep, I, without any external cause, waked quite free of pain. I no sooner arrived at this camp, than we mounted upon dragoon horses, and set forward

ward as fast as the horses could gallop. After two changes we arrived at the head quarters of the regiment, commanded by a lieutenant-colonel, a German. He no doubt was uneasy to see his fat horses sweating excessively, being taken from the grass, but very imprudently darted his anger against me, who only laughed at him, saying, that if I obeyed orders from his and my superiors, I was little concerned about the fate of the horses ; being convinced that the most merciful Empress regarded the well-being of one of her soldiers more than all the horses in the regiment, and consequently much more the Governor, upon whose safety, for any thing I knew to the contrary, probably at this time the wellfare of the kingdom of Astrachan, might depend ; and that I would set out as I came in. He was affronted at such an answer given, with no small indifference, before many of his officers and men, and therefore ordered a particular horse for me, saying at the same time, that he would exercise my talents in riding. The horse, I believe, never had been crossed by any man before this : Two dragoons brought him forward with difficulty, and, when I attempted to touch him, he struck and rose so furiously, that to mount him was altogether impossible. I therefore told the colonel, that if any thing fatal happened to me by the madness of this horse, he might repent his folly when too late ;



late ; that I was no breaker of dragoon-horses, though probably could ride as well as he. Having said this to him, I desired a stout dragoon, as I was not extremely ponderous, to lift me up and set me in the saddle, which was no sooner done, than I desired the dragoons who held him to let go ; I then, with whip and spur, directed him with very great difficulty straight into the desert. He attempted to run down the hills amongst the other horses ; but, finding he could not do that, and the whip and spurs, which I exercised briskly, prevented his rising or long pausing ; he run forwards with great rapidity, bouncing over every thing in his way. However, he began to tire, then I ventured to turn him northward, when, far distant from the banks of the Volga, and rode on still, by guess, taking my direction only by the sun, at a great rate, and at last luckily arrived safely, as he grew peaceable, to a station where a lieutenant commanded. I informed the lieutenant of his colonel's inhospitality ; and, as I had good reason to be much dissatisfied, I said, that as soon as I should arrive at the camp, I should make a regular complaint of him to the Governor ; but the lieutenant, who was a very sensible good man, disarmed me at once, and made me take a quite different resolution. He said, that the colonel, though a very good soldier, was a very strange kind of man, of no great education,

cation, extremely haughty, proud, over-bearing, and had very little humanity in his composition: He said, that he would undoubtedly have been, long ere that time, brought to a court-martial by his own officers, if they had not been prevented by the esteem they had for his wife, and pity for his young children. I say this information made me change my resolution, as soon as I reflected on the undeserved sufferings which these innocents might have been brought to by their father's imprudence. I assured the officer, that I would not mention any thing of this affair to the Governor, who, he well knew, had no manner of compassion, nor bowels of mercy, and who probably would not have failed, not only to have got him reduced, but have seized all that he might have been worth in the world. I begged of the lieutenant, that he would warn the serjeant, who belonged to their regiment, not to speak of it in the camp. I was told, that I was as yet distant between twenty and thirty versts from the General, and that about mid-way I would get a fresh horse. The serjeant not having arrived, I immediately took horse, and, in company with a dragoon who was appointed to return with the horses, set out, and arrived in the camp at least two hours before the serjeant. At my arrival, I was informed that the Governor had fallen upon a sleep, but told that it would continue no time: His son the Ma-  
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major advised me to take a little rest, to which I had no objection. When the Governor sent for me, I did not think that I had slept half an hour, though all the officers said that I had slept two, which the Governor confirmed. I found the old gentleman in a very distressed condition; however, in ten days, I got him quite recovered, and free of all danger.

About the last days of my abode in the camp the governor desired that I would pay a visit to the Princess of the Kalmucks, who, he said, had been long ago complaining, and desired that I should be sent to her; he also told that all the surgeons, who had, before I arrived, administered medicines for him, were sent to visit that Princess: But that their medicines had contributed nothing to her recovery. In company with the major, the governor's only son, I went to a very large tent, in form of a bee-hive, covered with felt, and lined with Persian silk. When I entered into the tent, the Princess was lying on a bed of down covered with silk; her face was from us. Many Kalmucks well dressed were standing with great decorum: I asked who they were, and was answered that the greatest part were priests; but that there were also some of their chiefs. Whilst we were whispering very silently, the Princess turned her face to us. The major immediately, in the most respectful manner, informed

formed her that I was the person who had recovered his father, who had sent me to her Highness. She took no manner of notice of the major; but her countenance seemed as if she was displeased with him; however she made a sign for me to come to her, and an interpreter told me so. I went forward, and by an interpreter asked some questions, but she desired that I should sit down on the bed-side; for there was no chair in the tent: I did not readily obey, but she insisted upon it, to which at last I consented. She stretched out a well formed, fair skinned arm, I felt her pulse a long while, and asked her many questions; but she gave me such answers as plainly discovered that all her complaints proceeded purely from confinement, and a distressed mind. She asked me If I knew of any medicine that could cure her? I answered that I imagined I did, but that it was not in my power, otherways she should soon be in possession of it. She earnestly asked me what it was? I replied that I believed a free serene air was the only remedy that I thought could remove the cause of her complaints. She looked stedfastly at me, for a little time, with the beautifulest black eyes that ever woman was mistress of, and suddenly turned about. I suspected that she was weeping: after she had composed herself a little, she again turned and asked

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if I would take a dish of tea : I returned her my respectful thanks, and said that I would be well satisfied with any thing she would be pleased to order : Accordingly a cup of tea was brought, but such as I never had tasted before this time. The tea, I dare say, was good, but the Kalmucks put salt and butter into it ; nevertheless I drank it, though extremely disagreeable, and soon thereafter took my leave : At which time, she desired me to come and visit her frequently, so long as I should stay in the camp ; But I told her that my most pressing business required my leaving the camp as soon as was possible ; else nothing could have been more agreeable to me than to obey her commands. And thus we parted. I made what haste I could in order to decant the disagreeable tea I had taken. Whilst the Major was like to have died with laughing at me, he afterwards said that she had treated him in the same manner ; but now that she neither would desire him to eat or drink any thing : The Major never would confess, but I suspect that he had affronted her grossly.

When I came to the governor I acquainted him with all that had passed, every word of which his son heard : Upon which the governor ordered the guards about this unfortunate Princess to be strengthened with additional numbers, sent his compliments to

her, telling her at the same time, that her Highness should command at all times his coach for an airing as often as she pleased, providing a considerable body of dragoons escorted her: But she would not accept of this offer.

I surely never could pity any person more than this unfortunate Princess, and had any way been in my power, she should not have been long a prisoner, but all I could do was to sympathize with her. If I had staid much longer in the camp, I was resolved never to go to her again, for fear I had been suspected of advising her, which, by the bye, she did not stand in need of; for she was so extremely clever, that the governor was every night afraid that she would have made her escape some way or other, notwithstanding all the guards he kept about her; which if she had done, could not have failed to bring him to great distress and danger. It is generally observed that honest people, purely from principle, who have been most serviceable to distressed state prisoners have either suffered with them, or ever after have been looked upon with a jealous eye.

The Governor being now restored to his health, and it being near fourteen days since I left Astrachan, the time being near that I expected my wife was to be delivered of her first child; for these reasons I entreated that the Governor would let me return: After  
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one day's sollicitation at last he was prevailed upon to let me go, and not only so, but obliged his son to send me by post in his coach attended by his servants: For I had none with me; and he made me a very handsome present of ducats for the care I had taken of him. Thus equipped, I set out and in about forty eight hours was on the banks of the Volga opposite Astrachan. At parting, he said, that the commander of the fleet at Astrachan had acted very childishly, that he had insulted the government of Astrachan for not sending me to take care of his health; but, says he, tell him from me, that the cabinet is made already acquainted with his presumption, and that when I shall arrive, I'll send him to St Petersburg to answer for his folly: I received this message without designing to speak of it to any; though, at last, I was in a manner forced.

When I arrived at the lieutenant colonel's camp, at twelve o'clock at night, he came out of his tent and desired that I would rest a little till horses could be got ready, and that his lady desired the same. I went and paid my respects to her, who thanked me for not accusing the colonel. I answered that that had proceeded purely on her and her children's account, at which the colonel was not a little affronted: But I hesitated not to let him know that so long as I served the Empire honourably, I was determined

mined to take ill usage of no subject. We parted very good friends.

At my arrival in Astrachan, I was informed that my wife was delivered of a son about half an hour before my arrival. She was in a most dangerous way, having been three days in hard labour, by the unskilfulness of her midwife, and happy it was that I arrived at that very time for her safety. According to the regulations, I immediately sent a written report of my arrival to the port, and next morning received an order to attend the supreme commander at the admiralty about government affairs. Now I could perceive that mischief was abroad, yet as I had been guilty of no irregularity, I resolved to meet the worst with unshaken steadiness, but at the same time, to keep free from anger. This great man was only a lieutenant of the fleet, he understood such naval affairs that were in use for a port, and his whole learning consisted in that, for which reason he was appointed to this post. For in Russia, a man may preside at a board, and the orders from such a board are good and must be obeyed by seniors; because such orders are always issued out by order of the Empress, and agreeable to the regulations, by the appointment of the board. As there were many gentlemen at Astrachan of the same rank with himself, he employed much of his time, and expences in giving  
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entertainments, to convince his colleagues, and those under command, of what real importance he was to the government. He was very affable when there was little need of it: But, when he durst, carried command with a high hand. He was extremely devout and religious, upon all occasions, good policy in Russia, but particularly when drunk, which was not seldom. His name was Affonacy Mihaelovitch Garreinoff. He was extremely fat, which almost prevented him walking, had a large broad face with extremely small eyes, sunk deep amongst the fat, a great neck, and prominent belly like a woman at the hour of delivery. Such was his figure, and such was the man who then commanded the port, and who had summoned me to make my appearance against such an hour at his levee. At the same time, he had caused assemble all the sea officers in Astrachan, no doubt to witness his greatness, authority, and regularity. At my entry into the room after mutual salutations, he welcomed my return, acknowledged that he had received my report from the governor's camp, but said very much about my going out of the city without his permission, in what manner I had acted contrary to the regulations, how highly criminal and punishable such a step was. His discourse was long, very sarcastical; but ended with telling me, that according to the regulations,

regulations, he ought immediately to take my sword from me, and keep me a prisoner in my own house till tried by a court-martial, but that considering I was a foreigner, I could not be expected to know the regulations exactly, &c. He passed me for this once, hoping and expecting that I should take care not to commit the like again. I made answer in few words that I had endeavoured, from the first beginning of my service, to transact all my affairs agreeable to the very spirit of the regulations, that upon such urgent necessity I was hurried away without being allowed time to acquaint him, or visit my wife, the truth of which he very well knew: That I did not go to visit enemies, but him who had the supreme command of the kingdom, and whom her Majesty had trusted, and honoured to represent her Royal Person amongst us, that had I resisted such orders upon so very pressing occasion, I might have justly suffered, at least in character, and ever after been treated by all judicious men as an obstinate fool, since I might well consider, that upon his safety, the peace and well being of this kingdom, especially in such dangerous times from the Persians and Kalmucks, might much depend. Finally, that though he had not used all the formalities, I imagined he had called me at this time to wait upon him, and hear his outrageous insults before all the officers in  
Astrachan



Astrachan, with no other view but to frighten and insult me, but observed, that, though I neither cared, nor was, by the regulations, permitted to say any thing to him, which might reflect dishonour upon a commander in chief, yet that, if he thought proper, I would not take it amiss that he put me under arrest, and try me by a court-martial, who, I had not the smallest doubt, would acquit me honourably. Lastly, I told him, that I should take care that her Imperial Majesty should be made acquainted with the whole procedure. When I had finished what I intended to say in public, I desired to speak with him in private, and then told him what the Governor had communicated to me at parting, and said, that I suspected his threats would be put in severe execution. This intelligence struck him like lightning. He lowered his sails very suddenly, and would not part with me till firm peace was concluded by a dinner and too much drink.

Next day I had another message to appear in the admiralty, about affairs of consequence. This summons seemed to be more serious than the first ; however, I was resolved and determined to insist upon all my privileges, or else, as many of our officers were obliged, for their ill judged desire of peace, to submit to his folly : I must ever after submit to be obsequious to the pleasure of a very fluctuating ignorant man. When

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I was passing through the secretary's chamber into the office where the commander was, with all the officers waiting my coming, the secretary desired me to sign a paper, which, by the commander's direction, he made out: I took this paper, read it over carefully, then tore it, and said, that I was determined to sign no paper but such as I dictated, and went into the office, whither the secretary also came, and acquainted the commander with what I had said and done, all which I affirmed was true, nor did I value the consequence. After many altercations, and much time lost in childish wranglings, peace was again concluded. The Vice-governor wanted much to know what passed in the admiralty, and the admiralty wanted as much to know what was said or done by the government people; but, for the sake of peace, I kept both in ignorance.

At last, the Governor, by his intrigues, had again obtained possession of the Princess of the Kalmuck's children, and, having conveyed them with a strong guard to Moscow, returned to Astrachan, when he brought with him a royal mandate from the cabinet, signed by the Empress, commanding that the admiralty in Astrachan should ever after be obedient to the directions of the governors in all civil affairs, and in every thing, except purely what belonged to shipping, of which, it was reasonably presumed, they could be no judges.



judges. This was indeed a very great blow, and I was as sorry for it as any belonging to the admiralty; though ever so innocent, I was blamed as the cause: But every one may easily perceive that it proceeded purely from the ill-concerted and ill-timed stubbornness of our commander.

Before I finish this chapter, I must acquaint the reader, that I was informed, that the Princess of the Kalmucks and her children were treated with all politeness, and as illustrious personages, at Moscow: And that when the Empress arrived in that city, she deigned to pay them a visit, and was so fond of them that she gave them very great possessions to enable them to live in a princely manner. The Princess and her children took such liking to the Empress, that they all were baptized, and the Empress stood god-mother.

As I was at a great distance from the seat of the Swedish war, I shall not treat of it minutely, but give a general account of the incredible success of the Russian arms, as I was informed. Early Marshal Lacy and General Keith, two soldiers who never turned their backs upon any number, marched with the Russian army through Finland, rather like a great company of hunters than any thing else. They, with no great trouble, broke through all opposition, took all the Swedish batteries and out-posts, till they arrived at  
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Fredericksham, making prisoners of all who fell not in making their feeble resistance. At Fredericksham the Russian army doubted not that a very formidable stand would have been made ; but, before measures had been taken to invest properly that strong place, in the night, between the 28th and 29th of June, it was set on fire by the Swedes, which burnt up very considerable magazines of provision, forage, and gun-powder, with all the houses. As the Russians did not endeavour to save the place, nothing was left but the cannon ; and indeed it would have been very imprudent to have risked the lives of such brave troops, because the bursting of many hundred charged bombs made it inaccessible, without madly exposing the troops to certain death.

After this success, the Russians passed the Keymen, and with care drove the fugitive Swedes before them ; they halted not till they approached Helsingfors, to which place they pursued the Swedes, who burnt all their own villages and hamlets, to render the march of the Russians as troublesome as was possible ; but at Helsingfors, it was said, they made their only resistance this year's campaign, and that very feeble ; for though they were well fortified both by nature and art, the whole Swedish army were obliged in the month of August to capitulate, the tenor of which was in general, That, on the 25th of August, the Russians took possession of all  
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the Swedish ports, and also were put in possession of all their grand magazines and warlike stores, provisions of all kinds, and forage. They permitted the Swedish army to retire into Sweden with their small arms; but the Finland soldiers laid down their arms, and took their oaths of fidelity to the Empire of Russia. *The number of Finlanders who were disarmed, were upwards of seven thousand men.* All the Swedish artillery was sent to St Petersburg: It was affirmed that between fifty and sixty brass cannon were exposed before the Empress in St Petersburg. The victorious army remained in Finland during the winter, to be ready against the next season, in case peace was not concluded. Nothing worth relating was performed by the fleets on either side, except seizing a merchant ship from London to St Petersburg, and carrying the crew and two of my brothers (the one a merchant in St Petersburg, and the other a youth of about sixteen years of age, coming to me for his education, the same who was killed at the Moro, formerly taken notice of) into Gottenburgh, and detaining them there two or three weeks, till orders were brought for their being honourably released, and all their damages made good; and at the same time, for punishing the foolish captain who seized them, by ordaining him to work in the copper-mines for six months.

## C H A P. VIII.

*Concerning what happened on the Borders of Persia by Kouli Khan.*

THE summer was not far advanced, when Lieutenant-general Tarakanoff was dispatched with three regiments to Kizlaar, to accept of a proposed friendship and fidelity from many of the Circassian, Georgian, and the rest of the Dagestan Tartar chiefs, and also to observe the motions of Kouli Khan, upon whose honour little trust was to be put. Tarakanoff having finished his commission, did not stay long at Kizlaar; but having left instructions with the commandant of Kizlaar, returned soon into Russia.

The Georgian Prince, general of artillery, accompanied by many of his natives, properly his subjects, arrived in Astrachan, where he waited all this summer, in expectation that war would have been declared against the Persians. Indeed, with us every thing looked very much that way. In Astrachan, amongst the great, every thing was transacted with such secrecy, that nothing from them was to be known; but amongst the officers of the regiments it was said, that a very considerable army of regulars were on their march for Astrachan. I doubt not that such reports,



reports, and the troublesome Dagestans, who, at different times, cut off the flower of Kouli Khan's army, hindered that barbarian from falling upon the city of Kizlaar, and borders of Russia ; for he advanced as far as Targu, where his army, starving, having very scanty allowance of provisions, was day and night, almost constantly assaulted by small bodies of these brave highlanders ; and at last, in no small confusion, with the loss of the greatest part of his artillery, was obliged to retire to a castle he had built, as a bridle upon Usmei, a Dagestan potent prince. But I shall confine myself here only to what properly belongs to Astrachan, referring an account of Kouli Khan, his transactions, and particularly with the brave Dagestans and Lesgees, to a proper place in my travels through that country.

The first thing which happened at St Petersburg this year, was the bringing of the state prisoners, formerly mentioned, to the scaffold, where they all had their lives granted. Count Osterman placed his neck upon the block, as he was ordered ; but when mercy was declared to him, he was so far gone, that it was thought he would not recover. The rest were said to be very anxious about the consequences of death : But it is very remarkable, that Count Muinich (who was the next to Osterman, brought to the stage, covered with saw-dust, as if Osterman had suffered)

ferred) was dressed in a decent clean manner, and whilst the orders were reading, declaring his crimes and manner of execution, he was amusing himself by observing the regularity of the guards, who, under his command, had lately so singularly beaten the Turks. It is a custom in Russia, that, when the Imperial decree is reading, every one present is obliged, let the cold be ever so great, to be uncovered. The Field-marshal, it seems, did not observe that ceremony, of which indifference the general of police took notice, desiring him to be uncovered; to which he very indifferently made answer, that the Empress required his head, but not his cap. It was said, that, when he was ordered to lay his neck upon the block, he did it with the same indifference, and it was declared that her Majesty was pleased to grant his life, and banish him to Pelym. He not only was permitted to take his chaplain with him at the Empress's expence, but was allowed from the crown a ruble *per* day, enough for the support of his family in that plentiful country. I was assured that sometime after he had been there, not being accustomed to live without action, he formed and dressed, with his own hands, a very beautiful garden; but, this not being sufficient for his amusement, he begged, and obtained liberty to form a military school, by which means the youth in Siberia were rendered very



ry expert soldiers. He was in a bad state of health when he was sent into Siberia, but recovered so well, that he was recalled to St Petersburg after the death of the Empress Elisabeth, and was, as the news-papers informed us, constituted judge of the tournament lately exhibited in St Petersburg. I never heard any thing remarkable about the rest, wherefore I shall say no more about them, only that the old Count Osterman died on the way to banishment.

Mr Malloch my countryman died this summer, and I was ordered to officiate for him by the garrison and field-hospitals till another was appointed in his place. This additional employment was extremely fatiguing to me ; but I did not care to refuse it, being sensible of the necessity. The Duke of Holstein arrived in St Petersburg on the 5th of February. On the 21st instant his birth-day was celebrated for the first time in St Petersburg, being then fifteen years of age. The Empress his aunt made him many rich presents ; and she made no secret in declaring that she intended to make him her heir to the Empire ; but that could not be done legally until he had publicly embraced the Greek religion. On the 25th April the Empress was crowned with great solemnity. Upon this occasion, the Duke of Holstein had the honours paid him due to the Grand Duke of Russia ; and, at the same time

time, it was recommended to him to take instructions from the bishops of Rezan and Novogorod, that he might be soon prepared to profess the Greek religion, and be publicly qualified to enjoy all the actual honours and immunities belonging to the Grand Duke of Russia, which happened on the 7th November at Moscow, where he was publicly rebaptized in the Greek religion, by the name of Peter Feodorovitch, and by his aunt declared her nearest relation, and the only lawful heir to the crown of Russia. An instrument was made out, declaring him Grand Duke, and requiring that all persons should give him the title of Imperial Highness. He was also declared to be Protector and Prince of all the foreigners, and had many very grand presents made him by the Empress. I was told, that, upon this occasion, the priests did not cause the Grand Duke go through this ceremony so rigorously as they do to other people. I never saw the ceremony performed, although I might have gratified my curiosity in Astrachan, as shall be related; but I have been assured, that they are not satisfied with a person's publicly renouncing his former tenets, for love of the Greek, but they insist upon his expressing, in a very gross manner, his detestation of his former religion, and declaring that he firmly believed that his parents, and every one professing that religion, to be in a state of damnation, and to  
make



make his detestation appear greatly disagreeable, he spits three times, and finishes the farce by sealing all up with taking the sacrament.

Soon after the Grand Duke was rebaptized, the Empress took great pains to gain proselytes, and bribed, especially Christians, very high. An Imperial decree was published, declaring that, as an encouragement to all foreigners in her service, her Imperial Majesty was graciously pleased to grant great possessions of villages; and also, to every one who shall voluntarily profess the Greek religion, that she would cause advance him a rank higher than the one he then held in the army or fleet. At this time, our Governor, who only made a superficial profession of the Greek religion, laughing publicly at all the other sects of Christians, recommended it strongly to me to be rebaptized, pointing out all the advantages I should receive; and went so far as to insure me, that the Empress and the Grand Duke would honour the ceremony with their presence as sponsors. I answered in very few words, that I truly could make no comparison between the reformed religion which I professed, and the Greek; that I thought I was convinced of very many absurdities and incredibilities in the Greek; that if at any time I might have reason to impugn any part of the belief of the reformed, I should run

no risk in so doing ; but that if I professed the Greek, I should be obliged, every time I thought of it, to consider myself absolutely a liar, and a fellow abandoned to all that was bad, for not only acting contrary to the principles of my own understanding, but in decoying, deceiving, and, contrary to all principles of honour, bringing up my young family in a way so contrary to my own knowledge ; and lastly, of making them, (who derived liberty naturally from me and their mother, being both British) slaves to Russia. These thoughts, I told him, were so very contrary to my way of thinking, that I would sooner see every one of them who were already born, or after this might spring from me, dead, than bear the thoughts that they, or their children, would cast reflexions on my memory for having, so much like a fool, surrendered up their liberty. Lastly, I did not scruple to declare, that I looked upon all foreigners, to be either absolutely infamous, void of all honour, or else extremely ignorant, and foolish to act in such a way : That I was positive it would not appear compatible to reasonable men to think that a man who would so basely forfeit his honour, could ever prove a true subject either to the Empress or Empire. The Governor, however, was very frequently, most disagreeable to me, plaguing me with his desires of having me profess the Greek religion ;

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notwithstanding, I scrupled not to tell him, that many people believed, that though he himself professed the Greek religion publicly, yet laughed at it in secret; and that, his great knowledge in men and things, rendered such reports very credible. He was so far from being angry at the news I told him, that he could not conceal his satisfaction by a smile, and observed, that he doubted not there were good and bad in all the sects of Christians; that, for his part, as a good subject, he would find no fault with any part of the Greek religion, however absurd it might appear to himself, for fear of giving grounds for causing schisms. He said, that what was reasonable he would give credit to, and what was otherways he would overlook, without publicly professing any detestation. Mr Tatishoff was one of the learnedest men in the Empire of Russia, tho' he never had an academical education: He had studied all the liberal arts and sciences, and understood them all well. If he had had a right notion of honour and morality, he would have certainly proved a very extraordinary man; but the want of these qualifications rendered great part of his learning only useful to him in detecting other people's crimes, and defending himself from the inquest of others, as will be taken notice of in due time. He admired Leibnetz, Locke, Bacon, Sir Isaac Newton, the Spectator, and  
many

many other learned authors. He corresponded with the bishop of Upsal, and the most learned men in Europe ; but still he tarnished all these qualifications by a very base, sordid, cruel practice of sticking at nothing to gratify his avarice, and acquire wealth.

## C H A P. IX.

*Concerning what happened in Russia, and the Confines of Astrachan, in the Year 1743, and first of the Persians.*

**I** Observed last year, that Kouli Khan had retreated to his castle not far from the north side of Derbent, in order to bridle the potent Dagestan Prince Usine: He, however, having reinforced his army, made early this year a sudden attempt upon the borders of Circassia, of which the Governor of Astrachan having been made acquainted, sent orders for a few troops who were in Tzaritzin to march for Astrachan immediately, notwithstanding it was in the time of the strongest frost. In January the remains of three regiments arrived, having lost some hundreds that were frozen to death. They also brought with them between five and six hundred frozen, of which number I was obliged to amputate the arms and legs of seventy-five the first week, exclusive of fingers and  
toes,



toes, of which little notice was taken. As soon as the healthy men had rested a few days in Astrachan, fifteen hundred received orders to march to Kizlaar with four thousand Cossacks to join about five hundred troops who garrisoned that castle, and the irregular forces, inhabitants of that country. Kouli Khan was known to be deceitful, dishonourable, a man in whom no trust was to be put; bold, intrepid, and incomparably politic. The Governor of Astrachan fitted him exactly; for tho' he was no general, yet he did not want the qualifications of a good politician and counsellor, where his interest did not blind his reason. Every thing was in readiness to destroy the ice about Astrachan to render the Volga impassible, and the whole city was in a great ferment; notwithstanding, he took all the care he could for the preservation of the city, and, (knowing well that if he should alarm Kouli Khan, it would have a better effect than any feeble resistance he could make with the small number of troops he then had in Astrachan) ordered a lieutenant and two trumpets upon the river Agrachan, which forms the borders on the south side of Andreofské Dereвна, or village. The lieutenant went upon the north side of Agrachan, opposite the Persian camp, and caused the trumpets to blow; then, in a formal manner, declared war, in the Empress's name, against the

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Shach and Empire of Persia, if the Sophi should pass in a hostile manner that river, which had been acknowledged the limits between the two Empires. The Persians, alarmed at what they saw and heard, soon made their Shach acquainted with what had happened, who sent to desire the lieutenant to approach his tent, and demanded to know what was the reason of blowing his trumpets, and reading the paper. The lieutenant answered him, that as he was an officer in the Russian regular army, according to his office and duty, by order of the Governor of Astrachan, who was authorized by the Empress, he had made a formal declaration of war against his Majesty and the Empire of Persia, if his Majesty's troops passed over that river, the well known boundary of the two Empires, in a hostile manner: He said, he doubted not that his Majesty would approve of his having done his duty as became the honour of an officer. The frankness, openness, and ease with which the lieutenant made this short declaration, and his determined look, manly figure and deportment, gained the esteem of the Shach. Kouli Khan asked him many questions about the number of regular and irregular troops that were already assembled in the kingdom of Astrachan; to which the lieutenant gave answers according to his instructions, and told him, at the same time, that sixty thousand regulars were in full march upon



upon the borders of that kingdom for the city of Astrachan ; that he was assured these sixty thousand were destined to be sent by sea to the Persian provinces on the south of the Caspian, in case a war should prove inevitable ; because, said he, that there were already troops enough to defend the kingdom of Astrachan against any number of enemies ; especially considering that provisions of all kinds were laid up in magazines, and consequently no foreign army could subsist any time without they had provisions from their own country. The Shach then questioned him about the progress of the Swedish war ; to which the lieutenant made answer, that the Swedes, having lost more than the half of their veteran army, either killed or prisoners in Russia, and almost the whole great province of Finland, were suing for peace, and many of the greatest potentates of Europe were assisting to get the Empress persuaded to grant a peace ; therefore he doubted not that peace would be proclaimed soon : But he assured the Shach, that that war was of no bad consequences to the Russians, as they never could run the least risk of danger from such impotent enemies ; but added, that it served to train their men, as the Swedes were justly esteemed very regular gallant troops.

The Shach having satisfied his curiosity, as far as he judged necessary, commended the officer,

officer, made him a very considerable present in money, and told him that he had no design against the Empire of Russia : That he had marched his army so far north in hopes of being furnished with provisions for ready money from the inhabitants of Circassia : But finding that Circassia was in no condition to provide for so great numbers of troops, he was resolved to return southwards, and take another opportunity of punishing the Degastan Tartars, who had so audaciously rebelled against him ; though, by the bye, they were so far from imagining that they could be deemed rebels, that they defied the Shach to shew an instance that a majority of them had ever acknowledged any subjection to the Empire of Persia ; nay, last year it is certain that many of their Princes, at their own desire, were taken under the protection of Russia. The lieutenant, having ended his commission, received letters from Major Chan the Shach's Grand Visier to the government of Astrachan, and at the same time sent off couriers to his ambassador at St Petersburg to acquaint all concerned of the Shach's peaceable disposition, and intreat the Empress to give orders for her Governor in Astrachan to send two or three ships loaded with meal for the support of his army at Derbent, whither he proceeded in all haste, as they were almost starved with hunger and frozen



zen to death with cold in that barren country.

Many said, and it is not altogether improbable, that this plan of the Shach's marching suddenly down to Agrachan, and of the declaration, as has been above taken notice of, was privately agreed upon betwixt the Shach and the Governor, to give a pretence for sending off some provisions for the relief of his army, in order so easily to be quit of, and remove to a great distance, so turbulent a neighbour; for the lieutenant no sooner arrived in Astrachan than the Governor, altogether contrary to the advice of his counsel, gave orders for one great ship to load immediately provisions for Derbent. He sent off a courier to the cabinet, acquainting them of all he had done, and representing, in his own way, the necessity of taking upon himself to act in this manner, in order so easily to get quit of so formidable and faithless an enemy, and demanded, that, what he had already been obliged to do, from pure necessity, as he alleged, might be approved of by the cabinet: And, as he was privy counsellor, he humbly offered his advice, that he might have an imperial order sent him, commanding him to send two or three ships more, to enable the Shach to remove his army farther still from the borders of Astrachan: Observing that he, the Governor would take care,

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that the Shach should never have any great store of provision at one time, but be kept at very short allowance ; and also that if he the Shach did not begin to march his troops soon ; in that case to order him to withdraw all assistance. He observed that it would be a means to get rid of a most dangerous potentate, and at the same time, it could not fail to enrich the Russian merchants in Astrachan. Thus gilded, the pill was greedily swallowed by the cabinet. A flaming order was brought, commending and approving of every thing Tatishoff had done, and granting all his demands ; giving him still a power to act, upon the most pressing necessity, according to the dictates of his reason : But that, whatever he did, he ought, without loss of time, to make known to the cabinet, subscribed by himself and the other great officers belonging to the government of Astrachan. The Governor having got all that he desired, exulted greatly, esteeming every one in the government little else than so many useless men.

I imagine that four or five ships loaded, only with coarse meal of wheat, a sack of which, in Astrachan, was to be bought for three shillings and nine pence Sterling, or eighty copeaks Russ, and in Derbent, the merchant received ready cash twenty five and twenty six rubles *per* sack : This was a very extraordinary profit, by which many  
poor



poor merchants gained very great fortunes: Although it was commonly believed that the Governor alone got the half of all the merchants profits, besides some unknown presents, probably not inconsiderable from the Shach. One evening late, I went into his room to enquire about his health, and found him giving directions to his servants to fill or pack a small chest with quilted pieces of felt, every one of which was very heavy, and as large as the bottom of the chest. The chest being filled full, was made fast, sealed, and directed to his daughter in Moscow, and when it was removed into the sledge, two very able men found difficulty to carry it. These transactions were done so openly, that I, not then acquainted with that part of the Great Peter's regulations, desired one of the principal merchants to take a small sum of spare money I had, to buy meal to be sent for my interest to the Persian camp; but was answered, that it was greatly against the regulations for any officer to trade, and highly punishable: I observed to him the Governor's practice, which he seemed to make no secret of: He said, that the time might come when he the Governor might repent that; altho' for the present, he might escape: However that time never happened. I shall make an end of this chapter by acquainting the reader that Kouli Khan or the Shach repassed south between the seas and mountains

tains towards the Mogan defart before winter came on, having done much harm to bleeding Persia, especially the provinces I have been in, without making any solid or real acquisition, at the great expence of more than eighty thousand of his own troops, concerning whom I shall say no more at present ; referring what I have to say to a more proper opportunity, when I shall give a brief account of the most material transactions of this wonderful man !

### C H A P.    X.

*Concerning the Operations of the Swedish War  
and of the Peace concluded this Year.*

**T**HE first operation which we had notice of this year was the taking of the island of Aland from the Swedes, and their taking of it again from the Russians. The truth is, that this island was left without any soldiers to defend it, and consequently easily taken with a small number of men, nor did the Swedes offer any resistance, wisely considering that opposition would have been the cause, possibly, of their utter destruction, without the smallest advantage to their native country : However, the Swedes sent a superior force, and without much difficulty regained Aland. The Swedish army lay  
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encamped on the other side of the gulph, and many provision-vessels for the support of that army lay in a gulf, or rather small bay. General Keith then commanded the Russian army. The Russian fleet was not as yet arrived, and consequently the army could do little, as they had no vessels either to protect or escort them. Every person knows that this Aland lies in the mouth of the great Bothnick gulf, and therefore would have been of considerable advantage to the Russians, had they kept possession of it, for keeping their magazines, and safety for their transports, if the war had been carried on with vigour this year; but both the Russians and Swedes expected that peace would be soon agreed to; and therefore, it is very probable, that the Russians did not prosecute the war with all their wonted vigour, especially as a congress was sitting at Abo, and many of the most potent northern princes had sent their ministers to Abo to assist at this congress, in order to get a peace concluded, as much to the satisfaction of both nations as the nature of things could admit of: From all which, and from what I have been told, viz. That Aland was conquered only by a few irregular troops, and therefore was the sooner re-taken by the Swedish regular troops; for General Keith was, with his army, on the west of Abo, and consequently at too great distance to protect any petty advantage

vantage the irregular Russian troops might take of the enemy. This descent was altogether unknown to that general, till all was effected; for the irregulars very frequently, for the love of plunder and forage, make wide extended sallies, altogether unknown to the chief commander; and altho' they are often reprov'd, and sometimes punished, yet, in the main, the generals wink at it for many reasons.

They have orders so to do, chiefly for these following reasons: All the irregular troops are either Cossacks, Kalmucks, or other Tartars, who border on Turkey, Persia, and other principalities, and consequently a wise government never will attempt to treat such men with rigour, for fear of a revolt. The Cossacks acknowledge subjection to the Empire of Russia, and are Christians; but at the same time, live chiefly by their own laws, and insist upon their liberties, which the rest of the subjects of Russia know nothing of. The Kalmucks acknowledge no subjection, but only live under the protection of Russia. They are barbarous to a great degree, but yet they must be treated with great lenity; for, if they do not incline to leave their own country, the whole force of Russia is not able to oblige them, nor even their prince, unless with the approbation of their seniors, of which there are a great number, some of which are lords over five or six thousand fighting



fighting men ; with whom the Khan dare not differ, unless he is certain of a very great majority. The other Tartars are some of them declared subjects of Russia, but under subjection of their Murzas, and others only acknowledge protection, but deny any manner of subjection. For these, and many other reasons, the Russian generals are obliged to behave with great prudence to these wild people, whom they never punish except for crimes, which are acknowledged to be such by their own chiefs.

The Swedes had, as I was well informed, a very respectable body of men, strongly encamped near Helsingfors, protected on the sea side by two very large praams and other vessels, as well as transports, in a bay defended by an island. They were so strongly fortified, that the Russians did not think proper to attack their camp, but fortified themselves, and approached very circumspectly. The Swedes were plentifully supplied with all manner of provisions, brought by sea into a small bay on the right of the Swedish army. Many transports lay loaded in this bay, defended by two large praams, (such vessels were described formerly) the largest mounting one hundred pieces of cannon. Count Lacy had returned to St Petersburg, leaving the command of the army to his honoured friend General Keith. A congress was at that time sitting in Abo not far distant,

stant, and General Romantzoff was the principal commissioner from Russia. When they little expected any news, they were alarmed with a dreadful cannonading, and not knowing the cause, couriers being dispatched from both sides, all the accounts Romantzoff could get was only, that it was some scheme of General Keith's; but they could learn, at that time, nothing else. At this General Romantzoff expressed great satisfaction, and said to the Swedish commissioners, that if they would not instantly implicitly agree to his proposals, he then would be at liberty to change his moderate demands; at the same time, telling them, that he was morally certain that the scheme of General Keith's would turn out to the glory of the Russian arms; for, said he, Keith's schemes never failed of success. This was the honourable opinion one general in chief had of another! The noise of cannon lasted not long, till all was quiet, and then they were informed that General Keith observing that it would be impossible to proceed farther, without great blood-shed, until they could become masters of this bay, sent orders to the commander of the Russian gallies, that next morning, by the break of day, he should order two or three of the gallies to advance into a small gut of deep water, and there remain till farther orders: The commander returned answer, that the general's orders were impracticable; but the



the general sent a second order, and strengthened it, by letting him know, that if he made any objections to his second order, his second in command had his positive orders to put him under confinement, to be tried by a court-martial, if, with great circumspection and secrecy, he obeyed not the orders upon which the safety of the whole army might depend. The general had ordered proper vessels to be loaded with such things as were necessary for the execution of his project in some covered creek, altogether out of view of the Swedes: and, when it turned dark, he delivered the command of the army, with proper instructions, to his second in command, and went on board the aforesaid transports, which he directed to be rowed to the island with the greatest secrecy. The island lay in the mouth of the bay; on the one side it was very deep water, fit to swim any vessel, but impassible on the other, even by boats. The praams were stationed as batteries to hinder any ship of war from getting into the bay: But the Swedes had never fortified the island, believing the praams sufficient to scour the whole island, which was covered over with coppices and reeds. The general not only landed on this island a sufficient number of cannon and other warlike instruments and ammunition, but raised a good battery in the night time, upon which the success of his project depended.

Next morning, the Swedes observed some of the Russian gallies to row, directing their course towards this island, and not knowing what intention they might have, they caused both the praams to warp into the before-mentioned deep passage, either to prevent their passage into the bay, or their landing on the island. The largest praam, called the *Hercules*, suspecting no danger, took her station opposite to the Russian hidden battery, at a very inconsiderable distance from it, and, when they were making dispositions to prevent the operations of the Russian gallies, the battery fired upon them most unexpectedly, suddenly covering the *Hercules* with hand-granadoes and small bombs, which presently put an end to their fighting; and scarcely had the Russian granadoes done all their execution, when a body of brave men made themselves masters of this praam, which very soon silenced the other; upon which all the transports in the bay became a prize to the Russians. The want of provisions, no prospect of supplies getting to them, and an impossibility of retreating, forced them to capitulate, by which they obliged themselves to evacuate, in a limited time, the province of Finland; but the preliminaries of the peace were ratified at this time, which put an end to the war, and it was hastened by Mr Keith's masterly and decisive operations.

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By this peace the Russians obtained all the Finland territories east of the gut or river Keymene, and this was declared to be an eternal peace and friendship between the Russian and Swedish nations ; in consequence of which Prince Adolph Frederick administrator of Holstein and Bishop of Lubeck, was declared successor to the crown of Sweden. The plenipotentiaries signed this peace on the 16th day of June, and having been approved of by the states of Sweden, it was proclaimed in Stockholm on the 20th same month. Though it caused an universal joy to the more sensible men in Sweden, yet the wild barbarous Dalarlians raised some disturbance in Stockholm ; for a body of between four and five thousand of them assembled, and, having approached near the city, the King went himself to them, and, in the most friendly manner, advised them to return into their own country, which they promised to do ; yet no sooner was the King returned to his palace, than, in a very rude manner, they entered Stockholm, and seized upon six pieces of cannon ; and, at last, their boldness grew to such height, that they fired upon, wounded, and killed some of the King's men. Notwithstanding all this, the good old King, hoping to save the lives of many of his subjects, sent to them, and used all friendly means to get them to return to their duty ; but at last, seeing every attempt fail-

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ed, the King ordered his guards to march against them, and still unwilling to do great execution, only, as was said, one piece of cannon being fired amongst them, killed 40 and wounded many. This had the desired effect; they threw down their arms, and called out for mercy; however, three or four hundred were taken into custody to be tried for their optrages.

On the 16th July, Lieutenant-general Bodenbrock was beheaded; but Count Lowenhopt suffered only on the 30th of that month, occasioned by the nobility's using all their interest for his pardon, and in the meanwhile his making his escape out of prison; but he was unfortunately taken by some brutal captain, just as he was going on board a ship, cloathed in a sailor's dress; and notwithstanding, it was said, that the whole body of nobility, and privately the King, used their utmost interest and policy to get him saved, this could not be effected, as it was opposed by the clergy and peasants.



## C H A P. XI.

*Concerning the different Affairs and Anecdotes  
which happened during the Course of the  
Year 1743.*

THE first thing worth observing this year is a memorable edict, ordering all general officers to pay twenty *per cent.* of their salaries, and those of the medical faculty fifteen *per cent.* The generals paid it, and I had no objection. I do not know how it could happen so generally, but so it really did happen, that the greatest part of the physicians and surgeons, not jointly, but separately, petitioned their chancery, imploring the Empress's lenity, representing the hardships which they had suffered through the war, their being foreigners, and the distress it would cause them who had families to provide for, to pay such imposition, which only was incumbent upon the natives of Russia, and the most wealthy. This had the effect; for every one belonging to the Russian service, whether in the army or in the fleet, did pay their appointed proportion, except those belonging to the faculty; for which thanks were due to Count Lestois, who effectually represented the hardships put upon that respectable body of men under his directions.

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The royal family, who were kept in custody at Riga in Livonia, to which city they were sent, after having been captivated by the Empress Elifabeth, were very unfortunate this year ; for, in the month of January, they being at that time confined in the citadel of Riga, but not close, nor rigorously looked after, three hundred of the guards were the troops who were appointed to take care of them, it seems Prince Ernest Ulrick began to be uneasy under his confinement. It was said, that he had expressed himself to his Princess in the most pathetic manner, proposing to make his escape, with hopes soon to relieve her and her young family, to which she would not agree, rather chusing death than a separation from him. Determined however, he dressed himself, unknown to her, in women's cloaths, passed the guards without suspicion, and walked towards the wall next the river, which is not high. (A description of this city will be given afterwards, when I relate my travels in these countries.) He had scarcely reached the place where he designed to get over, when he was overtaken and seized by the guards, who had the only information of his escape from his own Princess, who, as was already said, could not think of living without his company.

The commander of the guards, not knowing how to behave with such illustrious prisoners,



soners, applied to Field-marshal Count Lacy for directions, who sent them all to the strong castle called Dunamunde, situated in the mouth of the river Dwina, and ought properly, according to the meaning of the Germans, who gave it this name, to be called Dwina-mundt or mouth. In this castle this illustrious and unfortunate family was kept but for a short time, when orders arrived from Petersburg, to transport them southward to a castle called Ivanburgh, which formerly belonged to the famous Prince Menzicoff, situated in the province of Veronitz. They were not kept very long there, where the Princess Anne of Mecklemburgh died, till they again were transported to Oranburgh. They were likewise kept but a short time there, when they were again transported to some island in the White Sea. The above account, which I have given of that unfortunate illustrious family, I do not say is absolutely true, but I can aver that this is what has been whispered, as it were, to me, and was said to be true; for, in these times, it was most dangerous, so much as to mention any thing belonging to them. They never were spoken of but amongst true friends; nor did I ever hear any thing more about them, except the melancholy accounts we lately were informed of by the news-papers, too hard for me to recite, and too cruel

of the navy; but purely personal  
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for any Christian to believe, were the clear, the too clear proofs, not extremely evident !

A plot was discovered this year in July at St Petersburg, which, though I can give a very true account of it, I could wish that I could have been held excused ; and only because, in my opinion, it throws a dark veil over the general good opinion men had of the tender sentiments of the late Empress Elisabeth ; but my promise to give a true account of whatever I knew, obligeth me to give the following narration of barbarity and cruelty, for a crime very black, if true, but, in many countries in Europe, the proofs would not have been sufficient to incarcerate them, far less punish them. Mr Falkenberg, lieutenant in the navy, formerly adjutant to the late Admiral Gordon, was the person who discovered this plot, which was in the following manner : After Admiral Gordon's death, which happened in the year 1741, this person was appointed to do his duty in the fleet as lieutenant ; he was master of, and understood well, all the European living languages, and therefore was very proper for being a first, or adjutant-general to a commander in chief of the whole navy of Russia, who never exactly understood the language, nor could neither read nor write it. Many transactions happened in the fleet of no bad consequence to the Empire, nor to the general good of the navy ; but purely personal, to  
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private officers, such as sending them, contrary to the regulations of the Empire, to distant places, and upon hard duty, when it was not their office, out of course, and when others ought to have been appointed, and probably for taking bribes to get them excused by the admiral. During the admiral's lifetime no notice was taken of this practice; but after his death many complained to the board of admiralty, not against the admiral, but against Falkenberg, holding him only guilty. Every one was very certain that frequently the admiral did not know any thing of these affairs, which he had entrusted Falkenberg with, which is too often the case in all countries. Falkenberg was in St Petersburg at this time, soliciting the admiralty about some affair; and as it necessarily cost him all his attention to make friends there, where he had not been a little blackened, he was glad of all opportunities of paying his respects to any of the great men in the admiralty, and elsewhere. Mr Alexander Zibin was general commissary in the fleet, a place of great honour and trust. He having been invited to dinner, with many others, at Lieut. Gen. Lapuchine's house, took Falkenberg with him, dreading no ill from him, as he imagined him to be very knowing and an excellent table companion, which indeed he was. After dinner, when the gentlemen were taking their glass, the discourse happened to

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be about the unfortunate branches of the royal family, probably too warmly commiserating their distresses, and pointing out their good qualifications, and rights to the throne. Mr Falkenberg did not join in this discourse, but rose from the table, pretending some sudden indisposition, immediately took post, and rode straight to the Empress, then in Petershoff. What he said is not known, but upon his information, expresses were sent immediately off to St Petersburg, and the Empress and whole court drove as suddenly there as was possible ; and, for the greater security, Mr Falkenberg had the honour of a seat in the Empress's own coach. The following persons were taken under arrest in the midst of their mirth, most unexpectedly : Lieutenant-general Lapuchine and his Lady, his son Lieutenant-colonel Lapuchine, and the Countess Bestucheff, Mr Zibin, Kneas Putatin, Ivan Moshkoff, and Madam Lilienfield. They were instantly sent to the castle, and secured in different prisons, to prevent any communication. Soon after this, a trial was brought on before the following judges, viz. the Inquisitor-general Ushakoff, Prince Trubetskoi, and the Privy-counsellor Lestog. I was informed, and believe my information to be true, whatever was alledged to the contrary, and exposed to the world by the authority of the court of St Petersburg, that they were found guilty only of talking, as I said



said above, imprudently ; for after their inquisition and trial was quite over, a very great heat happened to rise amongst the judges and the ministers of the cabinet ; in which, words, and personal reflections, altogether unbecoming gentlemen, especially of so high and distinguished a rank, happened, which were the beginning of animosity between Mr Bestucheff, whose sister's life was at stake, and Privy-counsellor Lestoig, which never ended till Lestoig was banished. Of all the judges, Lestoig, a Hanoverian, though a foreigner, was the foremost, not only requiring that they should suffer death, but the most cruel death which the laws of Russia inflict upon any criminals : The rest of the judges were absolutely against such cruelty, but agreed with Lestoig that they deserved to die. Mr Bestucheff, finding that easy arguments would have no effect, lost his patience, and with it part of his reason, and observed to Lestoig, in a jeering manner, that, by the laws of Great-Britain, surgeons and butchers never were permitted to be jurymen, nor sit in judgment on the lives of their fellow-creatures. Lestoig had no patience to argue calmly with the grand chancellor, or retort in his own satirical manner ; but at once called the chancellor by the worst of names, and scarcely could be kept from plunging his sword into his heart. The chancellor, very angry, and highly affronted,

ed, retired precipitately, threw himself at the Empress's feet, and begged that justice might take place, and that Lestoig might be punished for daring to threaten, and so grossly affront the greatest subject in Russia. The Empress observed to the chancellor, that he was very much to blame to talk in so very biting a manner to a man of Lestoig's known ungovernable passion ; but said, that she would send for him, and order him to ask pardon of the grand chancellor, and get peace established between them ; but, though despotic, she had promised more than she could perform ; for when this was proposed by herself to Lestoig, he flew into the most unbecoming passion : He acknowledged, that he had offended her Imperial Majesty, only by imprudently having been forced into such passion in the cabinet, and threatening one whom she had honoured with the honourable title and power of grand chancellor, threw himself at her feet, and implored her pardon, which very readily was granted : He then rose, thanked her Majesty for her great clemency to him, but said, with a determined countenance, that he sooner would suffer the most cruel death, than submit to ask pardon of a man whom he could not esteem. Upon this, the Empress ordered him out of her presence ; and, though Lestoig retained all his honorary titles, and also his power in the medicine-



dicine-chancery, yet from this time a dark cloud hung over his head, which at last, in the year 1748, burst, by Bestucheff's intrigues, and a second time hurried the honest, foolish, hardy, unfortunate Lestois into banishment, the only man who had placed the Empress on her father's throne. I shall only add, that sentence of the most cruel deaths were passed upon the greatest number; but the Empress appointed their different punishments as follows:

A large stage was built before the senate-house, upon which the criminals suffered, on the 31st day of August 1743, in the following cruel unbecoming manner: General Lapuchine, his Lady, and son, suffered the painful and shameful punishment of the knout, and had their tongues cut out, as did Countess Anna Bestucheff the grand chancellor's sister, Ivan Moshkoff, and Kneas Putatin were knouted, and Zibin was whipped. Madam Liellenfield was retained in prison, as she was with child, then whipped, and all were sent into banishment. A few more were deprived of their honorary titles, and ordered to live on their estates, as it seems sufficient proof was not produced, and only their connections with the above mentioned criminals, were the causes of their disgrace. Such misfortunes happen frequently in Russia. The Countess Bestucheff, when brought to the place of punishment, had a ribbon

ribbon about her neck, and at it was hanging a family-piece, a gold cross, richly beset with diamonds, the impudent executioner, (the executioners have a right to the apparel of such criminals by the laws of the country) demanded the cross as his perquisite, and, being denied, was going to take it by force, which the Countess would not part with, but with her life : The executioner was, by the general of police, ordered to desist, and to inflict the punishment with no greater severity than he had done upon others. The villain, however, when he cut the tongue, drew it as far out of her mouth as he could, and cut as near the root as his knife could reach, which soon put an end to her miserable life; for she bled to death. I have sometimes conversed with people who have undergone this punishment, when restored to their former honours, which happens frequently at changes of government, and have been indulged to see their tongues : They spoke very intelligibly, having only lost but a very small part of the point ; but then the executioner is bribed, and the officers who superintend these disagreeable punishments never take any notice of, nor find fault with lenity.

If this terrible punishment had not happened, nothing could have made me believe that the Empress Elisabeth had had any share of cruelty in her soul ; as, at the same time, she was the most magnanimous political good

Princess



Princesses in Europe, or perhaps in the world. Had she caused decollate every one of them, I would have entertained a greater opinion of her mercy, prudence and policy, than such rigorous unheard of cruelty will permit me to do, especially when the delicacy of the Ladies, her own sex, and their rank in the world are considered ! It struck me with amazement when I was told, that the Ladies were brought upon the stage, stripped naked to their petticoats, and, in this shameful manner, hung upon some scoundrel's back, and knouted ; afterwards, still exposed naked, to have their tongues cut out ! The subject being very disagreeable, I shall say no more of it, but give some account of Falkenberg. He, for his probity, was made colonel of a regiment of foot, by the Empress's positive order ; but he did not enjoy this honour long, if at all, with the least satisfaction. When he joined his regiment, all his subalterns declined having any connections with him, except what the order of duty obliged them. In less than six months, they accused him of some crimes, of which it is hard to say whether he was guilty or not : He was put under the most strict arrest, and orders from the college of war were frequently repeated to bring him to a trial by a court-martial ; but, by his skill and cunning, he baffled all their designs, though they had no smaller man to  
spur

spur them on and protect them, than the Grand Chancellor Count Bestucheff.

When I arrived in Riga in the year 1749, I was sent for to give advice about Mrs Falkenberg, who had been long ailing, but would not go till I was ordered by Field-marshal Count Lacy. I pitied the unfortunate Lady, who had contracted an incurable disease by want of exercise, a delicate constitution, and grief; for, though she was not confined, she never would go out of the house, for fear of her husband, nor would she permit a servant to dress any food for him, as long as she was able; but she had been confined to her bed long before I went to Riga. He was much distressed for her, but seemed to be altogether indifferent about his then situation, in which I left him in the year 1751. My visits in that house were neither frequent nor long at a time, for my blood was like to freeze all the time I was in the house. I never could look upon him but with terror, well remembering the horrid cause of his commencing colonel; and tho' he was very complaisant to me, yet I never could relish his company, but pretended business to be gone, as soon as I had given some directions about his Lady, who deserved much better fortune than to have been married to such a person.

In Russia, it is as dangerous for people to be in the company of any, who are either plotting



plotting against the government, or forming a discourse, which but so much as borders as it were upon treason, or can any way be interpreted treasonable, without immediately accusing the people of the company, as it is for those who were actually guilty. Now, whether Falkenberg accused those unfortunate people, for fear of himself, or purely with a sordid view to advance his fortune, I cannot take upon me to determine ; only, I dare say, that his reasons for acting in this manner were not guided by prudence, neither shewed he the least goodness of heart. Many times have I heard people talk about state affairs, which I have thought extremely dangerous ; but I never made it known that I had taken any notice of their discourse, but abruptly left a company, when I suspected they were taking too great liberties.

## C H A P. XII.

*Concerning the Affairs between Sweden and Denmark.*

THE unfortunate Swedes had no sooner confirmed peace with Russia, than they were threatened by Denmark and their own dissaffected subjects, many of them wanting to have the Prince Royal of Den-

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mark declared successor to the good old King. Sweden would undoubtedly have been in the utmost danger, had she not been powerfully protected by her late enemies the Russians ; for the Danes were making the most formidable preparations in their power, to attack Sweden by sea and land, from Norway and other parts. Add to this, the assistance which the barbarous Dalarlians proposed to give Denmark ; for I was well informed, that great bodies of these people were hovering about, all armed, in readiness to join the Danes. Sweden finding herself in this dangerous situation, begged for the assistance of the Russians, and that their late conqueror, General Keith, might command these troops.

The Empress having resolved powerfully to protect the Swedes, ordered General Keith to make his repair, with twelve chosen regiments, to Stockholm, and act according to the instructions given him. He lost no time in transporting these troops, and, till the cold weather drew on, encamped in the neighbourhood of Stockholm. At that time, the Dalarlians were hovering about ; but, having received accounts of General Keith's having arrived at Stockholm, they did not think proper to advance, but retired into their own inhospitable country, without commencing any hostility : But there were very many disaffected throughout all Sweden,  
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in Stockholm itself, in the diet, and in the council: However at last the Bishop of Lubeck was declared successor to the crown of Sweden in presence of the old King, with very great solemnity. The Danes seeing all hopes of getting the Prince of Denmark elected to the throne of Sweden at an end, and that wise king sensible that he would draw against him the whole power of Russia, which would endanger the swallowing up of both these small kingdoms, thought proper to suspend a prosecution of this war, and finally confirm a solid peace.

One transaction happened in Stockholm, which the reader may not be displeased to be informed of, and this I had from good authority. As winter approached, the general took up his winter quarters in Stockholm, and its neighbouring villages. At this time, the citizens were in much the same humour as the citizens of London are at present, tho' their national affairs were in a very different situation. The Swedes, that is to say, the Swedish mob, no doubt headed, underhand, by many of their principal men, despised both their king and government, and upon all occasions shewed their unreasonable discontent. Tho' the assistance of the Russians was warmly applied for and obtained, yet these vermin took all opportunities of affronting the officers, and maltreating the soldiers. The general had represented these  
excesses

excesses properly, but could only obtain polite promises. It was well enough known that both the king, successor, and the more sensible counsellors were very much grieved at these outrages, but durst not, it seems, take proper means to restore order: When they were at the height of their madness, one day as the general was returning into the city from a visit, his coach was unexpectedly stopped at the port, and, upon enquiring what could be the cause of this, was told that they only wanted to search for uncustomed goods. This piece of insolence finished their career; the general ordered one thousand men to mount guard, and commanded one hundred to every port in the city, and that officers and soldiers should hold themselves in readiness, and take their sleep in their cloaths, compleatly armed. At the same time, he commanded his men to seize all disorderly people, disperse all mobs, and repel force by force. The Swedish mob looked upon all this as a bravado, and instantly, as it were, began to assemble with much noise; but the Russians soon laid hold of them, with very little bloodshed, or difficulty: After these hot-headed fools had experienced but a little of the Russian discipline, they desisted, and became very suddenly and unexpectedly as peaceable as any in the kingdom of Sweden. Many of the counsellors, however, looked up-  
on



on this as a very great outrage, and obliged their king to require the general to desist. To many paper attacks, the general only gave determined, resolute, clear, reasonable answers; at last, they had a meeting with the general in presence of the king, where the general had an opportunity of telling them of all the outrages which their mad citizens had committed against the Russians altogether unprovoked; of the many complaints he had made about these excesses, without having received the least satisfaction, and concluded by assuring them that he should take all care to cause punish any of his soldiers, who might be guilty of any fault to the people of Sweden; but at the same time was determined to protect and do justice to his soldiers wherever he should command, seeing he could get no redress from them. It was said, and it appears to be true, that whatever the general did was extremely agreeable to the king, though policy prevented his Majesty from publicly acknowledging it. But when he left Sweden, the many presents he got, the great distinguished honours the king and his successor conferred on him, with the gracious reception he met with from the Empress at his return, serve to confirm the truth of this.

This year the Caracalpake Tartars obtained liberty to trade with the people of Astrachan; But they never came into the city,  
and

and encamped at the distance of eight or ten versts from it, where the Astrachan merchants and Tartars went, but I never was informed that their commerce was of any advantage. Towards the latter end of the year they decamped and returned homewards: But a body of Kalmucks, altogether unknown to the government of Astrachan, way-laid them, and made booty of a great deal of their cattle and merchandize.

As the march of the three regiments, before taken notice of, was altogether precipitate, no proper magazines for the use of the hospital were established. Mr Malloch, as before mentioned, died last year, and no principal surgeon having as yet been appointed to take care of these troops, I was ordered to oversee them and also the garrison, which, joined to my proper duty, was very fatiguing to me. I had already given in two petitions to the government's chancery representing the extreme necessity of the sick without having received any satisfactory answer; and one morning as I entered the governor's hall with a third petition for the relief of the sick, and another to be sent to the Medicine Chancery, begging that they would represent these affairs to the college of war, and also to send to my relief a chief surgeon to take care of the army, I was not a little surprised to hear the governor in a very violent passion at some dra-  
goon



goon officers, for having lost, as he said, by their carelessness, three horses, threatening that they should pay for them. I waited till he had done, and then, in the most respectful manner, went and presented my petitions; but he having been in a passion with the officers, gave me some disagreeable answer, telling me that he never had been so much plagued before this with any of the profession. I answered him that I was engaged in a very troublesome business, which properly did not belong to me: But that all my endeavours to cure people, who were not duly provided with proper food, would prove abortive, and therefore desired that he would cause some other take care of them: At this, however reasonable, he stormed not a little. As I was conscious of having faithfully done my duty ever since my entering into the service, and especially as I never had been treated in such a manner, I frankly told his excellency that it seemed very strange to me, to have heard him reprove the officers, who were present, for the loss of one or three horses, and at the same time to fall into a passion with a person for acting up to the sense of Peter the Great's regulations. I upon this occasion said a great deal more, not regarding whether he had ordered me under arrest or not; for I spoke with due respect, and only represented the miserable condition

on of the hospitals ; and when I had done I retired very well satisfied that I had cleared my conscience. In about an hour's time after this, he sent for me to the chancery, and there told me that he had, at his own peril, appointed a captain to superintend the provisions for the use of the sick, and to act there as commissary, and had appointed him to see that every thing else useful for their recovery should be bought up, and kept in readiness, and at the same time put an order with my petition to the Medicine-chancery into my hands, telling me, that since I had got all which I demanded, there would be no need to petition the chancery. From this date, affairs went on very well, and the sick recovered so soon, that, before their surgeon in chief Mr Pundt arrived, all the hurry and confusion was over : For all which care and excessive trouble night and day I only received from the Medicine-chancery an order, telling me that they were well satisfied with my care. In June month, the governor shewed me an order from her Majesty, amongst other things commanding me to endeavour to recover the Khan's son, Prince of the Kalmucks : He was a boy about ten or eleven years of age, excessively fat, and of a very bad habit of body, his head was all covered over with the worst kind of the porrigo : When any of the  
scabs



scabs were raised, underneath the skin was all like a honey-comb\*. I hesitated not to say, that it was very uncertain whether he was curable, but I suspected a sudden cure might prove his death. The governor, however, urged a trial in obedience to her Majesty's order. As he was a man of great learning, good sense, and reason, I begged that he would endeavour to hold me excused to her Majesty, considering that I had too good reason to suspect an apoplexy might succeed. This he promised to do, and effected accordingly. Some time after that, another order from St Petersburg commanded that I should attend upon him, if afflicted with any other disease. He was kept in a pleasant garden, not far from my hospital. I heard nothing concerning him till October, when, in the middle of the night I was sent for. When I arrived at the house, I found him in an incurable apoplectic fit, surrounded with forty or fifty priests singing hymns for his recovery, and putting up their prayers to heaven, not doubting of their potent effect. I was told, that these very people had been attempting to cure his head; and that they had applied many things, the principal of which was vitriol and verdegrease. Though I prognosticated his death, yet I directed all the help I could for his recovery, without suc-

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cess;

\* Cum caput immensa pexum porrigine ningit,  
Copia farris uti freudentibus edita saxis.

cess; for in about forty eight hours he expired, to the last quite insensible.

One day about the middle of June, I was sent for by the governor's orders, to visit a prisoner, who had cut open his belly from the false ribs to the spine of the ilion. He had done this with a blunt little knife, which it seems had escaped the search of his keepers; and although he had cut quite through all the teguments, yet the knife had only made a scarcely perceptible impression on some of the intestines, which he was supporting with his hands. It seems that his keepers had wrested the knife from him before he could make any other attempt. As no delicacy was to be used with such patients, I sewed up the wound with a large and strong skain of silk; and as the fellow pressed against me with all his force, endeavouring to break the suture, I entered the needle into the *peritoneum*, at least one inch on each side of the wound: And this fellow was cured by the application of no other medicine than being fomented with a little corn spirits, for the Russians allow of no medicines for people who deserve death; and, what is very surprising, he suffered the painful torture of the knout about six weeks after this happened.

Though out of time and place, for which I beg my reader's forgiveness, as I have related but one example of the cruel punishments in Russia, I forgot to mention what happened



happened in Astrachan last year. It is universally known, that the Empress Elizabeth made a vow not to let any malefactor be punished with death, for a limited time, which she renewed, and, I believe, kept till her death. The governor, Tatishoff, got early notice, that the Empress was going to send orders for that purpose to all her governors through all her wide extended dominions. Tatishoff had at that time about 300 prisoners, who deserved death by the laws of Russia, they being either robbers, pirates, or murderers. So soon as he received that piece of useful intelligence, he determined instantly to clear the jails of so many useless men, who required about 150 soldiers to keep guard. He therefore ordered five gallowses, such as that at Tyburn, to be built, some wheels and gibbets. In the mean time he proceeded in examining and reprieving or condemning, till the jails were quite clear. I never cared to see mankind put to death, or otherwise cruelly treated; and therefore I saw only six, the last of that great number, who suffered at that time; and this was the reason of my going at this time. I was well assured, that one of these pirates had confessed voluntarily, that he had murdered in cold blood sixteen unfortunate merchants, amongst whom were many Indians, who, it is well known, being worshippers of fire, never attempt to kill any creature: And this cruelty he exercised

cised as a piece of diversion, contrary to the prayers of all his wicked brethren.

The Governor could not help asking him the reason he had for exercising so much cruelty on innocent men. He, thinking that he was only to be hanged, answered, that every one had their own different pleasures, and that was one of his : And added, that it was so much his favourite one, that, said he, if I was sure to be hanged alive by the ribs ; was I at liberty, and had the same opportunity I had formerly, I would do what I formerly did. Upon this the Governor pronounced sentence of death upon him, ordering, that he should suffer by being hung up alive by the ribs, and should remain hanging till he was quite dead. This story was immediately told through the whole city. When I heard of it, I doubted not that I would have had courage to have seen such a monster punished, if it were possible, in a more cruel manner, and therefore resolved to go. The officer who commanded the guards was my patient and acquaintance ; I accordingly walked with him. The Russians have no sheriff, any officer being thought sufficient to see the execution performed. I was enclosed by three rows of soldiers, together with their officers, a few spectators, the priest, malefactors, and executioners. One was hanged, two lost their heads with an ax, and two were broken by the  
the



the wheel, in the ordinary way ; but this wretch, who was reserved to the last, without the smallest sign of uneasiness or fear, whose dreadful visage frightened me and several others, went and laid him himself down upon the bark of a tree, and with his own hand pulled up his shirt, to discover the ribs on his right side. The executioner immediately cut through betwixt the seventh and eighth rib, as near as I could judge at the distance ; and in attempting to cut between the 10th and 11th his knife broke near the point. He had not another, and was going to send to the city to have this repaired, when the malefactor called out, that it would take up too much time ; adding, that he might sharpen it himself ; which was accordingly agreed to. And thus sharpened upon a rough free stone, with it he performed the rest of the operation between the tenth and eleventh ribs, and then took a large hook fixed to a rope at one end, introduced it into one wound and pushed it out of the other near the point. The hook was perforated, the hole was like a slit ; into this the executioner introduced a piece of thin iron doubled at its smallest extremity, which he pressed asunder, and fixed it so that it rendered quite impossible for the malefactor to unhook himself. During this long painful operation, the malefactor made no signs of uneasiness, but assisted in giving directions. The rope  
before

before mentioned was run over a pully fixed at the end of the gibbet ; the extreme end was held by one of the executioners. When all was ready, they pulled him up hanging by the two ribs to the arm of the gibbet, letting about one yard of the rope remain between his ribs and the pully. When he was pulled from the ground he only groaned, and seized hold of the rope, I suppose, to ease the pain, with his hand ; and railed at the government, no doubt, with a view to irritate the officer to cause the soldiers shoot him : But in this he was deceived ; for the commander having appointed proper centinels, marched home. This miserable creature died on the third day ; nor would the governor permit him to be shot, which is sometimes done.

This was the last execution I ever saw in Russia ; and though I imagined that I could have with pleasure seen such an abandoned barbarous villain torn all to pieces, it is impossible to describe the condition I was in during the time of so terrible punishments ; and though I took a few glasses of wine, yet I frequently had near fainted. It was impossible to get out of the ring of soldiers, for they were pressed hard by many thousand people behind.



## C H A P. XIII.

*Concerning what happened remarkable in Russia  
and Astrachan during the course of the year  
1744.*

RUSSIA was this year at peace with all her neighbours; nor did many things worth notice happen in the empire or Astrachan. Russia was courted by the belligerent powers in Europe; by the British, to assist them; by the French, since they found that policy would not allow of their taking their side in the quarrel, at least not to assist their enemies. The ministers on both sides of the dispute at Moscow did all that was in their power for the interest of their respective masters. At last, word was brought to Astrachan, that the Marquis de Chetardie, who had been greatly caressed at the court of Russia, ever since the Empress Elizabeth mounted the throne, was suddenly sent out of the country by the Empress's special orders, under the guard of a serjeant and a few soldiers, to convey him over the borders of Russia, in a limited time; and to take care that he, (Chetardie) got leave to speak with none till he was out of the empire; said to be occasioned by his treasonable practices against the person of her Imperial Majesty; concerning which a rescript was sent to all the foreign ambassadors at that court, dated  
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the 6th of June. This was as strange as sudden ; nor did I hear any rational account of it till I arrived in St Petersburg in the year 1748. If the following account is true, which I believe is nearly so, scarcely any history can give such another of so much lenity for so hainous crimes, as was shown this Marquis. He, before this, had received many very distinguished marks of the Empress's high and singular esteem, besides many very valuable presents, beyond any ever conferred upon any former foreign minister. He was honoured with the Empress's picture, which he wore upon his breast set round with very rich and valuable jewels. He was also honoured with the order of St Andrew, adorned with many diamonds of great value, suspended by a chain of gold, ornamented with the most brilliant jewels. The last time he arrived in Russia, though in a private character, and no ambassador, I was well assured that he was received at Riga with honours only due to a crowned head ; and had the expences of his journey magnificently defrayed by the Empress ; and now he was dismissed under the custody of a serjeant, a prisoner, for two of the worst crimes in the world, treason, and the blackest ingratitude. At this time the Empress shewed the most remarkable lenity to one of the vilest wretches, when compared to the extreme severity to her own subjects for only unguardedly speaking,



ing, as was taken notice of formerly : Which indeed, not unreasonably, rendered her censurable by knowing men.

The following is the account I had from different people, in which they all agreed. Whilst Marquis Chetardie was in the very height of favour, his palace was suddenly beset with 300 soldiers, his papers were seized, and he was kept a strict prisoner for three days ; during which time he did not shew any greatness of soul ; *e contra*, very great weakness ; probably self-condemned by his own conscience, and expecting the punishment which he well deserved. The story is this : Marquis Chetardie had engaged some of the Empress's subjects, not only to dethrone her, who had loaded him with honours, but to murder her in the most cruel manner, by burning her and the court, by setting fire to the palace, which was built of wood ; for which execution he had engaged forty wretches to perform that piece of diabolical villainy in the night-time. This palace was in the country, distant about two versts from Moscow. Forty men were actually seized in one night by the guards, and plenty of combustible compositions was found upon them, which could be for no other purpose. An ambassador from a court, which I shall not name, though it cannot be esteemed disrespectful or dishonourable either to his country or to himself, discovered this plot by

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means

means of his servant, a Frenchman, who was his valet de chambre. The ambassador came, after some time, to understand that the court of France were in possession of all his secret transactions, as soon, at least, if not sooner, than his own court. Being a man of good sense, and great resolution, he could suspect none of his servants, except the Frenchman. He called him into a room at a distance from the rest of his family, and there threatened to put him to death, if he did not only confess his fault, but tell him every action he had done. The poor wretch, afraid of instant death, knowing that his master would have put his threats in immediate execution, fell at his feet, and, amongst other things, told him,

That Chetardie had promised him five hundred ducats, and already had partly paid him the money, in order to get his secrets. In order to do which, he one day had a proper opportunity, and took the impression of the key of his master's cabinet, where all his principal papers lay, upon a piece of wax, by which means he got a key made, which opened that repository ; which he then produced : He said, that when his master went abroad, which was frequently the case, he had copied all his papers, unperceived by any of the family, and delivered them to the marquis or his secretary, and also the keys or cyphers to his letters : He said, that he

was



was always treated with great respect by the marquis and his family, and that frequently they spoke before him, without any restraint, many of their secrets, and gave his master at that time some instances, which he knew to be true.

Upon this information, his master granted him his life, and agreed to pay him one thousand ducats, if he could get at some secret doings which he knew the marquis was about at that time : The valet promised, and, in a few days thereafter, discovered the horrid plot of burning the palace, of which, he said, amongst many other pieces of intelligence, he was preparing to send off advice to his correspondents in Paris that day. I was told that the ambassador assured his valet, that, if this piece of intelligence proved true, he would cause pay him the thousand ducats, but if false, he should suffer death. The Frenchman discovered upon this occasion no signs of fear, though he was locked up in a strong cellar, till the truth was discovered.

The ambassador, then ill of the gout, gave proper notice to Count Bestucheff the grand chancellor, and required that all secrecy should be kept, and that the guards should be alert, and seize all suspected persons, especially in the night-time : By this means, these forty persons above-mentioned were actually seized in one night, which put a stop

to

to any other attempt, as their accomplices were all discovered, with Chetardie at the head of them. It was said, that he also demanded that the grand chancellor should send off a trusty courier to intercept the messenger which M. Chetardie had dispatched for Paris. Mr Bestucheff, for some reasons unknown, did not think proper to send any to overtake the French messenger ; but sent proper passports to the discoverer of this hellish plot, who dispatched a trusty messenger to overtake the Frenchman, who, he understood at the post-house, had left Moscow about twelve hours before he set out : He posted, without any rest, till he arrived at Dantzick, where he learned that the French messenger had gone to bed for the first time since he left Moscow. The other, however, immediately took horse, and rode out of Dantzick into some thicket on the other side of that city, and there waited for the arrival of the Frenchman ; nor did he wait long till he made his appearance, whom he intercepted, seized his papers, and made the best of his way to Berlin, where he was furnished with the French cyphers, and then returned to Moscow, with full and clear evidence of that villainous treachery.

Then it was that the marquis's house was surrounded with soldiers, who suspected no harm ; all his writings were seized, and all correspondence with others cut off. In this miserable



miserable condition, not knowing what was to be his fate, he remained three days, in the greatest anxiety, which he could not help discovering. At last, he was made acquainted with the Empress's pleasure, which was, that he was to be sent from Moscow in 24 hours, escorted by a serjeant and a few soldiers ; that he was to pass the borders of Russia in three days after his departure from Moscow ; and lastly, that, as he had behaved with such indiscretion, to call it no worse, he was deemed unworthy of the honour of wearing the Empress's picture, which was restored.

Marquis Chetardie lost no time in giving off all his affairs to Monsieur Pallion, and made his exit from Moscow with the greatest expedition; nor did he stop till he was in Riga, which is distant but about fifteen versts from the borders. Here he begged leave to take a few hours rest, which the serjeant granted ; but his sleep was not long ; for a captain of the guards arrived soon after, and roused him from his sleep. He was sent to demand the order of St Andrew, which, in the hurry, had been forgotten. The marquis, now near the borders, stormed, and did not care to part with the treasure, which, he said, he esteemed part of his estate. The captain said that he M. Chetardie must either deliver the order, in the same condition he received it from the Empress, into his hands ;

hands ; or else he would carry him and it directly back to Moscow ! At the mentioning of this, the marquis hesitated not to deliver the order. The captain took only the order and ribbon, but, after defacing the workmanship, he restored to Chetardie all the gold and stones, telling him at the same time that he had no orders to take any value from him ; but that the Empress would not permit any, so unworthy as he was, to be honoured with any badge of her favour. Monsieur Marquis was glad to get away so easily.

Few treasonable practices of the like nature I imagine have ever been carried on in any European Court with impunity : But none ever escaped so well as this most ungrateful marquis. It is very well known that the Empress bestowed upon him many undeserved favours, and distinguished him beyond all the foreign ministers. For all which he most treacherously intended, not only to have her dethroned, but put to the most cruel death ; and yet the marquis was not punished by his master, though he Chetardie basely traduced her character. I was told by people who saw his papers, that he had wrote so scandalously, without the least ground of truth, against the Empress, that one out of ten thousand ladies, in private life, never could have forgiven him. By so doing, his court lost any remains of  
friendship



friendship which they had, and that so universally, that it was really dangerous for a Frenchman to walk the streets ; and the British, who before this were looked upon with an indifferent eye, were now in a distinguished manner universally caressed. I know not but this last treachery of Chetardie's laid the foundation of the treaty concluded between Great-Britain and Russia in the year 1745, by the late Earl of Hyndford, by which the seasonable succour of forty-five thousand men were sent to the assistance of Great-Britain ; who, though they did not march farther than Prague, were the true cause of peace being made in so great a hurry.

I took no notice of the accusation of the Empress of Germany's minister Marquis de Botta last year, by the Empress of Russia, because I ever looked upon it as false, and doubt not that it was contrived and carried on by the wretch Chetardie.

Little else happened worth relating this year, except the marriage of his Imperial Highness with the Princess of Zerbst, now the reigning Empress, after she had publicly embraced the Greek religion. This marriage, it was said, was extremely brilliant, and gave the good Empress Elisabeth the greatest satisfaction ; for she loved her nephew with the greatest sincerity, nor could any thing have given her Majesty greater satisfaction than

than that which contributed to his Imperial Highness's well-being.

At Astrachan, early in the spring, a body of Kalmucks, unknown to the Russians, passed the Volga, and very unexpectedly fell upon the Caracalpaaks, making many prisoners, and drove away with them many thousand cattle of all kinds; and, altogether unperceived, returned into their own country before the Caracalpaaks could assemble a body of men strong enough to make head against them.

The Kalmucks in time of war are armed with a bow and a quiver full of arrows of different shapes, and a large scymitar. Every man has at least two horses, lest one should be rendered useless: Thus equipped, they march on till they draw near to their enemies, feeding their cattle daily. They need neither bridges nor boats to cross rivers, for I have seen thousands cross the Volga by swimming their cattle over; if any of them are in danger of being drowned, they let them shift for themselves; and if any of them die in the desert, or are rendered unable to march, they kill them, cut them in pieces, and give a piece to every one who may have need of it; and these sick or dead horses serve them for provision.

The Caracalpaaks pursued the Kalmucks to the banks of the Volga, but they had got clear over with all their prisoners and plunder



der before they arrived. The Caracalpaaks applied to the governor, and he to the Prince of the Kalmucks, for satisfaction, but none could be given. Donduck pretended he could not, after all the pains he had taken, discover that any of his men had passed the Volga. The Caracalpaaks, finding that they could get no redress, left the banks of the Volga, and returned home, where they remained quiet all this summer; but, so soon as the frost had rendered travelling on the ice safe, they returned in the winters of 1744 and 1745, and traversed the Volga between the Caspian sea and Astrachan, killing the old and young poor Kalmucks, and captivating only the youth who were healthy, upon the banks of the Volga; for Donduck had retired with his warriors and great herds to the borders of Circassia, which, as was formerly said, they do yearly. News of this irruption and devastation having been brought to the governor, and of the country where they then were, he ordered three hundred dragoons, with two field-pieces, two thousand Cossacks, and about as many Tartars, to march, and endeavour to way-lay them. At this time the Caracalpaaks were on the west branches of the Volga and were returning east with their plunder. The Russians marched straight south, and, by the direction of their spies, came up with them, encamped on an island which reached to the Caspian. Unfortunately

fortunately for the Caracalpaaks they lost a day, treating with the Russians, in which time the weather turned warm, and rendered the ice impassible southwards. The Russians demanded that they should deliver themselves up prisoners, and at the same time take care that no violence was offered to the unfortunate Kalmucks, who were made prisoners by them. The Caracalpaaks did not relish such proposals, and, having tried in vain to pass over the ice, they, being about fifteen thousand, made a very sudden unexpected attack upon the Russians, and actually, bravely broke through them, got over the ice, and fled to the desert, leaving about three hundred Kalmuck prisoners fixed to their horses, by tying their feet with cords to one another under the horses bellies. The Russians pursued, without having time to look after the Kalmucks, the enemy about thirty versts into the desert, without making many prisoners, but a very few wounded. At their return, they were very much surprized and grieved to find that the Kalmucks had not only gone away, but had carried some thousands of horses, camels, and other cattle with them. The Russian horses were quite fatigued, and consequently could make no proper pursuit: The Cossacks and Tartar horses were in the same condition. The Cossacks and Tartars had lost very many horses who were feeding on these islands which the Caracalpaaks



paaks passed through, and the villainous Kalmucks made no manner of scruple to seize them, notwithstanding that their proprietors had just redeemed them from perpetual slavery, nor could they ever be heard of again.

Some hundreds of the Caracalpaaks were killed, some wounded, and brought to Astrachan, where they soon expired, no care having been taken of them. The Russians lost an ensign, run into the right eye with a spear, and four or five dragoons ; one serjeant lost his arm by the stroke of a scymitar ; a very few of the irregulars were killed and wounded. The field-pieces and small arms destroyed the Caracalpaaks ; but our men were wounded either with arrows, spears, or scymitars, and some by bruises from the horses. It was remarkable that they made no attempt upon the dragoons, but kept at as great distance as they could, and made their way through the Cossacks and Tartars, who, though very obstinate, were obliged to yield to the power of superior numbers. This action put a check to the inroads of these barbarous Caracalpaaks only for one year ; for they are irreconcilable enemies to the Kalmucks, nor can all the power and policy of Russia keep peace between them. Frequently have the Caracalpaaks supplicated the protection of Russia ; only, I suspect, to amuse

amuse them, whilst they intend some assault against their enemies the Kalmucks.

#### C H A P. XIV.

*Concerning what happened in Astrachan during the Year 1744.*

**H**AVING given an account of all the public affairs which happened this year, it remains only to take notice of what properly happened in Astrachan, which I shall do as briefly as possible. In the month of May, our governor was taken ill of a very dangerous petechial fever, from which he had great difficulty of escaping, yet he not only recovered, but gained a better state of health than he had experienced for some years before; and I got a very handsome present for the care I took of him. The gentlemen of the army, who indeed had no great reason to love him, were much disappointed at his recovery, and made no secret of saying so. He was very weak, when some disorder in Circassia obliged him to call a council; but, it seems, he for once was over-ruled by them. This disappointment had very nigh caused a relapse: However, having recovered his temper, he represented all his grievances to St. Petersburg. What answer he got, I know not, nor any thing about the affair; only, one day Mr Pundt and I were summoned to appear immediately in the castle. When we  
came



came into the governor's presence, the assessor, commandant, and one secretary were present: The governor put into our hands an order, commanding us to prepare three doses of poison, each of which should be sufficient to kill a strong man. I stared, and never, I think, was so confounded in my lifetime, and for some time unable to speak one word. My colleague was very little better. The governor, observing our great surprise and disquietude, desired us therefore to go and consult together, telling us at the same time, that this was by her Imperial Majesty's positive orders, and showed us five or six sheets of paper, all wrote over, signed by the Empress, but he did not point out any place making mention of the poison. I desired Mr Pundt to retire, and consult what was to be done; for it signified little to argue with the governor. Mr Pundt had not the resolution which I was happily endued with: He, I dare say, was a very good man, but was of such a timorous disposition, that he would have submitted to cause prepare some poison, agreeable to the governor's desire, if I had not powerfully opposed it. I put him in remembrance of Peter the Great's regulation, commanding, under the pains of death, that none should prepare or give poison to any, or by any great man's order. I then hinted at the bold and bad character which the governor had acquired thro'

thro' all Russia ; and therefore concluded, that little trust was to be put in his asseverations, so much unlike the merciful disposition and good will of the Empress to all men. I observed to him, that although I well knew many poisonous minerals and vegetables, as well as animals, yet I knew nothing of the practice, and consequently our plea would be good and honourable to plead ignorance. I observed to him, that though we were enjoined to keep secret these orders, that might proceed from the fear the governor might be under, that such inhuman practice might be discovered, yet if the Empress had any knowledge of this affair, it would have been more agreeable to her well-known sagacity and wisdom, to have caused prepare that diabolical poison in St Petersburg by the direction of her own physicians, where, no doubt, all kinds of medicines were to be had in abundance, than send orders for that purpose to a remote place, where neither proper medicines were kept, nor a certainty of being able to get qualified men fit for preparing it. I used many more arguments, but concluded with saying, that it was not impossible that it might be intended against the Empress herself and some of her ministry ; that I was determined to plead ignorance, and resolved rather to suffer death for not doing harm to any man, than to do an action damned by  
God



God and man, and against the very fundamental laws of the nation, which we had both sworn to observe with the greatest honour.

In short, I prevailed upon Mr Pundt to agree with me in a report, representing, in few words, that we engaged to serve the empire, by contributing what we could for the recovery of any of her Majesty's subjects, or others put under our care; but denied that we could have any idea of engaging to serve in any other capacity, and far less in a way of which we frankly confessed our ignorance, and consequently demonstrated the impossibility. With a report of this kind we went to the governor, who, in place of receiving us kindly, fell into a dreadful rage, calling us rebels, and threatening us with deserved death for disobedience. Pundt was at once reduced to a state of insensibility, as if thunder-struck, or petrified; the red colour fled from his face. I was determined to swim through this sea of bitterness. I indifferently told the governor, that no government who retained the least sense of honour and equity, could punish a man for being ignorant of that which he never professed: That this was truly my case; and that I neither could, nor consequently would alter my resolution. Then the governor spoke to us in a more friendly manner, using all his subtle arguments to get us to consult again about this hellish affair. I  
 imagine

imagine men are glad to get a little time to reflect upon the consequences of dangerous affairs : This was at least my case. I therefore desired Mr Pundt to go and reconsider every thing ; at which the governor's countenance brightened not a little. And at the same time I hesitated not to acquaint the governor, that it would have been more proper to have appointed the field apothecary for such an affair, whose profession made him more fit than we could be, as he was acquainted with the daily practice of making all kinds of compounds. He upon this gave orders to Mr Magdeburgh, a very ingenious apothecary, and who, I imagined, never would have submitted to any thing of that kind ; because I esteemed him a very good kind of man. At our meeting, Mr Magdeburgh was seized with an universal tremor, and declared his ignorance. But, what surprized me much, he said, that he had orders, and was ready to dispense any kind of medicine we should demand. Mr Pundt and I both argued, that, by his oath, and the meaning of the fundamental regulations of Peter the Great, he was bound to let no poisonous medicine go out of his shop, more especially if he knew it to be such. In short, the apothecary's unsteady fearful disposition forced me to leave off arguing, and fly to my former friendly argument, ignorance ; and by this I did abide.

Dinner



Dinner-time was now come the second day, and our final resolution was to be given into the chancery at five of the clock afternoon. I no sooner went home, than, in place of eating my dinner, went to bed. I confess I never was so vexed in my life-time; nor durst I unbosom my breast to my wife, or any other, secrecy being the principal article in the order: However, I designed not to rise from my bed till this weighty affair was over. Mr Pundt sent to desire my attendance. He was answered, that I was sick. He then came to me, sat down on my bed-side, and having shut the door, wept like a child. After much discourse, he consented to do any thing which I should agree to, and would urge nothing else. Upon this I left my bed, and wrote two letters, one to a trusty friend in St Petersburg, another to Lord Tyrawly, then British ambassador at the court of Russia, representing these affairs. A third was signed by us both, and directed to Count Lestois, general director of medical affairs. These letters we delivered into the hands of a trusty friend, to be sent off to St Petersburg, if we were arrested. Then we made out a short report to the governor, declaring our ignorance, and the impossibility of obeying his order. We went both together to deliver it; and I can say with truth, that, whereas formerly my soul was disturbed and agitated like a raging sea, now I was quite calm, and rather joyful: Nor did I much care for the consequence, nor fear it. As we

were going to the castle gate, I (never can forget it), and not dreaming any harm, happening to cast my eye on a monument, upon the top of which were fixed upon spikes four heads and some hands of malefactors; in the exultation of my soul at my fortune, I said, Mr Pundt, take notice of these heads; Who knows but your's and mine may have the honour to be placed there, to the disgrace of the governor? He looked, and was seized with a tremor and stupidity, which did not leave him soon. I was extremely sorry for my indiscreet rashness, especially as I had great difficulty to get him persuaded to proceed to the pleacawse, or government's chancery. But whilst we were in this dilemma, an express from the governor quickened our motions. We found the governor in the great hall on the judge's seat. He gently reproved us for taking up so much time; and he ordered the secretary trusted with this black affair to take it from us, make haste, and send it off. The secretary received our report, retired into his own private chamber; but soon returned, and acquainted the governor, that we declared we could not do it. I never happened to see any man fly into such a furious passion; all reason seemed at once to have forsaken him. He beat his own hand with his cane, violently left his seat, and walked towards us like a bedlamite; but half way he turned short, and  
reeled



reeled about the hall, raving like a mad man. At last, when he was almost spent with anger, he took his seat, and in calmness ordered the secretary to get ready in all haste a courier for the cabinet; adding, that he should prepare a report, acquainting the cabinet of our disobedience, and requiring to know speedily what punishment should be inflicted upon us. At the mentioning of disobedience and punishment, I could contain myself no longer, not caring what the consequence might be. I said, that we were not disobedient, but ignorant: That we deserved better treatment for our faithful services; but since that could not be got, I added, that I had already petitioned for my discharge, and now would proceed in taking every possible method to obtain it: That I doubted not the high Cabinet would do us the justice to order us to be tried by a court-martial, where I should fear nothing. Having finished, we staid a little longer. At last I asked Mr Pundt to go away. He said, that he was afraid we would be stopped; upon which I went off, bidding him follow. And thus this weighty affair ended. At my return home, I instantly petitioned a third or fourth time the Medicine Chancery for my discharge. The late King had, by proclamation, ordered home all his subjects who were employed in foreign service, before this time. And in consequence of this, I, as soon as I had read the

the proclamation, immediately solicited my discharge, especially as the King had promised immediate employment in his fleet or armies, to those who obeyed this command. I determined never to go to the governor, unless sent for ; and this resolution I kept till I was appointed by another command ; for I could not obtain my discharge then.

About this time another very disagreeable barbarous affair happened, which, with many others, I do not chuse to repeat, convinced me, that the Cabinet knew nothing of this poisonous affair, especially when I consider that no notice was ever taken of it to us.

An Armenian merchant arrived in Astrachan : He brought with him many jewels of great value. The governor having received advice of it, sent for him, and desired to see his jewels, telling him, that he had an order to buy up large good jewels for the Empress. The merchant, fearing nothing, delivered the jewels unto the governor, and left them with him. Next day I was present, when the governor sent for the merchant, and, letting him see the jewels, said, that two stones were false, being nothing else than paste. The merchant answered, that these stones were the same he had delivered to the governor ; and that if they were paste, he, the merchant, would be a very considerable loser. The governor alledged, that he brought



brought them with a view to cheat the people in Russia ; because, said he, you who trade in that way could not be ignorant of their bad quality. The poor man protested, that he had not had an opportunity, as yet, of making any trial. Notwithstanding this, the governor caused carry the poor stranger to the caravansery where the Armenians lodged, and there torture him with the cursed knout, of which torture he died the day thereafter. What he did with the man's treasure, is more than I know : But this, and many other acts of barbarity which he was guilty of, is enough to cause any honest man to be upon his guard.

Last year my eldest son died, and this year my wife was safely delivered of another. I did not know, having none to advise me, whom I should employ to christen this child, we having at that time no pastor or minister of the reformed religion in Astrachan. At last I determined to employ for this purpose a Roman, called John Baptist, whom I had lately recovered of a dropsy. Upon such occasions, it is customary to invite all friends and acquaintances, consequently, among many others, the governor was invited ; but the ceremony of baptism was over before he arrived. At his arrival he asked me Who had performed the ceremony ? When I told him, he shewed many marks of displeasure, and was in a very disagreeable humour all the time of dinner.

dinner. When he demanded my reasons for not employing a Russian priest preferable to a Roman? I answered, that I knew very little of the Armenian religion, nor of the Roman: That the Russian religion was as agreeable to me as either of these; but that I had been well assured, that from the instant that any infant is baptized by a Russian priest, he is to be educated in their way, and runs a very great risk of losing his liberty. At this he was very angry, making a joke of liberty, and asking, If Russians did not live as happily as the people of other nations? To this I answered, that I was not of that opinion, and was determined that my children should be educated according to my own principles, and retain that liberty, which both his mother and I had an undoubted right to, confirmed by all the Russian monarchs since the reign of Peter the Great's father at least. He continued in a very unpleasant humour all the time he staid, which was not long; for which our company and I were very thankful. They all agreed to condemn, upon this occasion, the governor's ill-timed displeasure, especially as he was thought to have no religion; for he laughed at his own as much as any other: But it was only because he had quarrelled with that priest a short time before this happened.

Governor Tatishoff had really more learning than any man in Russia: He had read  
very



very much ; was versant with the best authors of philosophy and history. He had been a long time employed in writing the history of Russia ; and, since his arrival in Astrachan, had purchased a book in the Armenian language, giving some ancient accounts of Russia. At that time there was not a man to be found in Astrachan that could translate this book, except Father John Baptist. The book was carefully translated by him, for which work the governor had promised him a sum of money : But, in place of paying him, he quarrelled, and threatened to level their monastery to the ground. But the Father let him know, that if he proceeded in the least to give him, or any of his hearers, any further trouble, he would not fail to make a suitable complaint to the Imperial ambassador, who would represent his grievances to her Imperial Majesty. This smart reply frightened Tatishoff for once ; but he continued to bear him, and every one who countenanced him, a grudge.

In the month of August, major Tatishoff, the governor's son, returned from Circassia, whither he had been sent upon some secret expedition, in a bad state of health. He had some uncommon symptoms. Having been sent for at a time when I was taking the air for my health, and consequently not readily found, Mr Pundt was sent for ; who declared the major to be in great danger.

Upon

Upon this, several horsemen were dispatched in quest of me to different places in the country. They found me refreshing myself after a ride, under the shade of a tree. I presently returned to the castle; and having considered the major's complaints, acquainted his lady, that I was of opinion he was in no danger. I was ordered to visit the governor as soon as I had given my advice to his son; and was not a little surprized to find the old man in tears, as he was not much subject to that weakness; concerning which I questioned him. He said that he had only one son, and he could not help being grieved at the thoughts of losing him. I answered, that I hoped the cause of his complaint was to be removed by proper medicines, and his native air; for which reason I advised him to get a visitation of all the surgeons in Astrachan; because it might be dangerous for me alone to attest a man, and let him go into Russia, to whom many private affairs were entrusted. This was agreed to; and as Mr Pundt and I had no difficulty to engage all the surgeons in Astrachan to be of our opinion, the affair was soon concluded.

I had by this time frequently petitioned for my discharge, but could get no manner of answer. Tatishoff knew this, and privately counteracted my endeavours. I thought this was a good opportunity to get out of the confines of Astrachan, and endeavour to  
get



get the protection of the British ambassador. I acquainted my wife with my scheme, and enjoined her not to speak of it to any. Then I persuaded the major, that my attendance on him, to see how he agreed with the journey, might be very necessary. At which proposal he was overjoyed, and immediately made a point of it with his father. The old man had no objection, only required that I should return as soon as I thought he was out of danger; to which I consented.

I do not remember, in the whole course of my life, that I ever used any cunning like this, either before or since; but necessity has no law: I was afraid that I never would be permitted to go out of Russia, if I did not use some policy. Well, all being agreed upon, we left Astrachan next day; and the major was so well pleased at my readiness to oblige him, that, before I left my own house, he sent me a very fine young Tartar horse, of the Arabian kind, for which I received 50 rubles. Next day we crossed the Volga, and travelled on horseback by land to Tzaritzin, upon the banks of the Volga, escorted by the major's servants, and about fifty Cossacks. We on the third day spied a small body of Kalmucks, to whom our men gave a pursuit in vain, for they rode off straight into the desert, whither our men, upon their fatigued horses, could not pursue them. We

met with nothing else to disturb us during this journey, but in the night time were much plagued with musquetoës ; and one night I could get no rest in my bed for them, though I was covered with two nets. The major and his lady were as much disturbed, though well covered. I spent the greatest part of this night sitting in the smoke of timber. There are very great variety of black snakes, and other serpents, upon the banks of this river: Many flocks of antelopes, hares are here in abundance, a variety of medicinal herbs grow every where ; but liquorice grows in such plenty, that I am well assured the banks of the Volga alone, betwixt Astrachan and Tchornayar can produce more than is made use of in all Europe. When we arrived at Tzaritzin, I proposed to convey the major to Tamboff in the province of Veronits, to which he readily agreed ; and from thence I determined to have proceeded, at my own expence, by post to St Petersburg : But next morning, the major sent for me very early, and shewed me a letter from his father, telling him that he was taken ill, and therefore required that I should be sent back in all haste ; and that the commandant, Cultzoff, had also last night received very peremptory orders for that purpose. He made me a handsome present of thirty ducats, and some trinkets, and ordered every thing to be got ready, at his charge, for my  
conveniency



conveniency by water. The major and his lady were certainly very sorry we were to part so soon. I was truly much grieved, but from a very different cause my grief proceeded ; my hopes of getting away being unexpectedly at an end, just when they were at the highest, and at the very point of execution ; but the old governor was too great a politician to be over-reached by me.

At this time it was again my fortune to meet with Lieutenant Colonel Kishinskee, in his way for Astrachan, and we were both glad of the opportunity, and resolved to get a boat large enough for us both, and eight soldiers as our convoy. We arrived in Astrachan the third day, without meeting with any thing, except one attempt of a few Kalmucks in a boat made upon us not far from Tchor-nayar ; but upon seeing our soldiers in an instant with their musquets presented, they stopped their course, and begged bread : But we assured them, that if they offered to come nearer than where they were, the colonel would give orders to shoot every one of them, and so we parted without farther harm.

At my arrival I went straight to the governor, who expressed great pleasure at seeing me in good health, and asked me, If his son had satisfied me for my trouble ? I answered, that he had, more generously than I expected. After a glass or two of wine, he desired me to carry home to my wife a small present

present in a bag which he had got ready on a table. I took up the bag, and found in it 100 rubles ; for which I returned him hearty thanks.

This old man made me very many presents ; yet his universal character was such that I never could relish. Nothing could give me contentment but my departure from this city ; for it was no secret, that the governor very frequently shewed the greatest friendship for the very person he designed to destroy. It is true, I held him at defiance, by the laws of God and man ; but he had many odd ways that would not quadrate with equity, which were the true cause of all my uneasiness. I also longed much to visit Great Britain, and secure the liberty of my offspring.

One evening, walking with Captain Tandefeldt, a Swede, a jeweller, a German, desired me to look upon two rough rubies, and two diamonds, cut in roses. I did so, and had them weighed. The diamonds were little more than half a carat ; one of the rubies weighed five carats ; the other largely three : They were free of faults ; and the jeweller offered to cut them both with the loss of less than one carat, if I would give him, when his work was done, five rubles. I thought it was a very good bargain, and agreed with him for the five rubles, little dreaming that I had a spy with me. Next morning



morning I called to see how far the jeweller had proceeded in his work. The poor man told me that they were all in the governor's possession : That Tandefeldt had gone straight to him, and told him of our commerce. I very properly looked upon this as base in them both, and pitied the poor man, who durst not dispute with the governor ; but at the same time could not help despising such wretches. In this humour I went straight to the governor, and hesitated not to expostulate with him about it, and point out the action in its proper colours. He showed no anger, but said, that, in consideration of the friendship he had always had for me, he made free to act in this way ; because, said he, Borriſe, for that was the jeweller's name, is a drunkard, and not to be trusted : He would not have hesitated to have sold them to another, for a little more money, even supposing he was sure to be whipped for it ; therefore, said he, I sent for them to make somewhat for the major's lady ; but he desired me to accept of an amethyst in a present, which he would cause place in a ring. It would have been imprudent to have disputed with him about it ; so I even accepted of his present, which I still keep. But Tandefeldt did not escape so easily ; for, in a very few days after this happened, no officer would keep company with him ; and I never spoke to him after that day.

## C H A P.    XIV.

*Concerning what happened in Astrachan and Russia in the Year 1745.*

**D**URING the course of this year, though all Europe was at war but Russia, who remained in peace with all her neighbours, both in Europe and Asia. I shall only observe a few transactions in which I was concerned ; and first,

Early in the time of the great lent, the principal commander of the fleet, retaining an opinion that I was the cause of the port's having been brought under the command of the governor, took all opportunities of vexing me, by harassing the people under my direction, by many useless and insignificant orders. At last, I sent a petition to the port, and represented these disorders in a ludicrous manner, and required that he would desist from such irregular practice, contrary to all regulations, and even common sense. At the same time, I let the port know, that it had, by no regulation nor law, any right to command, or any-ways distress any people, of whatever character, depending upon the medicine-chancery : That for the love I had to quietness, I had hitherto taken only verbal notice of these things to the command-  
er



er in chief, to which little regard had been paid : That now I had given written orders to all men under my command, to pay no regard to any order from any officer whatsoever, and therefore desired the port would be pleased to transact their affairs in relation to me, in a regular way, agreeable to the printed regulations of the empire and the dictates of human reason, which alone are sufficient to deter people from meddling in matters, of which they cannot have the smallest knowledge. This had the desired effect, in relation to the people under my eye at Astrachan ; but there was a surgeon's mate whom I had sent to Chatine Bugori, a German, (a commissary resided there, being a small sea-port, as commander in chief,) who, for mal-practices, had been turned out of the sea-hospital by my predecessor Mr Malloch, with a registered decree never to be appointed by the hospital again, and the reasons why this was enacted. This man was of a very turbulent temper, so that the officers at Astrachan were continually kept in a very disagreeable situation by his madness ; wherefore, they sent him there to plague his inferiors, for it appeared they durst not bring him to a court-martial, because he had it in his power to accuse every one of them. The surgeon's mate had not been long there, till he acquainted me by a petition, that the commissary was very unkind to him, and ordered him

him to transact affairs no-way relating to his business ; concerning which I complained to the port, ordered the mate to repair immediately to the hospital, and sent, in his place, a Russian, every whit as turbulent and litigious as the commissary, and one who knew the regulations well. He had not been long there, till Lieutenant Glasford, a British gentleman, was sent there to command. Mr Glasford sent this commissary to Astrachan, having been made acquainted with his character. The port appointed him to the hospital, imagining that I knew nothing of the decree which Mr Malloch had formerly got passed upon him, in the place of a very good worthy Russian gentleman, who, before he left the hospital, procured me a copy of the registred sentence. He behaved very well, only for a few days ; after that, he began to make me acquainted with his drunkenness and folly ; and, at last, quarrelled with that mate formerly mentioned, at midnight, disturbing, by his ill-timed noise, the sick and others in the hospital. Next morning, a complaint having been made to me by some of the principal people in the hospital, I represented it to the port, and required that he should instantly be dismissed the hospital; declaring at the same time my knowledge of his former irregularity, and the sentence passed against him by the port; assuring them, that if my reasonable request was not complied



plied with, I would instantly represent the whole affair to the medicine-chancery, and at the same time hold the port answerable for whatever irregularities might happen in the hospital: And finally, required the other commissary to be appointed.

The commander, with a few of the officers, came to the hospital to see to get this amicably ended; but, foreseeing the danger that the sick and others would be subjected to by such a madman, I absolutely refused so much as to speak with the commissary, far less agree. Upon which, they were even obliged to retain that fool by the post, where he was worse than a fiscal, and to the hospital the old commissary. One day early in the spring, the sick made complaint of their beef, and many would not eat it, protesting that it was no better than carrion. It was now Lent, and the commissary said also, that it was not good. I demanded, according to the sense of the regulations, that he would send immediately for what remained of that meat for a general survey, and that if the contractor would not part with it, to take it by force. A corporal and four soldiers brought it immediately to the hospital, and, being as bad as was represented, I petitioned the port to order immediately a visitation of all the officers, with the fiscal, to determine, Whether such meat was as bad as was represented?

My commander imagined, (without giving himself time calmly to consider that I was acting up to the meaning of the regulations, and for the general good of every one concerned,) that I despised his authority : He went to the governor, and delivered into his hands a petition complaining of me. Upon this the governor issued out orders for all the officers in the fleet, in company with Mr Pundt supreme surgeon to the garrison, to visit the hospital. The commissary and I had, seeing there was no answer from the port that day, secured the meat in the ice-cellar, and placed both our seals upon the door, which prevented, as far as art could, any considerable change of the quality of the meat.

Next morning, walking in the gallery, I spied many chaises and horsemen coming from the city, and soon was agreeably informed, that they came to inspect the meat. I asked Mr Pundt what had brought him ? He produced an order from the governor, and said that it was very disagreeable to him, observing, that our commander looked very fullen, and seemed to be in no good humour. I took very little notice of him, but desired the gentlemen to walk through the wards, and make the proper enquiries at the sick ; which being done, and their answers being agreeable to the meaning of my petition, I next caused produce the meat, at the  
sight



sight of which the commander said, that it was not very good. I answered, that it was contrary to the regulations for him to say any thing about it, seeing he had made himself an acting party against me, who studied to support good œconomy in my hospital against his interested ways; and, in her Majesty's name, I demanded that the fiscal should speak his mind without reserve: And thus every officer, from the youngest to the eldest, gave it against the meat; but I questioned Mr Pundt more minutely, who answered to all my questions, that such meat could not be good nourishment, and might cause many diseases, which was not only contrary to the sense of Peter the Great's regulations, but likewise to many orders which both he and I were in possession of, from the medicine-chancery: And lastly, if he did not think that any physician or surgeon who would permit the sick to eat such meat, justly deserved to be punished, since it could not proceed from a knowledge of his duty, but either from ignorance, carelessness, or a villainous desire of gain at the expence of the sick, in defiance of her Majesty's regulations and orders of justice to the sick, and the fear of God.

After this was all written and signed, I begged leave to let me make an experiment on the meat, which being granted, I ordered four grey-hounds to be brought, to see whether

ther they would eat of it. They had not tasted meat that day, yet they scarcely would smell upon it. I caused write this in a paper by itself, which I demanded the fiscal to sign in presence of us all, and likewise caused write it in the hospital journal, not doubting but that this affair would end in a court-martial.

However, it took a different turn, which many things of as great moment did under the auspicious management of our present government! When the visitation was at an end, I went in the afternoon to visit the governor, and told him frankly, that it surprised me much that he was pleased to order Mr Pundt to visit my hospital, especially as we were forbidden by the medicine-chancery to interfere with one another's department; but added, that as I was conscious of having, since my entry into the service, done my duty as far as I was able, the consequence by no means alarmed me, since I was pretty certain that I would have justice done me by the medicine-chancery, to which I was resolved to represent the whole affair, with all its circumstances, in as clear a light as I was able, and did not doubt of their approbation of my care of the sick, to the confusion of my oppressors. The governor very seriously desired that I would not be uneasy at what had happened, saying, that he was certain I had acted right, and therefore had taken that method



thod, rather to make the truth appear more clear ; which, he said, might not have been the case, if he had only ordered the officers of the navy, all subordinated to my stupid commander. He said a great deal more in order to dissuade me from hastily making my report to the medicine-chancery. I promised that I would send off no report till he was informed of it.

Before this happened, by a decree of the senate, the merchants in all cities in Russia were formed into a body ; though under the power of the governors, yet they had immunities and regulations granted to themselves, distinct from the governor's court. They had every where a power to elect a burgo-master or mayor, and six assessors or counsellors, by whom all affairs relating to merchandise and their corporation were to be judged, providing they had no relation or connection with these of the fleet, army, or the affairs of the civil administration of the empire ; consequently, upon this occasion the governor could not proceed against the contracting merchant for the sea hospital, till by a memorial he had represented the affair to the corporation of merchants, and demanded that the accused might be delivered up to him, to be tried by the laws of the empire, for such a gross crime.

At this time there were two merchants in Astrachan, very much alike, but no way related,

lated to one another, nor alike in character. The one was esteemed a very good just man, the other quite the reverse. The last was daily employed by the governor in many of his secret mercantile transactions; but the first was scarcely known to him. The governor asked me, If I knew who was contractor for the sea-hospital? I answered, that I did not know certainly, but imagined it was the first mentioned merchant whom the governor had heard of, and, upon this occasion, wanted much to be better acquainted with him; not doubting, as I was informed afterwards, but that he would make a very pretty purse of him, providing the affair could be ended in Astrachan.

He therefore ordered the secretary, who was present, and only pretended he did not know who was contractor for the sea-hospital, that he should immediately represent this affair to the raat-house or town-council, and demand that the person of the contractor for the sea-hospital should be sent under a strong guard to the castle. The magistracy were not long in obeying his orders very joyfully, for none of them had any love for this man. They not only sent him immediately thro' the principal street under a strong guard, but took no small pains to let his disgrace be known in the most glaring manner, and, in their answer to the governor, represented him as a very notorious offender in many respects.



spects. He was carried to the main guard, and lay there all night, pitied by none. Next morning, the governor being seated in the judgment-hall, sent for the offender, not imagining that he was his dearest friend. Any one may easily imagine how much he was surprised, to have caused arrest such a man. Well, he was fined, and, it was believed, that the governor paid this fine ; but, I was well assured, the commander of the fleet paid for all.

When this farce was ended, I could perceive that the governor was not well pleased with me for not informing him more clearly ; tho' he took little notice of it to myself, yet he did to those who were, unknown to him, my friends : However, he sent me an order to let me know, that he had upon this occasion formed a new regulation in respect to the contracting for provisions for the use of the sea-hospital ; and that he had represented the necessity of so doing to the senate for their approbation, in order to have it formed into a general law. By this regulation, no contract would be reckoned valid, except made in presence of, and agreed to by the principal doctor or surgeon belonging to the said hospital. Mankind, all the world over, have a desire to command or lord it over their neighbours ; but sometimes it happens, that when they are pursuing wrong steps in order to increase their importance, they lose what  
power

power they formerly had. Such was the case with my commander ; for without all manner of reason he took a dislike at me, whom he blamed for his lost supremacy, tho' every one may at once see that he only was to blame.

I continued to petition for my discharge regularly once every month, referring my last petition always to my former, and begging leave to pay my obedience to the king's proclamation : One day I was sealing the fifteenth petition to the Medicine Chancery, and another to the British Ambassador to get my discharge from the service, when a soldier from Moscow delivered a letter directed to me, giving me an account that the Empress had appointed my worthy old commander, Prince Golitzin, ambassador to the Court of Persia, telling me at the same time that the Prince was very desirous to have me with him. This put a stop to my petitioning at this time ; for in a very few days after this, I received a letter from the Prince, desiring that I would agree to go with him, and that he had begged that an order might be sent to me for that purpose ; providing still that I would agree voluntarily, and desired my answer. This way of writing was like a gentleman, like a man of honour, and this is the way which constantly has made me very pliable. I knew the Prince, I loved him most affectionately, and I scarcely could deny him  
any



any thing. I considered also that the British Ambassador to whom I was altogether unknown, might probably not regard, nor give himself any trouble about my liberty, or that of any unknown British subject, although one would naturally think that it was part of their duty to protect against violence all of them residing in the country where he was ambassador; yet my surmise is not altogether without foundation, as will be practically explained before I left Riga. I considered that if I went with the Prince, I might be of service, without any loss to myself, to a person whom I very truly esteemed, and at last, if we returned in safety, I might obtain my much wished for discharge, whereas, if I stayed there my hopes and prospect seemed to be very uncertain. I therefore resolved to go, and desired by my answer that he would cause an order be sent to me, requiring that I should deliver up the sea hospital, and every thing under my care and make my repair to join his suit in Moscow, that I might safely convoy my wife and young son to her relations, that they might be in safety whatever might happen to myself. Upon the Prince's receipt of my letter I soon received an order from the Medicine Chancery in obedience to her Imperial Majesty's commands, ordering me to hold myself in readiness to proceed to Persia with Prince Golitzin, and to send to said

Chancery a catalogue of what medicines I might judge needful for him alone, intimating the dispensatories by which compounds were to be directed. Without giving notice to any in Astrachan, I sent a copy of my orders to the Prince, and desired that the medicines according to my catalogue might be prepared in Moscow, where I expected soon to arrive if the Prince judged it right. I soon thereafter received another order from Dr Kondvide Vice-president letting me know, what I was formerly made acquainted with, and that a memorial was sent to the admiralty, by order of the senate, commanding them to dismiss me immediately from the sea hospital and port of Astrachan: Of which I gave the Prince notice, that he might dispatch to me directly what orders he thought proper. At last, orders were received in the port of Astrachan, from the admiralty to dismiss me immediately from the hospital; in order that I might be at full liberty to obey the Prince's orders: Which according to expectation I received on the twentieth of May, and having put in order all my affairs, that day I petitioned the chancery at Astrachan for my travelling expences and passport to Moscow. My patients every where were much surpris'd at this my so unexpected departure, but none so much as the governor, who never dream'd of any such change; he endeavour'd to persuade  
me



me to give out that I was unhealthy, and he did not doubt through the interest he had at court to get the former orders countermanded: But little did he know that it was so very agreeable to myself. I answered that since the first day of my entering into the service I never had denied, under any pretence whatsoever, to do my duty. That now I was commanded to have the care of a person for whom I ever had the greatest esteem; and therefore I thought myself engaged in a double capacity, both in obedience to her Majesty, and also to the Prince. The governor offered to pay me as much out of his own money, as I could reasonably make by the embassy: But I would yield to none of his proposals, and insisted upon my passport's being granted in all haste, and desired also that he would grant me a convoy, the passport he could not deny, but made difficulties in giving me a convoy: Which I knew was intended to deter me from going at that time, as I was obliged to march by land through the desert, which I had little hopes of doing without danger. However, he granted me an order, seeing I would not stay, to get a convoy from the first camp of Cossacks, distant from Astrachan at least one hundred versts, which distance I was obliged to travel without any convoy. Mr George Thomson, agent for the British merchants trading to Persia, desired

fired that I would take three British failors with me to Moscow, and present them to the care of Mr John Tamez in Moscow, who had directions to send them to England. I was very glad to take them with me, tho' I had like to have been brought to trouble on the road by their folly. I got my passport dated the twenty-third day of May, and next day crossed the Volga about twelve o'clock accompanied by the three British failors, three Tartars to whom the horses belonged, one Turk called Mahomet my servant, and myself, making in all eight men. The British were well armed with fire arms and swords, the Tartars and Turk with bows, arrows and scymitars. My wife a failor's wife, my maid and young son made up our company, to transport whom with our baggage, we had six wheeled carriages and my waggon, all drawn by twelve horses.

#### C H A P. XV.

*Being an Account of my Journey from Astrachan to Moscow.*

**A**FTER we had dined, we marched north upon the west banks of the Volga about twenty versts that day, and encamped on the side of a beautiful small meadow, for  
grass



grafs to our horſes ; being a very pleaſant evening, we encamped for the firſt night and ever afterwards in this manner : We joined the ſhafts of our carts and waggon to the wheels of the next, and with them formed a kind of circle, ſo that upon occaſion the Kalmucks could not eaſily get over with their horſes. This being a very pleaſant evening, one of the ſailors, having formerly ſerved under Admiral Vernon at the taking of Portobello, happened to give us an account of that glorious atchievement, which was the remote cauſe of all our ſafeties ; for as he was near making an end of his ſtory, the Tartars alarmed us by acquainting us that the Kalmucks had cut the ropes from two horſes, intending to have driven them into the deſart, which was prevented by the noiſe my dog made, and our going out immediately and firing ſome ſhot into the air. This prevented our taking any ſleep, the night being ſo very dark that we could ſee nothing upon the plain ground, unleſs very near ; but we could perceive any thing at a greater diſtance upon the ſurface of the river. After we were thus alarmed, a boat put off into the river from the meadow where the horſes paſtured, at which we fired, but ſo as not to hurt the people in her, whom we interrogated concerning what had brought them there at ſuch unſeaſonable hours ? To which they answered, that they

ſought

sought their friends. We put out a small fire which we had made to dress our victuals with, and watched the whole night. About an hour after the first alarm, one of the Tartars came and softly told us that a very large boat was advancing up the side of the Volga, with the greatest silence, being only pushed forward with stings, making use of no oars. Upon notice of this, I desired the sailors to take care of the waggons, whilst I went out with the Tartars and my servant to bring in the horses, to which they cheerfully agreed. The Tartar who came for me said that the Kalmucks were very near; wherefore I ordered them all to lie quiet between the horses and water on each side of me, nor use any violence to them, till I should fire off a blunderbush which was, I being ignorant, overcharged; but being made of brass, I apprehended little danger.

The Kalmucks were now very near, so that I could perceive the boat very full of people, and we could discern another at a greater distance, upon which I ordered my servant to make enquiry what they wanted, and why they came in so secret a manner, and to assure them that we were upon our guard, and determined to stand to the last, resolved neither to take nor grant quarter. They returned for answer that they were in search of their friends; this is well known to be a very common answer by the Kalmucks, but



but never to be credited : We ordered them to keep off, but they would not, and were beginning to point their boat towards where we lay. I shot a pistol over their heads, Mahomet fired off a musket : They remained quiet, and now being opposite to us, they suddenly turned their boat, and came on directly with great swiftness. Mahomet fired another piece, and I at last was forced to fire my blunderbush charged with eighteen small bullets, larger than swan shot. This had the wished for effect : The Kalmucks could not be seen, for the smoke ; for there was no wind to dispel it, however, as soon as I was able, for I got a very smart blow from the blunderbush, I charged and fired off amongst the smoke several times : But they were retired, and the other boat also disappeared. Nor could the British sailors, who were appointed by the carts, see any thing after the first fire of the blunderbush for the smoke, but they heard at some distance in the river a moaning, at which they shot some pieces. My blunderbush charges being all shot, I was forced to run to my waggon for some more, where I found my wife in a very great fright : She begged that I would shoot her and her young son that she might not fall into the hands of the Kalmucks. I assured her that they were retired, and begged that she would be composed, that there were two charged pistols under

under the pillows, which she might use as she should think proper after we were defeated, but recommended patience and a small share of courage, assuring her at the same time that not one of us was hurt. Thus we passed the remains of the night in fear of these barbarians, but it was the pleasure of Heaven to protect us ; for we passed the rest of the night unmolested.

The cause of my wife's great fear was the continual accounts, which we frequently were informed of, of the most atrocious barbarities committed by these Kalmucks, which the Russians could not suppress ; for if they rob a Russian they certainly murder him, for fear of being detected, two instances I shall relate which happened in one month immediately before our departure. A few marines with a serjeant, a woman and her child, were sent with the Empress's money, which had been collected at the port of Ear-kee to Astrachan, distant sixty versts ; as they were sailing by some reeds, many Kalmucks in boats hid in some creeks amongst the reeds rushed out and attacked them : The soldiers fought as long as their ammunition lasted, and killed many of them ; But at last, overpowered by numbers, they yielded ; as soon as the Kalmucks had disarmed them, they killed them all, except the woman and her child, whom they carried to the banks of the Volga, and after having, in a most in-



inhuman manner, grossly abused her during the night time, they carried her and her child into the middle of the Volga. They beat out the child's brains, and drowned the mother. A strict inquisition having been made after the perpetrators of this robbery, some of them were seized, and kept in custody in Astrachan at our departure. The other instance was this: A captain who had been sent as inspector of the garrison of Astrachan, as he was returning with his reports into Russia, and passing in a post-boat up the river Volga, was so imprudent as seize and carry away two of the poor Kalmuck's children: He had not got twenty miles distant, when he was suddenly attacked by a great number of resolute Kalmucks, and every one with him put to death, except one Cossack. The Kalmucks had, unperceived by the captain, followed him as close as they could, but kept at such a distance as not to be discovered, watching a proper opportunity: The wind and stream being against them, the captain ordered four of his men to draw the boat by a rope on the banks of an island opposite to a new built fort called Eanotaiva, formerly mentioned, distant about one hundred versts from Astrachan. The captain's company consisted of four soldiers and as many Cossacks, who belonged to the post-boat, but all armed, which, with the captain, numbered nine men. The Kalmucks hid

themselves in some thicket by which the boat was to pass, which no sooner came near, than they fired into the boat, and at the same time seized the rope, putting the four men on shore to death. They drew the boat to the shore and killed all the men except one Cossack, who dropped down at their first fire, and lay as if dead. They dragged the captain's lifeless body on shore, which they mangled, in their barbarous manner, and having broken the boat with a design to sink it, cut away the rope, and let it drive. It fell down under some bushes, and there sunk to the bottom. The bushes prevented the Kalmucks from seeing the Cossack crawl out to the banks, but he saw all their inhuman barbarity, which they had performed with signs of great satisfaction : The two pilfered children were safely, no doubt, restored to their parents. The Cossack having observed part of their barbarous transactions, unperceived, fled farther into the middle of the island, not doubting that they would make search about the banks to know whether the boat was sunk or still swimming, which accordingly happened. After the Kalmucks were departed in great joy, the Cossack, in much danger, crossed the Volga, and naked, fatigued, and hungry arrived in Eanataiova and made the above report : Nor did I ever learn whether any of the Kalmucks were discovered.

Next



Next morning we found several arrows sticking in the ground, a great way from the place where we lay. The Kalmucks could not perceive us from the water; and therefore, I suppose, imagined we were at a much greater distance than we were from them. These arrows made up the loss which the Tartars had sustained of theirs. We now had about four English miles to travel amongst hills of fluxible sands, but were obliged to wait the rising of the sun before we durst travel, for fear the Kalmucks had formed an ambuscade: Add to this we thought it necessary to cause one of our sailors ride upon a horse, at some distance upon the tops of these little hills, to discover if our passage was every where clear; for no trust is to be put in the ignorance of these wild people. They are more cunning than Europeans. We at last arrived on the north side of these hills, after a very fatiguing march of near four hours. The sands were so deep, that the poor horses were quite fatigued as we were, through the want of sleep, and being in many places obliged, for the relief of the horses, to travel up to the middle of our legs in sand, which, before we got through, was scorching hot. When we had passed these mountains, we discovered some hundred Kalmuck tents, and great herds of cattle feeding upon a meadow, at least four or five English miles long, and two or three broad. It was in this meadow,

not many years before, that a few Kalmucks run off with all the most valuable horses belonging to four regiments of foot, in daylight, in the view of all the soldiers; nor could they ever recover them again: This they achieved in the following manner.

The camp being formed on the banks of the Volga, the horses were turned out to grafs, and a few soldiers had orders to keep watch on the backs of some of the best horses. After these orders had been put in execution for some hours, and nothing could be seen in that meadow, which was like a bowling green, the drought being excessive, the soldiers had orders to dismount; but to make their horses feet so fast with cords, that they might be easily taken. The cunning Kalmucks observed all their motions, and the grafs being very long, unperceived, they drew near where the saddled horses were feeding: At once every man seized his horse, mounted, and set up a barbarous yelping, which alarmed the horses, and by this means drove them into the desert, whence they never returned. The poor unfortunate officers not only lost their own horses, but were obliged to pay for the Empress's, for not keeping better guard.

The sight of so many Kalmucks tents in the meadow, disconcerted me not a little; but there was no going back. We encamped three or four hours on the south side of a deep



deep brook running out of a long fresh water lake, eastward into the Volga, and afterwards drove west by the side of the lake, the west end of which, when we had reached it, we left, and drove as near north as we could guess into the desert. About sun-set we were happy to discover a fresh water lake, where we encamped for the night, having plenty of good water and grass for our horses. As soon as day appeared, we marched on, and passed Eanataiova castle about dinner time, and encamped about two versts on the north side from it. I permitted one of the sailors to go into the town to buy provisions; but he got drunk, and kept us waiting very long: When I reproved him, he threatened to strike at me; but I instantly caused seize him, and made him fast with ropes, and would have sent him and his wife to the castle, in order to be returned in safety to Astrachan; but Mr Oneman their mate begged that I would carry him secured with ropes till the liquor had spent its strength. Accordingly we departed, and very late encamped for the night in a creek of the Volga. Next day towards the evening, the sun being about an hour above the horizon, we spied at a distance, a large camp in a high land. They likewise spied us, and dispatched a few horsemen to see who we were. They were a regiment of Cossacks, consisting of about twelve or thirteen hundred men commanded by their own Colonel.

Colonel. With these scouts I sent the Governor of Astrachan's order, commanding them to give me a convoy of four men, and a greater number where danger was suspected, and to change them at every new camp for fresh men. I desired them to make my compliments to the Colonel, and tell him that I designed to take up my quarters for the night, about three or four versts distant from his camp; and that I had a glass of good wine at his service, if he would honour me with his company at supper.

The Cossacks in general are not proud, but very frank, and great lovers of strangers. It was not long before he arrived with four men for me, and a few to escort him to the camp when he returned: He delivered also the order from the Governor. He was a very sensible man, and we passed the night very agreeably; for he did not return till the sun was near rising, being time for us to march. Amongst variety of discourse, he congratulated me on my safe arrival there from Astrachan; telling me that I had escaped much danger; but adding, that he hoped we should meet with no danger between his camp and Tzaritzin; because, said he, there are but few poor Kalmucks upon the banks of the Volga in the way to Tzaritzin: That a memorial had been early sent to their Prince, letting him know, that they would not be permitted to pass farther north than Eanataiova castle that  
year;



year; but, said the Colonel, these villains are not to be kept in any order; would you believe it, continued he, that yesterday at noon, two dragoons were sent with some orders to the Governor of Eanataiova: The men were fatigued having rode about thirty versts; they therefore made their horses secure, to feed upon the banks of the lake you just now passed by, two versts south from the Cossack camp, and composed themselves to take a short sleep. The dragoons had not slept long, until six armed Kalmucks appeared on horse-back, and in view of the Cossack camp, shot both the dragoons sleeping, and carried away their horses, cloaths, and arms. The Colonel sent a party of his men well armed, and mounted on swift horses. They came up with them, wounded some, but brought them all to the camp, and sent them to Astrachan. The dragoons horses, cloaths, arms, and ammunition were sent to the regiment. The dragoons dead bodies, the retaking of their horses and arms, was a sufficient evidence against the Kalmucks; for this reason the Colonel said that he had sent them to Astrachan; but, said he, there are many examples of dragoons and Cossacks having sent these barbarians to Astrachan for trial and punishment; but when they arrived there, the people were obliged to attend for months, and sometimes years, before they could be permitted to go home, at their own proper charges; but, said he, I  
have

have taken a more immediate way of proceeding against them; for having tried them according to the customs of the Cossacks, I cause them suffer death by drowning them in the middle of the Volga, and staving their boats. Indeed his way of proceeding was reasonable, tho' not legal; and consequently I suspected, when discovered, might prove troublesome, if not dangerous for him. He acknowledged this to be true, but denied that it was probable a discovery could ever be made; because, said he, it was agreed to by all the Cossacks under his command, and they took care that no Kalmucks ever saw such executions. However, I frankly told him, that I wished he might not be brought to trouble about it, and therefore desired him to get an order from the Governor to proceed in this manner, which I thought would not be difficult to obtain; because I was sure he had no regard for them; and this would effectually screen him from all danger. He promised to make a trial to get such an order; and every thing being ready we parted in friendship. I arrived in Tchernayar as expeditiously as the poor horses could draw our machines, without meeting with any thing worth relating, before dinner, on the 31st May, O. S. The commandant being an acquaintance, I dined with him; and having got a convoy of Cossacks, who were to conduct me to Tzaritzin, we set out about six of  
the



the o'clock in the afternoon, and travelled about ten versts, when we supped, and, being advised by our convoy, we set out and travelled about eight versts further, and set up not far from a large lake of fresh water on the east, and hills at some distance on the west. Having taken a glass freely with the commandant, and being fatigued, I soon fell asleep. About twelve o'clock at night, one of the convoy disturbed me, and told me that he had discovered a large body of men under the hills, and that they had sent out a few horsemen, who had rode at some distance round our waggons; he therefore had taken in the horses, and now wanted to know what I should advise. With the greatest silence, I caused all the men get up, and take to their arms: When every thing was ready, I asked the Cossacks, If they could guess who the strangers were? to which they answered in the negative: Then I ordered one of them, who had a very swift horse, to get ready, and set out for Tchornayar to beg assistance from the commandant, to which he readily agreed; but begged leave to call to them, and see who they were, saying that his horse was so very fleet, that supposing a party of them should pursue him, he would have no dread of being taken. The moon was shining bright, and I consented to his reasonable demand; he set out; and, at his return, we were agreeably informed that they were friends, be-

ing three hundred Cossacks, who had been lately changed, and were returning to their own country.

Next morning we decamped sooner than our neighbours. Before we had travelled three versts, a Cossack brought my son's mantle, which the maid had dropped out of the waggon, and delivered it. I offered him half a ruble for his honesty, which he would not accept of, telling me that he was a Cossack, and despised keeping any thing belonging to his neighbours. This is an instance of Cossack honour and honesty. I could not prevail with them to go with us; because they were all horsemen, lightly mounted, and we were obliged to move slowly, being heavy loaded. They passed us all, wishing that we might safely arrive in Tzaritzin. We had scarcely travelled ten versts after this, when we were obliged to halt, by reason of an inlet into the Volga, at least two fathoms deep, from the high water of the Volga, and a hundred feet broad. It may be remembered, that I passed the same way formerly with Major Tatishoff, when it was quite dry. I inquired, How far it was from this place to any part of the inlet which was fordable? I was answered, that it was at least sixty versts; that the passage would prove very dangerous; because many of the very worst of the Kalmucks fed their horses there, that they might have good opportunities of making



making inroads into Russia; which they frequently did, notwithstanding all the care taken by the Russians to prevent them. When I was musing and consulting, what every one thought best to be done, one of the Tartars said, that if I would take his advice, he would carry us all over in safety in a few hours. I begged him to proceed immediately to effect what he had promised. He did so, by unpacking two Tartar waggons, and taking the wheels off them; then he made a float by laying them together with ropes, and made this float fast to a horse's tail; then having loaded it, he plunged into the water, and swimm'd always with the horse, which, as there was neither wind nor stream, was not very difficult; and after this manner he transported us and our baggage in less than two hours. The Cossacks would not be transported upon the float; but swimm'd with their horses. On the other side of Tchornayar, having been informed, that I would have no chance of buying provisions in the desert, between that city and Tzaritzin, I bought two sheep for my own family, one of which we killed this day, and the other was brought in the baggage cart, which, having been carried over at the beginning, I ordered to let go and feed upon the banks of the river. When every thing was ready, Mahomet was sent to bring in the sheep. Tho' it caus'd at least an hour's delay, yet it produced

produced no small diversion to us all; the sheep had no inclination to be taken, and Mahomet had as little inclination to leave it; the chase continued upon our side of the inlet a long time, at last the sheep being very hardly pursued, took the water and swam straight to the other side; this disconcerted Mahomet a little; however he stripped, and notwithstanding I ordered him to give over the pursuit, he plunged into the water, and pursued so closely, that he had very near caught it, as it was getting out on the opposite banks when the same farce was acted over again; but the poor creature was necessitated to take to the water a second time, when Mahomet with great ease came up with it, and brought it to us. Mahomet judged very right; for if we had not taken the sheep, we would have been necessitated to travel two days without any good provision, because meat would not keep longer than forty-eight hours; which we experienced next day, the heat was so great. We met with nothing remarkable between this and Tzaritzin, except that within five versts of that city the Cossacks and Tartars desired to feed two hours, that they might the better draw their waggons over some high hills which we had to cross. At this time our provision was altogether eaten up, except a little stinking butter, and broken bread, as hard as flint. Every one was calling out  
hunger,



hunger, and I amongst the rest. I took a walk amongst the banks of the Volga, and found great plenty of excellent mushrooms, of which we gathered abundance for us all. I found also a great quantity of excellent sweet arrach, which we boiled, and made a pretty good repast. During our stay here, which was about two hours, one of my convoy's horse was bit by some serpent, of which it was thought it would die. I gave upon this occasion a ruble to the Cossack, and got the commandant's promise to get a contribution at Tzaritzin for him ; which, I doubt not, he received.

We met with nothing remarkable between this and Tzaritzin, except a great deal of trouble in drawing up and down the steep hills.

At Tzaritzin I paid my faithful Tartars, called for fresh horses ; and having paid my respects to my old friend the commandant, took my departure that very evening by the north side of the line towards the Don. When we were about three versts distant from the middle castle, the people desired I would set up my tent for the night upon the side of a brook, where there was plenty of water and grass for their horses ; because, they said, a Swede, a captain, commanded, who would suffer none to pass, except cabinet couriers, in the night time. In commiseration to these poor people I did so ; and next morning advanced to the castle, and sent my  
servant

servant with the passport to the captain, who could get no admittance; nor would the guards permit us to proceed. Such rigorous treatment I could not relish, and therefore went myself. Upon letting the centinels know who I was, I got ready admittance into the castle; and being shown the door of the house where the captain lived, I entered into the first chamber, where his servant was in waiting. He asked my business? I answered, I wanted to see the commander immediately, and desired him to acquaint him so. The fellow taking me for a merchant, (such people having no respect paid them by the army, except they pay for it), desired me to return and wait till the captain was dressed. At this I stormed, threatening to have his captain punished, if I was stopped ten minutes. Our noise alarmed the captain, Vedeman, though he did not hear what we said. He burst open the door, and, in a very angry mood, asked, in a hurry, some impertinent questions; to all which I answered (observing his impertinent servant sneering) with some calmness, that I had been waiting without, within the castle, and in his antichamber, about an hour. Then I told him who I was, and shewed him my passports. Lastly, I observed, that as he was a foreigner, I was sorry to find so little politeness, and so much impertinence from his servant. I made him recollect the common  
observation



observation of the most sensible people in the world, that where-ever servants are observed to be rude to strangers, or any other, it is a shrewd sign of the insufficiency of their masters, and generally leaves a low and pitiful opinion that the stranger must entertain of them. I observed the captain, upon mentioning the grand Persian embassy, and that, in my opinion, we would all in a short time pass this way, melted into extreme good humour; and to confirm that he was so, he punished his servant instantly, swearing, that he never let an uncivil servant go unpunished. After taking a glass or two of very good wine, he importuned me to stay longer. I told him that Mrs Cook would be uneasy at the stay I had already made. Upon which, in the greatest hurry, he put on his best wig, and sword by his side, and walked out with me, and pressed my wife much to take a small repast in the castle. The hirelings rejected that, as their time was precious; which indeed was true. I was of the same opinion. But the Captain, observing that a little rest, and the curiosity of visiting the castle was agreeable to Mrs Cook, ordered the horses to be unyoked, and drove into a fine meadow of grass under the castle wall, commanding the soldiers upon the walls to fire at any person who should dare go to near the horses, till farther orders. The boors, seeing

seeing their horses fare so well, seemed very well satisfied ; but were much more so when they were favoured with a few glasses of the captain's corn spirits. We passed about two hours very agreeably in this castle, and departed in great friendship. The captain gave orders not to stop the hirelings in their return, though in the night-time. And thus every thing ended to the general satisfaction of us all : Nor did we meet with any thing worth taking notice of till we arrived at Michaelova post-house.

The city of Michaelova is built upon a rising ground. The Don washes it on the south, and a branch of the same river surrounds it on all sides, fordable only in one place, where their post-house is built in full view of the city. We arrived about twelve of the clock in the day ; two of the sailors desired to buy provisions in the city ; which was readily granted, providing they would return soon, to which they readily agreed. I waited two full hours, and ordered the horses to be yoked, designing to make them imagine that I would have no farther concern with such head strong ungovernable people as they were. Very lucky it was that the horses were yoked in ; for the horses were scarcely put to, than we spied our two adventurers, pursued, running to the water side, where they seized upon a  
small



small boat, and immediately crossed over to us, and took their places in their carts. I then ordered the horses to be drove on with good speed, much against the will of the drivers, who were afraid that their townsmen would take their disobedience to their commands very ill; for they from the other side ordered them not to proceed till they came over. As we had but twenty versts to drive to Chopra castle, I was of opinion, that if any good could be done for them, my old acquaintance the governor would have contributed his assistance to have made it up amicably; whereas if the Cossacks had once laid hold of them, they would have punished them by their own laws; nor would have shown the least regard for me. When we arrived in Chopra, I ordered horses to be got ready, and lost no time in driving on to the next post-house in the desert, formerly taken notice of; and there, with fresh horses, I made no stay, but drove on to the next in course. This I did, that if any pursuit was intended, they would be informed at the post-house, or by the people who returned with the horses, that I made no stop any where; wherefore it would be impossible to overtake me till I would be quite out of the province of Veronits; because they could get no other horses than these I had made use of before them. Thus, at the hazard of

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a good deal of trouble, expence, and uneasiness, I saved my troublesome countrymen, who very probably, in their own country, would not have escaped so easily. I wanted to know the cause of all this trouble I had undergone for them; and, in a merry humour, begged that they would indulge me with their account of it. They, thinking, no doubt, that I would approve of their frolic, being at least as young as any one of them, told me, that, after they had made their market, they went into a house to take a draught of some liquor, where they saw very pretty women, whom they invited to take a share of it. After the women had drank a few glasses of mead, the tars wanted to proceed to liberties; to which the women not consenting, and being much affronted at their audaciousness, after they had told them, that they were married women, bawled out; by which I suspect the sailors wanted to force them. The noise soon assembled a mob at the door, which the sailors, however, had made fast, previous to their design. The sailors, perceiving their danger, paid for their liquor, made their escape out of a window into a garden, over the dyke of it, and wall of the town. They made not the least hesitation to scramble, nor to seize the first boat with oars which they came to, and so, as has been said, came to us. When they had made an end of their discourse,



discourse, I endeavoured to convince them of the villany which they had attempted; and assured them, that it was my opinion, that, had the Cossacks succeeded in captivating them, they would not by this time have been permitted to live. I said, that as they were my countrymen, and as I had given my promise to Mr Thomson to convey them safe to Moscow, I would endeavour to do so; but, at the same time, after this day, I was determined to take my repasts in my tent in the open fields, at least one verst distant from any city or village, and proceed regularly on my way to Moscow; therefore advised them, who scarcely could ask for any thing in the Russian language, to be very cautious what they did; for determined I was henceforth, to give myself no further concern about protecting such irregular people. I told them, that I was not ignorant that they designed to take a view of Ivangorod, where it was then believed the unfortunate branches of the royal family were kept prisoners. I honestly warned them of their danger, and assured them, that if they made any such attempt, or so much as spoke to any person about them, it would endanger their lives; but if they preserved their lives, they would undoubtedly lose their liberties; and that, in that case, it would be as dangerous for me, or any other, to speak in their favour. Mr Oneman

neman was sensible of the truth of all this, and used what arguments he could to convince them of their danger. We arrived within a verst of Ivangorod, where I stopped to take a refreshment, and kept the sailors from going to the city. I spoke privately to the eamshicks, or people to whom the horses belonged, to drive on at a good smart trot, till we arrived at the city, then to drive through at a full gallop, in order to prevent these ignorant people from bringing themselves into further trouble. As I took my place in the rear, and Mr Oneman in front, I saw it performed to my wish: Nor did the drivers give over till we were at least two versts distant from the city. After this I met with nothing to disturb me till I arrived at Moscow on the 19th day of June, having travelled 1563 versts in twenty-six days, by land, heavy loaded, and delivered my charge in safety to Mr Tamas, of whom I was very glad to be freed. As I was driving slowly through the streets of Moscow to the prince's house, I accidentally met with Major Berezin, who was as adjutant to the prince, but now was honoured with the place of marshal of the embassy. He, amongst other things, told me of the death of the incomparable princess Catharine Golitzin, the prince's eldest daughter. I do not believe any piece of intelligence could have



have been more affecting to me. The major desired that I would take no notice of it to her parents, and appear as if I had known nothing of it. This was absolutely impossible, having been so lately made acquainted with her severe end. However, I behaved with all the resolution and prudence of which I was capable. We arrived before dinner, and by the time we had disposed of our baggage, and paid our compliments to this illustrious family, we were ordered to come to dinner. Dinner being ended, the princess rose sooner than ordinary, and desired to speak with me in the parlour. I no sooner entered, than after having discharged a flood of tears, she gave me the melancholy history of her most accomplished daughter, and told me, that the Empress had twice verbally ordered Count Lestois to send for me; because, she said, that her daughter Catharine was of opinion, that if I had had the care of her, she would be in no danger. Of this I am very uncertain; for she was far advanced in a deep consumption before I could have reached Moscow.

## C H A P.

## C H A P.   XVI.

*The author arrives at Moscow.   A description  
of the monastery of Jerusalem.*

AS I was a stranger in this city, I employed my time, for about a week, in visiting it, and only one monastery, called *Jerusalem's monastery*, distant from Moscow about sixty versts. As I have already given a general description of this city, I shall here give a short description of this monastery, so famous through all Russia. The church, bishop's and priests houses, &c. are all enclosed with high brick walls, the wall forming one side of the bishop's palace, all built on a beautiful detached hill, having on the east, north, and west the finest lawns in the world, through which glides a noble river. In the plain, upon the banks of the river, stands the builder's romantic house, all built of stone. Prince Michael Golitzin, Major Berezin, and I arrived at the monastery, just as the priests had begun the forenoon service ; wherefore we determined to visit the builder's house, hospital, and appendages belonging to this celebrated church. We were let out at a small back entry, descended a pleasant equal bank, and then proceeded about half a verst to this romantic pile :



pile : It stood quite alone, three stories in height, in every one of which were four rooms, except the ground-story, where were his kitchen, store-room, and a room, I imagine, for his attendants. The area of each of these rooms was but about eight, or at most nine feet square ; in every one was a small stove ; his bed-stead was of stone, as were the bed and pillow ; his chairs were of the same materials : Every story of this house was vaulted, and it was flat on the roof, for the conveniency of taking a view of the country. It had but one entry, and every room received light from one window of the least size. The builder was a hermit, and a professed religious.

The hospital was not very large, but well enough provided with every necessary but medicine : Prayers were sufficient to cure all the diseases which appeared in this holy place. If no cure happened to be performed, an answer was not wanting, *viz.* that God had determined a certain time for him to be cleansed from the diseases of his soul, as well as his body. When death ensued, nothing could prove more advantageous, for he went immediately to heaven from God's own temple of Jerusalem, without the least dread of purgatory, and his body was deposited in the holiest of ground till the resurrection.

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On the west end of the church was one of the most capacious copulas I have ever seen, only the middle of the arch had fallen down some years ago. This copula was designed to prevent rain, or even the dew, to fall upon the holy sepulchre, which stood near the centre, with a stone cross on the top of it, which the monk assured us was not touched, nor any part of the sacred sepulchre defaced with the fall of the copula. To which I answered, without thinking where I was, that it was a good chance. Upon which the monk endeavoured to undeceive me, by protesting, that this wonderful miracle was done by God himself. Having no inclination to dispute with this piece of ignorance, I acquiesced; and, out of respect to the place, crawled into the sepulchre. The stone at the door was very large; and I am certain such a stone could not have been removed by ten men, unless it had been broken in pieces, or they had had proper machines fixed for that purpose. As we were visiting this wonderful copula, and its contents, word was brought, that the bishop was on his way to his palace. Upon which the young prince desired us to go out and view the procession. Two deacons preceeded; the bishop walked alone, followed by many different orders of priests and monks. The prince and major advanced to beg the bishop's benediction, which they were not refused: Our servants  
also



also shared the same honour. He having been informed what countryman I was, who was deserted by all our company at this time, made a sign to me to come to him. I advanced immediately to know his pleasure: He took me by the hand, and gave me a hearty welcome, telling me, at the same time, that this singular mark of distinction proceeded from the great love he naturally had for British people. He said, that he had belonged, about ten years, to the Russian fleet, where Admirals Gordon, Saunders, and Paton, with a number he named, had shown him particular marks of their favour: For which reasons, and many others, which he enumerated, his breast glowed with gratitude, as it were, to a Briton. I told him, that I was very happy, in being at once made acquainted with a person of his cloth, dignity, but, above all, his good sense; which, I observed to him, could not fail to make him gain the esteem of every person, let their condition be ever so high, providing they had sense to see his merit.

The bishop dismissed the whole band of his attendants, except the person who kept the keys of the church, whom he ordered to open the doors, and wait on the outside. The dome was very magnificent and very high, with a gallery which surrounded it near the top; the windows were capacious;

it was very well lighted ; the walls were all hung round with various pictures of the Saints, very richly adorned with silver, gold, pearl, and precious stones ; the altar was very grand, and adorned with various pieces of curious workmanship. I cannot say whether this dome was as large as that of St Paul's in London or not, but it was a noble structure. The bishop said, that this church was not built like the antient temple at Jerusalem, but it was equal at least to it, and exceeded much in richness the present principal church, of which this was designed to be a copy, and therefore was called Jerusalem monastery. He persuaded the young prince and major to go up to the gallery and look down; they obeyed, and when they had entered upon the stair, he shut the door and locked it, telling me, that it would be possible for them to get to the gallery soon, nor could any look into the church : Now, said he, I design to let you have a view of the *sanctum sanctorum* ; fear nothing, come away. He then opened the door from the altar, and I looked in, but would not enter ; he laughed at my circumspection ; but I answered, that I had a full view of every thing, returned him thanks, declared my satisfaction, and withdrew into the middle of the church, where we had not waited long, till the young gentlemen made their appearance like two puppets



puppets from the gallery; and they said, we looked like two pigmie dwarfs, not exceeding the bigness of crows. The *sanctum sanctorum* was a room, whose floor was nearly a hemisphere; on the side next the partition, which separated it from the altar, was a very long broad table, covered with a carpet of cut velvet, fringed with gold, upon which a few books lay, and in one corner was a large chest; what was kept in it I did not enquire; and upon the walls were hanging many church garments.

The young gentlemen being returned, the bishop retired to his palace, after taking our promise to dine with him, and ordered one of the monks to shew us any thing remaining worthy of notice: He took us through a variety of small buildings on the south side of the church, in every one of which was part of our Saviour's remarkable transactions when he sojourned on the earth, represented by figures as big as the life, especially these on the three crosses, and which appeared to me to be very well executed. When we had visited every thing, we were conveyed to the palace, where the good bishop made us very happy with his chearful company. We spent about two hours with this charming man; and, after having eaten of the best and most delicious fish-dishes, and drunk as much excellent wine as we chused, we departed, extremely well pleased with our good  
enter.

entertainment, to a village belonging to the prince, where we ordered a good country supper, and slept upon hay. Next morning, we returned to Moscow, where all were delighted with the account of the bishop's hospitality, and his acting so much like a gentleman.

It was at this time I had ever seen any experiments of electricity : These were exhibited by Dr Lerch physician appointed by the embassy. The wonderful effects it produced upon many, caused a very great resort of the most illustrious people in Moscow ; but this was not altogether agreeable to the prince, because, he told the doctor, he made an appearance in Moscow, rather like a stroller than an honourable physician. The doctor urged that he took no money for his trouble, but the prince let him know, that unless he gave it over, or practised it privately, he would never have the least value for him ; with which at last he was forced to comply.

During my short stay, I was sent for by one of her Majesty's blind counsellors. At my arrival, he said, that he had been informed I had recovered several people blind of cataracts, which was his disease. I answered, that I had succeeded frequently, but that I could not promise at any time to be successful ; because, whatever has been taught concerning that disease, I had known some experienced men mistaken ; that they have  
imagined



imagined the cataract very good, by all the salutary appearances usually taken notice of ; but that I had been an eye-witness how far they were mistaken, when they touched it with the needle, although no blame could be fixed upon them in using the instrument ; wherefore, I was determined never to promise more than I was certain I could perform. He said, there was something singular in his disease ; for, said he, one day I see some, and the next day I am quite blind. This, I confess, surprised me. I hesitated not to tell him so, and that I never had seen any who had made the same remark, nor had I ever read of any such in any book. I asked him, Whether this was his blind day ? He answered in the affirmative, and begged I would come next day, when he would readily show me that he could see, tho' faintly, all his fingers. Next day, being dressed in the sea uniform, which was green, when I arrived, he expressed joy ; for, says he, I can plainly distinguish all my fingers : Then he eagerly counted over his fingers, assuring me, that he could distinguish them very easily, especially as the air was very serene. After a small time, his only daughter being present, I begged of him to place his hand on his knee, and at that distance try if he could see them : He did so, and with great joy counted over and touched every one of them : But little did he know that the skirt of my  
coat

coat was between his eyes and hands. I ended this affair, by assuring him, that as yet the cataracts were not come to ripeness ; but added, that if they were ripe when I should return from Persia, I would very readily couch them. He returned me thanks, and said, Don't think that I shall employ you unpaid ; her Imperial Majesty will thank you for what good you do me ; but I am rich ; I need none to help me, and I will not fail to reward you nobly. In saying so, he put six ducats into my hand ; nor would he be refused. At the door I told his daughter that I had not the smallest hopes of his recovering his sight, because he was afflicted with two diseases ; the one was truly the cataract, the other the *gutta serena*, which is a disease of itself incurable. I told her this, in confidence never to divulge it to any but gentlemen of the profession, who would not do a dirty thing, in order to fill their pockets. At my return from Persia I soon had a message from him : He told me, that he began to fret much at the tedious proceeding of the embassy, and was afraid that I might die in that expedition, which had proved so very fatal to many ; therefore, said he, I made a tour to St Petersburg, and, hoping they might be ripe, by her Majesty's high order, had a consultation of all the physicians, and many of the best surgeons in St Petersburg ; but to my great misfortune, they pronounced the same sentence



sentence you had done formerly. His daughter told me, that she had acquainted them with my opinion before they saw him, and after they had given him their opinion, he told them, that I had said the same thing. At this meeting, I pronounced the very same opinion I had done formerly, and that therefore it would be to no purpose to put him to the expence of unnecessary visits. He was truly a man of a noble spirit, and good understanding : He frankly begged that I would twice a week at least visit him, and it would be a pleasure to him to give me for each visit two ducats, rather than two copeaks to a villain who would impose upon him.

I have been informed, since I left Russia, that the stroller, Chevalier Taylor, was disgraced in Russia, for some fruitless attempt he made upon some counsellor ; very likely this was the man, but I am uncertain.

One day after dinner, the prince desired I would pay a visit to an old maiden lady, who complained of a very extraordinary disease. She was about the age of fifty-five, and for eight or nine years before this her upper lip swelled immensely every month ; at the end of the month, it broke open and emitted a large quantity of bloody matter. When the swelling was at the greatest, it not only covered her mouth, but her chin also, so that, for near fourteen days every month she could see no company, nor go to church, of which she

she was extremely fond. He said, that it was now small, and therefore desired me to pay her a visit, to see if I had any hopes of her recovery. I did so, and observing a very small aperture on the inside, above the *dentes incisivi*, exactly in the middle, I begged she would permit me to introduce a very small probe, which I easily bent to answer my intention. I run this probe from the orifice quite down to the lowest point of the lip; and, feeling with my finger, I discovered only a very thin membrane, viz. the inner skin of the lip, without any uneasiness interveening between my finger and the probe. I advised her therefore to have patience till it swelled to its utmost size, and let me know whenever it burst open, not doubting but that this would happen before we left Moscow. To all this she agreed, but said, that, considering she had taken the advice of all the principal physicians and surgeons in the city, during the whole time of her illness, without any effect, she despaired of ever recovering. I answered, that I was very far from making her certain of a cure; but I was very certain, that what I proposed to do was agreeable to the rules of practice and reason; and further, that if it did not succeed to her wish, it could never make it worse, nor any way hurt her. All things being agreed upon, I waited till I one morning was sent for, and found her lip incredibly  
big:



big : The flowing of the bloody thin matter pointed out the orifice from whence it proceeded, into which I introduced a gentian tent, and in the afternoon another. Next morning, when I had withdrawn the tent, I, unperceived, introduced the point of a small crooked sharp knife, which had a button on the very point, and at once cut quite through the lower point of the lip. The whole contents fell out at once, and she was agreeably enough surpris'd to have so suddenly been made free from so great weight. I dress'd it up with dry scraped lint, and continued to look after her for a few days, taking care that the wound did not grow together.

At our return from Persia, this good lady was in perfect health, nor had ever been troubled with that disagreeable swelling, neither did any ill consequence follow ; and, what is the more surpris'ing, none knew, except the prince, that I had made any operation ; for she thought, and said so to her acquaintances, that, at a third application of the tent, every thing was at once made open, not dreaming that she had been cut ; an operation, though a very great trifle, she never would have submitted to, if she had been made previously acquainted with it.

## C H A P.    XVII.

*Treats of the Ambassador's Suite, the Presents for the Shach, and their Departure from Moscow.*

**A**BOUT the latter end of July all the suite being assembled, and all the presents designed for the court of Persia being now ready, and packed up, we received orders from court to march with all diligence for Astrachan.

The suite consisted of the ambassador, and six officers of the army as companions to the ambassador, captains and lieutenants ; the secretary and consiliarist, a number of writers and interpreters ; the physician, surgeon, surgeon's mate, and assistants ; six pages, all young gentlemen ; two troops of dragoons, each troop consisting of one hundred and twenty men, commanded by six officers, with one engineer ; sixty soldiers with their arms ; eighteen musicians, consisting of various violins, bassoons, hautboys, and French horns ; besides, one pair of kettle-drums and a trumpet to each troop, all of silver, with large silver tassels and fringes which reached, when on horse-back, near to the ground ; twenty falconers dressed in green, mounted with gold-lace, as were our musicians,



cians, only their cloaths were differently made.

Before we left Moscow, the prince gave orders that his whole command should dress themselves in their richest cloaths, and make their appearance in his court, assuring them, that if they had not got every thing about them in that order which her Majesty required, they would be dismissed, and others more worthy of such honour chosen in their places. When we had gone through the muster, fault was only found with Dr Lerch, (a lover of money ;) he was dressed in superfine brown cloth, with a broad gold-lace, whereas, the prince said, he should at least have had two rows of gold-lace, buttons, &c. in proportion ; he therefore had orders to get such things as were prescribed, or else the prince protested he would return him. The doctor received one thousand crowns to mount him, and he had not laid out the half of it. Our horse-furniture was superbly manufactured, in proportion to the owner. My cloaths and furniture were inferior to none of the gentlemen belonging to the embassy ; but this was owing purely to the prince's generosity to me, who upon this occasion paid not one farthing, but put seven hundred and fifty crowns, designed for such expences, into my pocket. The presents consisted of silks, European manufactured velvets, clocks, watches, snuff-boxes, (though the Persians never

never use snuff,) and a variety of trinkets in gold, silver, and brass double gilt, of curious workmanship, and many of them beset with precious stones; twelve armed chairs of steel, inlaid with gold, of very curious workmanship, all made in Russia; twenty horses bred in Russia, from Persian, Arabian, Italian, Spanish, British, and German offspring. Among these horses, one of the British progeny would allow none to mount him, except the man who fed him, and Major Berezin who frequently placed the reins on his neck, and smoked his pipe as we rode along. One day Captain Possiet, of whom mention was formerly made, a brisk officer and excellent horseman, laid a wager with the major, that he would ride him; he accordingly mounted, and no doubt used all his skill; the horse did all he could to throw him; but finding all his attempts fruitless, he reared, fell back, and had very nigh killed the captain; and what surprised me greatly, he did not attempt to run off, being a stoned horse, as indeed they all were, but stood peaceably till the major seized him, and caused put him up.

Every thing being now in readiness, I begged leave of the prince to convoy my wife to St Petersburg; but, alike in every thing, he stroaked my head, and asked if I would not let her stay with the princess till my return, telling me, that he had appointed

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ed two very convenient rooms for her, and as many maids to attend her ; that, when in health, she would eat with the princess daily; if ailing, proper care should be taken of her, the same as his own family. Thus, every thing being settled to my satisfaction, I was made quite easy. The horses, dragoons, and bulk of the baggage, with the doctor and his mate, were sent off on different days, that such a number of men and horses might not be oppressive to the inhabitants of the countries through which we were to pass, about the end of July. At last, however, in the beginning of August, the prince set out immediately after, in company with the princess and his young son Michael, who convoyed us a few hundred versts, with the gentlemen of the embassy, musicians, and a few soldiers to mount a respectable guard, wherever the prince happened to set up. I observed my wife very melancholy the whole time of dinner, and she, when questioned, said the music was the cause. I endeavoured to comfort her, but to little purpose. After dinner, I went into her apartment, and counselled her to behave like a prudent woman ; and, having given her promise not to follow me out, I went directly and seated myself in my waggon, the rest being all gone away. I had scarcely taken my seat, when my wife was by me, holding fast by my garment. I intreated her to go into the house, and

and ordered to drive on. She endeavoured to keep her hold, which obliged me to give her a gentle push, lest the hindermost wheels had run over her; and thus we parted. I soon came up with the rear, and we drove only twenty versts from Moscow that night. After tea, the prince dispatched a messenger to Moscow, for something he had forgot. I begged to go also, telling him what way I was obliged to part with my wife, and how much it grieved me; but that wise man made me sensible, that, in place of alleviating, it would rather increase her grief, dissuaded me from it, and advised me to write a short billet, which I did. At the courier's return, I was satisfied with a note from her that all was well, and that she was pleased I did not return to Moscow. We travelled by easy stages, and, on the third day, took up our quarters in the beautiful city Columna, one hundred and eighty versts distant from Moscow, early in the afternoon, all in high spirits. A young colonel (Zagretzke, son of a lieutenant-general) contributed not a little thereto. This colonel placed at the prince's lodging, before he entered into the city, a captain's command, consisting of a hundred and twenty men. The Empress had indulged this young soldier with a liberty to form his regiment out of the armies of Russia; and indeed he had not disappointed her, for he had picked up men about one age, and of the



the largest size : The officers were also of his own choice, but he did not regard their size, providing they were good disciplinarians. One officer, not forty years of age, by some years older than any man in the regiment, they therefore called him Father. Never a piece of clock-work could have exhibited a more regular performance than this beautiful regiment ; and indeed the officers scarcely were heard to speak.

We passed the Occa next morning, and continued marching easily through the province of Rezan, where we came up with our dragoons and led horses, and lodged in a large village; the best house being the priest's, the prince slept there. This priest had a great number of geese, which our men made so free with in the night-time, that they left none. The prince, being informed of this, sent for all the officers, acquainted them of it, and ordered us all to make strict search, whether it was possible to discover the perpetrators of this piece of villany, protesting that he would cause punish, as thieves, any who should take the smallest value from his neighbour. The officers reported, after a short time, that, after the strictest search, no discovery could be made, not so much as of the feathers. The prince satisfied the poor priest for his loss ; nor had we many complaints of this kind afterwards. The evening following, we lodged in the city of Rezan,

zan, the capital of the province ; and next morning the princess convoyed her lord two versts out of the city, there parted with him, and returned in her coach for Moscow. Upon this occasion, the prince ordered Major Berezin and me to take our seats in his coach for his recreation : The major soon fell asleep ; the prince continued dull, and in a musing mood, till we had travelled three or four versts, when I broke silence, by making some general observations upon the passions to which men are subject at parting with their dear friends, or, after long absence, meeting with them again ; and in a little time after, the prince's countenance brightened, he roused the major from his ill-tim'd rest, and ordered him to fill up a glass of wine, of which indeed I was very needful. I propos'd to get a fourth hand, and pass the time with a pack of cards, which was agreed to, and frequently practis'd afterwards. Nothing happened in our way to Tamboff worth notice, except at this place our secretary, in a sneering manner, told me, that my servant Mahomet was an extraordinary archer ; for, said he, he killed upon wing two geese with two arrows. I sent for Mahomet, question'd him about it ; he did not deny the fact, but said, that his comrades wagered that he could not ; therefore, to convince them, he shot two geese. I threatened to cause whip him, if ever I found him guilty of shooting the  
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the people's geese again, and thus let him go. The boy was so insolent as, even in my hearing, to say, that I durst not cause punish him, but that if I should offer any such violence to him, he would instantly cut his throat. I ordered him to be brought back, laid down before the standard, and caused whip him till he came in all obedience, and promised never to act in the like manner, nor use such expressions. This boy afterwards proved one of the best servants I ever had, went, and returned with me from Persia, without having been guilty of one fault. It was very disagreeable to me to cause punish the young man. I knew that threatening would have proved satisfactory to any reasonable man, and would have satisfied the prince; but his having threatened to destroy himself, was truly the cause of my rigour, which was designed more for his good, than for any satisfaction I pretended to. Experience will teach men, that the sooner a criminal is punished for his fault, the better effect it has to reclaim and bring him to reason; which holds true with a great number of men who join together with a view to disturb the public peace. If a few were punished at the very beginning with all the severity the regulations permit, it would be a mean to save the lives of thousands.

The punishing of that boy had another good effect in relation to the whole com-

mand ; for they looked on me, and not without reason, as a favourite : When they saw, for a small fault, that I readily caused punish my servant, they had not the least doubt, that if I had not done so, the prince would have been dissatisfied with me ; and therefore concluded, that liberties of that kind would meet with no pardon from the prince.

At Tamboff, we dined with Captain Swinine, a Russian, and an old Taverhoff acquaintance ; he was captain of a man of war, but at present voivode or governor of this city and its appendages. After dinner, we marched on, having now come up with the baggage ; nor did any thing happen worth acquainting the reader through the great desert of one hundred and eighty versts, till we arrived at Chopra castle.

We arrived late, and by some uncommon accident I happened to come up with the rear. I constantly drove to the house where the prince lodged ; and, as I slept in my waggon, I had it placed near the outer sentinels, to prevent thieves from plundering me. When I went into a large room, where all our gentlemen were already assembled, I saw my old acquaintance the governor, and, not knowing what had happened, went up and kindly saluted him. The prince seemed not well pleased at my freedom, and asked me? how I came to be acquainted with him, telling that he designed to appoint another governor



governor to this castle, and send him to St Petersburg to answer for his want of due respect to her Majesty's orders.

At the latter end of last year or the beginning of this, a general order, by her Majesty's direction, was sent to all the governors in the Russian empire, commanding, that no cannon should be fired off in honour to any general in the army, as was formerly the custom, unless the general paid for the powder expended upon such occasions.

The Empress, designing that this grand embassy should be honourably respected even in the barbarous parts of Persia, sent orders to the governors of all the provinces thro' which we were destined to march, signifying her Majesty's pleasure, that all and every one of her subjects should know that Prince Golitzin, now on his way to Persia, where-ever he should go, represented her Majesty's sacred person, and requiring, that they should pay the same obedience to his orders, as if she herself had given them : And farther, that the Imperial standard should be set up where-ever his main-guard should happen to be ; and lastly, that all honours should be paid him, in the same manner as are done to her Majesty.

The poor governor had not caused fire off his cannon, stupidly enough waiting for orders from the prince, and money to pay for the powder.

powder. When the prince however was satisfied that his want of respect proceeded purely from ignorance of his duty, like the rest of his actions, he frankly forgave him, and I conveyed him into the castle to pay my respects to the captain's old wife. Next morning, the governor did not forget to give the prince a double royal salute, at which he laughed heartily, but when he had considered the reason, he observed that the governor would easily account for his having performed his duty regularly by the expence of the powder upon this occasion, and we proceeded on our journey to Tzaritzin without meeting with any thing worth notice.

We were obliged to remain at Tzaritzin a few days, until the baggage was shipped off by water for Astrachan, in which short time very little happened worth notice. My old acquaintance Captain Vedeman came to me in the evening, to whom I returned thanks for the civilities he had conferred on me in the castle. He told me that his son-in-law was sent upon some expedition near the Caspian sea; that his daughter was big with child, and very near her time. She was very melancholy upon this occasion, and the more so, as her husband had but lately returned from some dangerous expedition against robbers; whereas it was great oppression to send him twice, and other captains  
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in the regiment doing nothing, whose proper turn it was now to have gone : He therefore desired that I would speak to the Prince, that he might put a stop to a practice so partial and irregular. I said that I owed him that service ; but advised him to tell me nothing but what he could make good ; because if his relation should be contradicted by his enemies, the Prince would cause inquiry to be made, and that if it did not turn out quite true, it would at least throw a great cloud between the Prince and him. I told him that I was certain the Prince would reprove their general for not looking better after his officers : I begged of him to wait a short time till I returned, and acquainted the Prince ; he ordered Vedeman into his presence, who told him the same story he had told me. The Prince sent one of his gentlemen, who was present, to General Zabrenske, to require that the captain should be recalled immediately, and another to be appointed in his place. Next day he arrived with gladness to his wife in the city, and the old general sent for me to consult me about a violent pain in one of his knees. When I went to him, the prince was with him ; he said that he had been long plagued with this pain ; that he had applied several medicines to it, which hitherto had no good effect : But, said he, yesterday I was advised to rub it with my fasting spittle,

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and I think it is a little easier. I answered, that as the medicine was quite safe, and he found some relief, I was of opinion, he should continue it ; but if it proved, at last, ineffectual, before the prince left Tzaritzin, I would very readily give my advice in writing, for which he returned me thanks. He was very old, and had been in all Peter the Great's wars, was many times wounded ; one he had from the left corner of his mouth to his ear very conspicuous, and I judged it better to let the old gentleman please his fancy, than throw away medicines ineffectually ; for his constitution seemed to be much worn out ; and he not far from dissolution ; which I was told happened soon after this.

Tzaritzin produceth the greatest flocks of partridges I ever saw any where, and they have a particular way of catching them, at this time of the year, when they continue in great flocks, which is very simple. They extend a net between two long small poles, about twenty feet distant the one from the other : They fix two long small cords to the top of each pole, which makes four cords ; one man lies down on the sand between the town and river, where these fowls fly after sun-set, and another man placeth himself in the same manner on the other side of the poles ; then the one who has the smallest portion of two ropes or cords I spoke of, pulls



pulls to him, which raiseth the poles till they are erect, where they keep them, till a flock of partridges happen to fly into the net : The man, on whose side of the net the partridges are, pulls to him, till he brings the net with its contents to the ground. I have seen twenty partridges thus taken at one pull, sometimes many, sometimes few, and it also happens that the fowlers in an evening will get none; but that is rare.

Here I first discovered that Major Berezin envied my happiness in the prince's favour. He wanted me to commit a very great crime, scarcely excusable either by the laws of the empire or common reason. Upon the way to Astrachan I constantly slept in my wagon for coolness, and the benefit of a fresh healthy air. I was a very great lover of shooting, and used to divert myself one or two hours daily with that exercise. The partridges were not shy here; for they would fly amongst the horses in the yards to pick the oats they scattered. One morning about sun-rising, the major roused me from a sweet sleep, in order, as he said, to get a good shot; before, however, I had dressed myself, I had come to the use of my reason, but was not a little surprised to see him point to a great flock of partridges sitting on the top of the very house the prince slept in, built all with timber, and covered with the same materials : The drought had been  
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for a long time very great, and a little bit of lighted stubble might have burnt down the city. Add to this, that, by an imperial order, it is forbidden to shoot in or near a fortified castle or city where powder magazines are kept. At present, I took no notice to the major that I would resent such a piece of baseness; I only said, that it was a very childish advice, which none but children or madmen would follow, and went out of the city to seek sport in the fields. At breakfast, I told it to the prince before the major and a few of our gentlemen: I did not forget to observe how easily a man might have been brought into such a scrape before he was in a condition to make use of his reason, and took notice of the danger the city might have been exposed to by such an imprudent action. The major attempted to alleviate his vile intention, but it would not do; he then cast some reflections upon my presumption to endeavour to load him with the prince's anger: To this I made answer, that I had too good reasons for making the prince sensible either of his the major's stupidity, or that he was capable to advise a man, he intended to do all the ill he could to, to commit an action either villainous, or foolish, by which many thousand innocent people might have suffered greatly, and even the empire itself. The prince made some sensible observations upon this affair, and



and, in a paternal manner, counselled the major to be more circumspect in time coming; and did not forget to demonstrate the danger he would have been in for giving so foolish an advice; but he intended to keep us in friendship. The major used more freedom in his discourse before the prince than I thought was decent, of which I sometimes put him in remembrance. At last he distantly threatened me, which language I was a stranger to: He also made some reflections concerning the difference of our rank, and the little respect I had all along shown to him. To all which I answered, that a well-behaved officer would ever be loved and respected by men of understanding: That superficial foolish fops never could be satisfied: That the case was acknowledged to be in a very low state, when it could be supported no other way, and by no other argument than a superior rank in the army. I jeeringly said, that it was very well known the Empress had three hundred and fifty thousand regular troops, each of whose rank was considerably inferior to mine, yet, by pronouncing one order, she could instantly make any one of that great number either a major, colonel, &c. just as she should think proper: But I asked him, Whether he thought it possible, that she could instantly, without education, make one of all that great number qualified for my business? And, lastly,

I told him, that though I made no pretension to be a soldier, yet I despised his threats, and thought myself completely qualified to defend myself against any bravo whatsoever, especially as I happened to have the most contemptible notion of either their honour or true courage. At this the major was going to make some bold reply, with a countenance full of anger, and martial pride, when the prince ordered silence. Breakfast ended, we retired. Some of our officers were well pleased with what had happened, for he had carried a very high command over them; especially, as they were not well known to the prince as yet, they did not care to assert their right all at once. Soon after this, the major and I made up matters so effectually, that, during the whole time of the embassy we never had any great dispute, whatever private animosities he might have retained against me.

We had now been six days in this city, during which we had sent off all our heavy baggage and presents for Astrachan, under a good guard of our soldiers, when the prince gave orders for us to march out of town next morning at break of day. We were all in motion, and the greatest part of the command already in the desert, when I was roused from sleep by the report of the great guns from the city walls, in honour of the prince. We had a convoy of five hundred



dred Cossacks added to our dragoons, which was enough for any body of scattered Kalmucks that we could meet with in the desert, especially as the banks of the Volga were well lined with many regiments of dragoons and Cossacks. We arrived on the banks of the Volga, opposite to Astrachan, in the evening of the ninth day after our departure from Tzaritzin. In the morning the prince was attended by all the principal officers and citizens in Astrachan. The governor sent his barge for the prince, and many boats from the admiralty brought over the rest of his retinue. This morning, between sleep and waking, I was afflicted with an exceeding itchy sensation in my left leg. Not doubting that it was the bite of some insect, I hastily scratched the part affected. The nail of one of my fingers caught hold of the smallest angle of a piece of matter as hard as a bone, and raised it up, tearing the scarf skin off more than half an inch long, which occasioned a very smart pain; the base, however, stuck fast, and required some assistance to get it out. This could be nothing else but perspirable matter, which by length of time had increased to such hardness and magnitude insensibly: It was in form of an Isosceles, the little wound of which I bear the mark to this day, but soon healed up, without any difficulty.

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The prince ordered his barge to row directly to the great gate in the city, reaching to the Volga, and commanded all his gentlemen to row immediately after him. Now the Volga exhibited a show of a greater number of barges, boats, and canoes, than ever I had seen upon it at any one time before this. As we passed the admiralty, they saluted him with their ordnance. At last we arrived; the governor waited at the port to receive his Excellency. The governor, having paid his compliments, desired to know, If his Excellency would please to be carried into the city in his coach? This the prince declined; returned him thanks, and told him, that he chused rather to walk; and immediately went forward to the gate; which he no sooner entered, than the great guns above that gate began, and the salute went round both city and citadel. The cavalcade marched slowly to the house appointed for the prince's reception, not very far from the port. The streets on both sides were lined with soldiers under arms, both for honour, and to keep off the mob from obstructing the passage of their former governor, whom they greatly loved. By the time the ordnance had finished the firing, the prince was entering into his house, when the small arms began, and gave a running fire from the house to the port. The governor had ordered the standard to be placed  
before



before the prince's apartments, at his arrival, with a guard of a hundred and twenty men, and desired to know, If his Highness required a greater number? but this he declined.

## C H A P. XVIII.

*Concerning what happened at Astrachan during our stay there, &c.*

I PAID my respects to my old friends, and left the management of my affairs to the care of my younger brother William (the same who was killed at the Moro Castle,) whom I had left in Astrachan with Mr Thomson. They were the first who informed me, that the tables were turned with Governor Tatishoff: That, no doubt, many complaints had contributed thereto; but that the murder of the Armenian, formerly taken notice of, had given the finishing stroke; for that the Armenians had privately sent a deputation to St Petersburg, who had managed matters so well, that another governor was appointed in his place; and that he was ordered to Moscow, to be there tried for the many crimes laid to his charge. Others said, that they had private letters from St Petersburg, affirming, that orders were either sent, or to be sent soon, commanding Mr Tatishoff to be kept prisoner and tried in Astrachan, under

der the direction of Prince Golitzin. I went also at a proper time to pay my respects to the governor, whose misfortunes I could not help commiserating, though I was certain he had deserved any thing which could happen. This undoubtedly is a weakness which I never could get the better of, and when it takes possession of the hearts of men in great power, produces very dangerous consequences, and much unhinges government. I believe, if, upon this occasion, I had been his absolute judge, I would probably have caused him restore to every one what he had surreptitiously, or otherwise, taken from them, but could have proceeded to no higher punishment. Mr Tatishoff I found the very same man, not at all cast down : He told me, that a set of fools, his enemies, who durst not attack him bravely, had sent a fool, like themselves, to be governor of Astrachan ; and that he had orders to retire to Moscow, being afraid to let him go for St Petersburg, lest, said he, I get an opportunity of detecting their unworthiness to her Majesty, or her ministry ; but, said he, that may yet happen to be the case ; for they are not overloaded with prudence ; I know them well. He said much more, with which it is needless to trouble the reader. However, in a few days this new governor arrived ; and no sooner did he come to the city, than Mr Tatishoff yielded



yielded up the palace to him, and profered to sell him his coach-horses, and as much hay as would completely feed them, and many more, during the winter. The new governor said, that he would buy them all at the price Tatishoff had put on them, but acknowledged, that he had not enough of money to pay for them at that time. Mr Tatishoff answered, that if he would only give his bill, payable against a certain term, they should be at his service. This the other agreed to; and then Mr Tatishoff desired the use of the barge to carry him to the other side of the Volga, because he intended to set out for Russia next morning early. This was not refused; and he immediately left Astrachan. Mr Thomson and I took a farewell of him that evening on the other side, where we supped with him, and were entertained with his opinion of our new governor. Eight days had not passed, when the governor received an order from the senate, ordering him to confine Mr Tatishoff in Astrachan, and bring him to a trial there, under the direction of Prince Golitzin.

It seems Mr Tatishoff had got notice from St Petersburg, that the senate would send such an order; wherefore he, (Mr Tatishoff,) sent for the post-master, and charged him to send straight into the governor's house all manner of pacquets or letters, and all couriers from

from either St Petersburg or Moscow : By this means he got the order now spoken of, and put it into his pocket, without communicating the contents of it to any belonging to the Chancery or Precawse. He carried it with him till he was at or near Tzaritzin, and then returned it, under a blank cover, to our new governor ; who no sooner received it, than he sent off an officer to bring him back. This officer came up with him about Tamboff, and declared what orders he had from the governor of Astrachan : But Mr Tatishoff was not to be taken in such a pitiful trap. He laughed heartily at the governor of Astrachan, and ordered the officer to tell him, that he was not fit to govern Astrachan, who acted so much like a child ; for, said he, none but a child or changeling would send orders to apprehend any person in another governor's province, without his knowledge ; and therefore required him to return back to Astrachan. The officer said, that he thought the new governor had not acted right, but that he was obliged to obey ; and therefore begged, that Mr Tatishoff would give him a letter to carry to the governor, that he might be convinced he had come up with him. This Mr Tatishoff readily granted, and proceeded on his way to Moscow, where I shall for the present leave him.

My



My place by the sea hospital was now filled up by a physician, a Macedonian, who had studied at Padua : He told me, that in the year 1739, the last year of the Turkish war, his countrymen, the Macedonian Christians, had assembled in a body of between thirty and forty thousand men, with a design to free themselves from Turkish slavery ; prompted thereto by the Russian success in Walachia and Moldavia ; but that the peace, which soon succeeded, and the Russians having been ignorant of so formidable a body of friends, was the cause of the total ruin of them all ; for the Turks fell on them with great armies ; and though they sold their lives very dear, killed them all to a man, making their country a desert. If this account is true, it serves to demonstrate, that the Greeks are not quite reduced to insensibility, and that they are very sensible of the weight of the oppressions to which they are at present subjected ; from which they would very willingly run all risks to be freed. It shows also, that very great armies of Christians might be formed in Greece, seeing Macedonia could produce forty thousand effective men alone : And, if I remember well, the doctor said, that these forty thousand men were only gathered together from a part of Macedonia.

Early we received advice from St Peterburgh, that we were to take up our winter-

quarters in this city ; because in October it was too late in the year to proceed to Persia ; wherefore every thing was so disposed of as to give us no trouble ; so that our time was spent in diverting ourselves as we thought proper. The prince exercised himself twice, and sometimes thrice a-week in hunting. When I left Astrachan I was in possession of six excellent grey-hounds, which I gave to my friends, with a promise, that they should be returned, if I required them, when I came back. Of this I acquainted the prince, and he ordered me to demand them, because there was daily more than enough left in his kitchen than would have fed double that number. He bought for me an excellent pointer of the largest size. When the prince did not think proper to take his diversion in the fields, he caused his gentlemen assemble in his hall, and play at cards ; sometimes he joined them. He loved to have all his officers about him ; and if at any time any of them did not make their appearance at dinner, (for he kept daily open table for us all,) he could not be content till he was made certain they were all well. The music played daily during the time of dinner, in a small room opening into the hall, and the kettle drums and trumpets played upon a balcony before the hall, facing a large square, when the musicians took a rest. If the governor, or any of his own gentlemen, desired to make  
a party



a party with the ladies for a dance, he never refused the music, and very frequently would invite them to dance in his own hall, which was very large and convenient. Who could be dissatisfied with such a commander? And who would not have desired to live with such agreeable company? If any dispute happened at any time amongst our gentlemen, the prince would not speak freely to either, till he was well assured that friendship was again heartily agreed upon: And as he hated all manner of ceremony, nothing was so agreeable to him as to hear them converse in his presence with the greatest innocent polite freedom.

One of our young gentlemen, one evening, having had a proper opportunity, was diverting himself with a very young maid. The young gentleman was rich; and the commandant, who was a mischievous man, very different from our prince, having got notice of it, persuaded the girl to declare, that he wanted to commit a rape upon her, and that she was all torn, and otherwise abused. This she did, and her mother declared the same thing. When things were prosperously carried such lengths, the commandant waited upon the prince with a report of his own forming, in order to get the gentleman put under arrest. The prince, without permitting the commandant to go away, gave orders to the major to send a  
few

few men to her mother's house, and bring the girl before him immediately. The commandant hearing this, said, that both she and her mother were in his house, with his wife, and begged, that, as she had complained to him, he might have the liberty to judge of this affair. The prince, knowing the man, ordered the major to send for them directly; telling the commandant, that he would find out the truth of this himself; adding, that he was much mistaken, if there was a more modest youth in the city. They had not waited long till both mother and daughter were brought into the prince's presence. Without asking a single question about the affair, he ordered the major to place the girl with his washer-woman, and a trusty centinel at the door, to permit none to speak with her but such as should have his permission. Then he turned to the commandant, and said, that her Majesty had trusted him with affairs of much more concern than that; and concluded by desiring him to go home, saying, that he would take the trouble to search to the bottom of this dirty affair.

The commandant was no sooner gone, than he sent for the young gentleman, and questioned him privately, desiring him to save trouble, by telling the truth; and assuring him, that he would endeavour to make things as easy as was possible, even supposing his accusers were right. The youth frankly acknowledged,



knowledged, that he had fondled with her, but absolutely denied that he had had any further concern with her. He said, that he was of opinion it would not have been disagreeable to the maid; but the place where they were was too open to attempt any thing of that kind. He continued to say, that she never called out, but laughed, as people do when they are tickled. So far good. The major was sent next to interrogate this young artful daughter of Eve, but could make out nothing, after twenty-four hours close confinement. At last it was agreed upon as the best and final trial, to order Dr Lerch and me strictly to examine her before honest matrons; for she said, that at that time she was all swelled, and in such condition as is better understood than described. Accordingly, the doctor and I having received proper orders, went, in company with a few of the officers, to pay the first visit to this termagant. I was informed, that the doctor was in great friendship with the commandant, and consequently, it was suspected, would favour him as much as he well could; wherefore I was very cautious how I acted. At our entry, I desired the doctor to put what questions he might think proper; which, indeed, were few, and very little to the purpose. When he had done, I told her, that I was very sorry so many people had got so much trouble about this affair: That I should not take up

time

time to put a single question to her ; only as she was a very young woman, if she had the least modesty, she would not chuse to have her body exposed to the open view of men and women, unless there was truly great cause for it. I observed to her, that Dr Lerch and I, both married men, who had many years served her Majesty honourably, would, after the strictest search, declare the truth ; and that, supposing she had been privately playing tricks with herself, which might deceive ignorant people, yet I could assure her, that all the tricks she was mistress of would not deceive us. I observed to her farther, that, supposing we reported, which probably would be the case, that she herself was the cause of any complaint she had made ; in that case, she would be punished most severely with the whip ; whereas if, without giving us or herself any further trouble, she told the truth, I could assure her, that the prince would immediately give orders to let her go, without any punishment whatsoever. Having done, I demanded her answer, or else we would immediately proceed as we were ordered. She began with pouring forth a flood of tears, and said, that the lieutenant had only fondled with her : That her mother having got notice of it, supposing that he was very rich, had hurt her, and otherways metamorphosed her, so as to make people believe she had  
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been abused : That the commandant's wife had no small share in this base affair. This was all taken down in writing, in the presence of many gentlemen, by whom it was attested to have been taken without dread of punishment, or being encouraged thereto by the hopes of reward ; and, by the prince's orders, she was let go : But her mother was taken up, put under arrest, where she confessed also ; but added, that she was prompted thereto by the commandant's wife. No doubt, she hoped to escape punishment, as her daughter had done ; but in this she was deceived ; for the prince ordered her to be whipped ; which, I was informed, the major caused to be performed with severity. The commandant was by this means so reclaimed, that he gave no disturbance to any of us during our stay there ; for the prince told him, that he was to take care of his proper affairs with assiduity, and send his reports to the major : That the prince was determined, after this never to make him his companion : And finally, that if he did not in every respect behave as became an officer, he, (the prince,) would appoint another commandant, and send him elsewhere. It is impossible to imagine, that a body of so many young men could remain so long in one place without some turmoils happening sometimes, notwithstanding the best care having been taken to prevent them.

It is not worth the reader's while, nor indeed mine, to write every incident which happened during our stay at Astrachan. Let it therefore suffice to say, that, one day the prince having sent a criminal to the governor to be punished, the governor did not readily inflict the punishment, but reported, that he would take time to inquire into the affair, and then proceed as the prince had directed. Upon receiving this report, the prince caused demand the prisoner directly, letting the governor know, that if he refused to comply, he would immediately suspend him from being governor, till her Majesty's pleasure should be known. The governor would not risk too much, and therefore sent back the prisoner, who was instantly punished at the standard, as were all others ever after this, who had transgressed in our neighbourhood, or with the embassy.

One winter-day I went to the country for a drive in my sledge, and to seek a little diversion. I was dressed in a fur, and was accompanied by two of our own soldiers. I had got into one of the vine-gardens at the greatest distance from the city. I left my sledge and the soldiers at the proprietor's house till I had searched the garden. I had got one shot, and the covey did not fly very far, but lighted in a corner of the same garden. After I had charged, I walked up towards



wards the place where they were, and spied two men coming upon the same ground; one of them carried nets, poles, &c. upon his shoulders, for catching partridges. I requested them not to go upon the game, saying, that I was in pursuit of them. The fellow who had the poles over his shoulder answered me by threats, and much opprobrious language, and advanced very fast to where I stood. I charged him to keep at a distance, threatening to shoot him, if he did not. One of them went away; but he with the poles advanced in a great rage. Although I was in no small danger, and out of the view or hearing of the soldiers, I could not think of shooting a man who had no fire arms. I waited, and when near, questioned him, What could be the reason of so much anger at me, for asking a very small favour? The brute continued his threats, till he was now within reach of me, and was preparing to give me a blow with his poles; when, with the butt-end of my piece, I, designing to strike on his face, hit him on the neck so firm a blow, that he fell into a hollow, where I reiterated my strokes two or three times, and then run to the top of a rising ground to call the soldiers. They very soon appeared, and seized this villain. If any boor affronts an officer in her Majesty's service, the officer, without being obliged to follow a tedious way of prosecution at law,

instantly punisheth the fellow for his fault. I therefore ordered the soldiers to take him to the house, where I designed to cause chastise him. When all was ready, and the fellow stripped, the landlord appeared, and discharged me from correcting him on his ground. I, uncertain whether I had a right to correct him there, ordered the soldiers to let him go ; of which he was so very glad, that, without waiting to put on his cloaths, he took them up in his arms, and ran off as fast as he was able. I ordered the horses to be put to, and told the landlord, that, though I was a stranger to that villain he had now preserved from the just punishment I designed for him, I would have no difficulty to get at him as his abettor ; and returned to Astrachan, and acquainted the prince of this affair. He ordered a serjeant with a few men to bring in the landlord, who hardly escaped a whipping ; but, by my intercession, was let go, after he had discovered the abode of his villainous neighbour ; who also being apprehended in his bed, was brought in. He begged, that the serjeant would bring him to me first ; where, with tears, and promises never to be guilty of the like to any other, I forgave him, and desired the serjeant to acquaint the major, in order to have him liberated ; but this the major durst not do, till the prince was made acquainted with his being brought there. The prince, after he had examined



examined him, and he had acknowledged his crime, and begged for forgiveness, said, that as I had already forgiven him, for what he had acted against me, so he forgave him for that trespass; but as he had trespassed against the peace of the country, he ordered him to be whipped severely, and let go. After this we remained in Astrachan without any disturbance, till we got orders to proceed on our way to Persia, by the west side of the Caspian Sea.

Capt. Bernhour, one of our gentlemen, Mr Thomson, and I, made a party to go to hunt the wild boar at a fishery near the Caspian, where it was said many of these creatures were frequently seen. Having obtained leave of the prince, we set out in a strong frost to the fishery, but got no sport. However, night drew on, and we agreed to lodge there, and take our sleep in a warm room upon some hay. We were composing ourselves to sleep, when the man who lived in the fishery acquainted us, that several men had beset this building, and advised us to get up, lest they might burn it, or get at our horses. We were not long in getting ready; and our pieces being all charged with ball for the boars, we primed afresh, and went out. The building was a square, into which they had not ventured to come. We went out at the only entry, and spied three horsemen at the corner; at whom one of us fired a pistol, charged

charged only with powder, upon which they rode off. We went quite round the fishery without seeing any more. This alarm put an end to our sleep that night; and we returned to Astrachan next morning as early as we could. At which time the prince was ordering a party of dragoons to come for us; for he had got notice, that a strong body of Caracalpaaks were in these parts. We told him what we had met with, and how narrowly we had escaped. Upon which he ordered the governor to send off some men to protect the merchants fisheries. And this accident, trifling as it was, proved the safety of the fisheries; for the Caracalpaaks, knowing they were discovered, made no stay, but returned into their own country, without committing any depredations.

One day, soon after our arrival in Astrachan, one of the three Tartars who had conveyed me with their horses from Astrachan to Tzaritzin, told me, that as he and his countrymen were returning betwixt Eanataiova and Astrachan, the Kalmucks way-laid them, murdered the other two, and wounded ~~ed~~ him, and robbed them of their horses, and other effects. He said, that they pretended that they did so to revenge the death of their friends, who had attacked us, as I mentioned formerly. He said, that, having been wounded at their first assault, he fell, and, for



for some time, was insensible : That when he recovered the use of his reason, the Kal-mucks had gone off with their horses, carriages, cloaths, and money, leaving only his two dead countrymen with him : That soon after, some fishermen took him into their boat, having buried his friends, and sent him to Astrachan : That he had applied to the governor, and had discovered some of the horses ; but neither could get the Kal-mucks punished, nor his horses returned, which were in possession of the Russian resident, by the Khan. I applied, and used all my interest to get the poor man's horses returned ; but the resident eluded all my endeavours, upon pretence that that affair had already cost him much more than the value of the horses. Thus we see, by this instance, that justice is very hardly to be gotten, even in Russia, without paying more than the value of it.

I shall mention two cases which happened in our hospital this winter ; which appearing singular to me, who has had so very extensive practice, may be agreeable to some of my readers. I was informed that a young strong dragoon was very ill of an erysipelas over his right arm ; and Dr Lerch desiring my advice, I, amongst other things, recommended to blood him. Accordingly, one of our young men took sixteen ounces of blood from the right arm, considering that  
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the dragoon was very feverish, and all reasonable assistance, both internal and external, was not wanting. Next morning, when we came to the hospital, I was not a little surprized to see the right arm excessively inflamed, and rashly found fault with the young man who had let blood. I therefore called for a lancet, and let blood from his left arm. His fever being nothing diminished, on the third day the inflammation had fixed itself in the arm which I had blooded, and the other arm was not in the least inflamed. Now I saw plainly how much I was deceived, and how ignorant I was about all the differences of this dangerous disease. This poor man lay in the greatest danger in a high fever more than five weeks, before we could have the least hopes of his recovery. It changed its situation every five or six days: Nor did he recover till it had run over his whole body; the face and hairy scalp were not exempted; and in three or four days after it had left the part, the scarf-skin came off, as if a blistering plaister had been applied to it. This, however, was the only example I ever met with of the like kind, though I have undoubtedly seen many thousands in this disease. The man recovered afterwards to an exceeding good state of health.

One day the doctor desired that I would visit a dragoon, much distressed with an excrescence



crefcence in *ano*, which prevented his getting paffage by stool. At my firft vifitation we difcovered a globe, of a red colour, about the bignefs of a fmall plumb, pendulous. When I drew it to me, I introduced a pair of good fciffars, and at once inapped it off. Next day, we difcovered another, and the day following a third, all which I cut off in the fame manner; and the man recovered without any other trouble. The mentioning of thefe difeafes fo very briefly, may be of ufe to fome, and cannot be very difagreeable to any of my learned and humane readers.

The Ruffians being at peace with all their neighbours affords me nothing of moment to fay about our armies, and indeed there was little difturbance of any kind upon the borders of Aſtrachan. One evening late, the governor ſent to deſire I would ſpeak with him; when I came, I ſaw Mr Chiricoff the ſecretary, and judged that ſome affairs concerning the Britiſh trade was going on. The governor deſired me to take a glaſs or two of wine, and then produced a bundle of Engliſh letters, which he had received from Perſia. He ſaid, that he wanted, by orders from St Petersburgh, to know only if they mentioned any thing of the Shach or Captain Elton. He deſired therefore, as no perſon was able to interpret them in Aſtrachan, that I would take the trouble to glance them over, and let him

him know if any thing was mentioned in them relating to these two men, telling me at the same time, that he was authorised to do so by the British merchants in St Petersburg. He said, that he wanted to know nothing of the merchants private affairs, nor of their accompts. Not doubting of the truth of all he told me, I run them over, and some mention was made of Captain Elton, but none about Kouli Khan. The secretary took down what was written about Elton ; and, when all was done, he produced a paper, desiring me to sign it, obliging myself never to discover that he had required me to communicate the contents of these letters to him. At this I stared, and being surprised, told him that I suspected he had no good authority for what we had been doing, and added, that I never would sign that paper, nor interpret another letter for him ; and took my last farewell, as I never could be prevailed upon to make him a second visit.

The Imperial Duke was seized with the small-pox in the beginning of this year, as he was travelling between Moscow and St Petersburg, to which last city he was going. He lay ill in some village, recovered very well, and was married upon the present Empress in the month of September. The wedding was very grand and showy. Our major was present at it, and gave us, at his return,  
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a very succinct account, but which is not very material to the reader.

## C H A P. XIX.

*Concerning what passed in the Year 1746. Our March from Astrachan to Kizlaar, &c.*

FROM January till July, we lived as I described formerly; nor did any thing happen worth the reader's notice, except that sometimes last winter, a sumptuary law was made, and orders sent throughout the empire, commanding that all people of no great rank, whether men or women, who had cloaths of brocade cloth, or other cloaths mounted with gold or silver lace, not allowable by law, should get them hidden apart: That, after a certain date, if merchants, merchants wives, and others forbidden to wear such cloaths, were discovered to have any such in their custody, not sealed, the cloaths would be taken from them, and they obliged to pay a large fine; and if not able to pay it, commanding that such fools should be whipped on the bare back in the public market-place. Another order was sent at the same time, setting forth, that many young gentlemen had ruined themselves, and lost their paternal estates, particularly in the city of Moscow by gaming with cards; therefore

forbidding that game, under the penalty of one thousand rubles. In Moscow, some old general had, upon promises of preferment in the army, decoyed many of the Russian noble thoughtless youth to his house, and, after a few visits, dismissed them helpless, having spoiled them of their estates by this cursed game. The Empress, at last having got notice of it, caused this old hunk to restore them their estates and money, with good interest; and caused this order to be sent thro' the empire, forbidding that game altogether. This was a little hard upon people who had not much to do, like us at that time; but our major returning soon after we had received the order, set all hands to work, by acquainting us that the meaning of the order was only to discharge people from playing for great sums; adding, that the whole court played daily, and none loved the diversion better than the Empress, whom he saw playing, and produced, from one of the ministry, a declaration to that purpose. Upon receiving this agreeable news, we all gamed as formerly, and continued so during our stay in Astrakhan.

One day, the governor entered the hall, whilst we were all very merry, and he, knowing nothing of the reversion of the order, expressed his great surprize that we durst play, after it was forbidden under high penalties; but, when he was informed of this change, he



he begged to be admitted a party. Thus we continued till the latter end of July, at which time we received orders to make what haste we could to proceed on our journey, after having sent our weighty baggage, presents, and horses, by sea, to the port of Backu. Three ships were got ready for this purpose; and on the 14th of September our dragoons, horses, and baggage necessary for immediate use, with our own horses, Dr Lerch and his mate, were sent to the other side of the Volga. On the 15th, the prince went over to see that every thing was in good order. By the time he reached the shore, the tents were all struck, the horses yoked, and the dragoons mounted. So, after they were mustered, they paid their military compliments, and marched away into the desert. On the 23d, the three ships were all loaded, and dropped down the Volga, designed for the port of the Persian city Backu. I saw the horses put on board: They had prepared proper stalls for receiving the horses in the holds of the ships, with slings that they might not be hurt in time of tempestuous weather; and, what is very remarkable, the spirited horse of English brood, formerly mentioned, seemed upon this occasion, to be more sensible of fear than any of the rest. They put him on board in the same manner as they had done the rest, only they imagined that he would not be quite so tractable, and

and therefore blindfolded him at a greater distance from the vessel; then they put a broad double fail-cloth round his body, reaching from his fore to his hinder legs, and fixed it on his back with loops, into which an iron hook, at the end of a rope from one of the yard-arms of the ship, was introduced and made fast. When the creature felt them give the first pull, he struggled, struck, and reared; but the men who pulled were so clever, that after he reared, he could not get his fore feet to touch the ground again, and in an instant he was hanging in the air, trembling all over, and evacuating his dung. When he was let down into the ship's hold, he lay down like a dog, nor would he rise for some time.

Every thing being ready, and all incumbrances being removed, the prince set out from Astrachan, in company with his own proper officers, and all the principal people in Astrachan, civil, military, and ecclesiastick, upon the 25th. Upon this occasion, all honours were liberally paid him, in the same manner as when he arrived. The good old prince caused his gentlemen ply the bottle to some purpose upon this occasion. I did not join them, but walked with Mr Thomson at some distance, upon the banks of the Volga; but a signal having been made for us to mount, at my return I saw the effects of their



their toping in many places. On the signal given, we mounted, and rode up the Volga five versts north, then turned west, and rode on the top of a very long hill, with lakes on both sides, till we were computed to be distant in a straight line from Astrachan about fifteen versts. The prince, having sent off all his dragoons, and the greatest part of his foldiers, was therefore escorted with about five hundred Cossacks and Tartars.

Our first stage was on the south side of a ridge of hills, extended east and west, in a meadow having a pleasant lake of fresh water to the south. On the north side of this ridge was a lake cruusted over with salt, as white as snow on the surface, about one and a half inch thick, turning red about the middle of its thickness, then inclining to black, and at the bottom as black as ink, which, when the surface was broken, emitted a very noisome stinking exhalation.

An accident happened here, which I cannot pass by, without acquainting the reader of it : An Armenian lieutenant-colonel took this safe opportunity to march with us to his regiment at or near Kizlaar : He, according to the custom of his country, did not ride in his uniform, but had cloaths, which he thought more convenient for travelling, whose tails were gathered together, and put into a very large pair of breeches, something like the Hollanders or Kalmucks. I had a  
bitch,

bitch, the mother of my four greyhounds ; she was extremely pretty, of the small Italian brood. She was brought up from a puppy about the hospital of Astrachan, and had an antipathy at such dress, though she was very gentle to people dressed in the European fashion ; which was occasioned by the Kal-mucks, who used to pass by the hospital morning and evening daily, with whom she had many battles. The colonel, among the rest, without changing his dress, went to pay his respects to the prince. The bitch was tied in my sleeping waggon ; she no sooner spied the colonel, than she broke the cord with which she was tied, and, swift as lightning, seized the back parts of the colonel's breeches, which she tore to pieces in an instant, leaving his posteriors to open view. The colonel, in a desperate rage, drew his broad sword, and threatened destruction to my poor bitch ; but she was well exercised, and had been long accustomed to that sort of game. She was at a considerable distance before he was ready to make a stroke, and she was preparing to make the other attack. The colonel and his antagonist made so unexpected a piece of diversion, that the prince and the rest of the gentlemen had like to have died laughing. This sport was not so agreeable to me, who was accustomed, long before this, to the like. I was afraid that the colonel, in his great rage, would have shot my  
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my bitch, I therefore lost no time in getting her secured ; when I had done this, I went to the colonel, who was going to dress as formerly, and begged of him not to do it, assuring him, that it would be almost impossible to watch the bitch. I told him what ill will she bore to such dress, and the cause of it. I begged him to dress in his uniform, and walk out, assuring him that the beast would be as gentle to him as any other person so dressed. After his anger was a little over, he followed my advice, and I let the creature go at liberty, to convince him of the truth of my assertion ; but ever after, he did not care to trust her too far : However, he took the precaution to dress in his uniform before he left his waggon, or made his appearance in public. The prince called the bitch, ever after this, the Disciplinarian.

The hills, through which we had travelled, were covered with a little grass, and much *abrotanum*, *absinthium*, and different kinds of *kali*, but no shrubs. We saw no game here. We travelled from this place about eleven o'clock at night, and directed our course west ; the wind being northerly, it was not warm. After we had travelled about twenty versts from our last stage, we encamped on the top of a ridge of hills, stretching east and west, having a salt lake on the north side, and a fresh water lake on the south, from which we took twenty carts loaded with water,

ter, because we had little prospect of getting any more fresh water in this desert, till we came on the banks of the pleasant Beketi, about four hundred versts distant from where we then were. We fed our horses a few hours, and proceeded farther in the same direction, passing by many low sandy hills upon the north, and some small lakes through the same kind of soil as formerly ; only we discovered large quantities of *kali humilis* in flower. After we had travelled twenty versts, we encamped on the south side of a great lake of salt water, having some hills to the south, on the evening of the 26th. We saw here many Kalmucks with their flocks ; but they would not come near us. In the very place where we encamped, my hounds killed the first hare in this expedition ; and our out-scouts said, that they had seen some saigaaks, or antelopes. I had but just laid myself down in my waggon, when I spied the prince going round, to see if the centinels were alert, quite alone. I went to him, begged that he would take his sleep, as he had been complaining : He said, that he could not put much trust in his youngers, as he called his gentlemen, who, he said, were sleeping as sound as if they had been in Astrachan ; but added, that if I would watch for him, he would go to bed ; and, being eight o'clock, desired I would set them out at eleven. I assured him I was not in the least  
sleepy,



sleepy, and therefore would pointedly obey his orders, and he condescended to go to bed; precisely at eleven I had them all in stir.

We proceeded from this place called Bushmachay, and arrived early in the morning at another lake of salt water called Ashegashee, seventeen versts distant from the former. On the twenty-seventh, there was another lake distant from us about an English mile, upon the banks of which much of the herb *lotus flore albo* grew, which proved good food for our horses, of which they eat very plentifully. Here we killed some hares. We marched on, after we had rested about three hours, twenty-five versts farther south-west; the wind being northerly it was very cold. We passed over many low sandy hills, lying east and west, upon which little grew except *kali*. We encamped upon the west-end of a lake of salt water called Vishni; here we killed some hares. On the 28th, we set out and arrived at a small hill, three-fourths surrounded by a lake called Tehirili. At this place we met with between thirty and forty Turkoman Tartars, who would give no account of themselves till their chief was forced thereto with the whip. He said, that they had been carrying salt to Kizlaar; tho' we were of opinion that they were freebooters: They rode upon dromedaries. The prince did not chuse to take them to Kizlaar, because we

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were afraid we would have little provision for ourselves: He therefore threatened to hunt them out, if he heard of any mischief done by them; and advised them to return into their own country. This desert is as barren as any we passed through from Astrachan; from which city our guides computed we had travelled one hundred and forty-five versts. In the afternoon we travelled over many barren hills, as described formerly: We saw very many antelopes and hares; but our dogs were so fatigued upon this barren hard sandy ground that we could get none: After we had made a journey of twenty versts, we encamped on the west-end of a lake of salt water called Churiri; here I killed some ducks, snipes, and a water-hen. On the 29th, we arrived at a little hill, distant about thirty versts from our last stage. The country thro' which we passed was more even than formerly: Here we passed a company of Baigush, or poor Kalmucks. Our road now is almost straight south. This desert is so very sandy that grass is very rarely to be seen, except upon the banks of lakes; and the earth betwixt this and Astrachan is all mixed with salt. In the afternoon we marched twenty-five versts farther; and, having put my dogs in my waggon yesterday, and anointed their feet, I rendered them more able to run. I had the good fortune to run down two antelopes, which was very agreeable to all our company, because



because we had got no other fresh provisions than mutton and fowls. We caught a third antelope in the evening: The weather was very serene, but cold. The antelopes are so very fearful, that if a dog gives the least bite, it immediately tumbles down, nor does it offer to rise. Its flesh is extremely tender, and of easy digestion; but it has a peculiar flavour, something, as I said before, resembling musk, which soon cloyed my stomach; but many of our gentlemen eat daily plentifully of it, without making any complaint, or finding fault with this very particular flavour, which delicate stomachs can not relish. We encamped on the south-west end of a lake of salt water, on the top of a hill: We saw very few herbs in this desert, or even grass; possibly there might have been some on the banks of the lake, which was very extensive; but I had no time to look for any. On the 30th September, we travelled southward through a desert like the last, but more sandy, twenty-five versts, and arrived upon a ridge of sandy mountains, lying east and west, being about one verst over from north to south. I was told, that these sandy mountains run from the Caspian sea west about eighty versts. Here we were obliged to take our dinner, because the horses were fatigued by drawing our carts through deep sands; and we had still to march through more sands; but we found here some wells of pretty good water,

water, of which, though not very clear, our horses were very needful, and drank heartily. I walked over these sandy hills on foot with difficulty, the sand was so very fluxible; and if the wind at any time blows strongly, the sand is driven about so thick that it is very dangerous for the traveller to find his way; besides he runs the risque of being buried under them, not only on the hills, but many versts on each side of them. I found many shells of sea-fish, such as mussels, oysters, &c. tho' no such fish are to be found now living upon any part of the Caspian shore where I was; nor did I ever see any man who could give any account of their present existence here. The inhabitants of these desarts say, that the Caspian formerly covered all that space which is now filled up with sand. I found an herb in flower not far from the turbid water I mentioned very like *alcea*, of which I have a plant preserved. We saw also many great flocks of a kind of moorfowl, differing from any I had ever seen either in Scotland or Russia: Their feathers have much more of a white colour; they are extremely wild, so that I could not get a shot of them here, tho' I have frequently killed them in other places: Their flesh is very white, tender, and more delicious than the flesh of any other fowl I know. The Russians and Tartars call them Trepeati; my poor hounds, being



being still lame, could not run, though we saw plenty of different kinds of game.

Having rested only about one hour and a half, we marched twenty-three versts farther, through a low sandy soil. We saw at no great distance from us sandy hills lying, from the last hills I mentioned, east from us, stretching southward parallel to the road we took. We encamped upon a round hill, because we found some grass for our poor starved horses: The weather was very cold, the wind blowing from the north.

October, the first day, we set out from this hill, and passed by what the Tartars call Kuma river: It is a long valley full of lakes of salt water, surrounded with reeds; the habitations of many millions of musquetoës: These lakes are said to produce many fish, but we were not permitted to stay; and I am of opinion, that at this time of the year no man could withstand the numbers and vigour of these intolerable musquetoës. We saw much game, and more of the trepeati, but could get none of them. I pursued two hares, who, when hard put to it, run into holes under ground. We saw about this Kuma some short grass, of which the horses were very fond. We having travelled twenty-five versts through low sandy hills, encamped about two versts south-west from a great lake of salt water called Odack: Passing by this lake we were welcomed by such swarms of musquetoës,

musquetoës, that we and our horses carried many millions of them to our camp, where we were obliged to breathe, all the time we staid here, in the thick disagreeable smoak of cut grafs and reeds; nor could the stoutest, nor stupidest man in our company, compose himself to sleep. The Kuma is said to be distant from Astrachan three hundred and fifty versts, and one hundred and fifty versts from Kizlaar : In this boggy Kuma we saw many large snakes.

We proceeded on our journey about eleven o'clock at night, and marched from this place only seventeen versts farther. Our horses having had no fresh water since we left Churilee, we encamped for two hours on a rising ground on the 2d October, and then proceeded at eight o'clock in the morning, and travelling over a smooth plain, arrived at a little round hill, upon the top of which Peter the Great set three bombs, one upon another, as a sure mark for travellers : They were remaining, being uselefs, and too weighty for the wild inhabitants of the desert to carry away. We travelled a little farther, and arrived at the north-west corner of a great lake called Colpitche, from great flocks of fowls, which are called by the Russians Rolpike ; by the Germans lessel Gans ; and I think, by the English, the lesser Pelican. We stopped but one hour and an half here, and proceeded but five versts farther, for the convenience



veniency of feeding our horses. Our major rode to the place from whence we had encamped last, distant twenty-five versts, to seek for a fine greyhound I had given him ; but his search proved unsuccessful. He returned before we set out, having rode fifty-five versts very hard upon a hungry horse, who had gone twenty-five versts immediately before he mounted, in all eighty versts, without eating. He no sooner dismounted than the horse, quite faint, fell down as if dead ; but by the industrious care of a Kalmuck, he was recovered. At this last place, a small hill, called Erlishan, we had not staid long when a serjeant of dragoons arrived with forty horsemen to escort us, and seventy horses from Kizlaar, to assist our over-fatigued hungry horses, in carrying us forward. At ten o'clock, *post meridiem*, we marched from thence through a plain, but most miserable land all night ; and in the morning early, being the 3d of October, we arrived at the pleasant small river Beketi, running a stream of fresh water through a sandy bottom ; no chrystal clearer. This was most agreeable both to man and beast, having seen no fresh water since the 26th of September, except a very small quantity not quite fresh, and very dirty among the sandy hills, as has already been taken notice of. It was reported by Russians, Tartars, and others, that a poisonous herb grows in the desert we passed thro' last,

last, which I imagine is forty versts over; and many of them affirmed that they knew this plant very well. When we were passing through the desert, at my desire, the prince ordered all those wild virtuosi to make search for this poisonous plant, and bring it to him. They did not agree concerning the sameness of the plant, but brought different kinds of *kali*: One kind has a seed small, but something resembling a snake, being long, curved, and tapering. To convince them that none of these herbs were poisonous, I eat a little of every kind; I caused cut some of it small, and mixing it with oats, gave it to my own horses to eat. The Tartars were so much prepossessed with the notion of its poisonous quality, that when they saw me do this, they said that my horses would certainly die, if it did not kill me. At Beketi, the prince, at my desire, ordered them to give their horses but very little drink at first; and, as the grass grew there very luxuriantly, they were ordered to let them feed only for about half an hour, and then tied up for two hours. By this management none of our horses died; and I was informed, that only a few of the Tartar horses were sick: Probably some of the Tartars did not observe the rules prescribed them so exactly as they ought to have done, which could not fail to have evil effects. It was believed by all our company, and probably was very true, that the Great  
Peter



Peter lost some thousands of horses at the Beketi, after having travelled through the same desert : But I imagine, that we having many hundred horses, and by this care, not having lost one of them, puts it out of doubt that the Emperor's horses were not poisoned, but died by mismanagement; especially if the following observations be considered.

From the 26th of September, to the 3d of October, the horses had very little salt water to drink ; that the water every where was either very salt or saltish; they were kept at hard work night and day, and had very little grass to eat; they could get but few mouthfuls of grass which were not mixed with the different kinds of *kali*, an herb very salt; that the moisture on the grass, such as dew or small rain, was saltish; that when the wind blew, which was frequently the case, the sands and dust, raised by the wind and their own motion, were mixed with salt, consequently they could not respire without drawing into their lungs a quantity of salt. Every one can, without difficulty, figure to himself, that horses who have endured so much thirst and hunger, for six days at least, and their stomach, guts, &c. saturated with such quantities of salt, when let into a field of the richest grass and purest water, will eat as long, and drink as much as they can. Whoever knows the changes which always happen to vegetables, put into a state of simple fermentation

tation in a close vessel; and such knowing the nature of animal digestion, can not be ignorant of cause enough to kill any number of horses after this manner, without the help of herbs, commonly accounted poisonous. I have said enough concerning this affair, to satisfy any intelligent gentleman, the nature of this work not permitting me to enlarge upon it physically: I shall proceed, after having made this remark, *viz.* some may think that it was unnecessary to have taken any notice of it at all, because British men have little chance of ever travelling through these deserts. To this I answer, that the British empire in India, Africa, and America, may doubtless in many countries produce the same kind of deserts; and consequently these observations may be of great use for the preservation of their horses, &c. I made enquiry, if any horses returning from Kizlaar to Astrachan, died of these poisonous plants, but could get no satisfactory answer. I had six horses of my own, and none of them were sick, though they eat of the *kali* which was called poisonous.

We departed from this place, and marched by the side of Beketi, southward about twenty-three versts, and passed the small dirty deep river Barazda, upon a bridge of timber, and encamped upon the south-side of it in a low marshy ground. We saw many hares, foxes, and great plenty of pheasants,

red



red breasted, billed, and legged partridges, with a variety of smaller birds. No doubt many herbs grow here, but want of time, and the season of the year being far advanced, prevented my being able to discover them. Next day being the fourth of October, we arrived in Kizlaar after a small march of only six or seven versts, where the prince received all the honours from the garrison and great guns, as was formerly paid him in Astrachan and elsewhere.

## C H A P. XX.

*Concerning Mr Jonas Hanway's Account of the Ambassador's journey, &c.*

**I** do not intend here to give any account of what I know about the British Persian trade carried on through Astrachan over the Caspian sea ; all I intend is only to undeceive my readers of Mr Hanway's account of the ambassador's journey into Persia. He got from me a superficial but true relation of our route. Mr Hanway however was not satisfied with this, but, how genteel, I refer to the reader, joined mine to that of others, especially of a jesuit, and out of them formed one of his own, much in the same way as Mahomet formed his religion. Whatever he may think of this performance,

is,

is, to me, a matter of mere indifference, but sure Mr Hanway cannot take it ill when I thus publicly affirm, that he has abused my name by affixing it to many falsehoods. It would be tedious to detail them : Wherefore I shall, for brevity's sake, take notice first of his endeavouring to prepossess the world, that I have said there are caravanfaries between Astrachan and Kizlaar, which he calls Kizlar, his words are these, " The reader will observe, that though there are a few caravanfaries, the country has no fixed inhabitants!" I saw no caravanfaries, no not so much as a small hut between the city of Astrachan and Kizlaar. This piece of false intelligence he probably has had from his friend the Jesuit. Next, he gives a false account of the number and quality of the gentlemen, &c. belonging to the embassy, by not having observed what I wrote him. Lastly, he gives false accounts of the Circassian Tartars, and many more false accounts through that journal, which he is not ashamed to call mine. Whoever are in possession of Hanway's travels and mine, will easily see how wide his accounts of these things are of truth. I can scarcely excuse him from tacking my journal to jesuitical fables, it seems Mr Hanway knows very little of me, although, he and his friends employed in the Persian trade had in truth good reason to have used me in a more honourable



nourable manner, considering the great trouble I took to do them all the service in my power, and sometimes not without danger to myself. For what ? for nothing, only for the love I bore my country, and some of my countrymen whom I little knew. He ought to have considered the difference there is between a man of honour, who hates a lie, and a Jesuit, a man whose principles are subversive of society, and who sticks at nothing but truth. I wrote to Mr Hanway, and expostulated with him about this affair ; he answered that he was sorry he was so far deceived, but that he would take a proper opportunity to redress this grievance : But he has not yet done it. I therefore beg pardon of my readers, for taking this method of exposing the account given by Mr Hanway, and discovering the reason why it is impossible the account I give of this embassy, and that given by Hanway, can agree ; because he is full of blunders, as many other parts of his writings are: Whereas, I do here solemnly declare that I write nothing but truth, however imperfect my performance may, for want of time to correct it, be in other respects.

## C H A P.   XXI.

*Concerning Circassia, and its present Capital Kizlaar : Of the Inhabitants, their Religion, Customs, and present Government, &c.*

CIRCASSIA, according to the accounts I have got, is, that the country lying between Asoph, the Palus Mæotis on the west, the high hills of Caucasus inhabited by the Georgians and Dagestan Tartars on the south, the Caspian sea on the east, and the desarts of Astrachan through which we just now passed, on the south, confine it. The western half of this country is under the protection of the Turks, the eastern half under the protection of the Russians, and a part of the south east is claimed by the Persians.

Various authors have given very different accounts of the soil of this country. One writes that it is very rich, another that it is extremely poor : These writers are both mistaken, some parts of this country will yield to none that I know for richness of soil, and other parts, as has already partly been taken notice of, on the borders of Astrachan desarts, do not produce grass, and it is not impossible that such poor land may be found in the very middle of this country : But I am of opinion, that if the worst of it was im-



improved, as we do ours in Great Britain, it would turn out to account, but no husbandry is used here : The natives have land enough, and only make use of that which produceth plentifully, if the surface of the earth be but turned up.

The Russians have built a city called Kizlaar about sixty versts west from the Caspian sea, and when I was there, were finishing a strong citadel of earth, in which a garrison of 500 regular troops are kept, and about two or three thousand Cossacks. The Russians have also given liberty to the Cossacks to build towns on the banks of the river Terek ; this river runs from west to east through a rich country, more than one hundred and fifty versts long by the city Kizlaar, it produceth many fish, particularly great quantities of excellent salmon ; and near its mouth, where it loses itself in the Caspian, there is plenty of sturgeon. The city Kizlaar is in latitude forty four degrees, and consequently the climate cannot be very bad ; because it is well watered with rivers, is a plain level country, and the city is built almost in the middle of what properly belongs to the Russians.

The Circassians are a comely, beautiful, well made people, both men and women ; they are generally of a large size, and are very good soldiers ; their arms are bows, arrows and scymitars, but they shoot well with  
a single

a single ball out of rifled pieces; their principal people are only in possession of fire arms. Those under the Russian protection are governed by their own princes, the chief of whom is called Bekovitch. He is a major general of irregulars in the Russian army: But he never was ordered to leave Circassia, where it is thought he can be of the greatest service to the empire. There are other Circassian princes under the Russian government, quite independent of one another: But none so much honoured as he is. Tho' the Circassians honour their princes much, yet they cannot absolutely command them to any piece of service, unless they are so inclined themselves; wherefore it is always necessary to get a majority on their side, and the prince is obliged to divide all the spoils, every one in the expedition having a right to a share, and if the prince at any time, gets presents from the Empress, which they do frequently, every one of his subjects expects either a part; if divisible, or something equivalent if otherways. They under Russia, are so far subject to the Russians that they swear to be subject to the general laws for the good of Russia and themselves: But the Russians never offer to encroach on their religious affairs.

They profess the Mahometan religion, and have, like the Turks, a plurality of wives and as many concubines as they please. I was told



told that they have one very singular custom, which is, when the Khan's principal lady is in labour, the first Circassian man who gets notice of it, placeth himself at the door of the haram, or house where the women are kept: For like the Turks in every thing, in this also, they have houses, though contiguous to, yet separated from the principal house, for their women, where no man enters, except the husband: When he has once taken his station, no other Circassian dares to deprive him of it: When the woman is delivered, some old servant woman is sent to that gate to declare to the Circassians that the Khan's wife is delivered either of a son or daughter, or both; if a son, the child being richly dressed, is brought to the gate and delivered to the Circassian, whose right it is by their law, he carries the infant to his house, provides a nurse for him, and educates him as his own child, until he acquires the age of nine or ten years, then he is restored to his parents, at which time, they have great rejoycings. The reason they act in this manner, is, that the child may be brought up hardily, and become a bugga-  
teer or hero; which qualification is very necessary among them, and without which he will be very little esteemed.

By what I have wrote, you see that they pay great regard to their chiefs, and honour ancient houses much. A noble family will

not let their daughters go to the common people, or those under the rank of their own family. I never heard that they have any other ceremony of marriage than a simple contract between the parents or the childrens tutors, and then the young pair are permitted to visit and see one another in presence of the parents : If, after the bridegroom has made two or three visits, they are satisfied with one another, the affair is concluded, and she is carried home to his house in a close painted waggon in company of her women who are to live with her.

A very extraordinary affair happened at Kizlaar between Bekovitch and his eldest son before our arrival. Bekovitch was the son of the unfortunate Brigadier Bekovitch, who in Peter the Great's time, was murdered by the Buchareans on the east side of the Caspian. Young Bekovitch was a youth of a very small size, though his father was a remarkably well made big man. He got notice of a young princess of exquisite beauty, and sprung from a respectable ancient family; thither he went and declared that he intended to marry that lady, if her beauty was answerable to the reports given of her. The young Bekovitch not compleatly twenty five years of age, had all qualifications fit to intitle him to demand a daughter from any house in Circassia. He was acknowledged by all the Circassians to be a descendant of  
one



one of their illustrious families; and he had already given many unexceptionable proofs of his bravery, both in regard to the Circassians, Kalmucks, and others, who very much dreaded offending him. He therefore had no great difficulty to persuade the parents to indulge him with an interview with this young lady : Upon whom he no sooner had cast his eyes, than he was immediately reduced to the most irredeemable slavery. He declared his passion, and agreed to every thing the parents thought proper to demand. In Circassia no other dowry is given with their daughters than a few suits of rich cloaths, ornamented with jewels, and a few women : But the bridegroom is obliged to produce on the wedding-day such number of horses, dromedaries, cows, &c. as was agreed upon : If they have no such number of their own, they make incursions upon their neighbours and carry off as many as they stand in need of, or lose their lives in the attempt. In all Circassia, therefore, none was so proper as the young Bekovitch to make an agreement of that kind : He did not much care what number they demanded, nothing seemed for him too hard, to become possessed of this consummate beauty ; he agreed to every thing, and nothing now was wanting but his father's consent? to whom he forthwith repaired and implored it. Old Bekovitch whom I knew very well, said that  
he

he could have no objection to the family she was descended from ; but that it would be necessary for him to pay a visit, and make a final agreement. The son urged, and the father, prompted by the relation and sollicitation of his son, made all haste to put a conclusion to this affair. He finished it indeed sooner than was expected, but not agreeable to his son ; for he married the young lady himself, and clandestinely brought her to his own haram : When young Bekovitch was properly made acquainted with his father's villainous transaction, in the first sally of passion he swore by Mahomet's head, that he would put his father to death, for such unparalleled treachery, the very first opportunity he should have. After this, old Bekovitch durst not stir out of Kizlaar, without being well-guarded, nor durst the young prince enter the city for fear of being made a prisoner by the Russians for his father's security : Because no Turk will break such an oath as what is made by Mahomet's head. In this state, things were between father and son when we were in Kizlaar. The old prince was every day at the ambassador's : He was a great lover of cards, and our gentlemen exercised his talents and purse to some purpose : He was a relation of Prince Golitzin's, his mother being a lady out of that illustrious family. The ambassador found it altogether



altogether impossible to bring about a reconciliation, the oath was not to be neglected. The son was much more honoured by the Circassians than the father.

About the end of October this year, a body of Tartars made an inroad into Russian Circassia, and carried off a great number of all kinds of cattle. They were so hardy as to drive cattle from within five versts of the city. Next day, the dragoons and Cossacks were sent out in quest of them; but, after a pursuit of five or six days, returned, quite fatigued, unsuccessful. This could not fail to be extremely distressing both to the Cossacks and Circassians, who had sustained this loss. At last it was reported to young Bekovitch, who lived incamped with a few brave trusty followers in the desert. He no sooner was informed of it, than he sent a messenger to Prince Golitzin for orders to be sent with his own men only, to endeavour to recover the lost cattle. The prince sent him the necessary orders. Young Bekovitch took his measures so well, that, unperceived, he passed through Turkish Circassia, and found the cattle in Kuban Tartary, a little farther west than Asoph. He destroyed many of the Kuban habitations, put all the thieves who happened to fall in his way to the sword, and returned with three times the number of cattle lost, to the Russian Circassians. When he was within seven versts of Kizlaar, he  
sent

sent a report of this action, and desired that whoever had lost their cattle should come there and receive them ; what number remained, was his own property. The good old Prince Golitzin was so well pleased with this heroic action, that he wrote a very pressing letter to the young hero, begging that he would pay him a visit, assuring him that his person should be in all safety, and that he should have liberty to return whenever he pleased : At the same time, he sent notice to his father to keep within his own house, and sent a sufficient guard to protect him from any attempts of his son. The young bather arrived, attended by twenty horsemen well mounted and compleatly armed, every one of them having under their garment a coat of mail, which is nothing else than a coat of steel rings, which incloseth their body and reacheth down to the half of the thigh ; it has two arms reaching to the elbows, and it has a piece for covering the head, something like the capuchines hood. He lighted from his horse, and with four of his followers came straight to the good prince, who could not help shedding tears of joy to see his brave kinsman. After mutual compliments were over, the prince hinted at a reconciliation with his father, but stopped very soon, as the hero could not hear it, and his passions had almost transported him. The prince soon made him sensible that he  
intended



intended him no harm, and therefore begged he would drop the affair; declaring that he never would concern himself more about it: But that he would give an account to the Empress of this gallant action he had just now performed, and of his great vigilance at all times to protect Circassia; and that he would beg of her Majesty that she would be pleased to appoint him a place of security, where he could live with his brave followers, without any fear of being maltreated either by the Russian commanders or others. The young hero returned hearty thanks for the prince's good inclinations to him, and said that he did not doubt of the success of his representations, adding that he had been solicited by the Turkish Circassians to live amongst them, but that as yet he had lent a deaf ear to their solicitations, saying that he heartily loved his own people, and could not think ever to be an enemy to them. He said that he was made well acquainted with the ways his father had taken to prepossess the court of St Petersburg with a notion of his undutifulness, and want of respect to the Russian government; but said he, all these his remonstrances are equally false as he is base. He was well informed that traps and snares had been laid by his father and the commandant, who, he said, was void of all honour, to get him apprehended: But he added they might glory,  
and

and might secure dead Bekovitch ; but he should hold them at defiance to take him living. The prince begged that he would partake of dinner, which the other declined to do. As he had formerly been my patient in Astrachan, he spoke to me, and when he had taken a single glass of arrack or corn brandy, touched his cap with his hand, as a compliment to the prince, retired, mounted, and rode off at full speed amidst the acclamations and praises of thousands of the citizens for the very singular service he had just done them. The prince recommended him so effectually at court, that he had presents sent him from the Empress ; was received into her Majesty's favour, and had her protection granted in the most ample manner ; but was forbidden to come within four or five versts of Kizlaar, or any other place where his father should reside.

One evening as Major Berezin and I were returning from hunting, passing by Prince Bekovitch's haram, we saw his daughter, a lady of about sixteen years of age, walking in a garden. She saw not us, which gave us an opportunity of seeing one of the beautifullest of the whole creation: The garden was palisadoed with small, but long fir-stakes closely set together ; however, we got a long view of this perfection of beauty, without her knowledge. In the evening we told the ambassador, who, though old, admired beauties,



ties, and as she was a relation of the Golitzins, obtained liberty from her father to pay her a visit; none were present but the Major and me: She was very richly dressed; at this interview she presented a glass of arrack to the prince, and after a short time retired. This young lady might have had her equals; but it was the opinion of us all that none could surpass her in beauty.

The Circassians wear *togæ* or long gowns: Their hair is cut short, so that at a distance, when uncovered, one would be apt to think that they wore small caps; they are all shaved, except their whiskers. When they are mounted on horseback, they have a sabre fixed to the saddle under their left thigh, and another hanging at their left side. This they do, lest one should happen to be broken in an engagement.

## C H A P. XXII.

*A continuation of what happened at Kizlaar, &c.*

**B**EFORE I proceed to take notice of what happened whilst we sojourned here, I imagine a short description of this city may not be disagreeable to the reader. Kizlaar, as was said, is situated on the northern banks of the river Terek; it is a new city, and consequently not compleated; it may contain

six or seven thousand inhabitants, besides the garrison, and other people belonging to the army, consisting of Russians, Cossacks, and the natives of the country: The streets are not paved, and consequently very deep and dirty; the houses mean, and very ill built of timber: In short, it is a poor dirty city, the streets are so very deep in rainy weather, that horses have stuck fast in the mud: There are only two shopkeepers here. Lately was built upon the north-west end of the town, a fortification or citadel of earth, in form of a pentagon, surrounded with a very deep and broad ditch, palisadoed round about; and to the west of that are casarms for the garrison, which consists of five hundred men from the garrison of Astrachan; besides which, commonly three or four regiments of regular troops are cantoned here; and three, four, or five thousand Cossacks, not inhabitants of the country, and some Circassians, commanded by their own chief Bekovitch.

The Russians formerly built a fortification near the sea, which they called Sulack; but, it being very unhealthy, they deserted it, and caused the inhabitants retire to this place. There are eight or nine Cossack villages very neat, situated west from Kizlaar, upon the banks of the Terek. These Cossacks are called Grebinski Cossachi: They inhabit a very rich country, abounding with every thing which nature can produce. Kizlaar is distant



stant from the northernmost part of Caucasus, as I was informed, about one hundred and twenty versts. Our engineer, at sunset, when we could have a view of these hills in a clear atmosphere, found, with his theodolite, that they were elevated at that distance above the level of Kizlaar two degrees and one half. The people in Kizlaar carry on a good trade with the Persians for a root which grows naturally here, fit for dying a beautiful red colour; being the winter season I saw none of it, but imagined that it was *rubia tinctorum*: Very many reeds grow here; the finest capers in the world, and a great variety of very useful herbs: Vines grow wild in the woods; the grapes are small, but they produce good wine, and if they were cultivated, would be of great advantage to the proprietor.

They have a singular way of catching game here, such as wild swine, of which there are very large flocks, wolves, and foxes: They dig holes nine feet deep, narrow at the top, and broad at the bottom; in the middle of which they drive a stake, which projects three or four feet above the surface of the earth; upon the upper end of this stake is fixed a cart-wheel moveable; upon this wheel, in the evening, they make fast a pig, duck, or hen, and cover over the mouth of the pit with branches of trees, upon which they scatter cut grass, or such like stuff: When any of these creatures passing by, hear the prisoner, they

they run towards the hole-mouth, where they fall in; nor can they get out. One day my pointer fell into one of these covered holes, from which, with difficulty, I got relieved.

They ride out in great numbers when they intend to hunt the hare; I once went with them when we were thirty-eight horsemen, of which number eight men went with many hounds before the rest, who formed a great circle, making much noise, so that no hares could ly; and in this manner they would ride through twenty or thirty versts; and having very many hounds, it might be thought almost impossible that a hare could escape them, yet I saw some make their escape. This country produceth as great variety of game as Astrachan, but a far greater number of pheasants, of which I killed many.

I was told, that at the distance of about eighty versts west, there was a very remarkable well of hot water, and some others. I begged, and obtained leave of the prince to visit these natural curiosities, especially as it was said, that Peter the Great built an hospital there for the cure of scorbutic patients. In my way to the wells I passed through the following towns and villages, in the same order as I have wrote them, beginning at Kizlaar, from east to the west Barazdinskaja, Dubofskaja, Kargalinskaja, Kurdjukoff, Staro Gladkoi, Nova Gladkoi, Sedrin, Tsherflonoi, Bragertskoi; the last of these villages



is not under the Russian protection. The Russian villages are all situated on the north-side of the Terek river, but Bragutskoi is on the south-side. The inhabitants of these villages are chiefly Cossacks, and are reckoned more warlike than the Dons Cossacks, though I saw little appearance of it; but they shoot a single bullet with great exactness, and will kill a wild boar, or any other creature, at a very great distance: They told me, that their courage is much kept under by great oppression from the commandant of Kizlaar, their governor, who did not bear a good name. I desired this commandant for a passport, which he not only granted, but did not ordain me to pay any money for the trouble. I desired to know from the Cossacks, What was the reason that they were obliged to find horses for passengers (though in her Majesty's service) without payment, as they do through all Russia? They answered, That that was but a trifle to what they were otherways burdened with; that no officer paid for horses; and added, that they were the most miserable slaves belonging to the Russian empire; because they were impotent, poor, and at too great a distance from court, and had none to represent their grievances. Our dragoons, and their horses, were cantoned in these villages. I persuaded three of the officers, with a few of their men, to go with me to the wells, as they had been there formerly, and

and as the wells were not in the Russian dominions. The last mentioned village is situated on the banks of the Terek, where there were no other boats but canoes, by which we reached the other side, and passed the independent Circassian village called Bragutskoi, two miles south from the river, and six miles to the wells, to which we soon arrived on the north side of the hill, where we left my wagon and horses, and walked up the hill on foot about forty fathoms perpendicular height. This well vomited up boiling hot water, which smelled strongly of naphtha, into a basin about twelve feet in diameter, and three feet deep, near which on the west side were seven smaller springs of the same kind of water; and on the east side, about six feet distance from the large basin, was an inconsiderable spring of water extremely sour, in so much that it was very troublesome to keep it a short time in my mouth. Being afraid of the wild Tartars we could make no experiments. Here were four or five small round holes quite dry; about the sides of which were some beautiful white salts like stars: I put some of it in my mouth, which instantly dissolved, and left a very agreeable cold pungent sensation behind; it appeared to be a very penetrating natural nitre. I had brought a hen with me for my dinner: I caused tie her, having taken out the guts, to the end of a long pole,  
and



and plunge her into the middle of the well. When they drew her out, the feathers came easily off; they then plunged her into the basin a second time, and in nine minutes, by my watch, she was boiled so well that I made my dinner of her. Boiling hot-water, I imagine, could not have done it so soon, and therefore suppose it was done by the great penetrability of the white naphtha, with which this water was saturated, on which account the flesh of the fowl was not agreeable.

A declining plain was stretched from the well northward, about thirty paces long, and half as broad. The water runs in a serpentine stream through the middle of this plain, and then was thrown over broken rocks at least thirty fathoms high, down amongst rocks: On the bottom of the stream, and also on the rocks where the water touched, there grew a fat substance, putting out fibres as small as the finest hair, exhibiting all sorts of shining colours, very pleasant to look upon. This stream was so considerable, that, at the distance of two versts, without the help of a dam, it turned the wheel of a corn-mill; and you could observe it sinoaking all the way to the river Terek, whose streams it joined, at the distance of eight versts from its source: There were several holes made in the plain, with small passages cut from the principal stream to let in water; in which, when cold enough, valetudinarians used to bathe:

bathe. My companions let in some water into one of them when we arrived, and we all bathed in it: Here was a constant verdure, and the daisy was continually in flower. We experienced that it was extremely cold in our way to this place; but though a hard frost, in the latter end of December, and a north wind, yet the boiling hot streams, arising from the well, and exhaling from the fall over the rocks, rendered this place so very warm, that I could have lived there, at that time of the year, naked.

We went about one mile west on the side of the same hill, to see seven black thick naphtha wells, which were not far distant from one another; they spewed out of the side of the hill great quantities of a black, thick, fat naphtha, very stinking; the country people use it for lamps, and anointing their cart-wheels. I took up six bottles of hot water, in doing which two were broken by the heat, and two of the four water, in order to make experiments at my return, and returned by the same way to Kizlaar.

I met with nothing on my return worth the reader's notice, except that I passed by, in one place, fourteen wolves altogether, following proud bitches. I would have fired upon them, but the Cossacks said, that it might prove dangerous, for fear that the firing might provoke them to attack us. They were all lying as we passed by.



At Kizlaar I was surprised to find, that when I had drawn the corks of the naphtha water, which smelled so strong at the well, the water was quite sweet; nor did it differ from other pure water. Into a glass of this water I dropped *Ol. Tart. per deliq.* it sunk instantly to the bottom of the glass, where it lay like globules of quick silver, without incorporating with the water: When they were shaken together, the water was turned to a blueish colour, and tasted resinous. I dropped into one ounce of this water ten drops of *Ol. Sulph. per campan.* This produced no change of colour in the water, no commotion nor fermentation; neither could I observe any sediment. After they had remained mixed some time, I put into one ounce of acid water ten drops of *Ol. Sulph. per campan.* but observed no other change than that it turned the water of a fair blue colour. I put into the same quantity of four water fifteen guts of *Ol. Tart. per deliq.* the mixture turned thicker and cloudy, after it had stood some time, without exhibiting any other change. I shook the mixture; this turned it all thick; but after standing, it formed some clouds; but before these clouds were formed, there was a scum on the top of the water, and, in the time of three or four minutes, it let fall a brown sediment.

At my return to Kizlaar, orders were published to get ready to march in all haste,

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because

because a courier brought word that twelve thousand Persians were waiting our arrival upon the borders, at no great distance. This effectually put a stop to any other experiment.

## C H A P.    XIX.

### *Our March to Derbent, &c.*

THE reader, I hope, will excuse my mentioning, that I met with in this place an old acquaintance, Major de Villanoff, a French gentleman, brother to Marquis de Villanoff. He was obliged to fly his native country on account of a duel he had fought, in which he killed his antagonist. He married in Russia, and had two very fine children. When we arrived in Kizlaar, it was generally believed that we would be obliged to stay there during the winter season, wherefore I bought up hay and oats for six horses; but getting so sudden orders, I had no need of them. To expose them to sale would have been trifling; I therefore made a present of them to my friend Villanoff, who, upon this occasion, told me, that, as I despised any who would put up prayers to the saints for my prosperity, he would cause each of his horses put up a candle before the Virgin Mary, because, said he, they are the  
only



only profitters by your leaving this place. I never heard of him after this.

Before I leave Circassia, I must take notice, that they are truly a well formed, comely people. Their women are universally very beautiful, and few, if any, are marked with the small pox. They do not inoculate as we do, but they infect their children in the following manner, and they say without danger: They send a present (without which, superstition makes them believe, that it would have no effect) to the diseased child, who, at the height of the disease, permits them to tie under his arm-pit a small bit of cotton sewed in a piece of cotton-cloth, on the opposite side of which, to that touching the emunctories, is fixed a piece of lead. This apparatus remains fixed to the arm-pit of the sick child, till the pox begin to fall off and dry, viz. three or four days; then it is carried in some close vessel straight to the child who is designed to be infected, and made fast in the same manner to its arm-pit, where it remains three or four days, and generally infects the patient. I never saw it performed, but they all agreed that this was their method, nor do they know how long they have had it.

Upon the 4th of January 1747, we marched from Kizlaar, the prince having had the same honours paid him, which were done him at his arrival. We were escorted by our  
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own dragoons and three hundred Cossacks. We passed the river Terek on a timber float, and after that marched through a marshy ground, covered over with snow, which the wheel-carriages and horses feet, with the heat of the day, rendered almost impassible. We travelled southward, thro' woods and reeds, about fifteen versts, and encamped on the south-east side of the small river Cargine, where the Russians kept a guard of soldiers.

On the 5th we struck our tents, and marched south twenty-five versts farther, and encamped on a plain covered all over with snow, called Suchoi Oxai.

On the 6th, at four o'clock in the morning, we marched from thence southwards, passed the river Oxai on ice, which was only four days frozen, and encamped on the south side of it. Having dined, we marched at two o'clock afternoon, southward, travelled through a plain country, and at seven o'clock at night we arrived, very cold, in a large Tartarian or Circassian village, called Andreofske Derevna, consisting of between three and four hundred houses. The prince of this village is called Alish, and is under the protection of Russia. He came four versts out of his capital to pay his respects to the prince, and convoyed him to his own house. We entered into a great hall, where was a good fire of wood. Alish was drunk, and when the prince demanded to know the cause of it,

it,



it, he said, that he was informed that morning, that the prince would honour his house with his presence ; that he was so glad of this intended honour, that he caroused with some of his chiefs through the whole day. He said that no angel would have been welcomer, and begged that he would be a friend to him. His cap being in his hand, and his head being close shaved, discovered the scars of a great many wounds which he had received. The prince enquired, How he came by these marks ? He answered, that when he was younger, he was extremely fond of diversion ; he said, that he had some reason to think that he was one of the most complete baters in all Circassia ; he said, that he met with much opposition, but generally gained his point : He had one of the best breed of horses in the whole country, produced from those he had stolen from the borders of Turkey and Georgia ; that, although he now is old, he loves the game ; and that his young men are frequently bringing in some ; but he complained loudly of the Persians who came for us ; he said, that they had already cut off the heads of three or four of his men ; and that they had six, which, he heard, would all meet with the same fate, if his excellency did not prevent it. Upon this the prince sent off a messenger to require the prisoners, and demand the reason why the fardar, or general of the Persians assumed a privilege of

of putting to death any subject belonging to the Russian empire ; protesting, that if he heard of any such barbarity after this, he would not perhaps proceed on his intended embassy, and that if he did, he would not fail to represent the sardar's inhumanity and presumption to the Shach. Next morning, the prisoners were returned alive, and an officer of distinction sent to beg that the prince would forgive what he had unknowingly been obliged to do ; because all thieves, which he seized, said they were Russian subjects, some of whom, he was certain, were not under the protection of Russia. He said, that they had already not only carried off many of his best horses, but lay lurking in the woods, and kill without mercy, any small party of men who happen to go but a short way from his camp. He concluded by suggesting, that there would be little security either for his Persians or Russians, unless the ambassador would please carry the person of their Khan with him, as surety for their good behaviour. The prince told Alish what the Persians justly enough complained of ; which Alish said might be true, but added, that it was not in his power to put a stop to it altogether ; and added, that he wished they might not steal somewhat from us in the night-time. Upon this the prince caused the trumpets to sound through the town, and warn all the inhabitants to keep within doors, declaring, that if any of  
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the centinels saw any of them going near where our horses or baggage were kept, they would fire upon them, and that if a horse was lost, a severe punishment would follow; besides, that he would insist upon their delivering two of their best horses for every one of ours. Notwithstanding which, they stole a pistol from one of our officers, although it was under the pillow upon which he was sleeping, and several other small things. Next morning, the prince desired that Alish would convoy him over the borders; and in this manner he carried him even to the walls of Derbent; and Alish, not knowing that he was a prisoner, imagined that he was very much honoured by the notice the prince took of him.

Next morning, being the 7th of January, we marched down the river about three versts to a ford, and left this nest of thieves. We passed this deep rapid river, called Agrachan. The passage was both tedious and dangerous. It is about three hundred paces broad, and about noon, when the sun shines both summer and winter, when the weather is warm, the river, as all these we passed thro' in our way to Derbent do, begins to swell, and continues swelling till after sun-set, by the melting of the snow upon the high country. We encamped on the south banks of this river, upon a small plain. Here grows a certain thorn, of which beautiful walking  
 slaves

flaves are made ; when the bark is taken off, it is wonderfully variegated, and resembles a piece of marble, but it is very heavy : From this place, at the distance of twenty versts, stood the Russian castle called Sulack.

On the 8th day, we departed from this place at the dawning of the day, and proceeded south through a wood of oaks, and vines creeping on them, whereon grapes grew, from which the Russians make very good wine. We travelled only eight or nine versts, till we arrived at the river Costica, and encamped on the northern banks of it for the night. This is the river which forms the boundary between the Russians and Persians. The governor of Derbent was sent, with forty or fifty followers, all armed, to pay their respects to the prince : They convoyed him to his tents, and had the honour to drink a dish of coffee in the ambassador's presence. Our dragoons now marched in rank, with their broad swords in their hands. We could not pass Costica this evening, the water being too rapid and deep.

On the morning of the 9th, we passed Costica, where, had it not been for Captain Beunhow, I had been drowned. The stream was so rapid, that it carried down my machine and the two poor horses that drew it ; but the captain rescued me from this danger. Having all gained the other side of the river,  
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the prince was received very honourably by all the Persian chiefs who commanded these troops, and conducted to his own tents about two versts distant, south from the ford, nearer these high mountains.

The road through which we passed was lined on both sides with several thousands of Persian horse under arms ; and when the prince drew near to his tents, they continued, with great exactness, a running fire for a long time. When he entered his tent, a deputation was sent, with great respect, to know if his highness would be pleased to permit the chiefs of the army, with their fardar, named Ami Buslan Khan, at their head, to pay their compliments to him. He invited them kindly, and gave orders, that at our main guard, the fardar should be received with military honours due to a general in chief, by music, drums, and kettle-drums. The main guard was placed before a long rich tent as an antichamber, through which the fardar was to pass; between that tent and the one the prince was in, was a space, where forty men were drawn up under arms, which was covered on the sides with painted sail-cloth, so that none from without could see the men thus drawn up, with a very youth of great stature, a lieutenant of dragoon grenadiers, at their head. When the Persian chiefs came up where the standard of Russia was, the honours were paid to them exactly. The

Persian horses, not having been trained up in this way, were frightened ; but their riders kept their seats so well, that not one of them fell. The fardar was with his company convoyed through the first tent into the before mentioned place, where the officer and soldiers paid him their compliments with their arms : The fardar stooped short, probably not understanding such European compliments, and possibly suspecting treachery, but he very soon recovered himself, and, without hesitation, proceeded into the tent where the prince was. He laid his right hand, I think, upon his heart, and gave a nod to the officer as he passed by.

The ambassador, dressed in a suit of rich silk with gold, was sitting at the upper end of a very long table (at which we used to dine daily) in a great chair, mounted with cut velvet, and richly set out with gold-lace and fringes, with his hat upon his head. The table was covered with superfine scarlet English cloth, richly bordered with fringes of gold. When the fardar appeared at the foot of the table, he placed his hand on his breast, stooped, and gave a nod with his head. The other generals, on each side of him, did the same. Our secretary, who was standing at the prince's right hand, by the prince's direction, desired the fardar to take his chair, and direct the general officers who attended him to take theirs, as he thought proper. The  
fardar



fardar advanced slowly, and took his chair on the prince's left hand, at the distance however of three feet at least from him, farther down the table, and the other still at a farther distance. The number who attended at this time was nine, among whom was a young man who sat below all the rest: He was an Indian chief, who was kept as an hostage; however, he commanded about four thousand of his own men.

We stood uncovered, though excessively cold, round the person of our ambassador, dressed in our second best cloaths. The pages upon this occasion, made no unbecoming appearance; they were all dressed in superfine scarlet, richly set off with gold-lace; and the prince's livery servants, who brought coffee, took care of the candles, and performed the like services, were very splendid. The Persian chiefs were differently dressed, in brocades, silks, and cloths of gold, with rich sashes about their middle, in which was stuck a kingjall or durk, with a handle curiously wrought with gold and set with precious stones, as was the sheath; besides which, every man had his sabre; their handles were ornamented in the same manner. These Persians do not wear turbans, but high caps, made either of cloth or brocade; they taper from the head to the top, ending in four sharp corners. They surround that

part

part of the cap which immediately incloseth the head, with very rich fashes made of silk and gold.

The tent where this first audience was given, was between thirty and forty feet long, and proportionably broad, lined on the inside throughout with rich Persian silks. The Persian followers rushed into the tent in such numbers, that they bore hard upon us, and rendered it difficult for the ambassador's servants to go about their business, of which our marshal, with a loud voice, ordered the secretary to complain to the fardar, who, with one word, soon freed us of this troublesome company, nor was any servant ever admitted after this, except a very few necessary ones. Compliments were profusely made to the prince; he was promised every thing, and much more than he desired; all which was extremely ill performed, as the sequel will shew.

After they had talked over their present affairs, the prince asked them, If they did not chuse a dish of coffee? To which they assented, with a nod. He then desired them, if they pleased, to smoke the callian. The fardar, in the name of the rest, returned thanks, saying, that it was an honour they little expected to be indulged with in his presence; and that they smoked their callian when they drank coffee; but never durst do that in his presence of their superiors



riors unless they were permitted. Every one had his callian brought in ; and indeed they thoroughly fumigated this large tent. Coffee was prepared, both in the Russian and Persian manner. The Persians prepare their coffee in this manner : They burn the beans, as we do, but reduce them to an impalpable powder ; so that when boiled, it is near as thick as hasty pudding. They take only one cup at a time, without sugar ; but this they do frequently through the day ; and they affirm, which I believe true, that it quenches thirst better than any thing else ; raises the spirits, and does not cloy the stomach. I have tried it ; and, though it is not very agreeable, thought it had that effect upon me.

At the end of this visit the sardar pressed the prince much, that he would be pleased to honour them, by taking a collation in King Solomon's tent, which Nadir Shach, their great King, had ordered them to bring for that purpose. The prince returned thanks for their intended kindness ; but added, that as he represented the person of the Empress, he was determined to pay no visits until he had delivered his credentials into the Shach's hands ; and therefore, without farther ceremony, intreated the sardar, if he designed to live in friendship with him, to give him no more trouble about such affairs. Thus, this tedious ceremony ended, to all our satisfactions. Soon after their

their departure, many presents of different Persian wines, fruits, and a variety of confections, were sent to the ambaffador.

The ambaffador now gave directions how to fet up our tents continually after this. He called for the plan which the marshal had made out; he ordered fome changes, *viz.* that the two troops of dragoons fhould have their tents placed oppofite to one another, with the ftandard and main guard in the middle: That his gentlemens tents fhould be placed at a reasonable diftance, upon each fide of his fleeping tent, made of felt, in form of a bee-hive: That Dr Lerch and his mate fhould be at no great diftance from the hofpital tent. He ordered his own tent to be placed at the end of the dragoons, exactly in the middle, with its entry opening into the area between the dragoons, as into a ftreet. My tent of felt, in form of a bee-hive, was behind his, that in the night-time I might be near his perfon. The great kitchen tent was placed behind mine, and the two great baggage tents, with that in which we dined, behind it, where poffible, near fome inaccessible place. The Cofacks and Tartars furrounded us. The Persian main army lay between us and the hills, but detached numbers furrounded us on all fides; and we encamped in this order every night.

After fun-fet the Perfians played their horrid mufic, confifting of very long trumpets, making



making a noise to be heard at a great distance, and afterwards set their night watches, by firing off a few small cannon. They fired their cannon in the morning, and played their music daily, but they fired their muskets through the whole night. The first night several shot went through our tents; a complaint of which being made next morning, a stop was put to it. The Persians were hated by all the inhabitants of the hills, who in the night-time frequently made attacks upon the Persian camp, cutting all to pieces who happened to fall in their way, and carrying off all the horses they could meet with.

Next day was taken up by the Persians in packing up our baggage, fit for portage, on the backs of camels. From this place all the Russian and Cossack carts were returned home. We had no other wheel machines than the prince's coach, and two or three sleeping or travelling waggons.

Seven of our Cossacks went out to cut down some wood for firing in a neighbouring wood. One sat on horseback, to take care that no enemy came near, whilst the rest were gathering timber. This poor man was shot with a single bullet; it entered in at the *scrobiculus cordis*, and lodged in a rib, which it broke immediately below the under angle of the base of the *scapula*. He died the day following, in great agonies. He was very solicitous to have his body buried in Circassia,

caffia, amongst his relations. This the prince ordered to be done.

On the same day the Persians seized six highlanders, called *Tavellines*, from whom they soon cut the heads. The Persians sent to the prince a report of this ; and begged, that as they were straitened for provisions, and as they were assured the Tavellines were intending to give them battle, he would condescend to proceed on his journey next day ; telling him, that Nadir Shach had sent them to be his servants, and conduct his excellency safe, whose arrival he daily wished for, &c.

The Persians having got every thing in readiness, we marched on the eleventh, 12 miles farther north-east, by the north side of the high mountains of Caucasus, called Pischanche, and pitched our tents on a plain ground in the evening. Our own horses were all led, and we rode upon Persian horses, only the dragoons rode on their own horses, and we and our horses were furnished with every thing needful for man and beast, according to the eastern way.

On the 12th day we marched from this about nine o'clock A. M. and travelled thro' a tolerable plain road, having some lakes on our left hand, and the high mountains on our right. We only travelled about twenty-five versts, as many camels fell down, not able to proceed through hunger and fatigue ; wherefore



wherefore they either cut their throats, or the tendons of their hindermost legs, to disable them from going, that they might not fall into the hands of their enemies, and be useful to them. This night we encamped on a hollow ground, covered on all sides by high banks, through which run a muddy stream, called Belajareka.

About ten A. M. we proceeded on our journey; but the roads, for eight or ten versts, were extremely deep, being tough clay. We passed by much arable land, both yesterday and this day. After this the roads turned better; and we continued our journey by the north-east side of the high mountain called Tegu, separated from all the rest of Caucasus by a deep valley, and encamped on the east side of it, at the distance of about three miles from the Caspian, Sea and about three quarters of a mile from the foot of the mountain, on a very pleasant plain.

Between us and the mountain were many vine and other fruit-gardens, which the Persians, in less than two hours, cut down to the ground, leaving no remains of timber for fire-wood to us. There was now no growing timber near us: Such barbarous behaviour could not fail sensibly to irritate, to the greatest degree, the passions of these brave highlanders, to whom the vines belonged, who in the night-time fell on their camp, and carried off fifteen men, and some horses.

Tegu hill at a distance, where we could have a right view of it, appeared on the top like a circular table, inclining to the east. Its top, we judged, may measure about twenty English miles in circumference. It is surrounded by very high rocks quite round, many fathoms deep, as far as we could see, which rendered it quite impregnable, except at one place near a large village, situated at the foot of this rock far up the hill. This passage to the top of the mountain we discovered by the help of a good telescope.

The day after we arrived, dreading no danger, I begged that our major would give me an escort of six dragoons, that I might take a view of the top of the hill. The major took time to consider of it, but privately told the prince. Upon which, by the prince's authority, orders were issued out forbidding any person belonging to the embassy to go above sixty paces from the camp. This put a stop to my curiosity.

Here are an infinite number of monuments of the dead, many large burial places, and the vestiges of many gardens, which makes me believe, that this place has formerly been very populous. We were told, that it had been the residence of a potent prince; but as all these people, time out of mind, live without any œconomy, by plunder and rapine, so it is no wonder that at present they



they are so miserably reduced. We could discover the vestiges of some former city, stretching far up the side of the hill.

As we came to the place where we encamped, the natives sold to some of our men two great loaves of bread for an useless flint stone, money not being valued here, but by the weight, purity, and value of the metal.

The Persian chiefs assured us, when we were on the borders, that large stores of provisions were kept for us here; but, when we arrived, there was no such thing; which was the reason that the prince would proceed no farther till we had received provisions for some days; because he could give no credit to what they said.

There were three villages in our view, upon the east side of the hill, between us and the precipice formerly taken notice of, not three miles distant from one another.

We were told, that they had carried on war amongst themselves for one year before we arrived: That the two smaller villages joined against the great one; so that it was dangerous for men to walk out of them. It is said, that Peter the Great lost about three thousand men at the foot of this hill. They wear coats of mail under their upper garment. They are a bold well-made people, and shoot out of rifled pieces very dexterously, and have fine scymetars, all of their own making.

They

They are ruled by one of their own people, appointed governor by Nadir Shach. Though they are under the Persian yoke, yet it is only so long as a strong body of Persians are in this country.

On the fourteenth, in the evening, having got some provisions, the Persians marched off, and left with us but a few of their men. They would have had the ambassador to follow ; but he would not move, though they said, that the highlanders would attack us in the night time, if we remained there.

The prince, in his answer, said, that he was afraid of nothing but their lies : That he wanted already two days provisions, and would not go farther unless that was paid up ; and also provisions for five days before it became due ; because, he said, he had some reason to believe they intended to starve him and his men.

Next morning the sardar, being afraid that we would return, as our ambassador had threatened, came to the prince, begged pardon, and promised every thing ; and at last we set out on the 15th, and passed over many low stony hills, and by many burial places, where many hundred stones were set on end at the heads of the dead, adorned with hieroglyphicks, to declare what they were, when alive ; *e. g.* if a soldier, a quiver and arrows, bow and sabre, were cut out on the stone ; and so of the rest. We pitched our  
tents



tents on the high banks of the small stony river Manasse.

Not far from Buinack there was a village ; thither the prince sent and bought some provisions ; and we were told, that the Persians having been made acquainted with it, strangled their chief. After this the prince could not see, without very visible marks of anger, the Persian sardar.

On the 16th we set out, and passed the rapid stony little river Manasse, distant about 25 versts from Targu ; we passed also many stony hills, and deep valleys, which made our journey very tedious ; and at two o'clock, P. M. we encamped on a plain, having the high green hills on our right hand, and the sea on our left, distant about three versts. The hills were scarcely a verst from us ; and it is incredible how beautiful they were, considering the season : They resembled a green dyke, whose summits we could not see for clouds, quite even, near perpendicular, stretching from north southwards, having, as it were, formed one of the sweetest plains ever I beheld, four miles broad between the hills and sea, and so far from the place where we encamped southward, that the keenest eye could not see the end of it.

On this day's journey we saw many horsemen at a distance on the hills, especially after we crossed Manasse. A short way from  
the

the road, we discovered the ruins of a fort built by Peter the Great, called Buinack.

This day, having travelled forty-five versts, we resolved to lodge here the ensuing night. At a small distance from our camp was a heap of stones, said to be made by Peter the Great; and my worthy friend Mr Bell of Antermomy, has lately assured me, that he remembers it well. He was in the Russian army when Peter marched through this plain; and at this place he was very unexpectedly attacked by many thousands of the inhabitants of the hills, whom he soon dispersed, after having killed many of them; and having gained a remarkable victory, Peter ordered every man in the army to throw a stone on that place. Mr Bell says, that many carried three or four; and indeed so it appears; because Peter the Great's army never could have raised such a heap, by one man's contributing only one stone.

On the 17th we set out, and travelled four versts, over low grounds, not quite even, and twenty versts farther over a plain like a bowling-green, having the sea on our left, and the high mountains on our right hand. In one part of this plain we were again desired not to let our horses feed, because of a poisonous herb; but we saw none of it. A little farther on we saw an old camp of the then Shach, when he carried his arms against Prince Usmei; and from the top of a hill about



bout twenty versts from our last camp, we saw the camp where Usmei cut off fifteen thousand of the Persians best troops to pieces, and hanged their general, who happened to be a relation of the Shach, and sent this account to the Shach by three of his soldiers, whose lives they spared : From one they cut off the ears, they cut the tongue out of the mouth of another, and plucked the eyes out of the head of a third ; and in this manner sent them, with this message, to the Shach ; assuring him, that they daily wished he might fall into their hands, and that they would put him to as cruel a death as they could invent.

Near the end of this day's journey we passed through a wood, where we killed five wild boars, and with my hounds forced an elk to seek protection from the sea, where it was shot by a Persian.

On our passage this day, the prince observing a great herd of horses, consisting of about three hundred, sent to the sardar, to know, Whose horses they were ? The sardar denied that he knew any thing about them ; and said, that he imagined they had belonged to his Excellency. Upon receiving this answer, the prince sent a captain of dragoons, with a party of men, and a hundred Cossacks, to seize them for the Empress's use, and secure the principal thief, who was a Persian. The captain seized the  
horses,

horses, appointed men to take care of them, and returned with the thief in custody. The Cossacks and Tartars at their return declared, that many of the horses were their own property, and had been stolen from them. Upon this information the prince caused keep the thief strictly, and gag him. In the evening the sardar begged an audience, which was granted, and it was the last ever he got.

At meeting, he told the prince that the man he had taken under custody was one of the Shach's merchants, who had orders to buy up horses for the use of the Shach's army, but that it was altogether unknown to him in the morning, and therefore desired that the horses and merchant might be set at liberty : But good as the prince was, such baseness put him into a very great passion. He told the sardar, that he was certain he was telling a falsehood, which was a practice he had closely followed ever since the unlucky hour he had first seen him: He said, that he could now prove that the prisoner was a thief, by more than one hundred witnesses, and that the horses belonged to the Empress's subjects, many of whom in his retinue claimed them; that therefore he would neither give up the thief, nor part with the horses. He put him in mind of the many lies he had daily made concerning our provisions; and declared, that he was much surprised



prised that the Shach could perform such great atchievements, with men whose chief qualifications seemed to lie in low chicanery and gross dissimulation. He said, that he would carry the thief to the Shach, and have the affair searched to the bottom: At this the sardar's crest fell, and in the most abject manner, he craved pardon for hitherto not having had it in his power to keep his word, which was occasioned by the people of the country, thro' which we passed, being in a state of rebellion, who, in their absence, had every where stolen the provisions; but added, that he would permit the ambassador to spit on his beard, (the greatest affront which can be done to a Persian) if he did not get plenty of every thing at Derbent. To this the prince answered, that if he had spit but once for every falsehood which he had told him, his beard would soon turn white; and ordered him forthwith out of his presence.

We encamped on the south side of a wood, in a place covered with heath: After our tents were all set up, and every thing in order, a very large boar rose out from the heath, and ran into the Persian camp, where he soon was killed by them, and brought to us.

The Persians were much afraid that Usmay's men would attack them. We were informed afterwards, that it was out of regard to the Russian ambassador that he did not fall on them; for he killed some hundreds, and took many horses from them,

when they were on their way to the borders of Russia: But what confirms my conjecture is, that the prince sent Captain Rosset, before we left Circassia, to the chiefs in Caucasus, to know if they would behave in a friendly manner to him, in his way to Persia. They escorted the captain from one to another, and all declared, as did Usmei, that, out of respect to the ambassador, they would not hurt the Persians; but, that if he did not come with them, they would not permit one of them to return into their own country.

On the 18th, we marched early through a plain low ground; passed three rivulets, and encamped upon the south side of a wood to take refreshment. We now left the hills, and directed our course near south-east, not far from the sea: We performed this journey by noon, being twenty-versts. The Persians were now much afraid of Usmei, and for that reason pressed the prince much to proceed to Derbent, situated only about eighteen or nineteen versts from us.

On the 19th, we passed over a clay-land very barren; and in the afternoon marched to the north-side of Derbent. The Persians pressed the prince to march through the city that night for fear of Usmei; but he would not, though the fardar left us with his army.

The city fired some small cannon, and some small arms from the walls, in honour

of



of the ambassador. The Russian resident, Arapoff, and my good friend Counsellor Cherkeffoff, came out of Derbent to pay their respects to the prince, with whom they had some private conversation, and then returned to the city, leaving us to the protection of heaven. The night-watches were no sooner placed than the prince gave orders to the Circassian prince Alisk, and his men, with the Cossacks, and three hundred horses, which I said had been villainously carried off from the borders of Circassia, that they should return to their own country with all precaution and diligence.

We after this passed the night in all safety from the Tartars. Next morning I took a view of the north-side of this ancient city Derbent.

#### C H A P. XXIV.

*Concerning Derbent ; what is remarkable there, and the Transactions of the Embassy during our Stay in it.*

**T**HE city of Derbent, said to be built by Alexander the Great, and called by many different names, as the Iron Gates, the Persian Gates, &c. lying in forty-one degrees, fifty minutes, north latitude, and sixty-seven degrees, forty minutes, east longitude, is  
built

built upon the east-side of a hill bearing that name: It is divided into three parts; the upper, nearest the top of the hill, called the Citydel, the middle, and the lower city. The Citydel is inhabited by soldiers only; nor is a citizen, nor any other, no not the governor of the city, permitted to enter it; neither is the commandant of the Citydel, nor any of his men, permitted to come out of it, except when commanded by an order from the Shach. Their provisions, ammunition, &c. are taken from the city by a crane; the only gate entering from the city into it is never opened, but to receive a recruit of soldiers. The middle city is the only place inhabited by merchants, citizens, &c. but it is in a most ruinous, miserable condition, few houses being in repair; the streets are very irregular, strait, and all broken; dead horses, and other animals, render the air very disagreeable and nauseous. In this city are some caravan-faries; that belonging to the Armenians is the only one in tolerable repair. Here is a very grand mosque, which the present Nadir Shach has converted into a granary; the roof of which is supported by eighty-four large pillars. In the city there is no other public nor private place worth taking notice of. The lower city, whose walls are built into the sea, was an empty area, where they kept their cattle formerly in the night-time, for fear of

Ufmei's



Usnei's men; but Shach Nadir has built a row of shops, on each side of a broad street, quite down the middle; at the end of which street, next the sea, he built also a very large palace, where there is a well of excellent water. The city is about an English mile long, but scarcely three-fourths of one mile broad. It is surrounded by one of the thickest walls I ever saw, strengthened by sixty square bastions: The walls are built of a curious stone of shells: This is a natural stone, no artificial composition, according to the whims of some late authors; for I, having travelled far up the mountain, discovered, as high as I went, that the rocks there were of the same kind of stone; consequently, seeing the natives were in possession of so great variety of this natural shelly cement, it would have been very needless to make a composition exactly resembling the same thing. The walls are about twenty feet thick near the surface of the earth, thirty feet high, and at the top ten or twelve feet thick; a parapet for breast-work surrounds the top of the wall, with port-holes at convenient distances. Peter the Great, it is well known, took this city, which was restored with the Persian conquered provinces, to this present Shach, in the reign of the Empress Anna Joannovna. The Russians, when it was in their possession, made trial of the effects which cannon-balls had on this wall; the ball only perforated it, but neither

shook

shook the wall, nor rent the stone. On the north side of Derbent, under the hills, is very fine arable ground: Upon the tops of the hills, west from Derbent, are to be seen some towers, which the inhabitants say were built by Alexander the Great; and that he continued these towers from Derbent west to the Black Sea, in order to curb the Dagestan Tartars.

At the place where we now are encamped are many wells of the purest spring water, and a variety of hewn troughs, for the convenience of cattle to drink out of: They certainly are very ancient. About one fourth of a mile north from the walls of the city, are very many burial-places; one in particular, is a square surrounded with a stone wall; the natives said, that forty Christian princes were buried here, who were killed by the inhabitants of Derbent, fighting for their religion; but in this square are interred some hundreds; the stones covering the graves are so near to one another, that you may walk upon them.

The Tartars from the borders of Astrachan to Derbent, are all Mahometans, of the sect of the Turks; but some things make me believe, that a majority of them had formerly professed the Christian religion. They have meetings at certain times of the year, where they divert themselves, without being able to account for the cause, any other way than that their ancestors did so before them; but these



these times correspond exactly with the times appointed by the Greek church for their festivities: Add to this, that I was assured there were at this day very many crosses of stone erected in this hilly country, and that the natives kept their annual meetings at or near these crosses, where they yet remain. They take a plurality of wives, notwithstanding what Mr Hanway says, as has been, I think, put out of doubt, by the history I gave formerly of the two Bekovitches. The old Bekovitch, at the time we were in Kizlaar, had either three or four wives, and a number of concubines. I shall say no more in this place about the Tartars, to the north of Derbent, reserving those things till I give some account of the Shach and his actions, in a proper place. On the low grounds between the hill and sea, to the south of Derbent, are very many vine-gardens, being a rich soil; and upon the sides of the mountain are many wells and rills of the purest water. Here also are many burial-places, and a variety of monuments built upon some pleasant spot, where their great Baters have been buried.

On the 20th January, a deputation was sent to the prince, to request him to march through the city to the south-side, where he would be in safety; and beg that he would march without any military shew, alledging, that it did not carry the appearance of friendship;

ship: They on their parts promising to pay him the same honours from their cannon, which they pay to their own King. The prince would not see their deputation, but referred them to our gentlemen, where my worthy friend Cherkeffoff presided, he being master of their language. Mr Cherkeffoff told them, that all these honorary affairs were settled between the Empress and their King, before an ambassador was named: That the Persian monarchy had never before been honoured with a plenipotentiary, an ambassador extraordinary, representing the person of the Empress, before this time: That the prince was determined never to submit to any thing derogatory to the Empress, or inferior to the King of Persia: That he not only would march with all military honours through Derbent, but even to the very threshold of their King's palace: Finally, that if they sent any more deputations, or made the least delay, he would decamp to the side of the sea, and order a Russian ship, which was riding at Derbent, to assemble as many ships as would be sufficient to carry him and his retinue back to Russia. He also ordered, that their sardar should himself come, and keep the inhabitants and others in order, while he was marching through the city.

This had the desired effect: The sardar came and promised every thing, but could not get admittance to the prince. A troop  
of



of dragoons, with their kettle-drum, trumpet, and colours, preceded with their swords drawn. The band of musick followed the doctor; his mate, and I, rode next; the gentlemen of the embassy succeeded; they were followed by the pages; the ambassador mounted on a fine horse, as white as snow, rode alone, his secretary being near, and but a little behind him; twelve liverymen on foot, six on each side attended, uncovered: The resident and Mr Cherkassoff, followed the prince; the other troop of dragoons, with their colours, kettle-drum, and trumpet, succeeded; the baggage followed them, escorted by sixty soldiers, and their drums; and a party of the Persian horse brought up the rear: When the rear was in motion that was made known by the drums; then the first kettle-drum and trumpet played, then the musick, lastly the second trumpet and kettle-drum, and this went round in their order, till we were in our camp; only when the musick entered the north gate, it played until they had passed through the south gate. We arrived safely in our camp on the south-side of the city, in two hours from our first outsetting. In the time of our march the prince was saluted with their small cannon, very regularly, and their soldiers continued to fire off their muskets from the walls for a long time.

In the evening, the resident and Mr Cherkassoff brought into our camp, as privately

as they could, a beautiful young Circassian maid, who, her parents being dead, was brought to Derbent to her uncle, who was a merchant. The governor, having got notice of this beauty, negociated in a friendly way with the uncle to part with her for his bed. To this he would not comply; and, when he was threatened and hard pressed, he begged that the Russian resident would receive her into his house privately. This the resident did, and the merchant declared, that she had made an elopement from him, nor could he tell where she was. The governor caused search his house, and afterwards tortured the poor man, who would not discover her; but that night we lay on the north side of the city, he most inhumanly caused cut off his head, to prevent, as he thought, a discovery of the cruelty he had been guilty of.

But the cunning Arapoff had spies upon all his actions, who made this report to the prince, who sent a message by one of his interpreters to the governor, letting him know, that he was thoroughly acquainted with all the villany he had been guilty of to the murdered merchant, a subject of Russia, and ordered that he should deliver up the merchant's servants and goods, according to a correct catalogue of which he was in possession. The governor, extremely frightened, brought every thing to our camp belonging to the deceased merchant, and



and offered his person to endure any punishment the prince should think proper to inflict upon him, or offered to pay what sum of money he was able, in order to atone for his crime. The prince would not see him ; but Mr Cherkassoff told him from the prince, that he did not mean to come into terms with any villain, whatever rank and power he might have ; that he was no judge in Persia, except in what related to his own people ; but that he determined to inform Nadir Shach of all the indignities he had met with since his arrival in the empire of Persia, and that he would not fail to represent such unheard of barbarity in a true impartial light. This said, Cherkassoff ordered him to return immediately, or else he would use him in a very different manner.

In the evening, the prince sent this maid, with her uncle's servants and effects on board the ship, with orders to the master to use them with all hospitality, and safely deliver them to the governor of Astrachan, who would send them to Circassia.

Next morning Dr Lerch desired my advice in the hospital concerning a young dragoon, who had been very useful in helping our carts through the rapid river Agrachan ; and having wet his feet in the stream, one of them froze. He had never taken off his boots till yesternight, when he first discovered the danger he was in. One of his feet

was

was so mortified, that he did not feel deep scarifications ; wherefore, it was resolved to amputate his leg below the knee. Whilst we were viewing the foot, and consulting what was to be done, a number of Persian officers came about us, and saw the operation performed. They came daily to the hospital, and saw the care which was taken of him and others, at which they expressed no small surprize. On the 29th day, before we left Derbent, he was put on board the ship in a good way, with directions, in order to be transported to Astrachan, where I saw him afterwards in good health. At first, the Persians imagined that he was some great criminal, and that the loss of his leg was a punishment ; but, when they were undeceived by our interpreters, they declared that they believed no such cure had ever been effected in Persia ; and that doubtless the Shach would give any money to a man who could perform such operations.

Soon after this, a message was sent to the prince from a Persian general, requesting him to send his doctor, acquainting him that he was poxed to a very great degree. Dr Lerch had liberty granted to go ; but, tho' they recompensed the doctor well enough, they also required me. The prince, representing to me the danger I would be in of losing my liberty by the barbarous Nadir Shach, if I performed any cure upon his people, determined



ned me to withstand their sollicitations. The prince returned for answer, that as I was not a Russian, he had no power to order me to attend any but those immediately under his command.

Having been informed that gold was to be sold in a profitable way here, and, having a large sum of silver coin by me, I applied to my friend Cherkassoff to get me a merchant: He very soon produced one all in rags, who brought with him forty-two triple ducats. I agreed, but, considering that there was much bad coin in the country, would not receive it unless tried by fire and water. To this he agreed; and out of the forty-two I only got twenty-five of good gold; what remained he made no scruple to take again, for he was present at the trial. The night following, I overheard the prince coughing, and went to ask what was the cause? The centinels would not permit me to go in; but the prince overhearing, asked who I was, and what was the reason I was stopped from visiting him? the centinel answered, that yesterday after breakfast the marshal had given orders to permit none to enter into that tent without his knowledge; at which the prince expressed surprize, and more anger than usual. When I entered into the tent, I saw a great sum of gold upon a small table, and told the prince that the major had given such orders on account of the gold, and desired he would not  
be

be angry with him; but I took the liberty to ask him if he had already payed for it? telling him that I had bought some, and that out of forty-two had only got twenty-five good gold. This information was agreeable to the prince, especially as he had not paid for it, and he desired that I would take the trouble to try it. But, wanting to sweat the marshal, I answered, that I willingly would shew the major or any other the way to try it; but that, as his excellency knew, I was neither able to stand the fire, nor any great fatigue long, I hoped he would hold me excused. To this motion he heartily agreed, and the major was sent for, and disturbed from his sleep, which he loved to excess. At his arrival he was severely reprov'd for giving such orders without the prince's knowledge, and made to understand that in the embassy, there were several officers he was every whit as well pleased to see as him: He then told him that I had bought gold, and how I had tried it, and by what proportion I would have been a loser if I had not taken that precaution. The major, upon hearing of this, seemed confus'd, but wanted greatly to be at the trying of it, which I soon put him in the way to do, and then left him to his contemplation. As he had some thousands to try, it took him up a long time. Towards the evening I went to know what discovery he had made, and he told me that about one-third of the whole  
number



number proved not good ; he, at that time, was sifting and washing the earth underneath where the fire had been, the reason of which I begged to know ; he said that he had bought and paid for forty-five triple ducats, which, he also endeavouring to try, had proved very faulty ; he said that he had lost seven, nor could he tell what was become of them, therefore he was sifting and washing the earth to see if he could discover any gold ; but his labour proved abortive.

On the 7th day, after our arrival at Derbent, the horse thief, formerly mentioned, was sent for into the prince's tent, and there told that he was to be sent on board the ship, and to be gagged to prevent his speaking ; that the soldiers, who were to put him on board, had orders instantly to dispatch him, if he offered in the least to make any noise ; he was pinioned, and sent off between the city wall and Persian camp, and was safely put on board, unknown to any of the Persians. Next morning, a message was sent from the major to the fardar, to let him know that the prisoner had made his escape ; and therefore required that he might be sent back again, supposing it impossible that he could escape all the Persian army. The fardar was much surprised at this news, and made all search, but said that he suspected we had killed him.

On

On the first day of our encamping on the south side of the city, many blind people came into our camp ; their numbers increased daily, till they numbered about twenty or thirty, begging alms and bread. The prince ordered them daily to be fed from what remained of our provision. These unfortunate people were the remains of five hundred, whom the cruel Shach caused to be deprived of their eyes in one day, after having made his army ly with their wives and daughters. It was said that he punished them in this cruel manner, because they had formerly served the Russians when they were masters of Derbent. These poor wretches blessed us and cursed their Shach in one breath ; and, when we at any time counselled them not to curse the Shach, lest he might put them to death or torture, they answered, that he was a crumsak or rascal ; that if he had had the smallest tincture of goodness, he would have caused them to be put to death, rather than permit them to live so long in such misery. They said, that, before we came to Derbent, they were obliged to crawl upon the sides of the hills, to seek roots to satisfy hunger ; that many of them had been so fortunate as get some poisonous roots, which put an end to their torments ; others had ended their miserable lives by falling over precipices, or into the sea ; but added, that they were still reserved for greater sufferings.

One



One day I went, in company of some of our gentlemen, to see the manner of their burials : The body was laid in a grave built on the side with brick and lime. There was a place on the east side of the grave raised a little higher than the floor, whereon they laid the body, with his face covered, directed towards Mecca : When the body was thus deposited, they covered the grave with an arch of brick and lime, upon which they threw earth. When the ceremony was finished, the priest turned to us strangers, and, in good Russian language, told us, that the deceased was a good believer or mussulman : He said something in favours of the Mahometan religion, and added, that although they could not believe that Christ was the Son of God, in any other sense, than that he was a great prophet, a good man, and much beloved by God ; and that in this view he might be reasonably esteemed the Son of God, as all good men are : He said, that all the mussulmen esteemed him one of the greatest prophets ; that they acknowledged he had cured many diseases, done much good, and even raised the dead, when he was upon earth ; that they ranked him the next great prophet to Mahomet ; and, pointing to a white tomb at no great distance, said, that in that sepulchre lieth interred the remains of a great and good man, who formerly had been emperor over all the country, as far as the Black Sea :

He said, that when the Messiah was upon the earth, at a time passing that way, being thirsty, he drank of a well of pure water near the root of a small tree. After he had quenched his thirst, he sat down to take a rest, and, as he knew every thing, commanded the dead prince to rise, which he instantly did. After discoursing with him some time, the Messiah said, that he knew he had been a good man, and therefore would readily grant whatever he would ask: The prince begged that he would permit him to die, and bury him in the same grave where he formerly lay. The Messiah condescended to this, and buried him in the monument we then saw. I said, that I was surprized that any tree, of so small growth, especially a thorn, should still grow, it being more than seventeen hundred years since Christ was upon the earth: He answered, that it never would die, because, said he, it is a witness of that great miracle which the Messiah had performed; and that it was handed down to them by tradition ever since it happened. As it was at no great distance, we went and drank of this well. The tree seemed to be antient, and upon the decay, though none of us gave great credit to what the Mahometan priest had told us.

At Derbent, a few of our gentlemen rode out to take the air one day. We went up the hill of Derbent to view the country, and see



see if there was any possibility to cross over the hill above the city ; but a centinel spying us from the walls, called out in their language, and immediately the walls were lined with Persians ; some of them threw stones, and fired off some pieces, though I suppose not with ball, as neither we nor our horses were shot or hurt, nor did we hear a whizzing noise, very perceivable if the ball flies near where you are. Of this we made a report to the ambassador at our return to the camp.

## C H A P. XXV.

*Of our Journey to Baku, and of what happened remarkable on the Road.*

HAVING got every thing in readiness, we set out on the 29th of January, and continued our journey south and by east, having the sea on our left, and the mountains on our right hand, only about seventeen versts. We passed a few brooks and one small river, and encamped on the side of a wood called Turpocala, having passed thro' the ruined walls of some antient large city, and three modern pitiful ruined villages without inhabitants. Though the jackal was troublesome by howling in the night-time, between Targu and Derbent, yet it was so in no comparison to the noise they made between

tween Derbent and Baku. They are less than the wolf, but thicker and shagged, of a light brown colour. They are said to be purveyors for the lion ; but I spoke with none who had ever seen or heard of lions being in this country.

The Persians delight in telling the most romantic and absurd fables, which can possibly be invented ; for instance, they say, that this great city was the principal residence of some great emperors, who ruled over all the hilly country ; and that Derbent, at the distance of seventeen versts, was only a kitchen, Likeways, the day before we left Derbent. the governor came to regulate our provisions, &c. with Mr Cherkassoff, who now went with us, and Major Berezin. When our gentlemen were sincerely pitying the distressed condition of Persia, which, though naturally one of the richest countries in the world, at present could not find provisions for our inconsiderable retinue ; whereas Russia, naturally a much poorer country, found no difficulty to provide largely for five thousand Persians and horses, and also twenty elephants. To this the governor answered, by giving us a historical account of the nearness of kin the Shachs of Persia were to the sun, moon and stars ; and at last ended a long jumble of nonsense, by saying, among other childish vauntings, that Nadir Shach was so rich, that he could presently fill the Caspian  
sea



sea with gold and the most precious stones. To which Mr Cherkassoff made answer, that he could not give credit to that, when experience made it evident he could not satisfy his delicate appetite with a sufficiency of good provision.

On the 30th, we travelled south through a large wood, through which two brooks sought their passage east to the Caspian. On the south side of this wood, we passed on our right hand the ruins of a very great village, and a river running by the south side of it. At the distance of nine versts from our last camp, we passed a ruinous square fort with four bastions, and a very channelly river. We passed the famous river Secura, running east, a most rapid stream. The ford is about a verst broad, on the north side of which stands a miserable square castle, which the present Shach built for keeping provisions. We encamped on the south side of the river, having travelled twenty versts.

On the 31st, we travelled south about twenty two versts, thro' a pretty open country, and encamped on the south side of a small rivulet, not far from the ruins of an old square castle, a ruined village, and garden.

February 1st, we continued our march southward twenty versts through a thorny, woody ground. We passed eight rivulets, four of which happened to be dry, and

and encamped on the north side of a small one. I had a view of an exceeding high hill, called Shach's Gorry, or the Shach's hill, because it is reckoned one of the highest by the sea in Caucasus.

We marched from this place on the 2d, continued our route south by east through a thorny wood, where I had the misfortune to have a lappet torn from my coat. We passed five rivulets, and encamped on the south-west of Soran, by some called Sabran, at the distance of about two versts, near which is a square castle in bad order, where five hundred men form a garrison : It is strengthened with nineteen bastions, and stands upon a plain.

Here, it being serene frosty weather, we had a good view of the Shach's hill, surrounded with a perpendicular rock, as far as we could discover, and the Persians said that about one-fourth of it, which we could not see, was formed in the same manner, so that no mortal ever was on the top of it, which is all covered over with snow, like a bonnet. The snow lies *stratum super stratum*, the lowermost is very brown, no doubt being mixed with some fine dust carried up to such a height by violent winds, but the uppermost snow is very white and sparkling, and the intermediate snow changes from below upwards from brown to a perfect white colour. Having travelled twenty versts, our Captain  
Bernhour,



Bernhour, having been appointed general-quarter-master, was in use to go forward with a number of men to mark out the ground, and see the tents set up. This day, the faucy sardar had the impudence to have his tent placed in the only dry ground. Bernhour ordered the prince's sleeping tent to be set up immediately before his: The sardar sent out some of his men to beat off Bernhour, and they were preparing with their clubs to treat the captain very roughly; upon which the captain ordered about twelve men to level their pieces at them; at the sight of which they fled, and the mighty Ami Ruslan Khan called out for fear, pulled down his tents, and left the ground to Bernhour. When the prince arrived, a complaint was sent of the captain's insolence to his honour. The answer was, that the officers of the embassy were gentlemen, and would be thought unworthy to serve the Empress, if they would suffer themselves to be insulted; that Ami Ruslan Khan may think himself very happy in having escaped so easily; that it was surprising Mr Bernhour had not ordered his dragoons to fire upon them. He let the sardar know, that a proper report of all his actions would be delivered to the Shach in due time; and returned Mr Bernhour thanks for his gallant behaviour.

We set out early on the 3d day of February, and, before the rear had begun to march,

march, our men were attacked by the Persians both in front and rear at the same time. They wounded three of our men with their fabres ; but we got three prisoners, and took the arms from others, in order to have them discovered. Now, the fardar was obliged to punish his men, who, we judged, had been encouraged to this base action by himself.

We travelled eighteen versts only, and encamped by the side of a brook, where were the vestiges of some antient city, which the Persians said had been built by Alexander the Great. Here a road struck off over the mountains to the ancient city of Schamachi. We passed by and through many deserted ruined villages, extremely well situated.

In company of three of our gentlemen, we spied a sow and four wild pigs. We gave chase to them, who ran towards a wood, at about two versts distance. We frequently fired our pistols at them, but without effect. After the first or second fire, it was very remarkable, that the pigs did not keep close together ; and that when we were near, the sow turned upon us, and chased us back to a considerable distance: This she did thrice, till she had conveyed her young into the wood. This is fact ; and it was beautiful to see such affection, conduct, and prowess in such a brute.

This day we had a scuffle with the Persians ; and we were likely to have had one amongst



amongst ourselves ; when I alighted from my horse, I found my friend Captain Berhour in a very crusty humour. I inquired into the cause: He said, that the major had found fault with his disposing of our camp, though quite ignorant of the matter, and had given him such abusive language before some of the officers and our men, that it was insufferable, and unbecoming an officer to bear ; but he did not well know what to do ; and to complain to the prince would not look well, and probably would not have the wished for effect. I answered, that it was well known that he began to use me in a way which his superiors never once attempted, when we were yet in Russia : That I thought it was the most prudent way to endeavour to put a stop to his sallies at once. I desired therefore to speak with him privately, where I laid my grievances before him in a clear and distinct manner. Upon which we concluded a friendship, which never yet was broken : Nor had I any reason to believe that any rupture would happen between us ; and this was accomplished without any noise, bloodshed, or danger to me, as no witnesses were present.

The captain understood my meaning well, and, towards sun-set, pretended some business with our mighty marshal. They walked down the side of the brook, out of the view of our camp, and there, without the smallest

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danger,

danger, adjusted matters so well, that the major returned one of the best tempered gentlemen in our suite, full of complaisance to captain Bernhour, and expressed no small grief for the passion he had so improperly put himself into at his dear friend the captain. And indeed he behaved to him ever after with singular deference.

On the 4th we travelled thirty-six versts farther south, and encamped fourteen versts to the south side of the peak, called Barmach, by Olearius called Spits Barmach, Barmach being a Persian word, meaning a hand; because the top of this rock, from the sea, resembles a man's hand, the three middle fingers being closed, the thumb a little bent, and the little finger standing erect.

I wanted much to see this wonderful hill, of which I had heard much, and had lately an opportunity of reading Olearius's description of it; but I durst not ask leave, well knowing, that the prince would not permit me. Determined, however, to see it, and risk his displeasure, I went forward to Captain Bernhour, where I met with our engineer, whom I intreated to go alongst with me. His only objection was, that, as it was said many robbers, and such like wild people, inhabited that mountain, and as he had no fire-arms, he durst not venture. I gave him one of my pistols; and having about sixteen charges ready, we agreed, and rode forward to the  
foot



foot of the mountain, where we left our horses, in the first caravanfary I saw in Persia, excepting those in Derbent, notwithstanding what Mr Hanway asserts. We went from this up the hill a great way. It was a very thick fog, so that we could see at no great distance ; nor could we find the road which Olearius describes. At last, however, we saw several rocks, but none of them agreed with Olearius's account of the peak. Amongst these rocks we saw some straggling people, who fled from us. As I was climbing up, very much fatigued, I said somewhat, and expected an answer ; but not meeting with one, I looked about, and my companion, the engineer, was gone with my pistol. This disconcerted me altogether : However, I would not return back till I had made a stricter search for Olearius's road, which proceeded upon the south side of a rill of water running down the hill ; I therefore went across the hill to seek for this road. I had not travelled half a mile when I heard people talking rather below me farther on. I drew near, and could perceive that they spoke the Russian language. I went to them, and had the fortune to find, that it was our major, two officers, my brother, six dragoons, and three servants, with their horses, at the well and tree described by Olearius. I was very tired with my long fatigue ; but assured them, that I should now find the road ;

road ; for that was the well and tree described very exactly by Olearius. I mounted a dragoon horse, and we rode a long way up a very high steep hill on the south side of the rill. At last, after much labour, we gained the top of one hill, and found there a spring of excellent water, near a small village, all in ruins. We were necessitated to leave our horses there, the hill being too steep, and clambered up a very steep green hill a great way upon our hands and feet. At last we reached a plain, and, at a very small distance, discovered a rock, which was the peak. We now turned north, keeping the peak on our right hand ; and soon, through the fog, discovered a great gate, with a breast work of stone above it, and holes for throwing down stones, or any thing else, upon any who might come near it. We entered this gate, and proceeded about forty paces, having the peak on our right hand, and a well on the left. About the middle of this area, (the broadest part of which did not exceed eight paces,) we discovered a small entry into a cave in the peak, and an arched cellar, part of it broken. If we looked up, we could not perceive the top of the peak ; neither could we discover the hill below us. If we looked down, the mist was so thick, that we could see nothing. Near the side of the peak was a hole, big enough to let two men pass ; but it was almost perpendicular. However,



ver, we saw some stone steps, which made us believe that this had been some secret passage from this place. This being all we could discover here, we returned by the same way we had entered, for there was no other; and, keeping the peak on our left hand, did not proceed far till we came to another very steep hill, up which we scrambled on hands and feet to a great height. At last we came to a plain, upon which was some cow-dung; which confirmed us, that there was some other way not so steep; for we imagined that cattle could not keep their feet upon such a steep hill. The top of this green hill was near a semicircle on the west side of the peak, (whose top we could not as yet see,) as it were forming the segment of a circle. We searched, and at last discovered above us, some hewn steps of a stair, described by Olearius. Lieutenant Ozeroff, my brother, and I pursued our progress upon crevices of the rock, till we came to the hewn steps, which were placed on different parts of the steep rock; but where men could get up by crannies, there were no steps. I imagine there were a hundred hewn steps, on the top of which was a small square, built with brick, one side of which measured four feet. From this we passed through the top of the rock from the west to the east side, where there was another square, built round with a stone wall upon our right hand.

Here

Here we listened, and heard the embassy passing by, as it were at a great distance from us. There was a passage leading from where we were, north about ten paces, having the rock on the west: This passage was not a foot and an half broad, and we could not see the bottom below us for the mist; if we had slipped we must have fallen, God only knows how deep; however, we turned our face to the rock, and with all our care proceeded in this narrow way to the north, where an opening through the rock led us into a square chamber on the west side, built round with stone. We saw a book in a hole of the wall; we supposed the writing was Arabick; but the coarse paper was so ancient, that when we endeavoured to bend it, it broke like a piece of stone: We consulted whether we should carry this with us; but concluded, that, as this place was esteemed sacred by the inhabitants, it would be a crime not far short of sacrilege, and therefore let it remain. Upon the south side of this square, lay on a place covered with stones, many deers horns, to the branches of which were tied pieces of silk of various colours: It was said, one of the Mahometan prophets was buried here. We fired twice out of a pistol from this place; at our return we wondered that the major and his company did not hear the report. From this place we saw the tops of many high mountains, rearing their lofty heads far above



bove the clouds ; but the mist at this time was far beneath us. The inhabitants affirmed that Ararat was to be seen from this place ; but, as we had none of them with us, we could not tell whether we saw it or not. By the protection of God we returned to our companions in all safety, after having observed a very great natural curiosity, which was a cylinder of stone which stood on, and was part of the south side or end of the peak : We computed it to be about three or four fathoms in circumference, and about sixty feet higher than any part of the peak ; about one fourth of its height from the top was a hole of a rhomboidal figure, from whence Olearius says, water issued ; but though the rock below this hole was much blacker than the rest of the stone, we saw no water running, nor dropping from it. The inhabitants say, that when the prophet Elias fled from King Ahab, he lodged on the top of this rock, and that he smote the stone pillar with his spear, in that place, that he might get water, without being necessitated to go down to the village I formerly described ; and that when he smote the stone he stood upon the square built upon the top of the stone steps. To this ridiculous story I made some objections, such as the height being forty feet perpendicular between the base of the pillar and the hole ; the distance between the base of the pillar and the square, being near upon a level, was about

bout forty feet; these considered would make the prophet's spear to be more than sixty feet long: Add to this, that the distance between the two acute angles of the hole being more than one foot and an half, would make the spear so weighty that it would require the strength of one hundred men to raise it up, and far more make a stroke: But supposing all this true, the prophet would have been put to great trouble, and very much danger, to get to the root of this cylinder, upon the top of such steep ragged rocks, &c. To all which their answers were extremely easy, like many of our neighbours. Wonderful! unnecessary miracles, useful only to amuse and captivate the airy phancies of the most unreasonable of mankind; wherefore I leave them to their unconquerable ignorance.

After we had descended this wonderful hill, we mounted at the caravanfary, and rode to our camp as fast as the hungry horses were able, where at eight o'clock at night we met with a very cold reception from the prince; but as the major was, by his office, regulator of the embassy, he was obliged to stand a butt for us all; however, he soon fled the field, and went to bed supperless, where I do not think he was much oppressed with sleep. My appetite, by long fasting, riding, and other fatigue, was keen set; and I was determined even to take the bit, and lend a deaf ear to all the prince's anger, which, I  
knew



knew well, proceeded purely from his fatherly care of such unthinking youths as we were. In giving some account of our expedition, I was not long in raising a general laugh against the engineer, Mr Shmariggin, who ran off with my pistol for fear, as I said, of stones; for we had seen but two or three wild people. Dr Lerch gave a blundering account of his having entered a cave some where about the base of the peak, where he saw many natives, men, women, and children, with their cows, and some hens; but, being quite fatigued, was obliged to return without accomplishing his desires. This account of the doctor's had almost kindled the prince's anger the second time; however, it was diverted by other discourse.

On the 5th, we travelled south thro' a hilly ground, over ridges of rock, of a dark coloured, soft grained stone, lying east and west in many places about forty versts, the rock edging upwards. We passed by a hill like a cone on our right, in form of a sugar-loaf; many small hills of a red colour; and many black thick naphtha springs: We passed a caravanfary on our left, and encamped on the side of a rivulet of very muddy water, where was another very good caravanfary; on the north side of this rivulet were several naphtha springs; and to the east a hill of different colours.

On the 6th, we proceeded east and by south, about thirty versts farther, passed two caravanfaries; and about seven versts distant from Baku, I visited sundry pure clear naphtha wells, near a ruined village and caravanfary: The naphtha was very clear and pure, floating on the surface of the purest water, from which the natives skimmed it off, and bottled it up, well corked, for use; it is very little different in colour from the water, and I believe nothing is more volatile. These wells smell strongly of the naphtha at a considerable distance; and the profits arising to the inhabitants, who collected it in former times, has been so great, as to encourage them to surround these six wells with stones well polished, to contain the water in little bounds; but at present the few inhabitants living here are so poor, that I question if they all together can produce the value of one crown piece. They appear to be only living skeletons covered with skin. The naphtha is accounted among the natives inferior not to any thing known, used as embrocations, for removing pains: The Persians imagine, that taken inwardly it is poisonous; but I knew an Armenian, a strong man indeed, who drank off a large quantity, taking it for spirits; it made him feverish for a short time, but did no other harm. At a little distance east from these wells is a small pool, upon which thick black naphtha floats, from three



to five inches deep above the water; the black naphtha smells like the white. In the evening we arrived safe, and encamped upon the north side of Baku, where we staid till the 12th day of February.

Baku is situated in forty degrees, eighty minutes north latitude, and fifty degrees east longitude; is a very small city, built upon the side of the Caspian, of the figure of a semicircle, inclosed by a high strong wall, fortified with bastions, but altogether irregular; wherefore the Russians, when it was in their possession, made an out-wall very regular, well strengthened with good bastions, all of stone work; without which they formed a broad deep dry ditch; but the Persians not knowing the usefulness of these works, have abandoned them, tho' in good repair, and remain within their old useless wall. In this city was a palace, a noble pile of building, all of stone work, part of it yet standing; the rest was destroyed by the Russian bombs, when they besieged it from the sea. It is said, that none of the Persians had ever seen a bomb before this siege: That in the evening when the bomb-catch was warped into their harbour, and properly stationed, they began to throw bombs into the city; some of them fell in the market-place, about which many of the inhabitants gathered, wondering what it could mean, which the bursting of them  
soon

foon discovered, with the burning and destruction of their houses.

The governor of the city, who was admiral, sent to the prince to desire, that our men and officers might be restrained from going into the city at any time in great numbers. This was agreed to: They were probably afraid that we had some design to seize it, which, if we had, would not have proved difficult, considering that a great number of our men, and all the Talkoners, attending the horses and presents, were in the city. Great fields of saffron were planted here; but we had no fuel whatsoever, and the weather proved extremely cold from a sharp north wind. The inhabitants make use of no other fuel than black naphtha, baked up with a little dry earth and sand, which, thus mixed, they form into balls about the bigness of hand granadoes, three of which, they affirm, are sufficient to heat an oven for baking their bread, which smells very disagreeably; but we were obliged to eat of it daily. Naphtha and saffron compose the staple trade from this port. Many provinces on the Caspian sea use no other fuel than black naphtha; they burn it also in their lamps.

Some confusion happened to break out among the mountaineers called Lesgees; this was the cause, that Ami Russian Khan was obliged to leave us with the greatest part of his



his forces, whom we never saw after this. Upon the heights, at some distance from Baku, are some watch-towers, such as those near Derbent. I went one day to hunt with some of our gentlemen on the hills of Apshe-ron, situated about four versts north from Baku, where we killed some antelopes, and a hare: The north side of these hills, near the sea, is very steep, extremely high, and fright-  
some to look down upon the plains below: From this we had an imperfect distant view of the square where the everlasting fire was kept.

I shall not take up the reader's time to give an account of Zoroaster, nor his successors, who were the first worshippers of fire, as Mr Hanway has done, nor follow his example, in describing several arched temples of ten or fifteen feet high, which at present have no existence, and probably never had, nor will I take upon me to describe a horizontal gap in the cleft of a rock, two feet deep from the ground, near six long, and about three feet broad, out of which, he says, issues a constant flame, which riseth, when the wind blows, eight feet high, but burns lower when it is calm weather, and how the inhabitants burn lime with this wonderful holy fire; because all these prodigies were invisible to every one of our gentlemen; nor did the priests, who were very ready to show our people every curiosity, say any thing about them,

them, neither were such wonders known to the inhabitants of Baku, nor to the chiefs of the Persian army, with whom we conversed daily, and made all possible enquiry about their wonders and curiosities. But here follows a very true account of what is to be found worth notice there.

On the 11th, our ambassador with many of his gentlemen went to see this famous fire. After they had passed over the hills into the plain on the north side of them, distant from Baku about five, or at most six versts, they entered into a small square dike, built with stone, the area of which would scarcely be half an acre of ground, Scots measure. The soil was a pure fluxible sand. Within this area, was a well of spring water, the surface of which was covered over with pure white naphtha : but a few inches lower than the general surface of the sandy area. Our company only saw one poor room, where these wonderful works are said to be seen, and another mean apartment where the votaries lived, the number of whom at that time did not exceed forty. They gladly introduced our gentlemen into the room I spoke of above, where was a place apart, like our hearths, which you may, with Hanway, call their altar : In this, being pure sand, were placed a few hollow reeds : One, by way of pre-eminence, was in the middle, and larger than



than the rest, to which other reeds were closely joined, so as to form three openings at the top, out of which issued three pale blue flames. At this time, some of these reeds were extinguished: But, that the ambassador and his company might see them all at work, they brought a vessel with pure naphtha, and poured some of it on the sand about the reed, and with a bit of burning paper set the naphtha exhaling through the reed on fire. This is a true account of the everlasting fire at Apsheron; all other stories wrote about it, by which they have imposed upon the world, never before detected, as far as I know, are groundless: And indeed, it is to be lamented that bodies of credulous, otherways learned men, should submit to be so grossly imposed upon, by false and fabulous accounts of things.

There are a few islands east from Apsheron yielding plenty of the different naphthas called in the Russian language Svetoi Ostrophi, or Holy islands: I know of nothing more remarkable about Baku, except that its port for small vessels is justly esteemed the best on the Caspian, being defended from the fury of the sea by some islands on the east, which break the force of the waves.

## C H A P. XXVI.

*A Continuation of the Ambassador's Journey to Shamachee.*

HAVING taken our horses and the rest of the presents for the Shach, out of this city, and put on board one of the government's ships to be sent for Astrachan all the baggage we could spare, with our sleeping waggons, we marched from this poor city, with our half starved horses on the 12th, and encamped near the caravanfary which we passed by on the 6th. This day, at this place, we spent in fitting every thing for carriage.

On the 13th, in the morning, being very tempestuous weather, we marched south and by east, through the valleys amongst high hills, whose summits were black with naphtha, till we came to the sea-shore, or rather a lake bordering upon it, having a pyramidical rock in the middle of it: We travelled over sea-glass in many places, and passed by two caravanfarys, and turning somewhat more westerly, encamped near a very grand caravanfary at the side of the sea, where are two wells close together, covered with stone; the one contains very fresh water, the other saltish: Here we remained



mained all night, having travelled no fewer than thirty versts, with our fatigued hungry horses.

On the 14th, we marched thirty versts this day, directing our course two miles westerly, by the side of a very barren hill. We passed through a river, over which was built a stately bridge of hewn stone, consisting only of one large arch; passed by, and over, several stony hills, and great plenty of pure sea-glass, the most excellent I ever saw, such as lanthorns are frequently made of. We, having passed many mountains, continued our march next over some arable lands. We passed by a very high hill, at no great distance, to the south and a small caravan-sary on the north. This hill was round near the top, but the very summit looked as if it had been cut through from south to north by a deep fossa. We were told that in the year 1728, it vomited fire, and that it continued to smoke for a long time after that. I would gladly have visited it, but was prevented by a broad long lake between it and our road. Near the end of this day's journey we passed another mountain at no great distance on the north, which, the sun shining bright, sparkled like diamonds. Dr Lerch, Mr Rase, and I rode towards it, where we found some sea-glass and many large pieces of natural crystal. I collected many, but they were stolen from me afterwards.

wards. We passed a narrow deep river over a small stone bridge, and encamped on the north west side of it ; where the ground was all burrowed with snakes ; for which reason I passed the night without much sleep.

On the 15th, we set out at eight o'clock A. M. and marched down by the side of this small rivulet, having rising ground on our left. We now directed our course W. N. W. or thereabout, occasioned by the mountains, till we came to a meanly fortified city, called Navagic, passing by the inhabitants, who were encamped about a mile on the south side of it; they were very poor. But perceiving, at a corner of their camp, something like a fold, Mr Cherkeffoff and I rode up to the entry which was closed; there we saw three very beautiful women separating the reeds with their hands, of which this fold was made, to get a view of our men as they passed by. One of them not perceiving us, went into a small hut, the door of which was open to us. She fell down on her knees with her face to us, and smote her breast twice with violence, but at last perceiving us gazing at her, gave a shriek, upon which the other two threw their vails over their faces, and fled into the farthest part of the hut. The woman who smote her breast was a very great beauty. She however had no sooner given the alarm than

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a Persian came briskly towards the gate, in a threatening manner. Then Mr Cherkeffoff, who understood their language well, desired me to get ready a pistol : I did so, as did he, and this put a stop to his fury ; he then stood and desired us to be gone, telling us that in Persia, it was looked upon in a very ill light to be gazing upon other men's wives. Mr Cherkeffoff and he argued the matter, and I believe we parted good friends. Mr Cherkeffoff said, that he believed that the woman who smote her breast was a Christian, and probably bewailed her condition : If she was, she was much to be pitied, and if she had made her retreat to our camp, I am persuaded she would have been protected. When we had passed the city, we rode over a very high mountain, and with some difficulty led our horses down the south side, where it was very steep, and encamped upon the side of a fresh water lake. The Prince and dragoons were obliged to go a considerable way about, by the north end of this hill ; because it was impossible for his coach to drive over it. As we were coming down the hills, we saw about four hundred women, riding from a city called Salian to the Persians who escorted us. It was said that they were soldiers wives ; but I rather believe they were lewd women, who, for a small tax, are permitted to be any man's bed-fellow, and protected by the government

vernment in Persia ; but we were told, that they were obliged to offer their services to Shach's army when it happened to pass any city where they lived. We acquainted the prince, that we had seen a great number of such ladies ; upon which he gave orders that the centinels should permit none of them to come into our camp in the night-time ; but, a few days had not passed, when we were well assured that some of our young men had been familiarly acquainted with some of them that night ; and the greatest part of them returned to Salian early next morning.

We travelled from this on the 16th, thro' a very low sandy soil, nearly north north-west, having passed through all the mountains of Caucasus. We still kept the other side of the same mountains on our right hand, and morasses and lakes on our left ; here was great variety of game. We encamped, having travelled more than twenty versts, on the side of a lake, where were very many antelopes and wild swine.

On the 17th, we proceeded from this about eight o'clock A. M. twenty-four versts only through a dirty deep clay ground, which fatigued our camels and horses exceedingly, and encamped on the east side of the same marsh I spoke of yesterday, which now put on the appearance of a great river. We set up our tents upon a rising ground, from whence, the atmosphere being very serene, we got a view of  
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the frozen hoary tops of some of the highest hills in Caucasus, of which a prince, named Shymei is Lord, and reigns independent of any other, and has hitherto been unconquerable.

Nadir Shach disdained the advice given him by his experienced generals, and the wisest of his counsel, who endeavoured to dissuade him from prosecuting a project he had formed to reduce this chieftain, who, at no time, is able to take the field with an army exceeding five thousand men. In vain did they represent the stupenduous height and dangerous steepness of these frozen headed hills, the impossibility of procuring provisions for men, and of taking the smallest artillery with them; the unsurmountable difficulties in passing such precipices of frost, well defended against all opposition by many impregnable forts, and the hardiest people in the world, inured from their infancy to all hardships, accounting difficulties and dangers delightful, who not only with ease baffled all attempts formed against them by his great predecessor, Abbas the Great, but had the resolution to gaul his own armies whenever they passed this way.

Their arguments availed nothing; he had humbled the Turks, conquered India, Bucharia, and Chiva, and was determined to humble, or annihilate the race of Shymei: That he might be an eye-witness of the bravery of his troops, and have the direction of every thing

thing needful, he put himself at the head of twenty thousand of his best men, and mounted the hills; but returned in about four or five days thereafter, with scarcely four thousand men, in great misery, being wounded, benumbed, quite fatigued, and starved with hunger.

On the 18th, we prosecuted our journey through deep clay ground, and after we had passed by three villages in ruins, and a few inconsiderable brooks, we encamped upon the south-east side of the new Shamachee. Nadir Shach had destroyed old Shamachee, situated fifteen versts amongst the hills to the north-east, and built this new town. We travelled north-west by north twenty versts this day in a continued rain.

We remained in this camp till the 28th. The remaining part of this day was taken up in securing our tents with ropes, and making small trenches about every one of them, to protect us from the violence of wind and rain, to which we very soon experienced this place very subject. Those who did not follow the advice given, had their tents thrown down, and those who did not form a small trench about their tents, in a short time, were obliged to sit or ly upon the wet floor, and sometimes the water ran down the declining green plain in such a quantity, that it would have reached above one's ancles. Such heavy sudden



sudden rains are only to be seen here and in Giland.

## C H A P. XXVII.

*A Description of Shamachee, and an Account of what happened till we passed the Cura.*

**T**HIS Shamachee is a very new city, one of Nadir Shach's building, distant, as we were told, fifteen versts only from old Shamachee. It is situated on the south side of Caucasus, immediately under the hill, on a plain ground, in form of a parallelogram. The south and north sides of the high brick walls are strengthened by ten bastions each, distant the one from the other forty paces. Without the brick wall was a high rampart of earth, and a broad ditch almost filled up with nastiness. The east and west sides are strengthened by nine bastions each. No cannon are mounted on the walls. Three principal streets run from south to north in straight lines: They are but narrow, all paved, and intersected by a number of small lanes, at right angles, from east to west. A large square is formed in the middle of the city for their market-place, in which we saw a very few small iron cannons. This city was more populous than both Derbent and Baku put together, and yet I imagine there  
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are few villages in Scotland, consisting of one hundred houses, which are not more populous than it was, and this was but of short duration. We saw not a good house in the whole city, and but a few miserable caravan-sarays. The city is inhabited by a very few Persians, Armenians, Georgians, Indians, and Tartars. The day before we left this place, in company with Mr Bernhour, Dr Lerch, Mr Raase, an interpreter, and a few of our dragoons, having obtained leave of the prince, I visited this city, and found it to answer the above description.

As we passed through the streets, we saw the distressed inhabitants, amongst whom were the principal merchants, marked with various appearances of misery. Some were severely bastinadoed on the soles of the feet; others were sitting on the sides of the streets, with their necks inclosed in triangles of wood, and their right hands secured in a hole made at one of the angles, reserved for the like torture. Every one of them complained of want and hunger; and all this cruelty, horrid to human nature, was inflicted to extort from them more money than they could possibly raise.

We, being very much fatigued with walking, went into a caravan-sara, and entered a silver-smith's shop. The poor people, Armenians, offered us each a drink of excellent water,



ter, which was most agreeable to us. As we could not speak but by an interpreter, the people were shy to give an account of the cause of all this cruelty, but told us that many of the inhabitants had sealed up their shops and fled, as they thought to the mountains: They said, that the Persians seldom destroyed seals, though they made no hesitation to break open locks. When we were sitting there, a very reverend like old Armenian merchant, with a gray beard, came to us, and, in good Russian language, entreated us to go into his shop, where it was more convenient to ease our wearied limbs. We followed him, at which he expressed great satisfaction.

We were no sooner seated, than he ordered a young man to dig the ground in the middle of the shop. About a foot deep, he discovered the cover of a large earthen jar; he carefully took the earth away, and a cement which joined it to the body; these impediments being removed, in a large flaggon, he presented us with the most agreeable red wine I ever tasted, and, in my opinion, no Burgundy was comparable to it, far exceeding any wine I had ever tasted; even, in our opinion, shirass, the most famed wine in Persia, was nothing in comparison to it. A very small quantity of this, being a rich cordial, not only made us soon forget our fatigue, but inspired us with briskness and

courage enough to apprehend no danger and risk any thing. The old Armenian also regaled our dragoons plentifully, but he drank very little : He said, that he had made this wine from dried grapes about four years before we came there, and was very well pleased that it was so good, saying, that he never had opened the head of the jar since it was first cemented. When our landlord observed that the wine had warmed our senses, he told us that he properly was a Russian subject, having been born in Astrachan, but that he had been long in Persia ; that he was in great danger of being seized and tortured by the Persians ; that hitherto he had escaped their tyranny, by declaring that he was a Russian subject, and would claim the protection of the Russian ambassador ; but, he said, that after the ambassador was gone, they would put their threats in execution, and he could by no means get out of the city, the two gates of which, one was on the south and the other on the north, were kept strictly watched day and night, to prevent any of the inhabitants from making their escape.

We having heard what he had to say, promised to take him to our camp. This being what he much desired, he put up some valuable things, locked and sealed his door ; and having given some directions to his servant, went with us.

At



At the gate the Persians attempted to lay hold of him. Our dragoons, by the captain's order, drew their broad swords, and stood on their defence. At first they knocked down a few of them with their swords, and the rest let us pass. The interpreter told them, that he was a Russian subject, going to pay his respects to the ambassador. Next morning a complaint was made of our behaviour. The ambassador protected the man, but privately reproved us, and discharged us from intermeddling in the peoples affairs for the future, though he was not ill pleased, after we had informed him of every thing which we observed.

Loud complaints having been made by the ambassador against Ami Rulslan Khan, and the governor of Derbent to Nadir Shach, who was now quelling a formidable rebellion which had broke out in Kirmania, on the south of Persia; these complaints were sent to him by our Captain Possët, who returned here in company with Kulipha chief priest of Persia, and one of the Shach's principal counsellors, who had formerly resided many years ambassador from Persia at the court of St Petersburg, and spoke the Russian language tolerably. This Kulipha condemned the sardar and governor's conduct, disapproving of every thing they had done; telling the prince, that no better could have been expected

expected from them, seeing they were no better than *Ishecks*, which is the most disrespectful word in Persia; and the person who uses the expression is understood to hold them, of whom he speaks, in the utmost contempt; it signifying asses. *Kulipha* said, that they were intrepid, resolute soldiers, which was the reason that the *Shach* had raised them to such high stations; but that an order was making out to put the governor to death, for having caused murder the Russian Circassian, formerly taken notice of. He promised, on his part, to find the prince and his retinue in every thing, as far as was in his power; but with a downcast countenance said, that Persia was in mourning; and acknowledged the impossibility of providing for such a brilliant embassy, from so glorious a monarch as the Empress of Russia, in the manner he could have wished: And concluded by saying, that the *Shach* would not fail to manifest his goodness, by the great presents which he was designed to make to the prince, and also to his followers. He then produced, as he said, a letter from the *Shach* to the ambassador, inclosed in a green silk purse, wrought with gold; placed it on his forehead, as a mark of the greatest respect, and offered it to the prince, who would not touch it, but desired *Kulipha* to lay it on the table, saying that he had been  
informed



informed that the Sophies of Persia used to send orders and different kinds of mandates to foreign ambassadors ; but that he was a plenipotentiary, and represented the person of the Empress, and was determined never to receive any orders, unless he was so commanded by his own Empress ; and ended his discourse by saying, that he would sooner lose all above his shoulders than submit to such indignity : And thus they parted.

Next morning, before we proceeded on our journey, the prince sent for Kulipha, and warmly reproached him, for endeavouring to deceive him at the very first interview ; telling him, that it was no letter, but a mandate ; and ordered him to take it up, and make what use of it he pleased ; assuring him, that none had touched it, except his secretary ; and in a serious manner, forbade him to behave so for the future.

This weighty affair being ended, we set out from Shamachee on the 28th of February, and travelled only fifteen versts south, through a marshy plain, and encamped on the banks of a dirty brook.

March 1st, we set out at eight o'clock A. M. and travelled only fifteen versts farther, over a sandy soil, not being able to proceed through a morass till the roads were repaired, and encamped on the banks of the fore-

fore-mentioned brook, and side of the morafs. Here we found great variety of game.

This day we were informed, that, in the night-time, after we left Shamachee, the Lefgees entered that city without resistance, and carried off all the miserable inhabitants, and their effects, to their country, leaving only the governor, and about fifty soldiers, frightened, in a strong place of the city : That the inhabitants had privately sollicitated their assistance, and had readily opened the north gate to them. At night our Armenian having bought a horse, departed from us to the hills, to look after his affairs.

On the 2d we could only with difficulty pass over this morafs, the roads were so very bad, and spent the rest of this day in hunting, and killing pheasants.

I must here remark, that the Persians entertained a high opinion of our dexterity in shooting. They have no notion of small shot, and imagined that we killed fowls flying with a single ball ; and I doubt not but the fear of our fire-arms kept them in order. We took care never to let them see how we loaded our pieces.

If the prince had not put on great resolution, and ordered his own officers to superintend the work of making a bridge through the deep morafs, we might have been starved ; for provisions were very scarce. Some of the Persian chiefs had put on ordinary cloaths, to prevent being known, in order  
to



to direct the workmen. Of this the prince no sooner got notice, than he placed a strong guard of dragoons on both sides of the morais, with orders to let none off the work till all was finished. He declared at the same time, that if any injury happened to our heavy carriages, by the insufficiency of the roads, he would cause the overseers to be thrown into the lake. By this menace we had a very good road completed in one day, passed through it in the evening, and lodged on the other side.

On the 3d we proceeded on our journey only fifteen versts farther, and encamped on the northern banks of the famous river Cura, where was a dangerous floating bridge of timber fixed by an iron chain, made fast on both sides of the river. Upon the north side of this river the Shach had built a square castle of brick, only sun-dried, as all his castles which I have seen were. The design of this was, to curb the Lesgee Tartars, and as a granary to keep provisions in for the use of his army. It was a place of no strength, and every way insufficient. We travelled through an even low marshy ground, upwards of thirty versts through some woods and great fields of reeds. Some *kali*, *absynthium*, and *Artemisia*, were the only herbs we saw here; but we discovered a thorny shrub, with withered apples upon it, containing three or four seeds in each. I  
preserved

preserved some of these seeds. We were told that the Persians dye their silk of a fine red colour with a decoction of the root of this shrub. We now had grass in abundance for our horses. In many places this road through reeds was so deep, that we rode in mud and water above the horses belly.

On the 4th we crossed this miserable floating bridge, and passed by a few houses, and a castle on the other side: At a small distance from them, Nadir Shach caused build a pyramid about five fathoms high; on the out-side of which were placed in so many notches, at equal distances, exactly two hundred and eighty-two mens heads, with their faces bending forwards, not much decayed, but their beards were somewhat withered: They were the heads of the chiefs who had rebelled against the Shach, in the following manner: A young fellow, who kept an ordinary at Ardevil, having been guilty of some petty crime, for which the Shach ordered his ears to be cut off, deserted that country. This fellow went to Old Shamachee, and gave himself out for the son of the late Shach Tahmasp, to whom the inhabitants of Shamachee, and the neighbourhood, resorted. He having got an army of some thousands, made head against the Shach, who then lay encamped near the place where the monument stood. The Shach sent an army, who soon cut them to pieces,



pieces, seized the pretended earless prince, and two hundred and eighty-two of his followers, the principal inhabitants of Shamachee, whose heads he caused cut off, and place in this pyramid. Their prince, however, he caused bastinadoe, and let him go, to make more work for him ; but this rebellion was the cause of the ruin of Old Shamachee. It is said that this very fellow heads the present rebellion in Georgia, against which Ami Ruslan Khan is sent.

After we passed the bridge, we marched about three versts farther up the south side of the river, and encamped on the banks of the Arras. The Arras and Cura join their streams, about half a mile above the bridge. Here we lay encamped eleven days, where we had nothing to do but take our diversion in hunting and fowling daily. At Baku we lost one of our writers, who died very suddenly of an iliac passion. We lost on the road between Baku and Shamachee one of our principal carpenters, who at Baku was taken ill of the same disease, and in two days thereafter ended in a mortal bloody flux, which deprived him of life on the road.

On the 6th our principal cook was seized with the same disease, but recovered, by injecting strongly the fumes of tobacco, after all other attempts had failed.

On the 10th I was seized with the same disease, which kept me in the greatest torment, frequently fainting for forty-eight hours, which was succeeded by a bloody flux, from which I recovered with difficulty.

At the point of land where the Arras and Cura join their streams, were two miserable little villages, the only two which I saw inhabited since we left Baku. We no sooner arrived than the Persian soldiers tortured the inhabitants so cruelly, that they deserted their villages, wives, and children at once. It was thought that they fled to the rebels.

The Cura, called Cur, or Cyrus, riseth in Georgia, and different countries in the Caucasus, and running south and south-east, joins its streams with the Arras, by others called Araxes, at the place already described, and run together east into the Caspian Sea. Arras springs from some hills in Turcomania, or Armenia Major, and gliding by Erzerum, continues to send its stream, plentifully stored with various fish, east, where it joins with the Cura. The plains of Mogan are said to be about a hundred versts broad, from south to north, reaching from the foot of Taurus to the south side of Caucasus, and more than a hundred versts from the hills on the west, till bounds are fixed to it on the east by the Caspian Sea, the middle and best country of ancient Media. We were told  
that



that the Kings of Persia bred their best horses here; and that these plains were formerly inhabited by roving people living in tents, as the Kalmucks do in Astrachan; and that upwards of a hundred thousand tents were in these happy plains when Kouli Khan mounted the throne of Persia. Indeed we passed by, in our way to Gilan, two or three of the last going to settle, by order of the tyrant, in the province of Chorassan.

The day after we encamped upon the Arras, two couriers arrived from Kizlaar to the prince: They reported, that the revolt at Shamachee was certain: That they came over the hills by Old Shamachee, and were intercepted by a party of the rebels, who took their horses and arms from them, but did them no other injury. They convoyed them safely to within ten versts of the place where we were encamped, and said, that they intended no harm to the ambassador, nor any of his retinue; and that if they were successful, they would liberally pay for the horses and arms, which necessity alone forced them to take from them. They never asked for money, nor any other thing.

## CHAP.

## C H A P. XXVIII.

*Treats of our Journey from Cura to Reshd,  
&c.*

ON the 14th, in the evening, the good prince came late into my tent, to ask after my health. He sat down on my bed, and having dismissed every one, told me, that he had received advice from Kulipha, that the Shach's army was much distressed by the rebels; had lost a battle, was not far from where we were; and was retreating before them: That Kulipha was of opinion, it would pass the Cura in a day or two, where they would endeavour to make a stand; and that therefore Kulipha pressed him by all means to march next morning. He asked me, What I thought I could do? I answered, that though I was recovered of the iliac passion, my bowels were in such pain, that I did not think I could bear the motion of a wheel machine; and my strength was so much diminished, that I could not ride: That therefore I was of opinion the prince should leave me to the care of the poor people in the two wretched deserted villages, formerly mentioned, between the Arras and Cura; and that he would be pleased



pleased to take what value I had with me for my wife and child, in case I did not recover. I observed, that I had no apprehension, that either the Shach's people or the rebels would do me any harm. The good prince took me by the hand, and said, he never would leave me there; because that the poor people's necessities were so very urgent, that it was probable they would kill me for the very cloaths I had upon me. He therefore advised me to make trial of his coach, my sleeping waggon having been left at Baku, which he would cause put in the best order for placing my bed. I desired him to do what he pleased, saying, that I was determined to obey: Wherefore,

On the 15th of March, at eight o'clock A. M. we decamped, and marched through a plain country, covered with long rich grass, south-east, twenty-six versts; passed several rivers, and lodged upon the south side of a branch of the Cura.

On the 16th we set out, and travelled through plain rich fields, about thirty-seven or forty versts south-east. Here were many small herbs, some of them in bloom. The account I give till the 20th of March I was obliged to Dr Lerch and my brother for it, because my situation would not permit me to write till that day, and even then but very imperfectly. We encamped on the north-west

west side of a marshy ground, where was a fresh water lake.

On the 17th we travelled through a plain, rich with grass and dwarf brier, south-west eight versts, having morasses and reeds on our left. We passed a small river, and marched south-east twelve versts farther; passed another river by a bridge, and encamped on the south side of it. This country abounds with grass, growing so luxuriously, that I believe one acre would be sufficient for three horses; amongst which grew many herbs, some in flower. Dr Lerch had marked *meum*, *limonium*, *flos Adonis*, *pimpinella alba*, *mentha aquatica*, and many other kinds.

From Shamachee to Arras our sick increased daily: They were carried in litters; the compliment, as yet, do not begin to decrease. We buried at Baku one who died of the iliac passion, one on the road to Shamachee of a dysentery, and at Shamachee one of the iliac passion; of which disease, or rather its effects, the master cook and I were in hopes of a safe recovery.

On the 18th, we marched from thence south by east, through a plentiful pastureland, sixteen versts. We passed seven rivulets, and encamped on the banks of the last, full of clear water: Here is a miserable village called Inshka; the grass, amongst which  
were



were many herbs, was mowable; for in many places it reached above the horses bellies.

On the 19th, we travelled through the richest fields probably in the whole world: We saw in many places the evident signs of husbandry, but at present quite deserted. We passed through two large villages, one of them about two versts broad, where we saw many good houses built like ours in Europe, covered with tiles, of two stories high, and in no bad order; but in both these villages we did not see one inhabitant, nor a tame beast. We encamped upon the banks of a river called Kifili, being the 7th we passed this day, though we only marched seventeen versts. One of our dragoons died of a dysentery. Our sick list does not decrease.

On the 20th, I mounted on horseback, and we marched through a country plentiful in every thing but mankind: Though we had no rain, this country was very moist, and in many places marshy. After we had travelled twenty versts, we encamped near a village called Mogan, having passed three rivulets: We are now not far from hills south-east from us.

On the 21st, we were obliged to remain here. The governor of Ardevil had transported us to this place, being the limits of his government; nor would he go any farther. Our maymandar, or provisor-general, with the new Khan, attempted to force the Ardevil

vil people to assist; a battle ensued, which ended to the advantage of the people of Ardevil, who killed six, and wounded many of their enemies mortally, though they also lost some. Both parties sent to the prince, but he would not interpose, though we were truly in a very miserable condition, not having received any provisions for two days bypast, and little prospect of getting any thing but plenty of promises, not to be depended upon.

On the 22d, we were obliged to remain where we were: This roused the prince from his excessive goodness. He now sent to their chiefs and let them know, that, if they did not bring horses and provision by next morning, he would use them in a way they little dreamed of, which, for the sake of their wives and families, he desired they would prevent. This menace, especially as our dragoons and soldiers were observed to put their arms in order, had the desired effect; for in the afternoon we received provisions for all our men.

On the 23d, we set out through marshy grounds, and woods of very tall trees, in which grow many fruit-trees. We passed through many large villages, but very few inhabitants. We travelled on high earthen roads much decayed: These roads were made by Abbas the Great, for the conveniency of marching his army and caravans. We encamped



camped on the north side of a channelly river called Lankran, distant about twenty miles from our last camp.

On the 24th, we travelled south, along the sea-shore, upon very deep sands, the country being impassable between this road and the Hircanian mountains, by reason of deep marshes and thick woods, in which grow a variety of fruit-trees, such as oranges, citrons, pomegranates, &c. We having travelled about twenty versts, encamped upon the side of a lake.

On the 25th, we continued to march south upon the shore, which was very deep, being fluxible sands, extremely fatiguing to our cattle. We crossed a large deep river in boats, but the camels forded it with difficulty. We at last forded a small channelly river called Astara, where we encamped, having travelled about twenty versts. Near the camp is the capital of the province of Astara, where the governor lives. We were told, that Nadir Shach reserved this governor without degrading him, being the only instance, in all Persia, of his lenity to a noble family; the cause of which, we were informed, proceeded purely from this, that he was a fool; however, he was as greedy, base, and villainous, as any of the Shach's followers; and the poor people under his orders experienced as cruel

treatment as any in Persia, being reduced to the most extreme misery.

We were obliged to remain in Aftara this day, being the 26th, because the governor could not procure cattle to remove our baggage. In the afternoon the prince took horse, and, in company with some of his gentlemen, rode up the side of the river to visit an old square fort under the hills, built formerly by the Russians; it was in ruins, but I imagine could very soon be repaired. As we were riding towards the hills, a female screamed out behind us: This unfortunate young woman had been carried away from her parents, and was on horseback behind an Usbeck Tartar, who passed by us as fast as the horse could run; the poor creature did not seem to exceed twelve or thirteen years of age; she cried pitifully, but kept fast hold of the man: If she had courageously dropped from the horse, we would have rescued her, which we could do no other way. Some of our gentlemen proposed to shoot the Tartar, but the prince would not permit them. We were informed, that the Usbecks frequently carried off their daughters, or wives, to the hills, where they lived with them a few days, and, after their appetites were satiated, frequently killed them, left them, or, if they could get a merchant, sold them; and this was one kind of Nadir's military execution.

At



At our return the Khan sent his compliments to me, and desired that I would let him see a pinchbeck watch, with its case curiously cut, which I intended to dispose of, and sent him notice of the lowest price. I gave the watch to an interpreter, whom I knew, and knew to be a villain; yet I imagined that he durst not offer to cheat me: The interpreter promised either to bring back the watch, or forty mildenaars immediately, but he brought neither. I demanded justice of the prince; he, for once, desired to be excused, and intreated me never to trust them with any thing. This I did not take in good part; I thought that I had deserved the prince's protection, and told him as much, but went out of his presence with a resolution never to ask it again.

Next morning we had orders to march, and the Khan was obliged to convoy us to the borders of his province, and deliver us safely off to the governor of the next province. Accordingly we set out at nine o'clock, A. M. and marched through very bad roads, through woods, and sometimes by the sea-shore, twenty versts; and, much fatigued, encamped upon a small plain, on the 27th of March.

On the 28th, we set out very early, and travelled through such roads as we had experienced yesterday. We crossed over five rivers, and many brooks with very high banks. Some

Some of our company travelled all night, and others did not get up to us till one o'clock, P. M. on the 29th; consequently we were obliged to remain encamped all that day.

We killed many pheasants and other fowl, and got some very large oranges and citrons. We saw some small villages, but few inhabitants, and all in very great distress. The Khan sent back my watch, which I would not receive, suspecting that he had probably rendered it useless.

We marched on the sea-shore 15 versts, on the 30th; nor could we proceed farther, our cattle being so much fatigued. Last night two of our horses were carried off by the inhabitants; for which the prince caused seize the Khan's four beautiful young camels; nor would he deliver them till the Khan had paid the value of the horses which were lost.

We travelled on the 31st only fifteen versts farther, the roads being extremely sandy and deep, having the sea on the east, and impenetrable woods, marshes, or high Hircanian hills on the west. We crossed eight rivulets, and encamped on the banks, on the 9th, where we caught store of excellent fish.

April 1st, we now marched upon a large paved road, the work of Abbas, with deep ditches on both sides, through marshy ground, covered over with woods; the vines climbing every where upon the trees; from the grapes of which good wine is produced. This day we crossed many rivulets, and ruinous villages



ges, and encamped upon a plain. The Khan paid at the rate of thirty mildenaars *per* horse; and the prince ordered to restore his camels; but my friend Mr Cherkeffoff, who transacted all affairs with them, sent word that forty mildenaars were still wanting, for a watch which he had got from me: It seems he could not send the money in silver, according to our agreement, but sent twenty-two small ducats, and two double Roman ducats. Ifup, the interpreter, told me, that the twenty-two ducats were equal in value to forty mildenaars; but having got possession of the twenty-two small, and two double ducats, I put them in my pocket, and told him, that if he delivered me forty mildenaars any time in the space of eight days, I should return him all the gold; but I got leave to keep it. We travelled about twenty versts this day.

On the 2d, we travelled through many woods of tall trees, directing our course south south-east. We crossed sixteen large and small rivers, and at last encamped in a town called Keshkeer, where we saw a great number of Usbeck Tartars, quartered upon the much oppressed inhabitants, to raise contributions for the Shach. They had orders to live at discretion; but I was told, that they behaved with no such rigour as they did in Astara. This is the first town in the province of Gilan. Here is an old fort built by the Russians. This was formerly a rich

rich country, producing great quantity of silk; and the greatest part of the inhabitants were silk-weavers. They still continue to cultivate silk, but the bulk of the weavers are fled or killed.

We rested on the 3d, being out of danger of the rebels, who caused us to march with such precipitation from the banks of the Cura.

On the 4th, we marched about twenty versts south-east, through a pleasant country, by many rich rice fields, gardens, and woods, and encamped upon the banks of a pleasant river. We crossed sundry rivulets over stone bridges.

On the 5th, we proceeded south-east, and crossed two rivers and a lake, upon a high broad dyke, and encamped on the south-east corner of the lake, in the neighbourhood of Reshd, after a short journey of fifteen versts.

We were welcomed into Gilan by the Russian consul at Keishkeer, who, though formerly my patient, was very reserved to me, on account of some quarrel he had with my countrymen, the merchants residing in Reshd.

This day arrived also Messrs Thompson, Wilder, Bardewick, and Myrop; they gave me a relation of their disputes with our consul, and of his tyranny towards his countrymen the Russian merchants; of all which I did not fail to acquaint the prince, who  
seemed



seemed to know more about him than I imagined he did. I told the prince, that the British merchants had come so far to pay their respects to him, and, if agreeable to his excellency, to convoy him to Reshd: The prince desired me to introduce them to him.

They met with a very polite reception, which could not fail to be very disagreeable to our upstart consul, advanced from a common writer. Mr Backunin, for that was his name, understood the Turkish and Persian languages well, by which means he was thought to be well qualified to be consul at Reshd; but, having sprung from the very dregs of the Russians, he could set no bounds to his pride; he lorded it highly over his countrymen, whom he had oppressed much, and ruined many. Not satisfied with this, he wanted also to oppress the British, but he was much mistaken in that; and the ambassador's arrival put a stop to all his power.

On the 6th, we made our public entry into Reshd; and the British merchants desiring to accompany the cavalcade, were appointed to ride immediately after Mr Cherkeffoff and the consul, and were also invited to dine with the prince, which was extremely disagreeable to Backunin. Reshd is the capital of the province of Gilan; it lies in north latitude thirty-six degrees, thirty minutes, east longitude fifty-two degrees. The province of Gilan is but small, but extremely rich;  
its

its produce is silk: It is in the form of a crescent; the hills on the east, south, and west, surround two thirds of it, and the sea washes the north side. The soil is so rich, that in it can grow any thing luxuriantly. Many medicinal herbs are here, particularly that producing *assa foetida*. Reshd is distant about seven versts south from Peribazar, the port of Gilan; from thence goods are sent down a small river in shallow boats three versts, into a great lake, about sixteen or eighteen miles over, and of which there runs an opening into the sea, sufficient for vessels of small burden; The ground forming the west side of that inlet, is called Enzelee, or Zinzelee.

#### C H A P.    XXIX.

*Concerning what happened during our Stay in Reshd and Enzelee.*

**T**HE prince was lodged in the Shach's palace; and Mr Cherkeffoff and I were lodged in the women's apartments, adjoining to a noble bagnio, where Shach Abbas caused murder his son. A very few days after we were settled here, many complaints were given into the prince's hands against Backunin, and the prince ordered inquisition to be made; but Mr Backunin pretending sickness, put a stop



stop to it at present. He went on in his sickness a long while, sometimes taking the sacrament, for we had two priests with us; and sometimes extreme unction; one day a little better, and next day at the point of death, and frequently attended by Dr Lerch, who took care of him. One day I went with the British merchants to Reshd river, to see Mr Mirop take fish with a net of a singularmake. We had not been long there till the consul's coach was sent for, at which I was not a little surpris'd, nor did I care to go, but, persuaded by my countrymen, I yielded. I was introduced into his house with such awful silence as surpris'd me not a little; and when I asked the reason of such circumspection, I was told, that the consul was in the greatest distress and danger. I advanced into the room where he lay in great state. It is enough to say, that though I have seen the richest beds in this country, they all were far short of Backunin's. It really surpris'd me much to conceive how a man, who, a few years ago, had no manner of rank in the world, should have the vanity to vie in grandeur with the greatest princes. I was desired by Mrs Backunin, a very good woman, who deserv'd a far better husband, with a low voice, to take a seat by Dr Lerch, who was attending. I did so; and we kept up a sort of discourse by whispering: At last this madman called out, to know if I was arriv'd?

Being answered in a most respectful manner by his wife, that I was in the room, he ordered the curtains to be drawn open, and ordered coffee to be served up. After this was over, I made all the pertinent inquiry I could about the nature of his complaints; but found by his answers, that, though he pretended to have many complaints, they pointed out no disease that I was acquainted with. I therefore went and observed what information his pulse could give me; in doing which I did not speak one word, that I might not move his passions. His pulse was very regular, and indeed every way well conditioned. When I had done, I took my seat, and directing my discourse to the doctor, made some general observations; and expressed some surprise that the doctor should dread danger, when Mr Backunin's pulse was so very good; from which, compared with the other observations I had made, I concluded, that Mr Backunin was in no danger; and advised him not to be disturbed, but take exercise; and said, that I had no doubt of his recovery.

Altogether unexpected, he burst into one of the most violent passions possible, and said that I was ignorant, not understanding his disease, and that I looked upon him as a madman. I took my hat, and answered, that now he had evidently demonstrated that he was not feeble, nor that he stood in need  
of



of any physician; and thus I left him. Mrs Backunin and the doctor, intreated me to wait a little longer: I begged to be excused, and would not comply. When I went to the door, a poor jade of a horse was ready for me to mount: I ordered the fellow to put up that horse for his crazy master to ride upon, and in a pour of rain walked home. When I told my good friend Mr Cherkeffoff, how Backunin had treated me; he burst into an excessive fit of laughter, and begged me to change my cloaths, for my shirt was wet with the rain. Mr Cherkeffoff then disappeared; and soon thereafter I had a message from the prince to go to him. He interrogated me very particularly about Backunin's disease; and I answered very positively, that he had none; that I suspected the fellow was imposing upon every one of them. The secretary being present, the prince commanded him to make out an order for me, to give a clear report of what I judged his complaints to proceed from, and what disease afflicted him. I scrupled not to enumerate all the questions I asked him, and what were his answers. I then made some observations about what I was informed from himself and others, concerning the non-naturals, &c. and concluded, that he had not pointed out any known disease; that I had great reason to believe he was in good health, though I suspected, that, for reasons best known to himself, he would have

have the world believe, that he was dangerously sick. The prince no sooner was in possession of my report, than he ordered other dispatches to be got in readiness, and that night sent off a courier to the cabinet. Either the secretary, or some of his writers, had given Backunin an account of my report, and that it was sent to the cabinet, with other dispatches. Now he pretended to be in a worse condition than ever, and was so childish as to give out, that I had contributed not a little to increase his complaints, by putting him into passion : Finding, however, that he was ridiculed and despised almost by every person, he again tried to send for me in his coach, but I would not go. The prince had messages sent to command me, but I prevailed with him not to insist upon it, as it only gave the vain fool an opportunity to affront me in his own house, and probably force me to speak rashly, which I would be sorry for at another time.

The heat now began to be disagreeable in Reshd. The city, though not large, is surrounded with high trees and close fields, all covered over with water, where they planted their rice, which rendered the air very unhealthy; many of the inhabitants were sick, and dying in great numbers. A very malignant petechial fever had carried off some of our men. The heat was daily increasing, and we had no word from the Shach what to do ;



do ; wherefore the prince determined to encamp at Enzilee, a peninsula, having the sea on one side, and the great lake on the other. Accordingly we set out on the 17th of May, rode seven versts to Peribazar, took boat there, passed three versts down the river, crossed the lake, and encamped on Enzilee. Thirteen Russian ships were riding here, three of them belonged to the government, and mounted some small cannon. The prince caused raise a battery upon the neck which formed the peninsula, and placed some artillery there, which the armed vessels also covered ; so that we were in very great security from any attempts of the rebellious Persians, who were every where troublesome. Kulipha was alarmed at the prince's sudden departure. He sent to the prince to beg an audience, and, with the messenger, a Jesuit priest named Damian, the same who some time ago recovered the Shach of some ulcer.

Damian begged leave to pay his respects to the prince, which was granted. The prince pretended some indisposition, and was in bed when Damian was introduced. The prince caused place a chair for him, and soon discovered that he was sent as a spy by Kulipha. He had the impudence to make some enquiry into the prince's complaints, and proposed a quack medicine, which, he pretended, was a preparation of gold that would soon remove his complaints. The prince,

prince, by his polite answers, rather encouraged this piece of jesuitical impudence. The prince, pointing to me, said, that, at his desire, the Empress had ordered me to take care of his health, and that I had been acquainted with his constitution ever since the year 1737; that therefore he was determined to take no advice, nor any medicine, except I approved of it, and concluded by excusing himself from any farther conversation at that time. Upon this Damian rose, and most audaciously took hold of the prince's arm, with a design to feel his pulse; but in this he was disappointed, for he was seized, turned out of the tent, and sent straight to his boat by a party of soldiers, with certification, that neither he nor any of the fathers would after this be permitted to come into the presence of the prince. A few days after this, however, Kulipha arrived, and, after a farce of long prayers to prevent a bad hour, he at last was introduced into the prince's presence. He endeavoured to get the prince persuaded to return to Reshd, and assured him that he had got plenty of provisions, and that the Shach was on his way to Chorroffan, where he intended to meet the prince. The prince said, that Reshd was extremely unhealthy, as indeed was Enzilee, and that he had at that time three couriers at the Shach's camp waiting to know about what time the Shach proposed to be in Meshed.

He



He said, that he would be very glad how soon he could march from Gilan, because a very dangerous malignant fever had already destroyed many of his men since the hot rainy weather began ; but that if he was truly informed of the Shach's motions, he would send the presents, horses, and dragoons by land to Astrabat, and would go by sea, which he understood would be much better for him, as the roads were said to be very bad, and the country very unhealthy.

By the middle of June, the heat and rains, with almost continual thunders, were now intolerable, and increased the number of our sick so much, that, on the 23d, orders were made out to send them to Reshd, as their number was about a hundred, and increasing daily, many dying.

On the 24th, the prince sent them all away, and followed on the 25th of June. Our mate and all our assistants were now in the hospital, sick. I was seized on the 25th, and on the 26th in the morning I dropped down among the sick in the hospital, was carried to my lodging, and remained senseless till the 2d of July.

On the 4th, I was informed by the prince that the Shach was murdered, and that he intended to set out next morning for Enzilee, in order to proceed by sea to Astrachan. He said, that he had taken care to send all my baggage with his own on board ; but I

was

was very weak : However, no time was to be lost, as this our design was kept secret from the Persians, who did not as yet know that their king was dead. My friend Mr Cherkeffoff was left as resident, with all the men who could be spared, and Dr Lerch. I was carried on board with the greatest care. Capt. Bernhour, and many of our men, died. We were twenty days upon sea, and many of our men in different ships died on the passage, who were not sick when we left Persia. The mortality was so great, that out of our whole number, which were computed, including servants, to be about five hundred, scarcely a hundred returned in sound health. We had buried three hundred in Persia. This disease began among the natives, who were by it soon relieved from the torments of hunger. That day we left Reshd, for as weak as I was, it grieved me much to see the devastation it had made upon the road, where many dead were lying unburied, and many expiring. Amongst the number, two were very striking : I saw an infant sucking its dead mother ; and, in a hollow road, I saw a dead maid, with her hands holding by the root of a tree. It seems she died as she was endeavouring to get out of this hollow road. My brother was taken ill on board our ship, and hardly escaped.

At our arrival in Russia, we reported, that this disease was a malignant fever ; but, Dr Lerch,



Lerch, who had formerly attended plague-hospitals, did not doubt that it was the plague.

As I do not propose to disappoint the bulk of my readers, in treating of diseases, in place of travels, I shall only beg pardon for enumerating the most general symptoms and duration of this dreadful disease. They were seized suddenly with a violent pain in their heads, backs, and loins, accompanied with horror and trembling, which lasted with the greatest violence four or five hours, accompanied with excessive vomiting and purging, or vomiting and obstinate costiveness; these were attended with a heat very disagreeable to the touch, and a very irregular oppressed pulse. The urine was very changeable; sometimes it was as clear as water, sometimes it was of a bright red, sometimes no sediment, and at other times turbid and thick. Their thirst was intolerable; nor was it possible to quench it; the *papillæ* of the tongue, on the second and third day after they were first seized, grew very long, dry, white, or yellow, then brown, then black. Their eyes were blood-shot, and looked very unclean-like. As long as they retained their senses, they complained of a burning heat in their bowels. Some of them lost their senses in an hour, and others retained them longer. The horror seized them once, twice, or thrice in twenty-four hours. Sometimes, especially in the morning, they

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had

had some returns of their reason ; but it was of very short duration. Their bodies were covered all over with *petechiæ* and anthraxes ; some of them were tortured with inflamed parotids, and others had unquenchable inflammations in the axillary glands. They died on the fifth, seventh, eighth, and a few on the ninth day.

This fever was so infectious, that our numbers of sick, from our small command, increased by seven, eight, and nine daily. When I was taken ill, we had in the hospital an hundred and sixty, and a few officers. At the beginning, Dr Lerch being of opinion that it was the plague, a disease he had been conversant with formerly, advised bleeding : but to our great disappointment, every one of them died soon. We next gave vomits ; and the operation was no sooner over than we raised a *diaphoresis*, which we kept up solicitously, and several were recovered in this way. It is scarcely credible what numbers of worms were voided, both by stool and upwards. It is remarkable, that the water in Gilan is very much stored with earth-worms, and those our men voided were of the same kind. The prince, some of our officers, and I, drank no water till it was boiled in earthen vessels and carefully covered up in cool places. As I intend this account of that disease for the general good of mankind, I hope the reader, who is possessed of humanity,

humanity,



humanity, will excuse it ; and I do not care whether he call it the plague or malignant petechial fevers ; but Dr Lerch and I durst not call it the plague, because we might have been obliged to keep quarantine on Tchattire Bugori, desert sandy islands, during the winter, which very probably would have killed us all ; as there were no buildings to defend us from the frost. Before we left Persia, the doctor and I, for these reasons, had reported to the prince, that it was a petechial fever ; by which means we arrived without stop directly to Astrachan. The ambassador arrived first, in the ship which had formerly belonged to the British merchants, and the rest were coming in daily. At last Dr Lerch, with the remains of his hospital, arrived on the 23d of September. Mr Cherkeffoff, and a few soldiers, with our crazy consul, remained in Reshd to take notice of the confusions in Persia, and protect, as much as possible, the Russian merchants from violence. By this time we got notice, that the ambassador's arrival was not agreeable to the Empress.

The court of St Petersburg thought that the prince ought first to have asked and obtained liberty. Upon this the prince represented, that as Nadir Shach was murdered, there remained no government in Persia, every khan or general making pretensions to the throne ; and that very day on which we set out,

out, we had accounts of murders, massacres, battles, and desolation of all kinds: But that, lastly, the confusion was so great, that no provisions could be got for the support of the few men who remained alive; and that, if he had not taken this step, which he did by the advice and signed petition of all his officers, it was very probable that his whole command would have been starved before he could have got any provisions from Astrachan; for none was to be bought in Persia. This at present satisfied the court, that necessity was the true cause of our return. However, we were commanded to remain in Astrachan till further orders.

Before I make an end of this chapter, I must inform the reader of a few things which happened in Persia before and since we left it, which I could not so conveniently do sooner. The prince had received orders from court to proceed against the consul; and at the same time a captain was sent from the garrison of Astrachan to officiate as consul in Reshd. The prince was scarcely arrived from Enzilee, when the consul, having been informed that a captain was come to officiate as consul, came in great state, in his superb coach, and demanded an audience. This fool was by some of his friends, made believe that the orders to the prince were very favourable, and that the captain was sent, that he, (Bakunin) might be returned into  
Russia,



Russia, to answer for his transactions there ; where, he did not doubt, that a few presents, from the great sums he had pillaged from the merchants, properly bestowed, would free him from any farther trouble. The prince was sitting in a great open gallery covered above, all laid over with rich Persian carpets, except a small canal in the middle, full of small fish, and a jet or spout of water playing in the middle of it, which the Persians delight in, as it cools the air. Mr Bakunin was desired to walk in ; but his coach was not permitted to enter into the court, which was formed by a very high brick square wall, which surrounded the palace at the distance of about forty fathoms from the house. When he had advanced on foot to the head of the stairs, he put off a pair of Persian slippers, and advanced with such pride, as is only to be seen in Bethlehem Hospital, or some such place. Upon this occasion he was dressed in a coat of the finest Persian velvet ; his waistcoat and breeches were of rich brocade, with a very pretty sword by his side. He congratulated the prince upon his return to Reshd from Enzilee ; and said, that he had been informed that he was to be sent to Russia, which was so agreeable news, that it had quite recovered him. The prince answered, that he was glad to see him in good health : That he was indeed to be succeeded by a very good man,

man, but that he had no orders to send him into Russia ; but, that if he cleared himself from the accusations laid against him, he was to go with the embassy, as second secretary, to Chorassan. This effectually completed his madness : He pulled his sword from his side, and most disrespectfully threw it on the carpet at the prince's feet, telling him, at the same time, that he now was convinced the prince intended to ruin him, and therefore he voluntarily delivered himself up a prisoner.

The prince ordered an under-officer to take charge of him, and conduct him to his house, and there keep him in all safety. When he had advanced to the stair head, his Persian slippers were not to be found. Some of our men had thrown them away ; for he was beloved by none but Dr Lerch. He made some impertinent noise about his slippers, but was soon carried off by the serjeant. Upon this occasion Major Berezin represented to the prince, before us all, that Bakunin had not only affronted his Highness, in a very gross manner, but the Empress also, whose person he had the honour to represent ; and therefore begged, that, without loss of time, Bakunin should be brought to a trial by a court-martial, and punished with death, as he deserved. The prince smiled at the major's impetuosity, and took off a light cap, which he then wore for coolness, in place of



a periwig, and asked the major, If he saw any blood upon his head? The major answered in the negative. Then, said the prince, I thank God, being now old, that my conscience cannot accuse me of having ever been guilty of shedding human blood; now I will not begin: If the Empress is affronted, she is merciful, and has it in her power to punish him as she shall think proper. To this the major replied, which indeed proved very true, that Bakunin would give him a great deal of trouble; which might be easily prevented, by bringing him to a trial, and doing justice to the Empress, and the many poor sufferers whom he had plundered: But the prince made an end of this affair, by commanding silence.

After our departure, Ali Kouli Khan, of whom mention will be made in another place, had declared himself Shach, and had gone, after the Shach his uncle's murder, to Mazanderan. At this time the inhabitants of Gilan were in great fear of a party of rebels, who were advancing into their province from Astará, upon the same road we travelled. We left with Mr Cherkeffoff a courier, called Adile, an Armenian, a very facetious fellow; he knew all the roads very well. At this time the governor and all the Persians in Gilan were quite dispirited, and knew not what to do. Adile, having Mr Cherkeffoff's permission to act as he pleased, went

went to the governor, and told him, that if he would grant him the command of the few foldiers who were in the city, not exceeding three hundred, and three pieces of small cannon, he, (Adile,) would undertake to save the province from the rebels, though their number was said to exceed five thousand. Adile was constituted colonel immediately ; and he lost no time in advancing to a river, whose banks were extremely steep, except in one place : There he threw up a trench, and placed his cannon, charged with small shot. It seems, upon this occasion, that Adile conducted affairs very well ; he gave out his orders distinctly, and took care to seize all people travelling, either from or to the rebels : so that they could have no information of any force sent against them ; and Adile knew well they could not remain in that country long ; because they could get little provision.

They advanced in a very careless manner, and happened to come up to Adile's trench in a morning, before it was very light, suspecting no danger. Adile let them advance, and ordered his men to fire upon them only with their muskets. The rebels advanced in great numbers ; when he discharged his cannon upon them with such judgment, that he killed great numbers, and forced the rest to fly the field. He pursued them, and made such havock, that Gilan was  
no



no more troubled from that quarter. He no sooner arrived in Reshd, victorious with some prisoners, than an account of his victory was sent to Ali Kouli Khan, who sent for him, constituted him a colonel, and presented him with a castan, kingjal, and sabre; which I saw when he returned to Russia. He gave him also a very considerable sum of money; how much, I do not remember.

Before we left the coast of Persia, Kuli-pha's servants, after having robbed him, deserted. He petitioned the prince to carry him into Russia; but this he would not do. However, he ordered Mr Cherkeffoff to give him provisions, and take him under his protection.

About this time some rebels entered the province by the Casbine road, and carried off all our horses, who were feeding under the mountains. They did no hurt to a few dragoons, who were attending the horses. I lost my best horse, having sold the rest in Reshd for a trifle. The prince, however, ordered payment to be made for it, soon after I came to Hamilton.

I am next to give an account of the British merchants escape out of Persia. It relates both to them and Mr Cherkeffoff, and is a very disagreeable task to me; however the reader shall have it as I had it. A few days before we left Persia, the British factors waited upon the Prince, and, I being

interpreter, expressed much uneasiness at the present distracted affairs in Persia, and their fear of being involved in troubles, both in respect to their persons and their employers goods; they therefore begged that his Highness would advise them what to do. The Prince answered, that he was not a proper person to advise them what to do: But that he would protect them as long as he was there. He said, that if they intended to go for Astrachan, he would order one ship at a reasonable charge, to transport part of their effects, and that he would order every ship to take a share of what should remain; but by no means would he offer to direct them: He said, that after they had considered the orders sent them by their constituents, he thought that they ought to be the proper judges of their own affairs. They returned the Prince thanks for his goodness, and told him that they were determined to remain a little longer.

After we were gone sometime in January 1748, the city of Reshd was attacked by a body of rebels: The British merchants fled, as I was informed, for protection to Mr Cherkeffoff, who readily granted them all the assistance in his power, and sent them in safety to a ship, with what money they could take with them. They left however in their warehouses, it was said, some money, and a cargo of valuable goods, great part of which



which fell a prey to the rebels; whereof a right account, I imagine, never was procured by the merchants at home. It is acknowledged at all hands that the British merchants at this time lost upwards of eighty thousand pounds value: Which value might have been saved if the factors had left Reshd when we left it: The prince gave them a promise, and certain I am he would have performed it, to assist them with shipping and otherwise to the utmost of his power. If they had put their goods on board a ship at Enzilee, the London merchants could have been no great losers.

When we left Persia, every thing in that country was in the utmost confusion; the gentlemen in Reshd were not ignorant of it, which was the reason of their asking the prince's advice what they were to do? The prince was ready to assist them, but would not venture to give advice in affairs which concerned him not, nor did he understand such affairs. Mr Cherkessoff, a man whom I was well acquainted with since the year 1740, was accused of not having protected them, and of having helped to rob them: But by whom? and how were their accusations testified? He was accused by the British who lost their goods, and he was accused in no legal way, but in letters to their constituents! Strange as this may appear, it is, I am persuaded, very true, and it is most surprising

surprising that the merchants could not get an edict from the Court of St Petersburg to have common justice done them, seeing they had never been baulked in any reasonable demand, and at that very time had the best opportunity of having justice done them. They knew in what favour our Ambassador the late Earl of Hyndford then stood at that court. They knew that he had carried thro' affairs with ease, which his predecessors could make nothing of; and is it credible that he could not have had common justice done to the British factory against the resident, a man of no family, who had none to support his interest, a man who by his natural faculties had raised himself from being an unknown, young, Circassian captive, to the rank of a major, a counsellor in the affairs of these countries, and resident at Reshd? I say that it is not probable that the Gilan factors were in earnest when they accused him; but to whom did they accuse him? to their employers in a very vague manner, I have reason to believe; for when I saw Mr Mirope in Moscow, I told him that I scarcely could think that Mr Cherkeffoff would be guilty of any step, for which he could not answer; I told him also that he bore an exceeding good character, that he was no fool, was universally known, and that I made no doubt he would give such an account of his conduct, as would appear



pear satisfactory to every disinterested person. At that time, Mr Miropé did not relish this discourse. It cannot be denied that in a letter dated June 1748, they accused Mr Cherkeffoff for endeavouring to frighten them, as they term it, out of Persia. They acknowledge in that letter, that the resident gave them an account of the confusions in Persia, of the dangers they were exposed to, and of the readiness he was in to assist them. Did this look, as if he had any view to rob them? If they had followed the advice he gave them at that time, would not the British trade have been gainers, and would they not have prevented eighty thousand pounds value from falling into the rebels hands? If Prince Golitzin had condescended to have favoured them with his advice, and if things had not turned out to their wish, it is certain they would not have scrupled to have blamed the prince. They acknowledged long before they met with their misfortunes, that Mr Cherkeffoff advised them to ship off their money and goods for Astrachan, foreseeing the danger they were exposed to, and endeavoured to make them sensible of it. This wholesome advice they not only rejected, but accused him in their way, of endeavouring to frighten them out of Persia. Well, what was the consequence of not following Mr Cherkeffoff's advice? They remained till they lost to the value

value of eighty thousand pounds to their employers, and then they blame Mr Cherkeffoff, who had long before that advised them to save their employers goods. They did not care to venture to accuse Mr Cherkeffoff in a legal manner, when they could not fail to have justice done them : But they only do this to their employers in private letters, as far as I ever was informed. The reason of my having taken such notice of this affair is with a view to set it in a true light, and in such as their own letters acknowledge to be true, and at the same time to do justice to a man, whom I believe to be honourable, and esteemed purely for his integrity.

### C H A P. XXX.

*Concerning the Manners and Customs of the Persians, with a short Account of the famous Nadir Shach.*

**I**N this chapter, I do not propose to give a history of the Persians, nor indeed of all the actions of the late Nadir Shach : All I propose is to give a very succinct account of Nadir Shach, and the manners and dress of the Persians ; for it appeared that, when we were there, they were governed by no fixed laws, but by the immediate will and pleasure



sure of their governors. They made indeed profession of religion : But that was only nominal and extremely superficial ; as for customs they were altogether abolished before we went into their country, unless robbery, beating and murdering one another, be allowed to be their customs.

The Persians are naturally a very agile, lively people, the generality of their men are middle sized, rather of the smaller kind, but very well made, tawny, black-eyed, with black hair, Roman nosed, and thick lipped. They all wear high caps gathered at the tops, which are tapering ; they love the red colour, because their soldiers caps are of that colour, and therefore they are called Kifelbashee, or red heads. Their coats and vests are short, and they wear long drawers and hose made of cloath ; in place of shoes they wear universally slippers, with longer and more tapering heels than those wore by our British ladies ; which make them appear, in standing or walking, as if they had no musculous posteriors ; because they are forced to stand very erect.

Their soldiers consist chiefly in horse ; I have seen foot also ; and they are esteemed, justly, I imagine, the best horsemen in the world. They have a singular way of managing their horses : They ride at a gentle trot, or walk them ; but as they are not regular, they very frequently run off at a full gallop,

gallop, and at once stop their horses ; then push on, turning nimbly, frequently to the right or left side, as the rider thinks proper. If they are near a steep low hill, they love to run up it as fast as the horse is able. When they arrive in their camp, they cover their horses over with cloaths three or four folds thick ; then they tether their horses by the hinder feet, keeping them at a distance ; so that they cannot easily lye down : They then place cut straw, or hay, at such distance, that the horse can but get to it ; so that the beast is, as it were, constantly upon the stretch. They feed them twice daily with good barley, with which we were obliged to feed ours, which purged them smartly for two or three days at first ; but it had a good effect, in making them very clear-skinned. The Persian soldiers rub down their horses frequently through the day : They are fonder of their horses than of their wives.

By the Mahometan law, the Persians can, and frequently do, marry four wives, and are at liberty to keep as many concubines as they please. The world cannot produce greater slaves than the Persian women are to their husbands. We were told, that a husband may chastize his wife, but must take care that his severity does not prove the cause of her death ; for if, upon inquiry, it proves to be so, and the wife has relations who can prosecute the murderer, the judge delivers the criminal



criminal to the relations of his deceased wife, who never fail to put him to death, after the same manner he killed his wife : This, however, is not always the case. When our men went first to Baku with the horses, and other presents, the governor of that city gave them an order for seizing all the timber they could get in the city to make stalls and stables for the horses. One of our grooms happening to see a board, took it. The woman to whom it belonged could speak the Russian language well ; she was desiring the groom not to carry away the board, when her husband made his appearance ; who, without any great concern, cut off her head with a hatchet ; nor did we ever hear that he suffered for this action. When we were encamped at Enzilee, a woman arrived in our camp, to beg that the prince would take her under his protection, and order the governor of Gilan to deliver up a man, who had murdered his wife, to her relations, who had gained, after this wicked action, by the force of money, the governor of Reshd's protection. The prince, however, would not interfere in their affairs, but permitted the woman to stay about our camp, where she did not fail to get plenty, and protection from our people. I am of opinion, that the present laws of Persia are entirely lodged in the judge's breast ; and that if a villain has money, or substance, he may perpetrate any crime with impunity.

The women in Persia are well enough proportioned ; but I was informed that they were not very beautiful, having had but few opportunities of seeing them myself. At Cura I one day saw an elderly woman dressed in a ragged silk gown, whom hunger had forced into our camp, followed by two young girls, who paid her great respect. As she passed through, she carefully picked up some barley out of horse-dung, and eat it ; at which one of our dragoons would have beaten her, if I had not prevented him. The prince having been informed of her distress, caused feed her and her attendants, as long as we staid there. She said, that she was well born, and had been married to a Khan ; but that her family happening to fall under the Shach's displeasure, was utterly extirpated, and that none remained with her but the two girls, who never would leave her. This woman never had been a beauty. I have seen many girls, especially at Reshd, who were very beautiful ; but I was informed that these were Georgians.

One day, passing by a house out of the city, five or six very beautiful girls appeared at the door uncovered, and seemed to be very merry : They laughed, and made some signs, as it were, inviting my comrades and me to go into the house ; and I was told by others, that I was not mistaken, for they were common to any.



I once saw a few girls who were kept by one of the generals of the Persian army, look out of a tent uncovered, as we passed by ; but I was told, that if their Lord knew that they had exposed themselves, he would have punished them most severely. They were young, very pretty ; and said to be Georgians. I was informed that the Persian women, in general, would sooner expose to public view any part of their bodies than their faces.

One of the British merchants at Reshd told me, that one morning very early, as he was walking by a burial place, he there saw a very comely young woman sitting in her shift, being extremely hot weather, giving her child suck ; he was very near her before she spied him ; which she no sooner had done, than she covered her face with her shift, exposing what our women carefully conceal. Many such stories I was informed of, which are not worth repeating.

Men may marry for life, or for any determined time in Persia, as well as through all Tartary. I was assured, that merchants, and other travellers, who intended to stay a month, or longer, in any city, commonly applied to the cadee, or judge, for a wife during the time he proposed to stay. That the cadee, for a stated gratuity, produced a number of girls, whom he declared to be honest,

nest, and free from diseases, and became surety for them. It is said, that, amongst thousands, there has not been one instance of their dishonesty, during the time agreed upon. I have been also told, that merchants who trade in different cities, whose business obliges them to live in these cities some time every year, or who keep a warehouse, marry a wife for life ; and that they superintend their house in their absence, and generally prove very true to the trust reposed in them.

The Persian women are all dressed in long gowns of silk or cotton : They all wear silk or cotton drawers, which reach down to their ancles ; they wear bracelets of gold, either wrought or set with precious stones about their ancles and wrists ; and the foremost parts of of their shifts, which are commonly of silk, from a point immediately below the navel, are embroidered down to the bottom with gold or silver figures, forming a large triangle, whose upper angle is acute. They never cut the nails of their fingers, as we do, but let them grow long and pointed ; they are coloured with red, on the first joint of each finger. I have sometimes been consulted about their diseases ; and though great care was taken, upon such occasions, that I should see no part of their person, yet they could not hinder my seeing their hands when I felt their pulse : And though frequently it is very necessary to see their faces, in



in some diseases, the Persians never would permit them to be unvailed. When they go to the bath, which they do twice or thrice in a week, they are veiled with white linen, but have a piece of net-work before their eyes, which renders every thing visible to them, but prevents any from seeing them. Mr Cherkeffoff and I were lodged in the rooms where the Shach's women were formerly kept, and the bagnio was at the back of our apartments ; but there was a communication by a door, which was made fast when the women were bathing. One day the dragoons who attended us, having got drunk, overhearing the women laughing, broke into their bagnio ; but Mr Cherkeffoff coming in at the same time, and overhearing the great alarm the women were put into, spoiled their sport.

The Persian women endure all sorts of hardships, and undergo all kinds of drudgery ; the common women especially, dress the land, plant the rice, and clean their fields, and do every other hard work, while their husbands only look after markets, and smoke the callian.

One day at Reshd, I went with my countrymen into the country to visit one of their acquaintances, who bred silk-worms. At our arrival, the man caused his wives, I think he had three, spread carpets on the  
grass

grafs in the garden, upon which we fat, smoked the callian, eat some fruits, and drank some water; for they present no other liquor. This man had many children, yet, by the assistance of the women and them, he sold as much silk yearly as would have been sufficient to maintain them abundantly, if the cruel Nadir had not distressed them so much. I do not believe that this garden exceeded two acres of ground; it was planted all over with mulberry trees, except a small piece for herbs.

I do not propose nor pretend to give the reader a minute history of Nadir Shach, commonly called Kouli Khan; nor of all the battles he fought, far less the history of Persia, which I take to be foreign to my design: All I intend is, in as few words as I possibly can, to give the sum of his actions, and his character in miniature; in doing which, however, I find myself obliged to differ from those who have written before me, as my intelligence was from the better sort of people in Persia, and more authentic than that of some few others.



## C H A P. XXXI.

*Being an Account of the Birth, Parentage, Actions, and Death of the cruel Nadir Shach.*

NADIR was born in Chalat, by some called Kælat, in the year 1687. He was the heir of the prince of that strong place. Chalat is said to be an impregnable castle, situated amongst the hills, in the neighbourhood of Meshed; and though it acknowledged obedience to the crown of Persia, was ruled or governed by a succession of princes, who esteemed Chalat their personal estate; and the inhabitants paid obedience to these princes of their own kindred, tho' probably they would not have been complaisant enough to pay obedience to any Persian governor; which, no doubt, was the reason that the court of Persia was willing to let them have their own way of government, so long as they were good neighbours, and acknowledged some submission and subjection to the crown of Persia.

When Nadir was about nine years old his father died, and left the government of Chalat to his brother, till Nadir should be of age, according to the custom of that country. The uncle, whose name I have not written in my journal, ruled the people with  
such

such discretion, that they confirmed him, during his life, in the government, in prejudice of young Nadir, of whom they had no great conceit. They began early to observe, that he probably would prove a very turbulent prince, and were afraid that his government would be very disagreeable to them.

Nadir did not relish such usage : It is said that he retired ; Hanway says, that he was captivated by the Usbecks ; but I never was informed of this, nor of many other anecdotes of his life which Mr Hanway gives, nor of his killing the courier ; but it is certain, that he retired into Khorassan, which the Persians call Chorassan, and entered the Shach's service as a foldier, *anno* 1712. He had not served long until his military genius, and, no doubt, his birth helped him to be taken notice of by Babulu Khan, then governor of Chorassan. Besides, he was a remarkably strong, bold man ; qualifications which will never fail to recommend a soldier, especially when a country is daily invaded by enemies, which was the situation of Chorassan at that time. He was not long in the service till he was promoted to the rank of a colonel ; for, in the year 1719, a great body of Usbecks fell upon Chorassan, destroying the country where-ever they went, carrying off the inhabitants into slavery, and seizing their cattle.

The



The governor and his counsel, were even afraid that they would attempt Meshed; he therefore summoned a council of war, where Nadir was admitted, though he had, by the custom of Persia, no right to give advice; yet this was a very proper time for him, who had nothing to lose but his life, upon which he did not set great value, in respect of making himself remarkable in the world. He patiently heard what every one said; and observing that the result of their consultation ended not to his liking, but was the effect of fear and confusion, *viz.* to keep within the city, wherefore he begged leave of the governor to speak; which being granted, in opposition to all the generals present, he humbly represented, that the city being very large, and the number of troops very small, it would be impossible to defend it against such numbers of Usbecks: Add to this, that a few days would reduce the citizens and soldiers to a dreadful famine, because they were already in great want. He said, that he had proved the Shach's soldiers bravery to be much superior to the Usbecks; and that if he were favoured with the command, he made no doubt of soon reducing the Usbecks to a necessity of evacuating the province. So rational an advice, given by a man whose military genius had been proved in different former actions, was, however, agreeable to none present but the governor. He insisted

that Nadir's advice should be taken; but the generals present would not serve under a *junior*, a creature of the governor's. Of this Nadir was glad, because now he was sure of meeting with no opposition in the field, and begged leave of the governor that he might be at liberty to appoint his lieutenants *pro tempore*, adding, that if this was granted, he would promise either to return victorious, or deliver up himself to the governor, to be punished as he should think proper, if he escaped death in battle. The governor granted all his demands. Nadir lost no time, and being well acquainted with the country, he, by trusty spies, got certain notice that the Usbecks were encamped, with all security, on the banks of Tedjen. Nadir did not, as I was informed, march against them in an ostentatious manner; neither is such conduct agreeable to the well-known military conduct of Nadir; for at all times, though none were more brave, he used more policy than can well be believed; and all his military achievements, except the unfortunate battle with Topal Osman, seem to prove the truth of this assertion; and that misconduct seemed to have proceeded from his despising his enemies, whom he had at all times vanquished formerly.

Nadir was fortunate; he killed great numbers, and returned victorious to Meshed with many thousands of prisoners. He not only  
made



made great booty of their cattle, but got all their tents and baggage, and relieved the inhabitants of Chorossan; and returned to the natives every thing which was taken from them by the Usbecks. Thus he returned to Meshed loaded with deserved honour, and the praises of the whole province; and prayers for his safety and future prosperity. The governor, in the greatest raptures of joy, received him, and promised to acquaint the unfortunate Shach Tæhmas *alias* Tachmas, of this extraordinary deliverance, and at the same time intreat him to create him (Nadir) a general, when the first vacancy should happen. An opportunity soon presented; but the Shach promoted a young nobleman, not bred to arms, a relation of the governor's. This Nadir could not put up with, without reproaching the governor in very harsh terms; and when the governor endeavoured to assure him that he had acted honourably, Nadir hesitated not, in the most impertinent manner, to call him treacherous, and a liar; for which the governor caused him to be bastinadoed, or beat on the soles of his feet, until the nails of his toes started.

This punishment was not sufficient to calm the turbulent spirit of Nadir; it only served to exasperate him; and though he kept silent till he recovered, this no sooner happened than he fled to the mountains, where numbers of desperate vagabonds resorted to him. He not only  
robbed

robbed the caravans, but laid the whole province under contribution, which terrified the governor with the dread of his resentment. Though Nadir plundered the caravans, and neighbouring Tartars, not subject to Persia, the Persians told us, that he did no great harm to the inhabitants of Choroffan. His uncle at last, however, wrote to Nadir, and desired him to refrain from so infamous a way of living, promising at the same time to procure a pardon from the weak Tæhmas, for all his past faults. To this Nadir was not averse, and his uncle soon procured him a full pardon. Nadir, under colour of paying his uncle the most sincere returns of gratitude, went to his patrimony, the well known Chalat, with but a few of his followers; and ordered some hundreds of his men to draw near it, and be ready, at a signal given, to approach the only gate, in all haste. Nadir was, with his attendants, admitted into the castle. In the morning of the following day, his attendants seized the gate of the city without much resistance; and Nadir, at the same time, murdered his uncle; and thus he made an easy conquest of that impregnable place.

It was in Chalat that Nadir, when he was Shach, deposited all his riches. The Persians told me, that it stands in a valley surrounded with perpendicular rocks, which none but the winged inhabitants can enter, except at one place, which is well fortified,  
and



and rendered as impregnable by art as the rest is by nature. They affirm, that the fields and hills can produce, within the Chalat, without greatly improving the ground, as much provisions as can easily maintain 12,000 men; consequently it need surprise none, that the Kings of Persia are glad to be friends with these people, who have it in their power to be very troublesome to the inhabitants of Chorossan, and even to Meshed, whence it is not very far distant.

Nadir having now become possessed of his father's inheritance, and added to the natives of Chalat, about 6000 brave daring troops, was very formidable; but still seemed to wish well to the inhabitants of Chorossan; and indeed he shewed greater kindness for this province, than all the rest of Persia, even to the day of his death. He now, without the assistance of any, determined to recover Nichabur out of the hands of the Afgans, tho' their garrison was very numerous. To this purpose he sent a few hundreds of his men to decoy them amongst the hills. It turned out to his wish, and he cut them to pieces; and, dressed according to the custom of the Afgans, he ordered a considerable body of his troops to go to the city, driving before them a great number of his own men, as if they were captives. By this stratagem they got an easy admission into the city, and soon put all the Afgans to death, and freed  
this

this ancient capital of Choroffan, and the whole province, from the tyranny of foreigners; but he was much dreaded, though he did them no harm. These atchievements performed, he wrote to Shach Tachmas, and after having given him an account of his rapid progress, he declared, that he was one of the most faithful subjects which his Majesty had, and that he was ready to come and assist his Majesty with 6000 as brave troops as ever Persia bred, providing the Shach would pardon all bypast errors committed by him and his men. The poor Shach had only Choroffan, Ashabat, and Mazanderan, who acknowledged themselves his subjects; the rest of Persia was torn from him by the Turks Russians, and Afgans; consequently he was glad to get such assistance. He agreed to all Nadir's demands, who soon appeared before his Majesty in Mazanderan.

The first thing he performed was, to put to death Fatey Ali Khan, the Shach's principal minister, and general of the army. Then he carried the King into Choroffan, where he recruited the army in the year 1727. In the year 1728, he was dignified with the title of Khan, and was appointed commander in chief of the Shach's army; and a short time after that, the King called him Tachmas Kuli Khan, which is, in Persia, looked upon as one of the greatest honours, to be called after the King. He got permission  
from



from the King to reduce the only city remaining, which was situated on the borders of Chorossan next to Kandahaar, scarcely two hundred miles south-east from Meshed, called Herat. This he did without effusion of blood, excepting that he brought the rebel governor's head to the Shach. Having reduced all Chorossan to the King's obedience, he got permission from the King to march his army, consisting of about twenty-five thousand men, well disciplined, towards Isphahan, the metropolis of Persia, against the Afghans, who had conquered all the southern provinces, and were commanded by Ashreff. This Ashreff was acknowledged Shach of Persia by the Turks: He was informed of the rapid progress of Kuli Khan, and was determined to seek him in Chorossan; but Kuli Khan having persuaded the Shach to remain in Chorossan, marched his army only to the city of Damgoon, and waited in the neighbourhood of it for the Afghans; nor did he tarry long, till the Afghans came forward greatly fatigued, and in a starving condition; however they were obliged to give him battle at considerable disadvantage, as Kuli Khan had chosen his ground. He cut many thousands of the Afghans in pieces, and the rest made the best of their way back again to Isphahan. This battle was said to be fought on the 2d of October, O. S. Upon this good success the Shach gave him the command

mand of his whole army, by constituting him beglerbeg, or governor-general of the great province of Chorossan. It is said, that Ashreff, with the shattered remains of his army, arrived in two days at Tæhيران, from thence destroying all the country as he passed thro', he cooped himself up in Isphahan.

Kuli Khan persuaded the simple King to remain in Chorossan; and he proceeded, in the cold winter, through a ruined country, by which he lost many of his troops, straight to Isphahan. Ashreff having secured the capital as well as he could, went out of the city and chused a good ground, as he made no doubt of soon seeing Kuli Khan; nor was he in this deceived, for he arrived on the 13th of November, immediately attacked him, cut upwards of four thousand in pieces, and forced the remains, in great confusion, to fly into the city, where they did not remain long; for in great haste, having plundered the royal palace and city, he caused murder Shach Hussein, and retired with all the riches, and the haram, or King's women.

It is said, that upwards of three hundred camels were loaded with the treasures of the palace alone. Kuli Khan soon entered Isphahan, and destroyed all the Afguans found there, except a few who had been friendly to the unfortunate Persians; but the fury of the Persians was so great against the Afguans, that they utterly destroyed a very superb mausoleum,



soleum, built by Magund or Mahomed, the founder of the Afguan monarchy in Persia; they scattered his bones in the most disrespectful manner, and built a public jakes in the very place where the sepulchre stood. So soon as Shach Tachmas had received notice that the Afguans were fled to Schiras, he set out with his army, and reached Isfahan amidst the loud acclamations of joy, by the surviving number of the citizens.

Kuli Khan now marched to Schiras, where he overthrew the Afguans the third and last time. They retired from thence on the 14th of January 1730, in the night-time, the day after their defeat, and divided into small companies; but the ladies of the haram, and much treasure, were recovered; and the Afguans were destroyed either by the Persians, or the inhabitants, on their way to Kanda-haar. Ashreff himself was murdered on the road. The ladies and treasure were sent to Isfahan; but Kuli Khan marched straight against the Turks, who probably did not so very soon expect a visit from him. He routed Abdallah Basha, and took Hamadan and Kermansha, Tavis, and Ardeville, into which cities he placed garrisons. The Turks astonished at such rapid conquests, begged a truce, which was very readily granted; because the inhabitants of Herat had revolted, and, it was said, had raised a great army. He lost no time in reducing these rebels, put-

ting their chiefs to cruel deaths, placing garrisons in all strong cities in the province of Choroffan; and all this he accomplished in the year 1730.

The Turks, not regarding the time of the truce, took advantage of Kuli Khan's absence, and marched great armies to the borders of Persia, against whom the Shach went at the head of twenty thousand men, from Ispahan, in October, to Tavis, where he joined the troops left by Kuli Khan, and marched straight over the Armenian high hills, to see the Turks. He arrived in the neighbourhood of Erivan, with the remains of his army, much diminished in numbers by famine, and the violent winter frost. The Turks watched his motions, and made an easy victory, with their superior forces, in the beginning of the year 1731. The Shach's army was beaten on a branch of the river Aras, in which many of them were drowned. The Shach was a second time unfortunate in the neighbourhood of the city Hamadan, which he lost, with a great number of men. He retreated from thence to Casbin; and concluded a peace with the Turks in January 1732. Kouli Khan having restored peace to Choroffan, placed strong garrisons in all the strong cities; and having appointed his son governor, returned by slow marches, with a numerous army, to Ispahan, where he waited on the Shach



Shach, and disapproved of his having made peace with the Turks.

Under pretence of getting the Shach to review his army, he persuaded him to leave the city; and, after the review was over, engaged the Shach to take a small collation in his tent, where he soon became intoxicated either with liquor or drugs. In this condition he caused him to be privately conveyed to the gardens of Hazarjerib, there to be confined under a strong guard of his Usbeck friends. He next got the prince of Persia, Abbas Myrza, six months old, son of the unfortunate Shach Tachmas, declared Emperor; then he lost no time in sending the distressed Shach under a strong guard to Seb-sawar, a strong city in Chorossan.

We have here an example of the most amazing changes of fortune, and of the prolongation of the miseries of distracted Persia, by the very cause by which they expected deliverance from distress. In this may be seen, what we have experienced formerly in our own country, how a bold, intrepid, determined villain, gradually overturned a mighty empire, under the pusillanimous administration of a peaceable, good, easy, weak prince. The sequel will show, that the miseries of Persia are but in their infancy; and that Kouli Khan proved a scourge of iron compared to the Afguans. The Afguans destroyed

stroyed some ten thousands of men, but Kouli Khan many millions.

No sooner was the young Abbas declared Emperor, than Kouli Khan made all preparations for carrying on a war against the Turks with vigour; but before he declared war, he thought proper to secure himself in the best and most rational manner. He married the aunt of the unfortunate Emperor, who had been promised to him. He conferred the government of Chorossan upon his eldest son, Riza Kouli, and that of Herat upon his second son Nezir Ali; his elder brother, Ibrahim, was made governor of Tavriss; and Kerman was governed by his second brother; next to them all offices of trust were distributed to such whose fortunes intirely depended upon him: But to put it as far as was possible out of the power of the Persians, ever to gather head against him, he destroyed all classes of the ancient Persian nobility, except a few fools, and such as had fled from their native country.

At the latter end of this year, he declared war against the Turks by a manifesto, which he sent to the governor of Bagdat, Achmed Bascha, letting him know, that he would soon pay him a visit upon the banks of the Tigris, with an invincible army: Nor did he disappoint him; for in February 1733, he retook Kermansha, and chopped off the governor's head, in revenge for the murder of Seffie Kouli Khan, a noble Persian, whom the Turks had



had basely murdered some time before at Constantinople. He then appointed a governor and strong garrison in this city, and marched towards Bagdat: He drove all the Turks, who were sent to obstruct his passing the mountains, before him, and imagined that he soon would become master of this great city; but in this he was much mistaken.

Achmed Bascha was justly esteemed one of the wisest bashas in Turkey. He managed his affairs with such policy, that, though he treated both the Turks and Persians with the greatest politeness, he would suffer neither of them to enter into the city of Bagdat. Kouli Khan arrived near Bagdat on the 10th of April; and, as soon as was possible, finding that he could not take it by force, blockaded the city, so that none could get out. He caused build houses for his army, to let the Turks see that he meant to destroy them by famine, which he undoubtedly would have done, if Topal Osman, one of the best generals in Turkey, with a mighty army, had not relieved them. The Seraskier Topal Osman encamped his army at Kerkond, not far from Bagdat, consisting of 100,000 men, where Kouli Khan paid him a visit with an army of seventy thousand men, on the 18th of July: The battle was extremely bloody on both sides, and the loss was nearly equal; but the haughty Kouli Khan was for once obliged to take to his heels for his safety. He  
lost

lost the battle, but little more; for Topal Osman acknowledged, that his great loss of men would not permit him to take any advantage of the victory. Amongst the wounded he found the father-in-law, and nephew of Kouli Khan, whom he treated with great humanity, and sent to Kouli Khan with proposals of peace. Kouli Khan returned thanks for the respect he had shown to his relations, but said nothing concerning the peace. He had only reached Hamadan, when he wrote to Achmed Bashaw, governor of Babylon or Bagdat, to let him know, that he designed early next year to pay him a second visit, with a more powerful army than the last. Of this Topal Osman acquainted the court of Constantinople, and begged that they would send in all haste a great army, for his was reduced much by the late battle, and the consequences of it. It is said, that he desired, as he was old and infirm, that the Porte would appoint another Seraskier to command the army; but to this they were altogether deaf; however they augmented his army. One of Kouli Khan's sons having heard of his father's defeat, marched an army to his assistance, which enabled him to pay Topal Osman a visit sooner than he expected: However, Topal Osman's army was recruited so, that it numbered at least one hundred thousand men. On the 25th of October, the Persians attacked the Turks not far from the former



former place of action, lost four thousand men, and retreated to their camp. On the 26th, they attacked them a second time, and gained a compleat victory. The Turks lost, it is said, forty thousand men, all their artillery, arms, tents, and ammunition; but their greatest loss was Topal Osman, who was killed. Kouli Khan caused bury his body with all the honours due to so great a man, and so brave a general.

Kouli Khan having received advice, that the governor of Schiras, Seffie Mahomed Khan, had joined Mahomed Khan Balouche, a general who was sent into that province to raise recruits for the army, who had rebelled, and proclaimed Shach Tachmas as their lawful King. He lost no time; and though they had an army of thirty thousand men, soon arrived in the neighbourhood of Schiras. Mahomed Khan Balouche, possessed himself of some passes amongst the mountains; but Kouli Khan made no hesitation to attack him. Both generals were brave: Had their soldiers been any way comparable, it is thought that Kouli Khan would have had great difficulty to have vanquished Mahomed Khan; but his cowardly soldiers no sooner heard the thunder of Kouli Khan's voice giving orders to his men, than they took to their heels. Mahomed Khan attempted, with a body of chosen men, to pierce the heart of the barbarous Kouli Khan, but was prevented by  
greater

greater numbers, and obliged to fly: He was taken by the Arabs, and carried prisoner to Kouli Khan; where, to end the dispute, he hanged himself. Schiras fell now an easy conquest; and Kouli Khan having put to death the principal rebels, and pillaged the city, returned to Ispahan. During the winter he recruited his army, and made all necessary preparations to act vigorously against the Turks in the spring.

The difference between the Dagestan and Lesgee Tartars, I think is not clear in authors; I therefore desire my readers to remember, that I call the Dagestan Tartars, those who inhabit the hills between Derbent and Circassia; and I call those who inhabit the hills south, and south-east of Derbent, all the way to the north banks of Cura, Lesgee Tartars. Early in the spring of the year 1734, the Crim Tartars marched through part of Circassia, either to join the friends of the Turks, or attack their enemies amongst the Dagestan Tartars. The prince Hessehumburgh commanded a garrison at Soulack, before Kizlaar was built. He, at the head of a few hundreds of regular troops, denied the Crim Tartars a passage; but they repulsed the prince, though in so doing they lost some thousands of their number; and the Dagestan Tartars fell upon them before they had proceeded much farther, and cut them off, so that they could be of no service to the  
Turks.



Türks. The Lesgee Tartars were assembling about Cura. Kouli Khan sent his son Nezir Ali with a good body of troops, who drove them back, and confined them to their hills. Kouli Khan, however, set out very early, and marched by Tavis straight to Teflis, the capital of Georgia, with an army of at least one hundred thousand men. The Turks this year made but a despicable appearance, flying before the victorious Persian army every where. At last Kouli Khan sat down before Ganja, in the month of October, but could not take it, though he was master of a great train of artillery. A nobleman of the family of my commander Prince Golitzin, was envoy in Persia, and happened to be in the Persian army. Though the Russians did not care to make war upon the Turks at this time, yet it was their interest to get the Turks and Persians to destroy one another; wherefore this Prince Golitzin made Kouli Khan sensible, that as winter was fast advancing, he would not be able to take this strong city, defended by a numerous garrison, without the assistance of good bombardiers, and a few mortars; the use of which the Persians, at that time, knew little of. In short, the prince wrote to the governor of Astrachan, commanding him to send three of his best bombardiers, with bombs, and other ammunition, to the mouth of Cura, where they would be properly escorted to the place where he

was. These men were dressed exactly like the Persians, that the Turks might not know them to be Russians. They arrived; and in the night-time formed a battery in a convenient place, against one of the strongest bastions of Genja, where the Turks had secured their great magazine of powder. Early in the morning the prince sent notice to Kouli Khan, that every thing was in readiness, and entreated him to come, because the bombardiers were ready to play off their mortars. Kouli Khan answered, that something hindered him from coming at that time; but added, in a taunting manner, that they might begin as soon as they thought proper; that he would be with them long before the bastion would be much hurt by them: But in this he was much mistaken; for the blowing up of the bastion soon undeceived Kouli Khan, and demonstrated that the Persians knew little in the management of artillery. Though Kouli Khan was glad that the bastion was destroyed, yet he was very sorry that he had not seen the operation. The prince ordered his bombardiers to take their rest; and when it was night, he sent them, with a few proper attendants, back to the ship. This city was taken that day, without any terms, and the Turks were all made prisoners of war.

Next day Kouli Khan desired to see the men who had contributed so much towards his success; in order, as he said, to reward them



them properly ; but was much surpris'd to hear, that they were sent back to Astrachan ; and could not refrain from chiding the envoy for it. To which he answered, that they had done what they were commanded to do ; and he had obeyed the orders from the court of St Petersburg. Kouli Khan sent a present to them by the envoy ; and this affair was kept a secret in Russia, that it might not irritate the Turks ; nor would I have mentioned it here, if I thought that it could now possibly have any bad effect.

Kouli Khan finished this year's operations by conquering all the open country belonging to the Georgians, and great part of Armenia ; and, lastly, by destroying the great opulent city of Shamachee, and putting to cruel deaths the principal inhabitants, driving the rest to the south-west side of Caucasus, to build a new city, the same I described formerly.

During the course of this year, (1735) two remarkable events happened to the Persians ; the first was, their sending a splendid embassy to St Petersburg, to demand the restitution of the Persian provinces which had been conquered by Peter the Great ; in lieu of which, the Persians propos'd to grant liberty to the Russian merchants to trade through all the empire of Persia, free of all duties, or any considerations whatsoever ; and promised to assist the Russians against the Turks,  
if

if they should make war against them. This they never performed, though they gave the merchants a free trade. To these proposals the Russians easily agreed ; because these provinces were so far from being advantageous to the treasury, that they cost them great expences annually ; add to this, that they proved very mortal to the soldiers. I was credibly informed, that Russia was obliged to recruit their army in Persia with forty or fifty thousand men annually. The Russians, obliged to suffer great hardships in their march, both by sea and land, arrived annually in Persia when the rains and heat were at the greatest, and when a variety of dangerous delicious fruit were in their greatest perfection : These causes produced malignant fevers and fluxes, which soon diminished their numbers.

The next great event was, a very great victory which the Persians gained over the Turks, which threw them into the utmost confusion, and was the cause of making peace. The army which the Turkish Seraskier Abdallah Couproli commanded, was by some said to be eighty thousand men ; by others, which is very credible, it was said to equal an hundred thousand men. That under Kouli Khan did not exceed sixty thousand ; but I was told it was scarce fifty thousand men. The Persians were obliged to use stratagems, of which Kouli Khan was  
a great



a great master. I shall not follow the accounts of others concerning this campaign, which was short, but give the account of it as I had it from Persians, who were present. Kouli Khan observed the Turkish army encamped in a valley, covering the earth like locusts. He marched towards them, thro' the defiles of the mountains in Georgia, towards the valley called Arpakavi, where the Turkish army lay encamped, waiting for some ammunition, before they proceeded farther into Persia. Upon the Persian side, there was a hill covered with woods, except in the middle. In this hill, which was neither high nor steep, Kouli Khan caused make some considerable mines, and charged them well with powder. When all was ready, he ordered fifteen or twenty thousand men to march to the Turkish camp, with the greatest secrecy, and suddenly fall upon them in a morning early, and then to retreat towards his camp, which lay between the Turks and the before-mentioned hill: This they did with great bravery, and killed a very great number of Turks. At first they threw the Turks into the greatest confusion, until they were sensible that they were attacked by a very inconsiderable number of the enemy, which at last forced the Turks to fly the field. The Turks pursued, till they spied Kouli Khan in a great hurry, and seemingly in confusion, striking his tents, and seeking his safety

safety in flight: He retreated, however, not in confusion, but with such resolute prudence, that the Turks could not break his men, nor get any spoil. He fled over the hill before-mentioned, closely pursued by the Turks: But on the opposite side he made a stand, and began to thunder out his orders; which struck a terror in the most resolute Turks, who heard his dreadful voice. When the center of the Turkish army was marching over the top of the hill, it blew up, and buried many, and could not miss to throw the whole army into the greatest confusion, especially when a body of twenty thousand men rushed out from the woods, and attacked their flanks with such resolution, that it became no longer a battle, but a massacre. The seraskier, and two more of the principal bashas were killed; upwards of twenty thousand were taken prisoners; and we were informed, that only about eight thousand were conducted safe to Cars by their basha Abdallah: So that the Turks must have lost in this battle about fifty thousand men, besides the prisoners, who, in company of many of the inhabitants of Erivan, which capitulated, in consequence of this victory, were sent to Chorossan; but the garrison were permitted to retire, according to the capitulation, to Cars.

Kouli Khan this year recovered all places taken from the Persians by the Turks, and obliged



obliged them to make peace upon his own terms: He protracted the conferences, however, till the beginning of next year, that is to say, till he was sensible the Turks would have their hands full, war being declared by them against the empires of Germany and Russia; by which means he could, with great security from the Turks, carry on his intended war against the Indians.

Early in the beginning of the year 1736, the young Shach Abbas died; and Kouli Khan convoked the Persian chiefs on the banks of the Cura, the very place where our camp was pitched, when on our journey to Gilan. He pretended, that they were now at liberty to chuse a king: But they could easily observe, that he meant himself; and that whoever did not act voluntarily, would be in hazard of being put to death. They therefore unanimously begged him to accept of the Persian diadem. He had no great difficulty to accept of what he wished for. Henceforth we are to call him Nadir Shach, the name he chose. At this time he demanded that none of them should support or protect any of the family of their ancient kings, under pain of death, as rebels; and that the diadem should be hereditary in his family. Lastly, that they should not curse Omar, Osman, and Abubeker. To all these proposals they readily agreed, but only desired that the priests might be heard; because  
they

they pleaded ignorance of what concerned religion. The chief priest was against any alteration of religion, and spoke warmly; but his oration was suddenly stopped by the bow-string.

Now the Persians have got a king much worse than any they ever had before. Let us relate his unheard of cruelties, as briefly as possible, until deserved death puts a stop to his hellish career.

He first seized all church lands and emoluments, under pretence that their prayers were not regarded by Heaven: Then he issued out a declaration, ordaining, that there should be no difference of religion between the Persians and Turks: Upon which joyful occasion he sent an ambassador to Constantinople, and went himself to Ispahan, to prepare for the conquest of Kandahar.

Nadir having settled all affairs in peace with the Russians and Turks, appointed his son regent of Persia, in his absence, and about the latter end of the year, set out for Kandahar. His army consisted, it is said, of eighty thousand men; and he gave orders to send another, less numerous, after him. Hussan Khan, an Afguan prince, was governor, or rather prince of Kandahar, a great soldier. He had an army of betwixt thirty and forty thousand men, and laid in great store of every thing necessary, expecting a long siege. Hussan Khan met the Persians  
amongst



amongst the hills, thinking to retard their march; but, after having lost about two thousand of his best troops, he was obliged to retire, and coop himself up in the city, which was strong. The siege began with the year 1737. Nadir was determined to form a blockade, because he had no hopes of taking so strong a place without the help of artillery, which was not to be brought easily through desert impassable mountains. Hufsan Khan profered to acknowledge the Persian government, and to submit to Nadir, provided he would leave them, and not commit any more hostilities: But Nadir would not agree to such proposals. Foreseeing that this siege would take up much of his time, he built houses round the city, to let the inhabitants see what they were to expect; and at the same time ordered his son to make war against the Usbecks, lest they might, as was suspected, assist the Afguans; this his son performed to his wish, and returned victorious to Meshed.

The Khan, however, made many sallies upon the Persian army, and carried into the city many thousands of their horses, which served them in the siege, and, when useless, were provision for the garrison.

Nadir had appointed his brother Ibrahim governor of Georgia, independent of his son; and had ordered his son to undertake no-

thing of moment without his uncle's advice, in his absence. The Lesgees bearing a hatred to the Persians, laid siege to Shavran : Ibrahim marched to the relief of this city, but was killed. The prince, being now free of his uncle, ruled over Persia in a most barbarous manner, after his father was gone into India.

The Shach's patience was at an end, by the vigorous defence the khan of Kandahar made, and therefore agreed to let him continue governor of that province, provided only that his army might be recruited with his brave garrison ; which was agreed to.

After having recruited his army, he marched into India about the beginning of July 1738, being previously invited there by several of the Mogul's rebellious grandees. He never declared that he intended any thing against the Great Mogul, until he had penetrated far into India, and passed some branches of the Indus. Some of the Omras he conquered by arms, and some by presents : And thus he marched forward, till he arrived before the strong city of Cabul. The brave governor, Sherzih Khan, defended the city for one month, and killed many of the Persians. At last it was taken by assault, and this gallant man, and his son, with the garrison, were put to the sword, without distinction. This city Nadir garrisoned with his own soldiers, as it is reckoned the key into



into India ; in it he found great riches, which enabled him to carry on his designs against the Mogul's empire, and secured himself a safe retreat, in case he should be unfortunate.

The court of the Mogul was in great trouble, at the report of Nadir's rapid progress : It was therefore resolved to oppose him with the royal army, commanded by the Mogul in person ; but all was in confusion in the Mogul's army ; one day ordering to march, and the next day issuing out counter-orders : And this must always happen to be the case, when an absolute monarch is a weak man. But Nadir Shach was not idle ; he had lost many men in passing through the narrow defiles, amongst the hills, by the inhabitants of these countries : And if the Mogul had been assisted with able ministers, Nadir would certainly have fallen a sacrifice to their resentment : But he having become possessed of great riches, by the taking of Cabul, was enabled to bribe them ; who at last not only permitted him to pass through their country, but recruited his army : So that it was more numerous when he arrived at Peishor, than it was when he set out from Kandahar. Necir Khan, who was a brave man, and true to his prince and country, collected a small body of troops, and made a stand amongst the hills, not far from Peishor ; but being overpowered by multitudes, he was obliged

obliged to retreat to Peishor, where he staid not long, but was taken and brought to Nadir, who made him his friend. Nadir soon conquered Peishor, and, no doubt, got some riches there. He was now distant from Dehlie only between four and five hundred miles, and had some of the branches of the Indus to pass, and some troublesome roads thro' Lahor. The Mogul's court continued in confusion, and that infected the whole empire. However, at last, the imperial army marched, with four hundred pieces of cannon. In the beginning of December they encamped in the neighbourhood of Dehlie. It is reported, that the Mogul's army consisted of two hundred thousand fighting men, besides a great number of elephants. The Persian army, it is said, consisted of an hundred and fifty thousand men, of different nations; but I spoke with a Persian, who was present at the action, Aga Mine, and he said, that the Persian army was not an hundred thousand strong.

Nadir having passed the Indus, he hesitated not to attack the Mogul's army, and soon defeated it. The Mogul was made prisoner, but treated with deference, and every thing fell into the hands of the victorious Persians. This battle was fought about the middle of February, and the two Emperors met in a pavilion, appointed by  
Nadir,



Nadir, on the 18th of the same month *anno* 1739, to make a sham appearance of adjusting their differences, though every one was sensible that the Mogul was obliged to submit to whatever terms Nadir pleased to propose. On this occasion Nadir caused erect a pavilion between the two armies, to which he went, and waited till the Indian monarch was brought to him, very uncertain of his fate.

The disposition of Nadir was very well known : Justice and honour he little regarded, and he was an absolute stranger to humanity ; but it cannot be denied that he had consummate prudence, and was naturally a very great politician. His prudence and policy were the Mogul's safety ; but, though he gave out that he intended to save his life, and let him remain Emperor of all India east of the river Indus, yet no person can doubt that this proceeded not from the regard which he pretended to have for either his family or person ; though he might have some regard for one of the unfortunate and weak descendants of the great Timur Khan or Tamarlane, yet he could have little, if any, for the person of the man whom he had vilified and ridiculed for his incapacity to govern his subjects ; nor would he have, at the same time, promised to re-establish the very man whom he had declared unfit to govern, if this had not proceeded from the fear of his own safety,

ty, and that he judged Mahomet, for that was the name of this Great Mogul, most proper to reign in India; because if he had destroyed this man, and appointed any other, it is evident, by such an impolitic behaviour, he would have made many thousands of enemies through all India; the consequence of which would have been, that he would have had but a very precarious chance of being able to return to Persia safely with the great treasure he had already amassed, and what he expected to get in Dehlie; far less would he have had any the smallest hopes of keeping possession of the new provinces on the west of the Indus; whereas he was pretty certain of executing all his plans by preserving the life of this pusillanimous prince, and placing him again on the throne. He seized, it is said, two hundred pieces of the Indian cannon, the military chest, and all the riches he could get in the Mogul's army. Having caused bury the dead, the number of whom was said to be near thirty thousand, he gave liberty to the living to return to their own country, and prepared to set out for Dehlie. He proceeded to this city with great circumspection, where he arrived on the 8th of March. Having secured the Imperial family, he immediately began to plunder the palace, and the palaces of all the great Lords who were in Dehlie. The Persian soldiers, on the 9th of same month, were set upon by the inhabitants,



bitants, and some were killed. This was no sooner reported to the inhuman Nadir, than he gave orders for a general massacre of the inhabitants, which were executed with the most shocking barbarity, sparing neither age nor sex: It lasted from morning till late in the afternoon, at which time, it was thought, the Persians had murdered two-thirds of them.

A stop was at last put to this, by the intercession of an Indian Lord, called Nizam Al-Muluck. Mr Hanway says, that this massacre began at eight o'clock in the morning, and ended at three in the afternoon; that twenty thousand women drowned themselves in wells; and that a hundred and ten thousand of the inhabitants were murdered. It is very probable that many more were murdered, because Dehlie is esteemed a very large and populous city. I never could be rightly informed about the number of them, nor indeed do I think it possible to know, because they were all burnt or buried the day following. One small part of the city was saved at the intercession of Sirbullind Khan an Indian Lord, who promised to pay a very great sum for their redemption, which was accepted of. It is remarkable, that he caused many of the Indian women, who upon this occasion were brought before him, suffer the most indecent barbarous treatment; but the Persian

Persian women were frequently treated in the same manner.

Nadir, having made all haste in collecting the riches of India, at last gave orders to march from Dehlie on the 4th of May, after having made a lasting peace with the Great Mogul, and confirmed the same by a marriage betwixt his second son Nezir Al Myrza and the Mogul's niece Cambarche. The value taken from the Indians is computed by Mr Hanway as follows :

	<i>Crores</i>	<i>L. Sterling.</i>
Jewels taken from the Mogul and Indian Lords	25	31,250,000
The peacock throne, and nine others, also several weapons and utensils, all garnished with precious stones	9	11,250,000
Gold and silver plate, and money which Nadir melted down	30	37,500,000
Rich manufactures of many kinds	2	2,500,000
Cannon, warlike stores, furniture, and other valuable commodities	4	5,000,000
	<hr/> 70	<hr/> 87,500,000

As soon as he arrived in the gardens of Shalimar, he mustered his army, and four hundred, says Hanway, were missing, only sixty of whom were discovered ; they no sooner arrived in his camp, than he ordered their heads to be struck off. Aga Mine, my principal informer about this expedition, could give me no satisfactory account of the immense riches Nadir got here, but in general said, that it was altogether incredible, and that he believed not one in the army could tell



tell the true value, except Nadir himself. How Hanway came to know every thing so exactly, I leave to the reader to guess ; however, he affirms the following account :

“ Nadir carried with him one hundred and thirty writers, among whom were several who understood the finances of the empire, of which he was particularly desirous of acquiring an entire knowledge. He also obliged three hundred masons and builders, two hundred smiths, two hundred carpenters, and one hundred stone-cutters, to engage in his service, in order to go into Persia. His intentions were to build a city after the model of Dehlie, a draught of which he carried with him, &c.

“ Besides jewels, gold, silver, and other valuables already mentioned, he took with him near three hundred elephants, ten thousand horses, and as many camels, of which many were loaded with spoil. Most of the gold and silver was melted into ingots, and slung over the backs of camels, horses, and mules, &c.”

By Mr Hanway's computation, the treasure alone would require five thousand and seven hundred camels, and two thousand and fifty horses and mules to carry it, and the artillery and other warlike stores would require a much greater number. He returned to Karnal, and passed the Indus by the same way he came into the country. He required

very large contributions from the cities thro' which he passed. Lahore paid one crore, or L. 1,250,000 Sterl. He experienced great difficulty in passing over the rivers, particularly the Indus, and he was threatened with still greater difficulties in passing through the defiles of the mountains on the west side of Indus ; for the inhabitants of these countries, which were yielded to Persia by the Mogul, assembled in great numbers, in order to hinder his getting forward ; and he was even forced to negotiate with them for a sum of money, which being agreed to, he paid them ten lacks of rupees, in value of our money L. 125,000 Sterling. As he was a long time in passing these rivers, a courier arrived at his camp from the Mogul, demanding that Nadir would return two favourite jewels belonging to the Sultana's head-dress. These could not be found amongst his riches ; but it gave a handle for his plundering his generals and soldiers of what jewels they had acquired. It is certain, upon this occasion, that many, sooner than deliver them up, threw them into the Indus. This was exceeding bad policy ; but his voracious greed blindfolded his natural sagacity.

Having passed the Indus, he directed his march to Peishore, where he left a general and a strong body of Persians, though he honoured his old friend Nacir Khan, and confirmed him in the government of it. He  
continued



continued his route towards Cabul, and on his way sent off one of his generals to demand subsidies of the governor of Pekier; but Khudaiar Khan had assembled forces to prevent Nadir's destroying his country, and indeed he obliged the Shach to be content with a small present, and with his making his submission to him as his Emperor; to confirm the sincerity of which, he sent his son as hostage, which was the same I took notice of, who was sent with Ami Ruslan Khan to escort the Russian embassy.

Nadir having arrived with all his treasure, sent it directly to his own hereditary principality Chalat, called, by Mr Hanway, Kalat, where it was deposited, being the strongest part in all Persia. I was told by many, that he durst not trust the keeping of Chalat either to Persians or Tartars; but placed a guard of about twelve thousand Georgians, all Christians, natural enemies to the Persians and Tartars. Soon after Nadir's death, I was informed, that that gold and silver was brought out of Tartary to the city of Oranburgh in Russia, and that the jewels were sold in that city very cheap. It is not unlikely that these Georgians made their escape from Chalat through the desarts of Tartary, and carried with them great part of the treasure from Chalat. It would have been very dangerous for them to have travelled into Georgia through Persia, because many armies

mies lay in their way, and some of them very numerous ; whereas, though they might by chance meet with part of Jean Beck Bather's army, their body was very respectable, and no doubt well armed, consequently they run less risk by marching through the desert into Russia, where they were in perfect safety, and from whence they might return into their own country at pleasure, or remain in Russia, an empire who professed their own religion, a matter of no small consideration to people in such circumstances.

Nadir, having taken all the necessary measures to secure as many of his conquests as he could, especially Kandahaar, which has ever been esteemed the key to India, disposed of the treasure in a secure place, and sent the bulk of his artillery to Ispahan. He was now at leisure to chastise the Usbeck Tartars, who had frequently made great depredations upon the borders of Persia, especially his favourite province Chorossan, committed great cruelties, and had carried many of the inhabitants into slavery ; and lastly, in his absence, had killed his ambassador and beat his son the regent of Persia : He therefore determined to bring them under subjection to the crown of Persia. Nadir marched at the head of a victorious army, consisting of about fifty thousand men, through the country of Balkh, which his son had, in his father's absence, reduced to the obedience of Persia, straight



straight to Bokhara. The Prince of Bokhara, or, as the Russians and Tartars call it, Bochaar, immediately submitted his whole principality to Nadir, who spared his life, continued him in the government of his country, because he so readily submitted, and because he is by the eastern nations esteemed a lineal male descendent of Mahomet. He took nothing from him but one of his daughters, whom he married, hoping to have children by such a holy branch, and proceeded to Khieva, by the Russians Chiva. The prince of this country met him and fought him, but had the misfortune to be taken prisoner, with many of his principal commanders, who were soon relieved from the distresses of this world, by ignominiously having their throats cut. Nadir next proceeded to the capital, where two British people were, viz. Messrs Thomson and Hogg, who informed me of what passed there.

Before I proceed any farther, I must beg leave to rectify a mistake of Hanway's in point of time. He says, that Nadir left Kandahaar, conquered India, returned, fought the battle with the Usbecks, and sat down before the city of Chiva on the 8th of November 1739. Messrs Thomson and Hogg set out from St Petersburg for Chiva on the 26th of February 1740, and arrived in Chiva, and were in that city when Nadir laid siege to it, and took it in a few days. Mr Thomson's

Thomson's manuscript, which is in my possession, says, that the Shach sat down before Chiva on the 8th November 1740, and it could not be sooner, because they left St Petersburg in February 1740, and, as I formerly said, it was in the year 1741 before the governor of Astrachan received advice that Nadir had taken Chiva, and was making enquiry if there was any possibility of marching from thence to Astrachan. Hanway gives Nadir too little time to raise so great contributions, plunder so many countries, and return to Kandahaar. I rather am inclined to believe that Nadir did not set out from Dehlie until the 4th of May 1740. Mr Hanway says, that he arrived in Dehlie on the 8th of March, collected so much treasure, transacted much business, and committed many pieces of cruelty both in the city and at great distances; and all this he did in less than two months, which every one will think impossible; wherefore I believe that he staid in and about the capital of India one year at least, because I am certain he sat down before Chiva in the year 1740, which is proved by others.

In a very few days, the citizens begged for mercy, which was granted, except to the principal people, who lost their heads for their obstinacy. The Shach appointed a governor, with a few soldiers, and retired to Chalat, to see that his treasures were not embezzled,



bezeled, carried with him into Chorossan upwards of twenty thousand Persians, and about thirty Russians whom the Usbecks had at different times captivated. I saw these Russians arrive in Astrachan in the year 1741, a few of whom were captivated at the time of the unfortunate defeat and barbarous murder of Prince Bekovitch, whom Peter the Great had sent into the Usbecks country.

From this period, I propose to write only what I have reason to believe true, without regarding the writings of others, which I am certain are very erroneous.

After the Shach had secured every thing as he thought proper in the province of Chorossan, he marched to Isfahan, where his presence was very needful to rectify many disorders, and in particular those of his son's administration during his absence. This prince had committed many blunders in government, and in particular had almost ruined all kinds of commerce, so that none durst enter Persia, except a few Russians, who also scarcely could carry on any trade with security, because the prince had commenced merchant general, and consequently none could buy or sell, except such as despised his orders, which were but very few, the danger being very great. In the year 1739, he caused murder the unfortunate Shach Tachmas, or by others Tæmas (Mahommed Hussein Khan perpetrated this piece of villainy)

ny) in order to secure the throne of Persia to himself, believing his father at that time to be dead; for a report prevailed through Persia that the Indians had rebelled, killed the Shach, and defeated his army. At the Shach's arrival in Ispahan, he upbraided his son for all his irregular proceedings in his absence, and in particular for the joy, which it seems he could not hide, that he expressed upon having been informed of his father's death, threatening to punish him severely, if he did not show evident signs of a thorough reformation.

The Shach sent ambassadors into Russia, of whom I have already taken notice, and also to Constantinople with elephants and rich presents: But he was taken up this year in quelling rebellions in the south, which he scarcely had effected when he was informed that the Usbecks in Chiva had revolted, and murdered the governor and all the Persians whom he had left in that country, and were threatning to commence hostilities against Chorossan. He therefore prepared to act against them, and marched directly to Tæh-  
hiran in the beginning of the year 1741: He had scarcely reached Tæh-  
hiran, when he was informed that the inhabitants of Caucasus were keeping his subjects in Derbent, Shavran, Shamachee, and Baku, in continual dread, and that if he did not make haste to protect them, it was probable the Lesgees and Da-  
gestan



gestan Tartars would starve them. He therefore marched his army directly through Parthia, Casbin, and Ardebil, or Ardevill, to the banks of Cura, which he crossed upon the bridge formerly taken notice of, and from thence straight to the hills inhabited by the famous Shimei, which, contrary to the advice of his generals, he mounted with an army of twenty thousand men, and returned with the loss of sixteen thousand, as has already been said. He marched from thence by Baku to the north of Derbent, to guard that city against the incursions of Usmei, as has already been taken notice of. Wherever he went, he left marks of unheard of cruelties. At Derbent he blinded five hundred men at once; and at the time he was building castles on the north side of that city, his eldest son was brought a prisoner to him. This prince, it seems, suspecting that his father intended to ruin him, employed some unknown person to shoot the Shach; but it was commonly reported, when I was in Persia, that he attempted to kill his father without any help, and wounded his hand, but made his escape, and was not taken till the year 1742. Woodrooff told me, that he was brought before his father, who upbraided him for endangering the life of his king and father. The son, without seeming to be under the smallest concern, upbraided his father for bringing ruin and destruction upon

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the kingdom of Persia, and wantonly, without the smallest reason, murdering people for his diversion : Therefore, said he, had I a thousand fathers, and every one of them kings, and had I power, I would murder every one of them, sooner than be a mean-spirited witness of the total destruction of Persia. He said he knew that he was to suffer death, and that his father's security depended upon it, he did not deny. He therefore desired the Shach to put his designs in execution immediately. To this the Shach replied, that he would not comply with his request of putting him to death, but ordered his eyes to be cut out. I was informed, that when this barbarous operation was ended, the prince undauntedly stood up, and desired that some person would bring his eyes to him, which the Shach ordered to be done ; then he asked his father, What he intended next to do to him ? when the father answered, that he intended nothing farther at that time. The prince threw his eyes at the Shach, and advised him to eat them, or put them into his wife's a—e. It was judged that he endeavoured to provoke his father to put him to death ; but this he would not do. He kept him and his son, a boy of seven or eight years of age, in whom he much delighted, not far from himself, and ordered his tent to be placed behind his haram. It

was



was reported in Persia, that the cruel Nadir mourned for this his severity to his son as long as he lived.

Having already given what I intended to say about the barbarous Nadir, in my relation of the events which happened upon the borders of Astrachan, I shall add no more here, but convoy him back to the Cura, with the loss, as was supposed, of one hundred thousand soldiers, and of twice that number of inhabitants, who were either murdered, or oppressed to death by ways which ought not to be transmitted to posterity. It shall be, with me, enough to say, that he caused those, who had no horse or other beasts of burden, carry upon their backs meal or barley to his camp, from Gilan and Astara, many of whom dropped down on the roads for want ; for frequently they had nothing to eat but roots, such as those of the *carduus Mariæ*, which I have seen them eat ; and they have been, when discovered, cruelly beaten, because, in so doing, they exposed the miseries of rich Persia ! From the Persians, absolutely abandoned, and averse from all good, I learned to know, that mankind, reduced to a barbarous state, are still capable of inventing and multiplying many more different ways of tormenting their fellow creatures, than all the animals which God created put together, even supposing you add to them the helps of all  
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the devils in and out of hell. Never did mad ambition cause so much misery to mankind as the infernal cruelty of Nadir Shach did to Persia. As an addition to what I have related, he carried on war with the Arabs, and that he might do it the more effectually, he projected the scheme of cutting down timber in Mazandaran, and having it transported to Gambroon or Bandar Abassi, in order to build ships there. Much timber was cut down, and his miserable subjects were forced to carry some of it far in the country, where it was left at Verumeh; from whence it is supposed the oppressed people deserted their habitations, for none of it was ever brought to the Persian Gulf. At this very time, when a reasonable man would have endeavoured to make peace with all his neighbours, Nadir was keeping them every where in a very uncertain state; for he threatened the Turks, though they had given him no occasion to quarrel with them. His threats, however, threw the Ottoman Porte into great confusion, and kept them in constant alarms. At last, in February 1743, he left the neighbourhood of Derbent, and directed his march for the plains of Mogan on the banks of the Cura; but his son, with fifty thousand men, was encamped near Erzerum upon the borders of Turkey. He sent word to Constantinople, that



that he intended to live in peace with them, provided they would quietly deliver up all those countries which formerly belonged to Persia. To this the Turks gave no answer, but, seeing they could expect no peace, resolved to declare war, and ordered the horse-tails to be hung out on the walls of the seraglio, and their armies to assemble near the borders of Persia.

The Persians began hostilities about Bagdat and Bassora, cutting all to pieces they could meet with, and sent the husbandmen, women, and children slaves into Persia. He, Nadir, tried all the art of which he was master, to persuade Achmed Basha, governor of Bagdat, to submit to his authority. He even sent an ambassador to him; but, though the basha treated the Shæch with great politeness, yet he would not come to the point. The Ottoman Porte were alarmed at the conduct of the basha, and used all their art to get him cut off; but Achmed was superior to both the Persians and Turks. Though he constantly professed himself to be a true mussulman, and subject to the Grand Signior, yet he would not permit any armed forces to enter Bagdat. This conduct forced Nadir to say, that Achmed was a greater man than either the Grand Signior or himself. Nor can it be denied, that he was truly a very great man; for, I have been credibly informed, that during the Persian war, and

and after the death of Nadir, the Court of Constantinople never could decoy him from Bagdat, and that at last they were content that he did them no harm.

At this time the Persians rebelled every where, the governors and beglerbeks, especially on the south, took to arms. The exiles in Chorossan fled from that country into others, or kept themselves, as it were, in hiding places among the mountains.

At that time, as I said before, the Turks sent a pretender to the crown of Persia into Caucasus, amongst the Lesgees: He gave himself out to be a younger son of the late Tachmas Shach, and was received by these people with open arms. They kept the inhabitants of the Persian fortified cities, as has been said, in continual alarms, and in a state of famine; for they durst not go far without their walls, but they risked either their lives or their liberties. They laid the small province of Shirvan under contribution, and conquered all who opposed them. The Shach having received repeated intelligence of this, sent his son Nezir Ali Myrza at the head of a respectable army, to put a stop to their career. The Lesgees met him at Cura, gave him battle, but were conquered, and the poor pretender taken prisoner. The Shach ordered to let the prisoner escape, with some trifling punishment, but caused cut off the heads of two hundred and eighty two of  
their



their chiefs, which were placed in the niches of the pyramid formerly described. This was done in the beginning of the year 1744.

The rebellion in the south, headed by a Persian nobleman, Taghi Khan, who was a good politician and an excellent soldier, became very grievous to Nadir : However, he sent a great army against them, who soon defeated them, and took the nobleman and all his family prisoners, and sent them straight to Isfahan, It was said the brutal Nadir caused his favourite wife to be violated by a common soldier before his face, and himself to be castrated, with the loss of one of his eyes. Hanway says, that this was done contrary to his usual regard to women. If I be rightly informed, Nadir paid no regard to women, but to satisfy his desires for a time ; after which, they had no more respect paid to them than his asses.

What is very extraordinary, is, that after Taghi Khan was recovered to good health, Nadir constituted him governor of Cabul ! I own, that what has been matter of surprise to many, hath not in the least surpris'd me ; because, before this happened, I imagine Nadir was mad ; and it is well known, that none can account for the actions of madmen ; none likewise are ignorant, that at certain times madmen will act conformable to the rules of right reason ; and in this way only

ly can I account for many of the actions of the Shach.

It was given out, that Nadir intended to resign in favour of Shahrokh, his grandson, by his eldest son, and a sister of the unfortunate Shach Tachmas, who had some time before this taken poison, that she might be free of the daily tormenting thoughts of the miserable destruction of the ancient Seffie family, who had for a long time filled the throne of Persia; or else to avoid a more violent death, of which she had daily many frightful examples of her own sex, and also of her family brought to the most painful and shameful deaths, which man or devil could contrive, notwithstanding all the delicacy which Nadir, according to Mr Hanway, showed to the fair sex.

Towards the close of this year, the Persians and Turks came to an engagement, and both declared themselves to have been victorious; however, I imagine that the Persians were conquerors, because they maintained a great army during the winter in the Turkish dominions.

CHAP.



## C H A P. XXXII.

*A Continuation of the History of Nadir Shach,  
with an Account of his Death.*

NADIR, having reduced all the rebellions in Persia, joined his army with that commanded by his son, near Erivan; the sum of both, when joined together, amounted to eighty thousand men; but Mahomed Basha commanded an army of Turks equal at least to one hundred and thirty thousand men. The Turks, about the end of July, fought the Persians, driving all their small parties before them, and continued their march towards Erivan with a great train of artillery. Nadir permitted them to encamp without any molestation, and drew so near them that neither could depart without coming to blows: At last Mahomed began the work; he sent out a strong party to skirmish with the Persians, and then it came to a very bloody battle; and, notwithstanding that the Turks were nearly double the number of the Persians, they were glad to retire into their camp towards the evening, having lost twenty thousand of their best troops, who were killed in battle, and some thousands taken prisoners. After this victory, Nadir got between them and Cars, on their own  
R r r borders,

borders, and rendered it impossible for them to get any provision, or any other assistance from Turkey. Thus hemmed in, the Turks, in the night-time, between the 8th and 9th of August, were forced to leave their strong camp, with all their tents and cannons, and formed a desperate retreat towards Cars. Nadir, ever watchful, fell on them, and killed great numbers in their retreat, obliging them to throw away all their baggage, and at last forced them, under all these disadvantages, to another battle, which was very bloody: In short, the Persians returned victorious with five or six thousand prisoners, and enriched with the spoils of the Turks. Mahomed Basha, with four principal commanders of the Turkish army, were killed. The Persians brought the head of Mahomed to Nadir upon the point of a spear. By this victory Nadir got possession of all the artillery, ammunition, military chest, and baggage, belonging to the Turks; and as their principal Bashes were all killed, the Turkish soldiery who remained, being without principal commanders, were mutinous, and very unfit to act any more this year against their great conqueror. Nadir had two horses killed under him in these two actions. But though this victory was decisive, yet it proved of no other disadvantage to the Turks than the loss of so many men, artillery, and treasure; for rebellion was ready to break  
out



out through every province in Persia, which obliged him to remain on the borders. If he had treated the Persians with humanity, and had not oppressed the whole empire with taxes which they were not able to pay, and with so many horrid and unheard of cruelties, it is thought he would this year have been able to have shaken, if he had not subverted, the Turkish empire; but, for these reasons, the campaign ended with this battle.

The year 1746 was taken up in negotiating a peace with the Turks, which at last was finished greatly to the advantage of Persia; and rich presents were sent from one court to the other. Towards the latter end of this year, the Georgians would not submit to so many indignities and oppressions as they did in Persia, but drove the Persians out of their country; and in the beginning of the year 1747, when Nadir was going to chastise them, a formidable rebellion broke out in Khirmania, on the south of Persia. This obliged him to march thither, where he remained till the beginning of June, where our Captain Poffet had an audience of him; at which time he was preparing to march into Choroffan, and had built two great pyramids with rebels heads. Captain Poffet assured us, that the one I have already taken notice of on the Cura, was very inconsiderable in comparison of those in Khirmania.

Nadir

Nadir was naturally barbarous; but last year, and this, he seemed altogether mad. It would be to little purpose, and would take up much time, to write of the mad actions of which I have been informed; they are so many, and so disagreeable to the minds of men possessed of humanity, that I forbear mentioning them; only as a sample of the rest, I must inform the reader, that, at Julpha, near Ispahan, he caused roast alive four of the principal Armenian merchants, for having bought some rich horse furniture belonging to the former Shachs of Persia. Of this I was informed by a nephew to one of them; who at the same time begged of me to bring his wife from Julpha, if the embassy went to Ispahan, to Astrachan, where he resided; for which service he would have given the half of his wealth: He beat even foreigners, to whom he was formerly kind; and put others to all kinds of deaths, just as the whim took him.

When he was in Khirmania, he ordered his nephew, governor of Chorossan, a prince extremely popular, and much beloved by all ranks of people, to come to assist him with part of his army against the rebels. Ali Kouli Khan, for that was his name, having been assured by some of his trusty friends, that his uncle intended to murder him, declined, under diverse political pretences, to depart from Chorossan; wherefore, when Nadir had vanquished the rebels, he marched from Khir-

mana



mania towards Choroffan, of which he gave notice to the Russian ambassador, desiring that he might meet him there. He had attempted the life of his worthy nephew different ways; but having been hitherto unsuccessful, he sent his prime minister, Mayor Khan, to Choroffan with orders to strangle him. Some time before Mayor Khan left the Shach at Khirmania, he had sent orders to Ali Kouli Khan, to strangle Mayor Khan as soon as he arrived in Choroffan. Mayor Khan, it was reported, was so well beloved, that the Shach durst not attempt his life in the army. The Shach was jealous of them both alike, and would have been very well pleased if they had murdered one another; but in this he was mistaken; for, at Mayor Khan's arrival, Ali Kouli Khan produced his uncle's orders, and at the same time professed the great esteem which he had for Mayor Khan. Mayor Khan produced the orders he was in possession of, which ended in an eclarcissement, a mutual regard for each other, and a consultation what was to be done for both their preservations. Whether Mayor Khan had suspected the Shach's designs I shall not say, but he had secured some trusty friends in the Usbeck guards, before he left the army. The result of their consultations was, Ali Kouli Khan sent an express to the Shach to acquaint him, that every thing should be complied with as he had ordered;

dered; but this messenger had orders to treat with the Usbeck guards with great privacy.

When Nadir Shach had reached the confines of Parthia, not distant from Gilan 300 miles, his last night drew near. Five principal officers of the guards, about one o'clock in the morning of the 2d of July 1747, entered the haram with the greatest secrecy, and at last knew the Shach's tent by a taper or lamp burning in it. As they approached, one of them tripped upon the cords of the tent. This alarmed Nadir; who, immediately springing out of his bed, got hold of his sabre, and at one blow cut off the head of the first that entered; he struck the next upon the top of the left shoulder with such force, that the sabre cut through the ribs, and lodged in the spine or back-bone; and was there so firmly fixed, that, before the Shach could get it disengaged, one of the assassins struck him a blow on the neck, which brought him to the ground. He called for mercy; but they dispatched him, by cutting his head from his body. They next buried their friends, and carried out the head of Nadir, leaving the body in the tent, and retired with great secrecy.

Next day the ministry having waited long after the ordinary time of the Shach's giving audience, at last agreed to enter the haram, where they found the headless trunk. The Persians blamed the Usbecks, who kept guard,



guard, and the Usbecks blamed the Persians: Upon which a bloody battle ensued, and many were killed on both sides: But Nadir's head at last being produced, they came to an agreement. They next killed his poor blind son, and his grandson. They were not satisfied with killing the women in the haram, by easy deaths, but ripped up their bellies, young and old, princesses and slaves, for fear, as they gave out, that any of them might have been with child to Nadir.

Whether the above account is true or false, I shall not dispute; nor is it of great consequence: But I had it from two of our interpreters by a Persian, who was a spy for our ambassador, and by twelve Armenian merchants, who lost their right eyes in the camp, fourteen days before this happened, by orders of the cruel Nadir. I spoke with some of them; the gentlemen by the embassy spoke with others; they all agreed in one story; and the above is the account which was given to our ambassador; nor did I ever hear of any other, except the circumstantial, but very erroneous account which Hanway gives.

Thus fell the cruel Nadir, murderer of many millions, by a death too good for such a monster! It is truly surprising, that in all Persia, in the numerous armies which he commanded, there was not a man found of valour and resolution enough to dispatch this  
king

king of cruelty long before ; for I was well assured, that no man who approached him was certain of his life one day. As for honour, they had none to lose ; for he treated his greatest men with such barbarous indignity, that the relation dishonours human nature. Persia groaned under the last of their weak pusillanimous princes of the Seffie family ; it was tormented with the cruelties exercised on it by the Afguans ; but this well peopled empire, in destroying other nations, by the help of Nadir, was rendered a desert : And what he had not effected before his death, has been accomplished to the full by his barbarous successors.

Nadir Shach was a man of a great size, and strong built : He had a remarkably strong voice. Mr Thomson assured me, that at the distance of fifty paces, he heard him articulately ; for no stranger at that time was permitted to approach nearer him. In the time of battle, when he extended his voice, it is said, that it was heard and well distinguished amidst the din of war ; and that frequently it struck such a panic into the enemy, that, without seeing him, they fled for very fear of the well known horrid sound. He certainly had a singular and uncommon art in knowing mankind. Learning he had none ; yet he had a vast mind, and formed plans, the execution whereof

shook.



shook two mighty empires. He loved strangers, and loaded them with honours and riches ; but this proceeded altogether from natural policy. It is not easy to account for his barbarity ; nor for the hatred he bore to Persia, the country which gave him both riches and dominion, the two great objects of his ambition. I scarcely can think that prudence and sagacity had any share in such conduct ; for, considering that he had extirpated all the nobility, and men of any learning or education, and had substituted in their places men bred up under him to blood, violence, and rapine, void of honour, honesty, morality, or any kind of goodness : Men who had it not in their power to learn any thing, but by experience ; because few of them could either read or write ; consequently he could not expect that such wretches would support his offspring or relations after his death. Thus it truly happened ; for, tho' we made all haste to leave Persia, we were informed of no fewer than seven competitors, some of whom I remember to have heard then mentioned. Ibrahim Khan put out the eyes of his brother Ali Kouli Khan : Ami Ruslan Khan destroyed Ibrahim, as also a smith in Tavis, who was said to have given himself out to have been one of the Seffie family, and had collected an army of forty thousand men, and seized all the revenue

S f f

which

which had been collected, and which was very considerable. It was reported, that though Ami Ruslan Khan had obliged the smith, with a few of his followers, to seek their safety by the swiftness of their horses amongst the hills, yet he carried alongst with him all the treasure. Ami Ruslan Khan was killed by another ; and this confusion continued as long as I was in Russia ; and probably Persia is nothing else but a desert at this day.

Such were the actions of Nadir Shach, and such the consequences of them. I have given as short and as clear an account of his birth, actions, and death, as I could collect, and which I really believe to be near the truth. I, no doubt, could have said much more ; but either thought it not necessary, or else did not believe many stories which I have been told.

*Quid valet hic mundus? Quid gloria? Quidve triumphus?*

*—Post mortem fumus, pulvis, et umbra sumus.*

C H A P.



## C H A P. XXXIII.

*Being a short Account of what I know of the  
British Persian Trade carried on through the  
Empire of Russia.*

**T**HIS subject naturally proves more troublesome for me than any other in this book; but justice, as will be seen in the sequel, requires, that I should here impeach the living, and vindicate the injured dead.

Captain John Elton, an English gentleman, had served some years in Russia in the rank and with the salary of a senior captain in the fleet; and was sent into Oranburgh to superintend the planning out of that then infant colony, and to represent the advantages which Russia might naturally expect from a rich country, and the proper places for building fortifications to protect the industrious planters from the depredations and incursions of the different barbarous inhabitants which border upon it; the most potent of whom were ruled by a prince known by the title of Jean-Beck-Bater; who, it was said, could bring into the field an army of an hundred thousand men, and who shewed no great friendship for the Russian colony, but took every opportunity to annoy and distress them, not only in the field, but kept the

the city and garrison of Oranburgh in continual dread. At such a time, and for such reasons, Captain John Elton was sent there, under the inspection of the same Vafely Nikititch Tatishoff who afterwards was governor of Astrachan ; a gentleman who was justly esteemed one of the greatest knowledge in the empire of Russia, as he was an able politician, and had formerly transacted many affairs with those untractable wild people about the borders of Siberia, to the satisfaction of the court of St Petersburg.

Mr Elton, in a few years, settled his affairs in such a way as gave great satisfaction to the privy counsellor Tatishoff, and consequently to the court of St Petersburg. When he had finished this business, he retired, and, by Mr Tatishoff's interest, got his dismissal from the service of Russia, with a handsome present : And this he got the more readily, as he projected a trade from Great Britain into Persia ; which he made appear would be very beneficial for both Great Britain and Russia, providing it was carried on with honour and regularity by both nations.

I imagine it requires no great depth of reasoning to prove this ; if it be considered, that when he had laid before the court of St Petersburg the increase of their revenues, and the sums of money which would be acquired by Russian subjects in transporting  
the



the British goods through the empire of Russia and the Caspian Sea ; and the great school it would be to teach their merchants boors to become good sailors ; as Mr Elton had projected, amongst other things, to build two ships, and have them commanded by Britons, carrying each sixteen common sailors, eight of whom were to be British, and eight Russians. In short, his arguments were so just and cogent, that the British merchants were charmed with the scheme, and with all their power supported Mr Elton both in Russia and Great Britain. The Turkey merchants were so much alarmed at this project, that it is well known how much they struggled against it. They were right ; their interest was in danger : But the general good of Great Britain being preferable to their particular advantage, it went against them. Mr Elton having found the merchants of St Petersburg fond of this scheme, agreed with them upon the following terms, viz. if he succeeded in getting liberty for such commerce from Persia, Russia, and Great Britain, they engaged to pay him part, or all the expences to which he might be exposed in such service ; and that they would constitute him head of a house to be formed in Persia, with a respectable consideration from the trade. This I have been assured was the agreement. Upon which Mr Elton set out first to Persia, in company with Mr Mungo

Mungo Græme, in the year 1739, where he soon obtained all the encouragement which he could expect from Riza Kouli Myrza, the Shach's eldest son, then regent in Persia. He left Mr Græme; returned to St Petersburg, and engaged Mr Finch to apply to the court of St Petersburg; who did so, and was successful in getting every encouragement which the merchants and he wanted. Then he set out for London, and applied to parliament; who, notwithstanding great opposition from the Turkey company, passed an act in favour of the Russian company: And thus this affair ended, to the great satisfaction of all the parties concerned in it.

At his return, he shewed the merchants of St Petersburg how necessary it would be to have a ship or two built at Cazan, independent of the Russian navy. The Cabinet was applied to, and granted all encouragement. Mr Elton sent off proper persons to superintend the building of the first ship, and when she was near finished, he went with a large cargo of goods, and some instruments for building or repairing ships, which he conveyed safely to Persia in the year 1742.

The trade, as has been said, no sooner was insured of all manner of encouragement, than the merchants in St Petersburg quarrelled, and at last split into two parties; the  
one



one remained firm to Elton, the other sent several servants, who, as I have mentioned formerly, went with me to Tzaritzin. They no sooner arrived in Reshd, than they paid great respect to Mr Arapoff, Russian resident there. Mr Elton, having had the honour to serve in Russia in the rank of colonel, would not probably submit to any mean unbecoming obsequiousness to Arapoff, who was only a captain. Arapoff insisted on his being actually resident for Russia, and gladly would have had some part of the direction of the British trade. Mr Elton told him, that he never should have any thing to do in their affairs : That if the British merchants at any time should need his assistance, they might apply to him, and that he was obliged to assist them, by her Imperial Majesty's express order. Thus, from small beginnings, things grew to a great height : And it was both said in Astrachan, and believed, that some of Mr Elton's countrymen, far from making peace, rather acted in a very different character. The resident threatened Mr Elton ; their servants took part in the quarrel. At last one of Mr Elton's servants was stabbed by one of the resident's servants, who at the same time was deprived of one of his ears by Elton's. Both sought satisfaction : None was given. The resident armed his soldiers ; Elton armed his sailors. The resident threatened to assault Mr Elton's house

house with his cannon ; Mr Elton immediately ordered two pieces of cannon to be brought from the ship for the defence of it. Arapoff's fury subsided ; but still he threatened revenge, when any proper opportunity should offer.

At last an order was brought to Reshd from the Shach, commanding an embargo to be laid upon the shipping at Enzilee, and Mr Elton to load provisions for the use of his army at Derbent. Mr Elton, having secured his house, loaded and safely transported provisions to the port of Derbent. He no sooner sent his mate on shore, whom Mr Hanway calls Captain Woodroof, than poor Woodroof was almost beaten to mummy by a party of Persian soldiers, headed by a lieutenant colonel, instigated thereto by the Russian consul, who was advised of every thing which happened at Reshd, by his superior, the resident Arapoff. Mr Elton no sooner had set up a tent on shore, to defend himself from the heat of the sun, and the inclemencies of the weather, than he was attacked by armed men. They were repulsed with loss, and a stronger guard appointed for his security, until all the provisions were safely landed. When this work was finished, Mr Elton went to the camp, to receive payment for his service, and lodge a complaint against the government of Derbent, for permitting him



him to be insulted, particularly when he was so very serviceable to the Shach's army. He received payment, and the colonel's ears and nose were cropped off, after he had been severely bastinadoed. The Shach ordered him to be put to death, after he had suffered this punishment; but, by Mr Elton's intercession, his life was granted to him. However, the Shach ordered that he should keep watch forty days over the bodies of some men, who were executed, and lay exposed on the fields, to prevent birds from perching upon them, upon pain of death. The Shach, upon this occasion, observed to Mr Elton, that he would be in great danger from the Russians; but that if he would accept of the office of superintendant of his marine, and also superintend the building of a few ships, he could be in no danger; because, at all times, he would be guarded by a respectable body of Persian soldiers, who should have orders to give quarter to none who dared attempt such villany. Mr Elton agreed to the Shach's proposal, and immediately was clothed with a coat of honour, called castan; and was farther honoured with the title of Jemael Beck, signifying the Lord with the pleasant countenance. Orders at this time were sent into all the provinces of Persia, acquainting every person how much Jemael Beck was esteemed by the Shach, and what powers he had intrusted him with;

commanding, that all his subjects should take notice of this order, and pay the respects and obedience due to Elton, threatening the severest punishments, if any durst act in opposition to them. Upon this occasion the Russian resident and consul were threatened, and all others, who should dare in the least to molest Jemael Beck.

The above account I had from different people, and also from Woodroof, and believe it to be true. Let impartial judges determine, whether Mr Elton was to blame; and whether what he did was not for his own preservation. I at this time was the only British subject in Astrachan who could interpret Mr Elton's letters to the governor, and am certain, that what I now write is true. Though Mr Elton might have had some pique at particular persons, yet he ever behaved with propriety, in regard to the British trade in general, which, upon all occasions, he protected and encouraged to the utmost of his power. He was known to be a man of honour and courage; and though he understood that some of his countrymen took very indiscreet ways of hurting his character in Russia, yet he never once called such to an account for their baseness; but, in his letters to the governor, argued his cause with great spirit and freedom: So that many times I thought proper to give more mild interpretations than the captain could  
design.



design. At such times he was obliged to speak of the unworthiness of his enemies; but this he did in a very superficial and general manner. None can deny, who knows any thing of these affairs, that the captain unquestionably had power to have caused punish any merchant in Persia, without being obliged to give any reason for so doing, any farther than that it was his pleasure, and because he was of opinion such deserved it: But the very great love and respect he bore to his country, and especially to the trade, which he looked upon, with great justice, to be altogether a child of his own, restrained him from any action, which would in the least hazard its prosperity; and for this very reason he often relieved the people, whom he knew to be his enemies, when unjustly, or too ignorantly, attacked either by the Shach's servants, or any other. Of this I could give many instances; but I shall confine myself to one, as an example of his greatness of soul. One named Cassels, born in Prussia, whose father was a Prussian, and his mother an English woman, gave himself out to be an Englishman; and, by virtue of the liberty which was granted to the British subjects to trade through Russia and Persia, by the court of St Peterburgh, went to Persia in the year 1743, expecting some post or employment from Captain Elton, with whom he had been made acquainted when the captain was in Oranburgh.

Oranburgh. The captain, however, would not encourage one of Cassels's disposition or incapacity, and Cassels would not accept of such terms as the captain thought proper for him. Cassels was a man of the most violent passions, quite ungovernable; very many instances of which I could give, which my design hinders me from doing. Cassels, in his fury, observed no moderation; neither justice nor honour could lay the smallest restraint upon his actions. He was so much transported with rage, at being so unexpectedly disappointed, that he applied directly to the Shach, and accused Elton of crimes by which he might have risked either the loss of the Shach's esteem, or suffered some remarkable disgrace. Mr Elton, with great composure and calmness, made the Shach sensible of his innocence, and also of Cassels's madness; but pointed out the true cause; which, as I said before, was his being disappointed in getting a post under him, for which he was not qualified; letting the Shach know, that he was only bred a painter: That he, (Elton,) was of opinion Cassels had never been upon the sea, except betwixt Astrachan and Enzilee.

The Shach was convinced by this, that Mr Elton deserved all the trust he had reposed in him; and would have ordered Cassels to be bastinadoed, if Mr Elton had not interposed, and protected him. Mr Elton  
did



did not rest here ; but advised the Shach to employ him as his painter. The Shach ordered him to paint eight pictures, and make them as like as possible. Cassels engaged for a price, and fixed the time when all should be ready : But Cassels, enjoying a great salary, and judging, that when the pictures were ready, his salary would be withdrawn, was in no haste to finish his work. In short, he spent so much time, that the Shach, having sent sundry messages for Cassels to bring the pictures, at last ordered him to be brought to the camp with his performances. When he was brought before the Shach, he took notice of his breach of promise ; and also, that though the pictures had some resemblance, they had many faults, and looked all younger than one which Cassels had presented to the Shach formerly. Cassels forgot himself so far, that, it is said, he, upon this occasion, treated the Shach with such indignity, that he ordered him to be strangled ; which would have been put instantly in execution, had not Mr Elton interposed, and observed to the Shach, that a mad man was not accountable for his actions or behaviour ; and that ill reports were frequently carried very far, and lost nothing in rehearsing : That the Shach wanted foreigners, both for his fleet and army ; but an action of this kind would infallibly put a stop to any but madmen from coming into Persia,

sia. These and many other reasons, which the captain made use of, saved the life of this madman. I shall take it for granted that this single instance of Mr Elton's behaviour is sufficient to prepossess the mind of the reader with a notion of Cassels's madness, and at the same time evidently show that Mr Elton was a good man, and such as I have described him. From what I have related, it is evident that Mr Elton had it in his power, at once to have crushed any number of his enemies ; but for the reasons I have given, he was restrained from any such mean action, though at the same time he was very sensible that his enemies, whom he despised, would not have behaved so to him, had they been in his place.

Such conduct of the British subjects amongst themselves, could not fail to destroy the Persian trade. The Empress granted a liberty for them to build ships for transporting with expedition their own goods, but at the same time she restricted them interfering with the trade of her subjects, or from freighting any goods except their own ; But no sooner did their ships arrive in Persia, than they transported goods for Armenians and others, which was formerly done by the Russians, not only from one Persian port to another, but also to the port of Astrachan : By which means, accusations were daily sent to St Petersburg from the consul, resident, and  
Russian



Russian merchants, also from the port of Astrachan in relation to the barbarous treatment their sailors met with on board the British ships : Many instances of which I could give.

Mr Hanway is surpris'd that Mr Elton did not return home when he had good offers from the merchants, and a safe pass from the king of Great Britain. Mr Hanway is surpris'd at many things, the causes of which he certainly knew better. I unluckily was not surpris'd ; Captain Elton I am convinced, revered, honoured, and would have obeyed the orders of his late Majesty, or his ambassador extraordinary at the court of St Petersburg, if he could have done either with safety, or honour.

At the very time that the king's letters of safe passage were sent to Persia, Mr Elton was threatened, if ever the Russians could lay hold on him, to be impaled, not by a mob, but by the principal people in Astrachan. I have been present when such cruel threatenings were published in open company, little regarding the king's letters, which were spoken of at the same time with no great respect. Mr Elton had proved the merchants honour effectually ; he had weighed it, and he esteem'd it extremely deficient ; if that had been of full weight and value, it would not have surpris'd me if the British trade had been carried on at this time, not-with-

withstanding all the confusions of Persia. The history of their trade, which I have already given is sufficient to prove this. The Russians and Armenians carry on a trade at this time, and why could not the British, the most sincerely beloved foreigners in the empire of Russia? Whereas all that the Armenians can get is purely from pity which the Russians have for them, and from the profit they bring to the empire by their obsequious diligence. The English used to represent their affairs in the different offices in Astrachan in too strong terms, and agreeable to treaties, threatening if they were not complied with. The Armenians used to apply in the most submissive manner, because they could use no other, and they supported their supplications, and brought them to answer their ends by sums of money rightly given.

I imagine none alive can tell exactly the terms agreed upon betwixt Nadir Shach and Mr Elton ; but it is natural to suppose they were for a certain number of years, not as yet expired: Could honour or honesty then permit Mr Elton to break through the sacred ties of engagements at the desire of the merchants, strengthened by the king's letters of safety, supported by passes through Russia, even supposing they had been signed by the Empress's own hand? No ; such things might be done by men void of both  
honesty



honesty and honour, but Captain John Elton could not do a dirty action. When the Persian government was at last annihilated, Mr Elton, rather than trust his person to the Russians, resolved to make his retreat through Persia, where, it is said, he was murdered. This last resolution is enough to show how little he could trust to the honour of the exasperated Russians; a short account of his actions, as far as I know, I imagine, will not be disagreeable to the reader.

Mr Elton married in Russia, immediately before he went the last time to Persia, a pretty young woman, by whom he had a daughter. His wife died soon after his arrival in Langarood, the place where he built ships for the Shach; but his daughter was living when we were in Persia. It has formerly been observed that the empire of Persia was, at the death of Nadir, thrown into universal convulsions. The day we left Reshd we heard an irregular firing of cannon from Langarood, which is not very far distant from Enzilee, and were informed before we left the coast that it proceeded from the following cause. Mr Elton, having been made certain of the Shach's death, and unable to get directions from any, how, upon such a conjuncture, to behave, resolved to go on board a ship of twenty guns, which he had built, and remain there in security till he

saw how affairs would turn out. He accordingly sent all his baggage on board : But when he went to bring off two pieces of cannon, and some ammunition, which was left at the house, he was suddenly surrounded by a great number of Persians, who threatened his life. He tried what easy means would do, but all his arguments proving abortive, he at last determined to defend himself as long as he could, and sent an express, who arrived at Reshd, charged with an account of his danger, to Culipha. He with a few servants killed many of the rebels, but at last was unfortunately shot thro' the arm ; this dismayed his attendants, and the loss of blood rendered him incapable of giving proper orders, or keeping his men to their duty. In this condition he was taken prisoner ; and when the rebels were deliberating what punishment to inflict upon him, for having, as they supposed, advised the Shach to build ships, which was the ruin of that part of their country, an express arrived from Culipha, who begged of the rebels to take great care of Mr Elton, letting them know that the building of ships was determined by all the grandees of Persia, and was not owing to Mr Elton ; that though Nadir Shach was dead, yet the king of Persia was not dead, and as it turned out afterwards, he assured them that Ali Kouli Khan was the king of Persia, and was marching  
a great



a great army directly into their country, to protect the provinces of Mazanderan and Gilan, and the shipping, for which he had a great value. He further gave them to know that if any harm was done to Mr Elton, the Shach would not fail to extirpate all the inhabitants, and cause sow their habitations with salt. This had the desired effect, they immediately set Mr Elton at liberty, and, in the most submissive manner, begged that he would forgive what injury had been done to him.

How long Mr Elton remained in Langoorod after this I never could learn, nor what became of his only daughter: It was reported before I left Russia that he disposed of any bulky value he had, and bought up diamonds and other jewels, and resolved to travel through Persia to Gambroon, where he was in hopes of getting a passage for England, or at least some place of more safety to live in: But we were told that he was murdered on his way to Isphahan. Whether his daughter, who was an infant, shared the same fate, I could never learn.

Having given as short and candid an account of Captain Elton as I could, I shall only add, that animosities increased amongst the British as long as their trade continued. That the court of St Petersburg honestly let them know that their trade could not be continued, accompanied with such confusion

sion amongst themselves, to the evident hurt of the Russians, and therefore gave them sufficient warning to dispose of their goods to the best advantage, and withdraw in safety. It has already been shown that they would not follow this advice, but tarried in Persia to the evident danger of their lives, and loss of very great value to their employers, and when the fate befel them, which every sensible person could easily foresee, they blamed their benefactor, who saved their lives, and as much of their employer's money as he could, and the court of St Petersburg paid them the value of their ships, which no merchants in Astrachan would buy: So that when we arrived in Astrachan I was informed that a total stop was put to the British trade. To such a pitch of madness their animosities and jealousies grew, that when I did any service to one party, I was blamed by the other, although I am certain I never received the necessary expences I was at, far less any premium. One hoghead of Malaga was the only present I ever received for having negotiated their affairs from the beginning of the year 1742 till Mr Thomson's arrival, and also for having pled their causes successfully with the governor and others.



## C H A P. XXXIV.

*Concerning what happened in Astrachan and Russia till our arrival in Moscow.*

NOTHING uncommon happened during our stay in Astrachan, except that the widow of Lieutenant Glasford, an English woman, born in Ramsgate, was kept in Astrachan by the governor with her two children, under pretence that, as the father had embraced the Russian religion before his death, the children should be educated in the same, and, until the mother complied, the stupid governor insisted that they should not be permitted to depart from Astrachan, neither should she receive one farthing of her widow money for her subsistence. Mr Glasford commanded the port at Earkee, was there taken ill of a malignant fever, and died. Two or three days before his death, when he was delirious, and did not know his wife, the Russian priest rebaptized him in the Greek religion, and this gave a powerful handle to a weak headed governor to threaten, and oppress a poor widow with her orphans. Mr Thomson had done every thing in his power, before we arrived, for the help of the unfortunate widow and orphans. They told me every thing, and I applied

applied to the prince, who spoke to the governor and assured him that if he obstinately persisted in detaining them, that we were determined to lay the affair before his Majesty's ambassador the late Earl of Hyndford, who, exclusive of his public character, was much esteemed at that court: This had the effect, she was let go; but the obstinate foolish governor would not cause pay neither her widow money, nor her husband's salary: But Mr Thomson and I helped her forward to St Petersburg with her infants in all safety, where I saw her in the year 1748, and received my sleeping waggon in which she was transported: But at that time she had not received her widow money; however as I was pretty well known in the admiralty, I obtained that for her, and with the help of my brother, got her sent to England. The above I have written to let strangers see the danger widows and orphans are in after the the decease of their husbands, or fathers, especially when at a distance from the court, and also what tricks priests practise upon men when delirious: And, though in some countries the priests would be severely punished for such villany, yet in Russia, unless things be altered since I left it, it is quite otherwise. This is not all, for tho' the person thus imposed upon, recovers, yet it is dangerous for him to profess the religion he was taught, and deny the Greek religion,



ligion, so basely imposed upon him, when he was *non compos* ; witness the account I gave of Mr Wells.

Whilst we staid in Astrachan, we were informed of Ali Kouli Khan's being declared Emperor ; of his arrival in Masanderan ; of his regretting the ambassador's departure ; of his having sent to Reshd rich presents for him, and also for the gentlemen of his retinue, which were returned to him since we were gone from thence ; of his defeat, and his brother Ibrahim's being declared Emperor ; of Ibrahim's defeat by Ami Ruslan Khan ; and of many more troubles in Persia.

The court of St Petersburg were not satisfied with the prince's return, without the Empress's permission ; but it became more mild, when informed that we had no probability of getting provisions to subsist upon : That if we had not that very time left the country, we must have starved ; besides, our men were dying daily, and few remained alive : That this was the opinion of every one of us, who signed it in Reshd. We were very uncertain about our stay in Astrachan, and were afraid that we would be sent back early next year ; but the continued confusions of that distressed kingdom freed us, as shall be taken notice of.

At our arrival we found in Astrachan the late Shach Nadir's merchant, whom he had sent

sent into Russia with a valuable cargo of silk, to be disposed of, and with the proceeds to buy up such goods as the Shach wanted. He was on his return, I say, with a valuable cargo of European goods, and much treasure ; but the government of Astrachan seized as much as completely indemnified the losses which the Russian merchants had sustained in Persia by robbery and otherwise ; and the poor fellow contented himself to remain in Astrachan, and live upon what was left.

As we were very uncertain of our fate, I wished much to see my wife and my child ; wherefore I wrote her often, and, as we had good opportunities by careful couriers, begged she would come to Astrachan. She made many excuses, and, when winter set in, I gave over all hopes of seeing her there. At last, on the 14th January 1748, I received a letter from her, telling me, that, the weather being very severe, she could not venture with the child ; wherefore I endeavoured to put up with what I could not help ; and, in order to drive disagreeable thoughts from me, went to hunt in the desert. Next morning, before day light, a soldier came into my chamber, and told me, that she was in Astrachan, with her son, both in good health ; which was true. She told me, that the reason she had written me as above, was what she then thought ; but the day after, a captain with a small command waited upon her, and assured



red her that he would pawn his life for her safety on the road, and this determined the sudden change.

Mortals are all short-sighted, and so it happened to me ; for I scarcely had furnished a house, when orders arrived that we should march to Moscow, and there wait the Empress's pleasure. No time was to be lost; the winter at Astrachan was near a close. This order was received on the 2d of March, and I was instantly obliged to sell off every thing at great loss. We departed from Astrachan the last time on the 3d, and arrived in Moscow safely on the 23d of the same month. Nothing happened remarkable, except that the ice being very rotten, we had almost lost a lieutenant in the Volga.

At Tzaritzin the prince told me, he was resolved to go by post ; but, because it would be inhumane to cause me go with him, he permitted me to come with my wife, convoyed by the command. Having said this, he set out directly, and we staid in Tzaritzin all night. Next morning we set out very early; the day was excessively cold, with a very high wind, and my people had not been very active, so that my carriages were amongst the last. The snow, after travelling a mile or two, was very deep, and consequently many stops and delays were made by the foremost sledges, so that we made a very slow progress. Seeing this would con-

tinue, I ordered my carriages to drive past the others, which was done with difficulty, occasioned by the deep untrodden snow : However, at last we got foremost, and drove on to the middlemost castle formerly taken notice of. Our secretary followed me, with whom I agreed in company to leave the command at this place, and drive as expeditiously as we could. Though the other officers imagined that such a step was irregular, I persisted, because the prince had left me purely on account of my wife and child, who run the risk of being frozen to death through the delays they were obliged frequently to make. The paymaster said that he could not answer to give us any travelling charges ; but the secretary and I had money enough, and doubted not that our charges would be paid in Moscow.

Thus we left them, and travelled day and night with changes of horses, till we arrived in Moscow, only two days after the prince. After we passed the last Cossack village, and before we launched into the desert, we agreed to have a good dinner for us and our wives, who were seldom accustomed to such hard labour and scrimp provisions. After dinner, we took a few glasses of generous wine, and then marched six miles through woods. We had not travelled very far in the desert, when my wife disturbed my rest (for I was fallen into a deep sleep) and told me, that the people



ple had lost the road, and were afraid that they would be all frozen to death. I sent for them, gave each man a glass of spirits, and desired them to unyoke one horse from each sledge, mount them, and ride round the sledges, at such distance one from the other, that they might hear one another call, hoping by this means, that we probably might find out the trodden path: They did so, and found out the post-house, which was not distant half a mile from us; but the wind was so high, that the post people could not hear us call from where our sledges were. Though this post-house was both very dirty and small, yet I imagine none of us ever entered a palace with such pleasure. The men were so well pleased, that they brought my sleeping sledge into a place which was not exposed to the fury of the wind, so that next morning we were almost stifled with heat, which proceeded from the sledge being buried in snow.

At our arrival in Moscow, I was made welcome both from the kindness which that illustrious family had for me, and also because one of the prince's sons, who was named Michael after his father, a great favourite, was very ill of a scorbutic cough, which the physician Dr Boenni called a consumption, and which gave them all great uneasiness. The family were at dinner when we arrived, and the princess acquainted me with her

her son's distress, whilst we were eating. When I had taken a snatch, I went to the room where he lay, and, after examining every symptom, asked him, Why he lay in bed, and why the room was dark? He answered, so the doctor had ordered, but that he was able to rise, and gladly would see day-light. I must say, such practice surprised me very much; and without hesitation I opened the windows, and helped him on with his cloaths, without giving notice to any of the family; at which the princess was greatly alarmed when she entered the room; but when I had satisfied her that such management could not fail to verify the doctor's prognosticks, who had said that he was incurable, she was pleased. Next day I advised him to take exercise in a close vehicle, and, by proper medicines in a few weeks, recovered him to his former state of health.

Moscow is a populous and rich city, and there are in it many wealthy noblemen and gentlemen, who either are employed about civil affairs, or are permitted, after having long served their country, to live at their pleasure. Merchants also reside here. If it had been possible for me to obtain my discharge free of all service, I could in a very few years have made a good fortune in Moscow, as the common merchants never offered less than a ruble for a visit, the nobility never less than two, and, when any cure was performed,



performed, over and above that, they never failed to make me a handsome present ; but it was not my fortune to get my discharge, though I tried all the possible ways.

There are in Moscow fundry apothecaries shops, the principal one belongs to the Empress. It is an immense pile of buildings, where all kinds of medicines are prepared for the army and fleet, and also for the public, as in it may be had all the medicines used in Europe ; and altho' they are costly, they may be depended upon for their being honestly prepared. The other shops belong to private people, but, as was said formerly, they are as much under the direction and inspection of the medicine-chancery as that belonging to the Empress. If any gross mistake was to be committed in any of them, they would be certainly forbidden to prepare medicines ever after. No apothecary is permitted to attend and prescribe medicines for any sick people. The medicine-chancery justly think that they cannot be properly qualified ; besides, the business of an apothecary, well employed, is sufficient for one man ; if they practise that of any other, it is next to impossible but they must fall into errors ; either the patients will be neglected, much imposed upon, or their shops will be left to the care of their servants, from which much mischief is justly to be dreaded.

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I was not long in Moscow, till I got an invitation from my old commander Privy-counsellor Tatishoff, to go and visit him in his solitary village, distant about seventy versts from the city ; but, considering that at this time he was a state prisoner at large, I consulted with the prince, whether it would not be dangerous for me to attend him. The prince said, that there was no danger to one of my profession to visit any prisoner, unless forbid by order of Court. I therefore went and staid one day with him. I was charmed with his way of living, though he was very much dissatisfied that he was not permitted to go to court. He was employed in writing his history in a room next to his bed-chamber, in some disorder ; for books and instruments were lying in confusion on the floor, so that he had only a passage thro' amongst them to the table where he wrote. In two years time he had beautified this place, built a good house of timber, and laid out a garden on a ground which declined from the house to a marshy ground to the south. At a certain neck of ground below the garden, he had built a strong wall, and formed a lake above a mile in length, and furnished it with variety of fish. At one corner of this wall he built a mill, and on the top of the wall he had made an iron-grate, of no great depth, but very long, to prevent the fish from making their escape when the water was very



ry high by great rains. In short, he had, of a country villa, made a little paradise. The counsellor was extremely kind to me, and profered me any reasonable sum of money, if I would live in Moscow, that I could see him frequently. I told him that I was using all my interest to get that effected, but was very uncertain whether I would succeed. He doubted it much, and railed against the government, concerning which I put him in remembrance, that it was dangerous for any one to hear him, and begged that he would refrain from such discourse, or else I could not continue my visits with any safety. He promised to do so, but was so much chagrined, that it was not in his power absolutely to forbear. He told me nothing of his own affairs after he left Astrachan: but I imagine it will not be disagreeable to the reader to be informed of what I was told by other people.

When he arrived in Moscow, he pretended sickness, and reported the state of his health to the senate, who ordered the physicians there to visit him, and report whether he was sick, and what was his disease. They attended him three days, and he rewarded them nobly for their trouble. At last, however, they reported that he had no other disease than a cachexy, which was incurable, as his constitution was worn out. The senate ordered him to chuse any of his villages, not  
near

near any great city, and immediately to make his repair to that village, and live there till farther orders ; and also to report to the senate when he had obeyed these orders. Mr Tatishoff was no coward ; he did not relish these orders ; he lost no time in getting ready ; but in place of retreating to his village, he drove by some by-roads straight to St Petersburg, with an intention to throw himself at her Majesty's feet, to implore her mercy, and grant him justice against his enemies. The truth is, that the whole senate were afraid of him ; and it is believed, that if he had been so fortunate as to have been honoured with the Imperial presence, he would have made his solicitations at least good for himself. He arrived safe in St Petersburg, dressed himself in the livery of a hayduke, and walked towards the palace ; but, in the way, he, notwithstanding his disguise, was known by one of his enemies, seized, and sent to his village with a party of soldiers, where he remained raving against them until he died, which was in the year 1750.

During my stay in Moscow, I visited him frequently, and he never failed to make me happy with some present of a book or curious instrument, over and above a handsome fee. This year two-thirds of the city of Moscow was burnt to the ground ; and one day, in the month of June, as I was at Prince Golitzin's table, a fire broke out in the neighbourhood



bourhood of his house, which, before the next morning, consumed that house and above two thousand more. My wife had been in danger of having miscarried eight days before this happened. The house where I lodged was distant from where the fire broke first out about one-fourth of a verst, so that any may consider the anxiety I was in for the safety of my family, and for that of the good prince ; however, I was necessitated to retire to take care of my own. When I entered the room, I desired she would not be alarmed, and told her that a fire had broken out at a considerable distance, but that prudence required she should rise and make her retreat to a garden at some distance belonging to the prince ; that all our baggage, except what we immediately made use of, was secured in a vaulted cellar under ground ; that for fear of the fire I had bought a cart, which was in readiness, and that I had hired another to carry off all our baggage from the house to the garden. At this time I was happy in having an honest sensible man-servant, to whom I could trust all these affairs. I therefore made the best of my way on foot with my wife, supported by a maid and myself, and a soldier carried my son straight to a gate near where we lived. Any may consider the danger we were in, in passing the streets at such a time, in such condition ; for coaches, chaises, carts, waggons, and dragoons patrolling

trolling to prevent robbery, and keep good order, made it very dangerous ; but the fire, though on the other side the wall, was making a horrid and rapid progress, and, if we had staid, we must have been burnt to death. If we had gone farther into the city, the confusion was the same, and none could tell when, where, or how the fire would stop. At the gate the confusion was at the greatest; however, it pleased heaven to preserve us, and grant a passage, which, though dangerous, ended in our safety. We no sooner had got free of this imminent danger, than we entered into a broad spacious street, which was almost deserted by the inhabitants; there we rested upon the first stairs we saw, and the people in the house observing our dress to be better than common, entreated us to enter the house, and served us with a glass of wine, which was never before this so needful. Thus, in about two hours time, we reached our tents fixed in the garden by the care of my brother, who was killed afterwards at the Havannah. I was there informed that the prince's house was burnt down to the ground, and that my servant, as I had directed, took my horse and strong cart to the good prince's assistance; that he being a remarkable strong horse, and the cart large and new, they packed many pieces of the best furniture on the cart, and one of the prince's servants, officiously, took the management



nagement of the horse from my servant, who knew him, and in driving out of the gate he whipped the horse, who, not used to such discipline, run off, broke the cart, and almost every piece of the furniture, and almost killed the man. I was truly sorry for this ill news, the furniture was very costly, being of the best materials and workmanship which England could produce.

I waited upon the princess and her children, who had retired to a very homely room in their gardener's house. She was in great distress, but contented herself with thankful acknowledgments to divine providence that all their lives were saved, and that things were no worse. I went to the place where the house stood, and found the prince as black as any coalier, whom I persuaded to go to the garden for some refreshment and rest. I then went to my lodgings, and found the house standing safe, but all the houses about it were burnt to the ground.

At my arrival in Moscow the policy appointed me a lodging in a stone vaulted house which had not been inhabited this winter. We had like to have been all suffocated, of which I happened to be telling the prince the day following at dinner. A gentleman, related to the prince's family, and very rich, was present: He said, that he had a very great Gothic building of stone, at no great distance; that none had inhabited it  
since

since his father's death ; and it was reported in Moscow that it was haunted ; but added, that if I would venture to live in it, I might with great safety, for there were three good rooms and a kitchen daily kept in order, and well seasoned ; and that as he had some stores and granaries in other rooms, he kept these in order, and sometimes dined with his family there. I returned him many thanks for his kindness, assuring him that I was afraid of no goblins, and that the soldiers, who were appointed by me, and I would probably give a very good account of any who might attempt to disturb us in the night time. I immediately repaired to that house, and lived in it till forced out by the fire, but I soon returned, and lived in it till I went to St Petersburg.

#### C H A P. XXXV.

*Concerning my Journey to St Petersburg, what passed there during my Stay, and my Return to Moscow.*

**I**N the latter end of July, I received an order from the famous Count Lestois to go to St Petersburg, and there to wait the orders of the medicine-chancery. I lost no time in getting ready, and arrived in St Petersburg in eight days. The first thing I did



did after my arrival, was to wait upon Count Lestois, whom I never had seen before this time, and return him thanks for having condescended, agreeable to my petition, to order me to come to St Petersburg. He was at this time under a cloud, and it was thought could not stand it long. Count Bestucheff was his great enemy : It seems they never had agreed since their difference, which happened about the nature of the punishment of the ladies and gentlemen formerly taken notice of. At this time the court was at Petershoff, but Count Lestois was in St Petersburg, a bad omen that the Empress's first physician should be at so great distance from her person. We entered a garden in the neighbourhood of the city, and were told that the count was fishing at a canal ; when we came near where he was, a servant prevented our disturbing him. This let me plainly see what state he assumed ; because I take it for granted, that, in no country, servants dare be insolent to strangers, unless their masters are either fools or senseless. Strangers constantly receive marks of the greatest hospitality and politeness from nobility, if their education and natural faculties are answerable to their birth ; but upstart noblemen are seldom to be met with, who can keep themselves within moderation, or their attendants and servants in order. We had not waited long till the count made his appearance, and  
very

very politely desired us to walk with him to his palace, where he treated us with a dish of coffee. He seemed to be a man of no learning, nor indeed curiosity. He was a well-made stout man, of a very bold daring countenance, much deformed with *gutta rosea*, proceeding probably from a gross constitution and continued habit of drinking for very many years. The countess was a very beautiful young lady, and had been formerly a lady of honour to the Empress. He asked me, What I intended to do? I answered, that nothing could be so agreeable to me as liberty to return to my native country, putting him in remembrance, in as easy a way as I could, of the many petitions I had preferred to the chancery before I was sent to Persia; and observed, that, as I had spent my best days in Russia, and had contracted a bad state of health, I therefore hoped he would permit me to return home. He answered, that peace would soon commence between Great-Britain, France, and Spain, and, in that case, I could not expect to meet with the encouragement mentioned in the king's proclamation; and therefore he thought it more adviseable to remain in Russia: He talked agreeably concerning my service, and added, that he intended to provide some other place for the principal surgeon of the sea-hospital, and would appoint me in his place, which is both profitable and honourable,



able, being the first in the sea service. I made him a bow, and retired.

The next visit I made was to the late Earl of Hyndford, who at that time was ambassador from the court of Great Britain, and highly respected at the court of St Petersburg. I soon gained his friendship, and retained it as long as he lived. It was by his masterly influence that the Russian troops were ordered to march to our assistance; and pity it was that they were stopped at Prague. They were a body of the most complete troops I ever saw, commanded by choice generals. Nothing was so disagreeable to them as to be ordered back without having seen the enemy, except that they were not commanded by the late General Keith. I make no doubt that they would have given a very good account of the French; for at that time the French nation was not esteemed by the Russians in general: They had not forgotten the base carriage of the Marquis Chetardie at the court of St Petersburg, and would have exerted their efforts against the French army, as they esteemed the whole nation altogether treacherous, void of honour, and base to the last degree. It was very dangerous for the French, at that time, to walk the streets of St Petersburg in the day-time; and if they had been known in the night-time, if they escaped with their lives, they would have been sent to jail; whereas the

British

British were every where caressed ; and this was very much owing to the address of the late Earl of Hyndford. A few anecdotes which happened at that court when he was ambassador there, will, I hope, be agreeable.

At his first appearance, there was some ceremony to be observed which was not customary. Things having been at last adjusted, the day of his getting audience was fixed. He was carried to court with the greatest solemnity, as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary from the King of Great Britain. The Empress was standing under a canopy, three steps above the floor of the hall, with her right hand upon a cushion. The Earl mounted the three steps, placed himself on the opposite side of the table, put on his hat, and made a short speech, and delivered his credentials into the Empress's own hand, who gave them to the then grand chancellor ; he took off his hat, and made three bows at the foot of the throne. After this his first appearance, he was one the least ceremonious (except on public occasions) ambassador that ever appeared at the court of St Petersburg. He would yield place, however, to no ambassador, except from the Emperor of Germany, with whom he cultivated great friendship. At his first arrival in St Petersburg, he was informed that the old field-marshal prince  
Dolgaruka



Dolgaruka had been confined in Revel during the reign of the Empress Anne, purely for the attachment and sincere esteem he had, upon all occasions, declared for the Princess Elizabeth, now Empress; and that in consequence of his sufferings, and of the loss of the greatest half of that noble ancient family, the prince was held in the greatest esteem by the Empress; so that whatever he said was a law, and she upon all occasions called him father. To this nobleman the Earl sent his compliments, and invited him to dinner. In return, the prince expressed his sense of the honour which the Earl had done him; but begged to be excused, upon account of his great age and infirmities; and assured him, that he would look upon it as a great favour, if he would honour his table with his presence. This was precisely what the ambassador expected, and therefore accepted of the prince's invitation. In the time of dinner, the Earl observed the prince taking stolen looks at him, and at last saw the tears trickling down the old man's cheeks; wherefore he begged to know, if he was the disagreeable cause of such signs of grief? To this the prince answered, that he was truly the innocent cause of his grief; adding, that he had a son whom he much loved, who was unfortunate, with many of his family, during the reign of the Empress Anne: That his son was so very like the

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Earl,

Earl, that whenever he looked at him, it brought his son's misfortunes into his remembrance. The Earl observed, that, now his son was happy, he would take it as a great honour to be called his son; and, at the same time, to have the liberty of calling him by the honourable title of father. This was agreed to by them both; and, from such a trifling circumstance, the Earl gained the prince, who did him every service in his power, which was compatible with the interest of Russia.

Soon after this the army began to march; and indeed nothing was too hard for the Earl to obtain from the court of St Peterburgh. I was told that he was so much master of pleasing, and making himself esteemed, that he gained the respect of the whole Russian nobility. The Earl, how good forever, still maintained his state, and would not suffer the least encroachment; for instance. He had a palace in the city, and a house in the country, where he used to pass a day or two in the week with a few friends. A serjeant was appointed, with a body of soldiers, to take care of the house in the city, and another serjeant was stationed at his house in the country.

One day in the summer-season the Earl went, as usual, to his country-house; but was told by the serjeant, that the Empress's master



master of horse had taken up his Lordship's stables with the Empreſs's young horſes, who, ſome how, had wandered away from the fields where they were feeding. The Earl ordered the horſes to be ſet out to the fields. This could not fail to make a great noiſe. The young horſes ſcampered far away, and many fields were by them deſtroyed. The maſter of horſe, nettled at this, determined to be revenged. The perſons of ambaffadors in Ruſſia are held as ſacred as thoſe of their maſters; conſequently the maſter of horſe had, as he thought, but one way to gratify his reſentment. Lord Hyndford's country-houſe was ſituated on the other ſide of a bridge, where a ſmall command of ſoldiers kept watch, to examine all paſſengers from the city into the country, and keep order on the high way. Either by his own authority or influence, the maſter of horſe cauſed theſe ſoldiers ſtop ſome carters, who were ſent to the Earl's country-ſeat with wine, and other proviſions. The boors having gone that way frequently, without any moleſtation or ſtop from the ſoldiers, knowing that they were employed by the Britiſh ambaffador, inſiſted on the right which ambaffadors ſervants had. The ſoldiers denied that they were the ambaffador's ſervants, becauſe they were Ruſſian boors. Thus from words they came to blows; and at laſt they

were

were put under arrest. This being reported to the Earl, he went to court, made his complaint to the Empress, and insisted on satisfaction. The Empress, ashamed of the master of horse's folly, promised every thing. The Earl demanded, that the master of horse should be sent to his house formally, to ask pardon. The Empress insisted that he should not only ask pardon, but that he should do it on his knees, and pay all damages. Accordingly, at the Earl's return to his own house, one of his servants acquainted him, that the master of horse demanded an audience of his Lordship. The Earl met him at the door of the room, and, as he was going to throw himself at his feet, caught him in his arms, and without any farther trouble, forgave every thing ; and, lastly, sent him back to the Empress well regaled. At this time the Earl procured a pair of colours for the serjeant, to preserve him from the master of horse's indignation ; but as he was very honest and diligent, he kept him by himself as long as he resided in Russia.

One day as the Earl was going to court, four English boatswains complained to him, that they had contracted in England to serve in the Russian navy for fifteen crowns *per* month ; a salary equal to that of a captain of foot at the beginning of the late Swedish war ; and that the Admiralty had lately sent an



an order to Cronstadt, importing, that the boatswains should get no greater wages than the other boatswains in Russia, by the regulations, unless they engaged to serve for life. The boatswains would not agree to this unreasonable demand, but insisted upon their being paid off, and dismissed the service. Their requisitions were taken no notice of. At last they were sent for to the Admiralty, when they had an opportunity of laying their grievances before the Earl, who lost no time in sending to the Admiralty a memorial, requiring that they would do justice immediately to the boatswains, either by granting their discharge, or else paying them, as they had at the beginning agreed for; and that they should answer his memorial without delay. Eight days passed without any answer. At last the boatswains acquainted the Earl, that nothing, in consequence of his memorial, had been done: That the clerks threatened them for having acquainted the ambassador: That they had reason to fear that they would be sent despotically to some distant place, and probably treated with rigour. Upon this information the Earl required, by another memorial to the college of foreign affairs, a passport for four Englishmen, whom he named, and whom he intended to send directly to London. This college lost no time in complying with his Lordship's demand; and thus they were sent

sent home. The Admiralty was confounded at this affair: They could not tell what to think about the four men, who at once vanished, they knew not where; and at last the president spoke to the Earl, and begged to know, If his Lordship could acquaint him about them? After the Earl had in a pretty warm manner expostulated with him about his not answering his memorial, he frankly let him know, that he had sent them to their own country, and that he was determined to take care that justice should be done to all the King's subjects, so long as he remained in Russia; and that if the Admiralty should not answer the next memorial he might be obliged to send them, respectfully and readily, he would make a formal complaint of such neglect and indignity to the cabinet, and require satisfaction.

Sundry examples I could give of the like nature, which at once made him much respected and beloved; for though he threatened, yet he never was rigorous, nor carried animosity to any length. It is my opinion, that no British subject ever applied to him without getting redress, if their case would admit of it; which cannot be said of many others. I have mentioned these examples to let you see, how honourably an ambassador at that court may be esteemed, and what power he may justly exercise, when it is conducted by prudence. I will add  
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one anecdote more, which, though literally true, I scarcely could give credit to, until I was informed of it by undoubted authority. The Earl of Hyndford gave a treat to the principal Russian ministry, and foreign ambassadors, who were friends to Great Britain: Some days after that, when he was at court, Monsieur Dallion minister from France, accosted him, and said that though their masters were at war, that ought not to hinder gentlemen from being polite to one another. He said that he would have taken it very kind if Lord Hyndford, at his late entertainment, had numbered him amongst his friends, and that he would have been very glad to have been invited amongst the rest. The Earl replied that the personal regard he had for him prevented that; because he thought that Monsieur Dallion would not have taken it well to have been placed at the foot of the table, below residents from the smallest states who were in friendship with Great Britain; and lastly, he imagined that it would have been very disagreeable for him to have been a witness to their drinking the usual toasts given upon such occasions, and also to have been obliged to join with them, and not have had it in his power to toast prosperity to his own king and the kingdom of France. Monsieur D allion hesitated not to assure his Lordship that he would have yielded to all that, adding that his

court

court could not take it amiss that he submitted to the rules of a great assembly, where none but men of great honour were present : Upon which, he, Dallion, was invited to the very next entertainment, and yielded to every thing which passed there, with great resignation. Sometime after this, he accosted the Earl, and enumerated what he had suffered, and the great anxiety he was in during the whole time of the entertainment, and all this he said he had submitted to, purely to show the regard he had for the person of the Earl of Hyndford. He therefore desired in return that the Earl would honour his table with his presence. The Earl agreed readily to do this, providing Monsieur Dallion would agree strictly to adhere to the following rules : That he should be received with all the respect and honours due to an ambassador from his master's most sincere friends : Secondly, That he should sit in the second place at the table : Thirdly, That none of the ambassadors whose masters were enemies to Great Britain should be present ; and lastly, That no health should be drunk, nor prosperity to the arms of those who were at war with Great Britain ; and that he should drink the King of Great Britain's health immediately after that of the Empress's of Russia. To all these rules he agreed ; and when the Earl's coach appeared at the gate of Monsieur Dallion's



lion's house, when a very great shower fell ; Monsieur Dallion, afraid that the Earl would remain no time there, if he did not immediately go to receive him, went out to the coach door uncovered, and dressed in his best cloaths, through a wide court to receive him. Unluckily the coach door could not be soon opened, and as the Earl rose up to go out of the coach, his cloak fell off which took up some time to get adjusted, during which Monsieur Dallion was exposed to a deluge of rain, which, at his return with the Earl, obliged him to undress and put on another suit. At the entertainment every thing, according to the agreement, was observed with great faith on Monsieur Dallion's part. What intention Monsieur Dallion could have in thus courting the friendship of an ambassador whose master was at war with the French I cannot tell : but I am certain that it had a very bad effect at the court of St Petersburg for him. Ever after he was deservedly despised by the Russian ministry, which effectually put it out of his power to do any service for his country, nor durst he complain of the small regard paid to him, or to his demands, since he had voluntarily so shamefully degraded himself.

I never had much experience in government affairs, yet I cannot pass this without observing how much it is necessary to send

men as ambassadors not only well qualified in the ways of intrigue, and the knowledge of state affairs, but who have natural perfections, such as a graceful appearance, and a sense of the honour due to their prince, endued with resolution to take all ways of insinuating into the minds of the people to whom they are sent a high idea of the power and glory of the prince and nation they represent. Though I must acknowledge that Britain sent, in the time of my peregrination in Russia, very able men, who had resolution and abilities to serve their king, yet others were sent who had not the address to give the Russians any opinion of their qualifications. But at this time, it was very necessary to send such as the late Earl was: It is certain, that with ease he obtained all that his prince wanted, and could have got much more if it had been thought necessary. He lived in great friendship with all the principal ministers about the court, and yet had the art to make them respect him, and, as it were, be afraid of offending him. Tho' he was altogether affable, yet in points of honour, and what regarded the well-being of his country, he was immoveable, and upon all occasions, made the Russians sensible, that he would risque every thing in his power for the good and glory of his prince and country. Upon a certain occasion, he threatened to leave the court abruptly if the  
ministry



ministry permitted one, who at that time was looked upon as no well-wisher to our government, to come to the court of Russia, or even so much as come into their country. In this he was positive, and succeeded. His health not permitting him to stay longer, he obtained leave from the king, and left the court of Russia, regreted by every one: And to the day of his death kept up a correspondence, and friendship with the principal lords of that court. Many masterly affairs I could write about the late Earl of Hyndford, which happened much to his honour in Russia during his stay there, but I have not room here for them.

The measure of Count Lestois's regency now drew near a close; his enemies, the chief of whom was Count Bestusloff, had got the better of him at last. On the first Thursday of December, I went to pay my compliments to him, and enquire about what he was determined to do concerning me. He seemed to be in some confusion, said that his head pained him much, that he would have been glad that I had dined with him, but his headache prevented that: But concluded by assuring me, that on Monday morning I should receive orders to make my repair to the sea hospital. This was agreeable news, and this was the last time I ever saw him. On Sunday following in the time of divine service, General Apraxin surrounded

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ed his house with two or three hundred of the guards, went to him and demanded his sword. Count Lestoig answered, that he was determined to obey even to death her Imperial Majesty's orders, but ordered the general out of his presence, swearing that he would sooner plunge his sword in his breast, than deliver it to such a worthless person ; and required that a man of honour should be sent to demand his sword. General Apraxin went out, dreading that he would put his threats in execution, and sent another, to whom he readily delivered his sword, and was immediately sent to the castle. Upon enquiry, they were informed that the countess was at church, receiving the holy sacrament of the Lord's supper. A captain with a few men went to the reformed Lutheran church, where he was told, that she was at the Lord's table : He waited till the service was over, and, without her suspecting any danger, he followed her sledge till she arrived at her own house, where she was much surpris'd to see the court full of soldiers, and there she was made acquainted with her misfortune. She behaved very decently, and without vain reflections was quietly conducted to the castle. It was reported that he was confined in a room by himself, and she was confined in one immediately above him, but without a possibility of their seeing one another, or  
having



having any intercourse, not even by letters. Many faults were reported to have been committed by Count Lestoig, but I gave no great credit to any of these reports; because nothing is more common, in despotic countries, than to accuse state prisoners of crimes of which they are innocent. I really believe, that, tho' he was very unpolished, he was an honest man, and did much good in his department.

After three or four days confinement, it was reported to the Empress, that he had neither eaten nor drunk any thing since he was confined; and the keepers were afraid he would die, being already very weak. The Empress wrote him a letter with her own hand, signifying, that, though, for several weighty reasons, she found herself obliged to confine him, yet she never could forget the services he had done for her, so far as to permit any other punishment to be inflicted upon him; therefore desired that he would take care of his health; for she had given orders that every thing he would call for should be furnished out of her kitchen and cellars. Upon receiving such refreshing news from the Empress's own hand, he read the letter, (which was delivered to him by a captain, who reported what follows :) He kissed it, and called for a bottle of Burgundy, which he drank off at once in a health to the Empress. One of the surgeons belonging to the army told me, one year after he was sent into the castle, that one day  
having

having been accidentally there, he saw Count Lestoig walking upon the wall, with a long beard as white as snow ; but said, that he was told he never had seen the Countess since the misfortune happened. At last he was sent to Siberia ; but he and Munich returned to St Petersburg after the death of the Emperor Peter III.

He was once banished by Peter the Great, and got himself restored by his own ingenuity, in the following manner, as I was informed. He, being one of the surgeons of the palace, one day was sent for by the Emperor, who asked him, If he inclined to marry ? Lestoig answered, That if he was so happy as to get one agreeable to him, he would very willingly. Peter produced a young lady, who attended about Catharine, very beautiful, and asking him, How he liked the lady ? told him at the same time, that he intended to portion her nobly. Lestoig said, that he could have no objection, either to her beauty, youth, or the portion the Emperor designed her ; but, in the most unbecoming indiscreet manner, said, that he would marry none of his w——s ; adding, that she was big with child. The Emperor, provoked at such audacity, ordered him to be banished to Cazan, and there he kept under a very strict guard, with a soldier constantly in the room where he slept, with orders, that none but soldiers should have access to speak with



with him ; and that he should have neither paper, pen, nor ink. He lay in confinement many years, until the Empress Anne mounted the throne. Upon a day, the governor of Cazan's lady was dangerously ill of some disease, which the medical people in Cazan declared incurable. Lestoig, justly reputed a good surgeon, was sent for. He recovered the lady and his own liberty, in the following manner. He told the governor, that if he would permit him to write for some materials, he would prepare a medicine in his own room, which would probably recover his lady, which he said he suspected the apothecary could not prepare to his satisfaction. Peter and Catharine being dead, the governor had no objection, especially as it was designed only to write for a few drugs in his presence ; and Lestoig received a large paper of dry materials, which he carried to his room. It is customary in Russia to send materials wrapped up in a sheet of white paper, and that covered with a sheet of strong gray paper.

With a crow quill, and ink made of a solution of foot in water, he wrote a letter to the Empress Anne, when the foldier was asleep, and got it delivered in the following manner, to a trusty friend, a merchant in Cazan, who carried it faithfully to St Peterburgh.

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When the letter was ready, he carefully concealed it from the soldier. Next day he saw his friend passing through a square opposite his door. He pretended to take a pinch of Spanish snuff, and asking the soldier, If he chused to taste so delicious snuff? artfully threw it in his face, under pretence of some sudden disease, which blinded him long enough to prevent his seeing him give the letter to his benefactor, who lost no time in getting it put into the Empress's hand; who sent for him to St Petersburg, and, at his own desire, placed him by the princess Elizabeth, with whom he remained till he had helped her to mount her father's throne; and yet, at this late time of life, he was sent a prisoner to the castle, thence to Siberia, and was brought back to St Petersburg since I left the empire, as has been said.

Archiator Dr Fisher would never grant Lestoig a greater salary than what is appointed by the regulations, to surgeons belonging to regiments, though he had frequently solicited an augmentation; which was the reason, that, when the late royal branches were arrested by Elizabeth, Dr Fisher was also confined to his apartment, where he was long neglected; but at last got some of his friends passing by the window, to beg, that Mr Lestoig would cause send him something to eat and drink, declaring, that he was like to starve. Lestoig sent him notice, that the  
doctor



doctor could not so soon have forgotten that he caused him keep lent, or rather a fast, many years ; therefore, said he, it was but reasonable that he, in his turn, should, after living so long in luxury, fast two or three days, for his pleasure.

Soon after this, Dr Kaw Boerhaave was created archiater ; but the court went to Moscow, which was the reason I could get nothing done in my affairs, and was glad of liberty to follow the court to that city, which I did in January 1749, and attended the archiater, who promised to do something for me as soon as he could conveniently.

## C H A P. XXXVI.

*Concerning what happened in Moscow, and my Journey to Riga.*

**K**AW BOERHAAVE was a true Hollander, and rose to this first department in the medical affairs by his connections with the late learned great Boerhaave ; for he had few other qualifications in the medical way ; neither was he acquainted with the regulations of the chancery : So that it behoved him to be in a great measure subject to his secretaries. He loved his bottle too much to have time to examine into the weighty affairs committed to his charge. My affairs,

however, were brought to such a length, that he found himself obliged either to grant my dismissal, or an honourable employment; but I soon found, that the first could not be granted easily, and therefore laid my account with many delays; yet these I little regarded; for, by my practice in Moscow, I soon gained more money than ever I had done formerly, by both my salary and fees joined together; and therefore, being contented, I asked nothing from them, especially as my salary, by Peter the Great's regulations, ought to have been paid by the medicine chancery, who kept me on their books, nor would grant my dismissal.

At last, in the month of May, I received a message from the late Earl of Hyndford, desiring me to wait upon Dr Kaw Boerhaave next morning early at the imperial palace: I did so; and he rejoiced, as he said, to have it in his power to give me an exceeding good living, and that by her Majesty's desire.

He told me, that the Empress had ordered him to send me to take care of the health of Count Rasumofki's mother, who lived in the Ukraine: That my salary should not only be continued, but augmented by fifty rubles out of her Majesty's privy purse: That I should have a good house to live in; and that the lady had agreed to grant me men and women servants, free of all demands; and



and also to keep my house well stored with all kinds of provisions, and grant a coach and horses to be always in readiness at my call ; and, lastly, that my family should be transported, with as much baggage as I pleased, at her expence.

I acknowledge such a proposal might have been very acceptable to many ; but it was by no means agreeable to me. I observed to the archiator, that I had been employed already in a way which I had ever esteemed very honourable ; and therefore begged, that he would not take it ill, if I rejected this ; though, at the same time, I returned him my hearty thanks for the kindness he had shown me.

He desired me to take a glass, and tell him frankly what objections I could reasonably have against it. I did so ; and observed, that both he and I had certainly a natural love for liberty ; and therefore made no doubt that he would be a competent judge, whether my reasons were solid. I had no need to tell him what my services had been, and how much the medicine chancery had been, from time to time, satisfied with them ; which appeared by their books, and the many orders I had received, declaring their satisfaction. I observed, that it appeared very strange to me, that I should, after so long and such distinguished services, be appointed only to take care of the health of an old woman,

man, though ever so great a favourite, which was no small objection to me ; for, if she should die of any disease, under my care, though I attended her night and day, and had the skill of a Boerhaave, yet it was not impossible that I might be blamed : That I could frankly submit to his decision ; but that none knew how long he might live, or incline to stay in Russia. Lastly, I observed, that my family at present consisted of two sons, and in all probability would soon increase : That if I should happen to die there, they might run a risk of losing their liberty, at such a great distance from their relations. To confirm the possibility of which, I related some observations of the like kind, which I had made, since I was in Russia, the thoughts of which made me frequently very uneasy. I, for these and the like reasons, conjured him to forgive me, and to befriend me so far as to get the Empress, and others concerned, to appoint me to some other place, and to pardon my not complying, especially as I had already impaired my health very much in such unhealthy hot countries. He answered in a very sympathizing manner, and desired I would wait a little till he spoke with the Vice-Chancellor Vorontsoff. I obeyed : He soon returned, and assured me, that he had been so successful as to satisfy both the Empress and others concerned, chiefly on account of my bad state



state of health, which, he told them, was certainly true. Lord Hyndford was glad that I succeeded so well: But at last I received a message in the beginning of June from the Earl to dine with him, where Dr Kaw Boerhaave would be, and required that I should come before dinner; because he had somewhat to impart to me which concerned me much. At my arrival the Earl told me, that he expected soon to be recalled: That he had solicited the King for that purpose, on account of his bad state of health; and therefore desired me to consider whether I was resolved to go home, or enter into the service; telling me, that the archiater had proposed to employ me as surgeon-general to the army commanded by Count Lacy; and that he was to do so, agreeable to the Empress's pleasure. I answered, that I would rather serve in the army or fleet, than in any place depending upon the capricious humours of courtiers; and that as the field-marshal was, by all reports, a very good man, I was willing to accept of that place. At dinner this affair was agreed to, without any difficulty; and, at the same time, the Earl and he were very merry at my refusing to take care of an old wife, though both agreed, that my reasons were very good.

Next morning I had orders to go to the reformed church, to have a new jurament or oath administered to me by the parson, in  
consequence

consequence of my advancement, and to repair immediately thereafter to the medicine chancery, where I would receive my commission and instructions. When I arrived at the church, I found one of the secretaries with the parson. We entered the church, and the parson was going to inform me what the nature of an oath was, &c. But I cut him short, by telling him, that he might save his time and trouble, because I was convinced the medicine chancery were well assured that I knew the nature of an oath as well as he, or any other ; and therefore desired him to proceed, as he was directed, without farther needless ceremony. This startled the self-sufficient priest ; but the secretary convinced him of the truth of my assertion ; and added, that it would be taken very ill, if he made any delay ; which at once eased his over scrupulous conscience, and me from the trouble of submitting to hear much of his pedantry and impertinence. Next day I received my instructions, and was appointed to wait on the college of war, for my dispatches from it.

I was at this time in some perplexity ; for, when I left St Petersburg last, my wife was not recovered of child-bed, but arrived in Moscow as soon as she and the children could, without danger, bear the severity of the weather ; consequently I had furnished my house with every thing necessary. I was afraid  
that



that I might have received orders to march to the army in Livonia in three days, nor could I altogether trust to the dilatoriness of the secretary. I therefore went to my *quondam* patient General Apraxin, who was president of the college of war, and told him the truth, begging that I might be indulged a few days to dispose of my coach, horses, and furniture. He advised me to call at the college daily in the morning, telling me, that they would be in no hurry, if I did not urge them, and ordered that I should acquaint him when ever I was ready. This advice had the desired effect, for I had disposed of every thing before they had once thought of writing any thing relating to my dispatches. Next morning, after I was ready, I went early to the general's house. I was told in the antichamber that he was in bed, but I had not waited long till I heard him call upon his servants. I entered the room, though forbid by his officers, and told him that I was ready to march at an hour's warning, and returned sincere thanks for his prudent advice. We had scarcely done speaking, when the principal secretary of the war-office appeared with a great bundle of writings, I suppose for the president to sign. The general asked him, If my dispatches were ready? The other answered, that he had not so much as heard any thing about them. The general seemed surprised at that, and observed,

served, that he did not keep his subalterns in good order, commanded him instantly to return to the war-office with me, and, without any delay, expedite my affairs by the time he should arrive, when he would sign in the office all the other affairs which were in readiness. We went out together. The secretary, very uneasy in his mind, asked me, Where my coach was? I told him that I had sold it, having no farther use for one; whereupon, to lose no time, he desired me to take a seat in his, for he imagined the general was very angry, telling me that he wished I had applied to him. I answered, that I was an intire stranger in the war-office, and had applied daily to the secretary, whose business it was to get ready my dispatches. When we arrived, they were not only informed of the general's angry orders, but commanded not to stir out of the office till I was dispatched, which was very soon effected; and next morning I, for the last time, departed from Moscow towards St Petersburg, in my way to Riga. General Apraxin was a gentleman of a good family, and though he was, I believe, justly esteemed an excellent president of the war-office, yet he never was reputed a good foldier. He was a kind honest man, and was unfortunate in carrying on the late war against the King of Prussia, for which he was, by the Empress's  
orders



orders arrested, and died suddenly under confinement.

Being quite ready, I went to the palace to return thanks to the archiater, demand his orders, and take my leave of him. He was writing somewhat, and desired me to sit down a little. Here I met with my old friend Monsieur Fusadier, who was at this time body-surgeon to the Empress. Whilst we were talking, the Empress entered the room in great haste, and passed us before we were aware of her being there. She went straight to the archiater, before he could pay any compliment, and begged he would use all his art to recover a lady dangerously ill, asking, at the same time, what hopes he had of her recovery. As near as I can remember, he said, Madam, all care, except that of decency, is needless; for she must die, nor have I the smallest hopes of her recovery. Upon this the Empress burst into tears, which she would have concealed: After she was composed a little, she asked, Who I was? he told her, and said, that I was to set out from Moscow directly for Riga to take care of the army, and particularly to attend the person of the Field-marshal Lacy. She deigned to advance to the place where I stood, and, with all the graceful sweetness with which goodness could inspire an illustrious personage, was pleased to say, we have been informed of you, we desire that you'll take as good care

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of the good old count's health, as you have done of Prince Golitzin's, for which you shall gain our esteem. She stretched out her hand, which I considered as a high distinction, and most respectfully kissed it. I had frequently seen the Empress, but never was so high her before : She was of a large stature, and inclineable to be fat, but extremely beautiful ; and in her countenance I saw so much mildness and majesty, that I cannot in words express them. Her hair was black, and her skin white as " snow unsunn'd." I humbly answered, that her Majesty's orders should be obeyed most religiously. She was pleased to say, with a placid smile, that she doubted nothing of it, and in an instant retired. At this time Count Rasumoffke was attending her Majesty. It is really surprising that a fat, though young woman, could move so cleverly as the Empress did, in so much that I could scarce hear her feet upon the floor ; but indeed her august presence had much disconcerted me.

Before I leave Moscow, I hope it will be agreeable to the reader to take notice of what passed worth observation in that city, during my stay there, which I shall do in as few words as possible. Formerly I observed, that, at our arrival in Moscow, I had recovered Prince Golitzin's son Michael, which excited the enmity of Dr Boenni, an Italian, who had taken care of him before my arrival ;



val; but the recovery prevented his hurting me any other way than by slander and detraction, to which he had no aversion. An opportunity, however, as he thought, soon offered of reducing me to the necessity of becoming his humble servant. One Prince Volkonske was taken ill of a very malignant fever: His relations sent for me on the 6th of May 1748: He was about fifty years old, and had been complaining two days before that, and had all the symptoms of a malignant fever. I attended him twice a-day, and prescribed every medicine which I thought could contribute to his recovery; and indeed he seemed to be in no danger. The prince's coach was sent for me every morning and evening; but, as on the 9th day of May no message came, I concluded, that he found himself either easier, or else had employed some other, of which I was very glad. On the 11th day, the coach was sent early, intreating me to make all haste: Having enquired at the liveryman what was the reason the coach was not sent the day before; and having been informed that Dr Boenni had that day been sent for, and had declared that I had mistaken the prince's disease, saying that it was only an intermittent fever, adding, that in a very short time he would restore him to health: But alas! said the servant, he is now delirious, and all his relations are afraid of him. I desired them to re-

turn

turn with the coach, and acquaint their master, that my other patients, who had used me with honour, required my attendance, and therefore begged to be excused. At dinner-time, the coach was sent a second time to my commander's, Prince Golitzin, with a letter to him, intreating him to persuade me to go. After observing to this good prince the danger I was in to contest with a physician, who might have it soon in his power to hurt my character, before I got it established, I consented to go. When I entered the room where my patient lay, the putrid smell alone was sufficient to convince me of the danger he was in; but when I advanced to the bed, and had taken notice of every symptom, I hesitated not to declare, that all hopes of recovery were now gone; whereas I left him in a very promising way. I added, that I would, after such a declaration, order nothing for him. I told them, however, that if they would send for Dr Blumentrose (who had been archiater to Peter II. a physician greatly famed, and very deservedly) though a stranger to me, I would take care that every thing should be done which he should prescribe, and desired them at the same time to send to the grand apothecary, and get a copy of all the medicines prescribed by Dr Boenni and me, that Dr Blumentrose might at once judge of this affair, without risking the patient. This was  
agreed



agreed to, though with difficulty, because Dr Blumentrose's fees were very high. Dr Blumentrose did me justice, and approved of every thing I had done: He agreed also with me in declaring the patient past recovery; but added, that strong vesicatories should be applied to the extremities, at which it was not easy to be grave, considering that he had just now declared that the young man was past all recovery, and hesitated not to tell him (for we spoke in Latin, when we did chuse the bystanders should not know what we were talking about) that this advice surprised me; but the old and artful son of Galen gave me a lesson, which was, that in Moscow, unless you order vesicatories to be applied, they imagine that you do not believe the patient to be in danger; but, said he, if vesicatories be ordered, whether you mention danger or not, they take it for granted that you believe him to be in a bad way. He assured the prince's relations that Dr Boenni had mistaken the disease, and hesitated not to say, that the prince might have recovered, if Boenni had not crossed my course, and followed his own. The prince, according to our prediction, died on the 13th. This affair hastened Boenni's retreat from Moscow to his native country, Italy. I thought proper to write this, to let the reader see that such baseness can be soon detected and punished in Russia, which is not the case here; for

for here it is easy, in a clandestine way, to hurt the reputation of the best of men, nor can this villainy easily be detected, so as to get the author punished. If Boenni had not retreated, I could have had justice done with great ease ; but as it happened, I was no loser, as in a very short time the news of this affair was related through the houses of the most illustrious and intelligent people in Moscow ; and, though he was not punished, my character was vindicated.

Having been informed, that many reliques, curiosities, and variety of riches were to be exposed in the metropolitan church in the Cremlin, or castle, where the ancient imperial palace stands ; I, during the week after Easter Sunday, expressed a desire of seeing all these things ; but I was told, that people went out of devotion ; and at such a time they apprehended it would be dangerous for any who did not profess the Greek religion, and consequently cross themselves, and kiss the reliques, to appear there ; for the priests gave out, that all strangers, particularly of the reformed religion, held such solemnity in great derision. At last however, we fell upon a scheme, which succeeded, though not without some danger of a discovery. I went with Prince Golitzin's children, and when we entered the church, I received a cloak, as if I had been a superior servant. In the greatest area of the church were placed



ced two tables, declining on each side, as long as the church was broad, excepting a narrow passage left for people to go by the ends of them. Upon these tables, on each side, were placed the reliques, consisting of many thousands of bones, and other things belonging to the saints; some of them were very much decayed, but had the ends covered with silver; and some fingers and hands were there dried, as the people in Norway dry their fish. The devotees go by the sides of these tables, kissing, with great devotion, many of them, while a priest goes along, bawling out their names, and what wondrous things they had done when living, and since their death, particularly in curing diseases. We scarcely had gone round one of these tables, when one of the priesthood, who was standing at the end, to take care lest any of the devotees might make free to steal some precious stones or metal, called out, that he had observed me to go round one table, without once either making the sign of the cross, or kissing any of the reliques; I made answer that, after the prince had none, it would be time enough, and more respectful for me to begin; this satisfied them, and I escaped without having been challenged a second time. After they had paid their devotions, and gratified our curiosity with what was to be seen there, we were led through other apartments, where they

they buried their emperors, and kept some of their principal reliques, and an incredible store of riches. Amongst the rest, we saw one of the nails which pierced Christ's hand. This was kept in a case of gold, of very curious workmanship, adorned with precious stones. It very much resembled a long rusty nail, with which smiths in Britain fix the iron to their cart wheels, but longer. We were next presented with a piece of Christ's vesture, which was wrought like stocking work, of a brown colour. I cannot deny that at the sight of these, whether they were true or false, I was suddenly seized with a very strange inexpressible melancholy, which did not soon leave me, and cannot help thinking that exposing such reliques seldom, and with solemn ceremony, must have a very good effect upon people, who implicitly believe whatever their priests teach; for I could observe evident signs of the passions of many people having been put into very great commotions at the viewing of these reliques, said to have been our Saviour's. We next were desired to view the sepulchre of their Emperor Demetrius, who was murdered when young, and whose body decayed not. The body, if there was any, lay in a sepulchre of marble, whose sides were so high, that I could not see into it. It was covered with rich silks, upon which were many thousands of pearl and precious stones fixed



fixed with needle-work. They indeed uncovered it, to let the devotees view the imperial saint, and people of small stature were helped up, but, I believe, not with any design to let them have a sensible view of what was there; for they helped me up also, but instantly let me down again, telling the bystanders, that I had been honoured with a sight of the holy Emperor's face and hand; neither of which I now declare to have seen, though I thought it very expedient, when I was there, not to contradict them, especially as they asked me no questions. In a small apartment by themselves, we saw the sepulchres of Ivan Vasilyitch the tyrant, and his Empress; and what surprized me not a little was, that these two sepulchres were covered with the richest silks in the church, except the young Saint Emperor. Notwithstanding that, the Russians universally hold the Emperor Ivan Vasilyitch to have been no Saint, but one of the most terrible tyrants that ever disgraced humanity. It were better, if possible, to forget the very existence of such execrable wretches, and not preserve the remembrance of them by marks of honour and renown. But it appears, that tho' the Russians hate this tyrant's cruel actions, they nevertheless profess so great respect for his imperial family, that they thus venerate his sepulchre and that of his wife.

In many of the Russian churches I have seen prodigious riches ; and I believe, were they all put together, they would not equal what I saw in this ; but yet I was assured, that the Trinity Monastery, sixty versts distant from Moscow, is by far the richest monastery in Russia.

Soon after my return from St Petersburg to Moscow, I was sent for to visit one of the Empress's principal secretaries about her domestic affairs, who was said to be a great favourite. When I arrived he was in bed, but soon put on a night-gown, and sat down at a table. The accounts he gave me about his complaints were very confused, and indicated no distinct disease, but frequently contradicted one another. It has been my custom, when I found it proper, to tell my patients the truth ; and therefore I told the secretary, that although I had been long conversant with sick people in many large hospitals, besides my private patients, I was very much at a loss to form any just idea about his disease. I observed to him, that his pulse, and all the non-naturals, according to his own account, seemed to be unexceptionably good ; that therefore I imagined he had no other complaint that was not, in a great measure, imaginary. He was a good-natured man ; smiled, and said, that his indisposition was only some disorder in his stomach ; and that if I would order some  
bitters



bitters for him, he doubted not that they would recover him. I answered, that as such medicines could not hurt him, I had no objection, and immediately wrote for them. I had been there but a very short time when three gentlemen entered, and familiarly took their chairs. My patient told me that they were his friends and subsecretaries, who frequently came and passed the evening with him, when the hurry of affairs was over; and said, that he would take it very kind, if I would sup with him and them; to which I easily consented; but I began to reflect, that many foreigners have been privately arrested by such people, which made me extremely uneasy. The secretary observed it, and suspecting the cause, gave me the strongest assurance of friendship and freedom in every thing. I was determined at once to know something of my real situation, and acknowledged, that I, being a stranger, could not help being concerned, though I briskly added, that, in respect of justice, I had nothing to fear, and did not care if all my public and private actions, since I had the honour of serving in Russia, were laid before the Empress herself. Upon this they assured me that I was very safe, and said, that the Empress had been informed about me, and that if I would accept of a place in the guards, I should be employed there, which, they affirmed, was the same as

if I were employed by the palace. I acknowledged my obligations to them, but declined that employ ; and told them, that I liked the service of the fleet, army, or hospitals, as they were more certain and less precarious than any in the palace.

After this frank declaration, they promised to speak no more about it, and kept their promise. The principal secretary artfully brought in a discourse about our Persian expedition ; the reason of which at first I did not understand : However, I was much on my guard. At last the history of Backunin the consul was required, which was related with all candour on my side ; and thus we spent the evening very agreeably. At parting, the secretary desired I would pay him a visit next evening, which I promised to do, and drove home ; where I no sooner arrived, than I was told that Prince Golitzin wanted to see me immediately. I lost no time in driving to his house, where I found him with Major Berezin, the rest of the family being all in bed. The prince asked me many questions concerning what passed at the secretary's, and I informed him of every thing. At which he was well pleased, and intreated me to go there as often as the secretary desired ; telling me that he was his good friend, and intended me no hurt, but wanted much to be well informed about Backunin, who was arrived in Moscow.

And



And he further desired, that I would come to him every night after I left the secretary, before I went to my own house. This I did pointedly. In short, the secretary and his companions engaged me five nights successively ; and begged that I would not take it ill, if they took down some notes of my recital : I assured them, that what I said was true ; and therefore they were at liberty to write it all, which I should not scruple, if required, to subscribe. Accordingly, they wrote several parts of my narration, but did not desire me to sign them. At last the prince had leave to pay his respects to the Empress ; who, it was said, received him coldly, and explained herself by throwing out some accusations that were lodged against him by Backunin. The prince begged, that he might remain no time under her displeasure, but that she would be graciously pleased to order the senate to canvass these affairs as soon as possible. The Empress was graciously pleased to grant his request, and forthwith dispatched her orders to the senate to leave off all other affairs, till Backunin's accusation of Prince Golitzin was tried and ended. The senate assembled next day, and sent for Backunin ; who, like a fool, appeared with a sword. They showed him the sword which Prince Golitzin had taken from him, and asked him, How he came by another ? He answered, that he had other

two,

two, and therefore put on the other ; which the senate instantly deprived him of, and called over his affairs at once. All the gentlemen, except Major Cherkessoff, who had written every thing which he knew concerning Backunin's transactions, were present in Moscow, who had been in Persia, and therefore the senate was at no loss to find out the truth : So that they ended this mighty affair in one day ; and reported to the Empress in the evening, that Backunin was certainly guilty of very many hainous crimes deserving death ; and that his accusation of Prince Golitzin was absolutely false in every respect : For which reason the senate had ordered him into close confinement, till her imperial Majesty's pleasure should be known.

The next morning, after the Empress had received the report from the senate, I was well pleased to see every branch of that very illustrious family of Golitzin in high spirits, and full of gladness. Whenever the princess saw me, she desired me to walk with her into a room by ourselves, and there she gave me the following narration.

Yesternight, said she, you know what uneasiness I suffered on account of the base Backunin, which was increased by the senators having communicated no part of their transactions to the prince ; neither would he send to know, though I intreated him with the greatest earnestness. In this perplexity



ty I went to bed : I could sleep none ; the prince seemed altogether insensible of any danger, frequently laughing at my weakness. At last he went to bed, and instantly fell asleep. He had not slept one hour when I heard a very uncommon rude noise at the gate. Many of the servants, afraid of fire, ran to the gate, to know what the meaning of it was. At last our valet de chambre entered the bed-chamber, and told the prince, that an esdavoy, or messenger, from the Empress, waited for an audience of the prince. At hearing of an esdavoy's arrival from the Empress, I lost, said she, at once, all my faculties, and could not help screaming out, that our family was undone. The prince begged of me to keep my temper ; telling me, that it was impossible any danger could happen. But, said he, if God would have it so, we ought to submit, like good Christians. He rose from his bed, put on his morning-gown, and calmly ordered the esdavoy to come to him. He demanded what orders he brought from her imperial Majesty, with the greatest composure. The esdavoy answered, Long may your illustrious family continue in the Empress's high favour ; you are highly esteemed by her Majesty : She has been graciously pleased to command me to come and tell you, that she is glad to find, by a report given in from the senate, that you are the same honourable person

person she had ever esteemed you ; and that Backunin is a villain, more vile than you had represented him. She has sent orders for your Excellency to take your places at the council-board, and at the senate ; and she has constituted you president of the board of admiralty, declaring the embassy to be at an end. She has appointed your eldest son Alexander, (now vice-chancellor of Russia,) to be a counsellor by her imperial palace. She has ordered your second son to remain sometime yet with Count Golofkin the Russian minister in Holland. And, lastly, she has constituted your third son, Michael, a serjeant by the horse-guards. (This is equal to a captain, if sent to the army.) These are the commands her Majesty ordered me to communicate to you, without loss of time.

The good old prince returned thanks to God, and asked his princess, If she had an hundred rubles in the house ? She answered, that she had only about eighty ; he directed his valet de chambre to get twenty from the major ; saying, he never could give a less sum than an hundred rubles to a messenger like him ; and at the same time dressed, and ordered his coach to be got in readiness. He went to the Empress to return, I dare say, sincere thanks for the favour and honour she had been pleased to confer upon his family. She told him, that she had ever



ver entertained a very good opinion of him, particularly for his steady honesty, which, she was certain, nothing could shake: That she had promised, before he set out for Persia, that she would, if he happened to die in that expedition, to patronize his family; and that though he had returned in safety, she nevertheless would continue to show them evident marks of her high esteem. She asked, How Princess Tatiana had behaved, for that was Princess Golitzin's christened name, when the esdavoy entered his house? He told her just what I have written above, and how much she was alarmed. At which she laughed, and said, that she expected it would be so, because she was a woman of high passions.

N. B. There are about sixty esdavoyes kept attending the palace, to be always in readiness to be sent upon any extraordinary affairs, and one of these fellows have been known to take, by the imperial order, the greatest subject in Russia into custody; so that it is no wonder that the princess was alarmed, when a message was sent by one of them at that time of night; for they are oftener sent with disagreeable messages, than with such as I have just now related.

The Empress said that she believed Backunin to be a very great rogue, and that she thought he should suffer some exemplary punishment for the several faults he had been

guilty of. The prince said that undoubtedly he was a very bad man, and deserved to be very severely punished; and added, that her Majesty was the best judge of that, but begged to inform her that he Backunin had a wife and many children who had been guilty of no fault, and therefore recommended them to her Majesty's care. What became of him, I know not, but so long, as I was in Moscow he was kept in close confinement: But his wife was assured that no harm should happen to her and her children.

#### C H A P. XXXVII.

*Of the Author's travels from Moscow, by St Petersburg to Riga, and what passed there.*

N O doubt I could have written many more anecdotes during my stay in Moscow, but my book is now swelled to a greater size than at I first intended, and therefore I must drop them. I shall take no notice of the different stages on the road from Moscow to St Petersburg as that has already been done in the first volume of this work. As Mr Tatishoff's village however was distant three miles from the road, his relations desired I would carry a small parcel, which they would not chuse to send by a servant.



servant. This I could not refuse, though it is not free of danger to befriend state prisoners, but I told them that I would send it by a servant from the village near his house; as I could not go there myself. I did so; and set out from Moscow on the 12th of June 1749, and arrived in Kline eighty versts distant, on the 13th. I immediately sent off from thence an express with the parcel, and a letter begging to be excused that I did not pay my respects to him, because I was hurried, he sent his coach for me, and intreated that I would pay him a visit which he wrote would probably be the last, as it truly was: I therefore went, though much afraid. When I arrived, he said, as he had promised, that he would not detain me one hour. I supped with him, but was very uneasy during that time, which I do not believe exceeded an hour, as he railed against the Empress and ministry the whole time. His patience was quite exhausted, and his hopes of enlargement were at an end. He made me a present, and desired that I would answer any letter he might write me concerning his health. I promised to give him at all times my best advice: But begged that he would write me nothing but what concerned his health. At this time, I told him, that if he designed to have his history of Russia, which he had been writing many years ago, published, I would  
take

take it along with me, and send it directly by some safe hand to the Royal Society in London, who I doubted not would be at the expence of getting it translated and published in English : But he replied that something was still to correct, and that he had offered it to the Royal Society for a certain sum, but that they had not answered his expectation, and therefore he was determined to let it take its chance. Thus I left my old patient, Privy Counsellor Tatishoff, for the last time, nor did I ever hear more from him, but was told that he died, about half a year after this, of some short illness, worn out with care, shagreen, anger and age. I arrived in St Petersburg on the twenty second of June, and was entreated to stay there a few days to give advice about Commodore Paton, who laboured under the excruciating pains of a cancer in his tongue, which had destroyed near one half of it, and was spreading over the fauces. He died about two months after I left St Petersburg. Having finished my affairs there, I left that city for the last time, and went with my whole family on the second of July to Narva, one hundred and thirty four versts distant from St Petersburg; from Narva to Eurioff or Derpt one hundred and seventy two versts, from Derpt to Riga two hundred and twenty seven, in all from Petersburg to Riga five hundred and thirty



thirty three versls; and this I accomplished with a young family, in seven days. Livonia is very different from any part of Russia; the people have more liberty, but they pretend to more than their due, even so much as to distress the traveller. At a village in Estonia I arrived in the evening, the peasants were so brutal that they neither would sell nor give me grass for my horses, though I had travelled a long way, and was necessitated to let them have a few hours rest, and feed them. I threatned to take cut grass which was there in great plenty, and they said, that if I did so that they would complain to their Landts Raadt, who is much the same as a justice of peace with us. Upon enquiry I was informed that the Landts Raadt lived at a great distance, so that I could make no complaint of them, nor could I break their barbarous obstinacy by any civility I could shew them. I offered them a reasonable price, telling them at the same time, that I was certain no law could oblige me, to let my horses starve in the midst of plenty: At last, fair means proving ineffectual, I ordered the soldiers to take as much as was needful: But forbade them to imbezzle any. In the mean time, the boors threatned in language not very supportable, but I contented myself by letting them know that if they offered any violence either to my servants or soldiers, I would order them to fire  
upon

upon them without any regard to the consequence, seeing I had in vain sought things in the fair and easy way. This had the desired effect. They indeed pretended to send off to their Landts Raadt; but I never heard more of it. Before we set out, however, they were glad to beg the money I had formerly offered them, the receipt of which seemed very agreeable to them. They said, as an excuse for their obstinacy, that they were afraid that we would not have paid them, as many gentlemen belonging to the army had formerly treated them in that way. At Derpt one of the axletrees of my waggon was in bad order, I therefore sent for a tradesman to make a new one, which he did, but exacted, as I had not bargained with him before hand, a most exorbitant price, and my landord advised me to pay it; because, he said, that the judge of the city would oblige me before I could go from it. As I was a stranger, and not acquainted with the Count I paid him; being afraid that complaints about such trifles might have had a very bad effect; But when I became acquainted with Count Lacy, I informed him of both these pieces of imposition.

As soon as I arrived in Riga, I waited on the Field-marshal Count Lacy, and presented my instructions, and an order from the college of war to him, who received me very obligingly, and said that he would give orders



ders in the morning, that the gentlemen of the army, garrison, and hospitals should receive me according to the regulations, which was done, and I entered immediately upon business.

The army immediately under the count's orders were about one hundred thousand men, with a noble train of artillery, consisting of one hundred pieces of battering brass cannon, besides many mortars, and other pieces belonging to them. The garrison consisted of six regiments, about nine thousand men; besides these, there was a body of engineers. By the army every regiment had a field hospital; but at Riga there was built a general hospital for receiving the sick and wounded who had dangerous symptoms, from the whole army. Every regiment in the garrison had its own proper hospital, as had the artillery and engineers. By the army were two physicians and a surgeon-general; every regiment had a surgeon, a mate, and for every company two firulnicks; these are men who can let blood, and do many little chirurgical operations. By the garrison there was a physician, and also a surgeon, with firulnicks for every regiment; besides these, I was ordered to inspect their hospitals as often as the affairs of the army would permit. My instructions were to attend the field-marshal's person closely when he was sick, but, at other times, jointly with  
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the physicians, I was ordered to visit the general hospital, and the other hospitals belonging to the garrison, twice every week at least, and the hospitals belonging to the field regiments at least once every summer: That I was to receive regular reports from all the surgeons immediately under the count's command, and out of them form two general reports, viz. one for the army and artillery, and one for the garrison, to be sent to the medicine chancery every month; from which the Empress or council at war might know the state of the army every month; but if any pestilential disease was to make its appearance, couriers were to be sent express with reports.

## C H A P. XXXVIII.

*Concerning what passed in Riga.*

**L**IVONIA is bounded by Ingria and Novogorod Velike, on Estlandia on the north, the gulf of Livonia and Courland on the west, Semigallia on the south. It is about one hundred and sixty five miles long from south to north, and one hundred and eighteen in breadth from east to west. The fifty-sixth degree north latitude confines its south borders, and fifty-eight degrees thirty-four minutes its north. The west side is  
marked



marked out by the forty-first degree east longitude, and the east side by the forty-sixth. Riga, the capital, is built on the side of the river Dina in the forty-first east longitude, and the fifty-sixth degree fifty minutes north latitude. This city is very well known, it is not large, but pretty well fortified to the land, though in my time it was rather weak on the river side. The inhabitants are governed by their own magistrates, called burgo-masters, and a number of counsellors; their decisions, however, are appealable to the Court of St Petersburg. The keys of the city are lodged every night with the principal burgo-master, and the gates are watched by a strong body of garrison-soldiers.

In my time Count Lacy was not only field-marshal of the army, but also general-governor of the conquered provinces, and yet even his private transactions were subject to the review and reversal of the Empress: For instance, he had two sons and many daughters, all married: He was very rich both in land and money, and, it was said, that he sent his money yearly to the bank of Amsterdam. The Empress Elisabeth some years by-past had given him large possessions of lands in Livonia. As the count was very old, he thought proper, in my time, to sell these lands to Counsellor Campenhausen, a Livonian gentleman. The bargain was completed in Livonia, the money paid to the

4 F count,

count, and all the writs finished according to the law of the country : When the Empress, however, was informed of it, she sent an order to the chancery of Livonia, letting them know, that, although she had given the field-marshal such lands for his long faithful services, yet she did not design that either the count or any of his successors should have it in their power to sell what she designed should remain in the Lacy family, as a mark of the high imperial esteem conferred on him; and therefore commanded the count to return the money to Mr Campenhausen, and receive and keep the lands as formerly.

The Livonians profess the Lutheran religion, nor do they permit any Roman church in the city of Riga. However, to testify the great regard which they had for Count Lacy's person, they permitted two priests to live in the city near the castle, but prohibited their having any public worship, excepting in the count's palace. They expressed their gratitude more effectually still by an annual present of two thousand ducats and firewood, which they never gave to any before the count : But I suspect that the Russians will probably learn the burghers to continue that annual gift to the count's successors ; for I have known instances of their not over-strictly adhering to the capitulation agreed with the Livonians. The citizens pretend to liberty, and the Russians acknowledge it, but



I imagine it is only the shadow of liberty.

The Livonian nobility and gentry meet in Riga once or twice annually, to regulate their country affairs. In these meetings, they, with the consent of the Court of St Petersburg, lay on small taxes, and make by-laws respecting their police, but they can do nothing of themselves. Their nobility and gentlemen are not obliged, as the Russians are, to serve in either the army or fleet; neither can they serve any other power without permission from Court. The peasants are all in a state of slavery, nor do they live so well as the Russian boors. Some parts of Livonia are very rich, but the greatest part which I have seen is a poor sandy soil, especially about Riga. Riga carries on a very great trade with all the northern nations, though they have no ships of their own. I was credibly informed, that about one thousand sail of ships visit this port once every year. Seven versts west from Riga, where the Dina unites with the sea, stands, on an island, one of the strongest fortifications in Russia; the walls are well mounted with cannon. This fort is called Dinamind, or the mouth of Dina. No ship can pass by this castle; and, I have been told, that a man of war cannot approach it, the water not being deep enough.

Soon

Soon after my arrival, I went and visited not only all the hospitals, but also all the different regiments which lay within fifteen or twenty versts of the city. This great army was commanded by Count Lacy, and under him Lieut. General Lieven, General Brown, and General Strechnoff, all of them gentlemen of great honour.

It signifies little to the reader, what kind, or how many patients we had in our hospitals : It is enough to say, that in the army we had from between five or six hundred to two or three thousand sick daily, and these were not many in proportion. In the garrison we had many more sick compared with the army ; for out of six regiments we had seldom less than one hundred and eighty, and very often, especially in the spring and autumn, we had seven or eight hundred, and sometimes a greater number. In the army I had no manner of reason to be dissatisfied ; but in the garrison every thing was in confusion. In the army the physicians and surgeon-general, my predecessor, had kept the surgeons strictly to their duty, according to the regulations ; but it was quite otherwise in the garrison, of which I shall take notice hereafter ; and this was occasioned by appointing to the garrison-hospitals one of the most ignorant physicians, only for being son-in-law to the late Archiater Fisher. As this man was supported by great men at court,



court, none of my predecessors gave themselves any trouble about the garrison, because they could not do any thing effectually, without risking a quarrel with Dr Graff, for this was his name, which the fear of his great protectors at court rendered dangerous.

I was not long in Riga, when I received the following piece of history from good authority, viz. One Dr Fonderholst, a German, was, a few years before my arrival, physician to the army : He was said to have been a man of learning, but of no great foresight. He happened to receive an affront from one of the great lords at court, and who was in great favour with the Empress, which he, the doctor, not only would not put up with, but lampooned him severely, and rendered him very ridiculous. The lord had the address to get the doctor sent to Siberia, it is said, unknown to the Empress, and in the following manner : One day, as the doctor was attending the field-marshal, who was sick, a captain of the guards arrived with expresses from St Petersburg, and demanded immediate audience : He was introduced, and whispered somewhat in the field-marshal's ear : He desired the doctor to amuse himself in the great hall, till he had ended some business with the captain ; when that was done, the doctor was again called upon, and, when he had given the field-marshal his advice about some  
ailment,

ailment, which he at that time laboured under, was going to retire, the count desired him to come to dinner, because he might need his farther assistance ; and at the same time invited the captain of the guards to dine, telling him, that he was not able to sit at the table himself, but the vice-governor, Prince Dolgaruka, who was present, would bear him company ; this was agreed to. At dinner the captain told the vice-governor, that a relation of his, in his way to the army, was suddenly taken ill of some disease, and was obliged to remain in a house only distant about three or four versts from the city ; therefore desired the prince to appoint some sufficient physician to visit him, for which he would be handsomely considered. The vice or deputy-governor pointed to Dr Fonderholst, saying, this gentleman is physician to the army, and one of the ablest physicians in Riga, therefore he could not be better served ; and at the same time politely desired the doctor to visit the supposed gentleman. Dr Fenderholst agreed, and was giving directions to his servants to get his coach ready, when the prince told him, that that was needless, as his coach was large enough to carry them all to such an inconsiderable distance. After dinner, when they had arrived at the house where they pretended the sick gentleman was supposed to be, and had taken a few glasses of wine, the  
doctor



doctor desired to see him ; but was answered, that he was a state prisoner by order of the cabinet ; and therefore they advised him to make no resistance, but go into a travelling waggon ready at the door ; telling him at the same time, that if he offered the least resistance, he would be bound fast with ropes, and might be very cruelly treated on the way by the serjeant and soldiers, who were appointed to convoy him to his place of destination. Thus this man was convoyed to Siberia, and there (in some pitiful town) was long immured, or kept in a hole in the wall, with only a small slit, through which he received his provision. It seems he had some money about him when he was arrested, but the captain took nothing from him except his sword. The soldiers on the way robbed him of his watch, but he concealed what little money he had from them. He was at no loss to see that his money could not maintain him long, and likewise, that he, who had been accustomed to live in luxury, could not long support himself with such poor provisions as are allowed to such prisoners ; therefore he affected to be a fortune-teller, and gave instructions to the soldiers who kept guard upon him, frankly giving them the half of what he got by his art.

The soldiers were acquainted with many of the superstitious inhabitants, and told the doctor every thing concerning them before they

they came to him, which he repeated to them, whereby his fame, as a wise man, spread far, and he got something to support himself. Having no books, nor any company who could in the least help him to pass his time in this miserable situation, he got a few hens, and diverted himself with feeding them. He gave their eggs a black colour, and wrote upon with a pin, (*den ungelucklick Doctor Fonderholst.*) *Ungelucklick* signifies unfortunate. These eggs he sold to the inhabitants as charms, or some such things. They knew not the meaning of the writing, but thought it made the eggs more valuable. After the doctor had been many months thus confined, one day the governor's lady set up in this village, in her way from Russia to Siberia, and wanted eggs, amongst other things, for dinner. The hostess told her, that there was in this place a prisoner, a very wise man, who sold extraordinary eggs. She desired to see them; and as she understood the German language, she was surprized to see wrote upon them the name of the physician, who, a few years before that, had recovered her from a very dangerous fever. She went to the hole, and spoke with the doctor; then she applied to her husband, and got his situation made much easier; and as she was a great favourite with the Empress, she wrote to her Majesty, and represented his undeserved misfortune so pathetically,



thetically, that the governor received orders to liberate him, and send him on her expence to Moscow, where he received some of the money he had been robbed of, but recovered only a few of the valuable jewels which were embezzled when he was at first confined. When I went first to Moscow, Dr Fonderholt was arrived there, and all the people of that city were full of his story. Tho' he was not employed in the imperial service, he lived very well by his practice, and the inhabitants shewed great kindness to him.

After he was sent from Riga, the officers went to his house to seize what value and papers they could find. His servants readily let them in; but the doctor had a dog who bit many of them; nor would this faithful animal permit any to enter that room till he was shot. It was said that they got in gold and jewels in that room which the dog defended, to the value of twenty thousand rubles.

It was given out, that the doctor's crime was, his having treacherously kept up correspondence with some of the neighbouring princes: However, few people believed this, because it never was made evidently appear; and in Russia it is well known, that, when people are unfortunate, many crimes are laid to their charge, of which they are quite innocent.

The above story, which is very true, gave me so much uneasiness, that, I cannot deny, it frequently, not only through the day appeared to me most horrible, but also disturbed my sleep: Nor shall I ever forget it so long as I live.

### C H A P. XXXIX.

*Concerning the Citizens of Riga, Courland, and what happened there in the Year 1750.*

**T**HOUGH Riga and the inhabitants are very well known to merchants and sea-faring people, yet many of my readers may be desirous to be informed about them. The inhabitants of Riga are a very frank, kind people, and very polite to strangers. They live by trade, and have, by their policy, kept hitherto up a shew of liberty. I said, that the city was governed by four magistrates; but they have also a great number of counsellors, and a syndick. Their magistrates have a salary annexed to their office, and they are not permitted to trade during their magistracy; which, though elective, may continue as long as they live, providing they please their council. They have great power in the city; but if any think that they have not got justice, they appeal to St Petersburg, and frequently get the magistrates sentence reversed. They have many corporal



poral punishments, and inflict them with severity upon those who are not of the council. I knew a very base instance of their rigour. An inn-keeper's wife happened imprudently to reflect upon the injustice of the syndick, which was reported to him. He summoned her and her husband to appear before the court ; and the fact being proved, they sentenced the woman to appear in the market-place, when thronged with many people, and there take up her own coats, and receive a number of lashes upon her posteriors by the hands of the executioner. The woman was a very comely person, and a mother of some children : Her husband offered to pay a considerable sum of money, to prevent so shameful and painful a punishment ; but all would not do ; she was obliged to obey. If she had not submitted to this vile sentence, she would *per* force have been punished in the same manner, but with much more severity. The people of Riga were obliged to be silent ; but the gentlemen of the army, who valued them not, and foreigners, ridiculed them so much for exposing the sex in so unbecoming and barbarous a manner, that, I dare say, there has not been an example of the like nature since. The Livonian women are very pretty, rather inclinable to be fat, but fine agreeable features. Their unmarried women are kept in very good order ; but it is said, that, af-  
ter

ter marriage, they do not pay great regard to chastity, against which they offend, not by stealth, but pretty openly. Their ladies of quality are very vain ; but, at the same time polite to those who pay them great respect.

Merchants wives, and other idle women, are to be seen at the doors of their houses, almost through the whole day, for no other reason than to see the gentlemen pass by, and receive their compliments. To such a length is this foolish custom come, that a man scarcely can be covered one moment, and therefore walk with their hats under their arms, like so many *petits maitres*. At my first arrival I took no notice of these idle women ; at which they were affronted, and called me an *ungehefliger Schotlander*, or an ill-bred Scotchman. Their quality consists of counts, barons, and gentlemen, which, altogether, they term nobles. In Riga there are three superb magnificent churches of the reformed Lutheran religion, and one chapel of the Puritan, supported chiefly by the British merchants. I was once present where it was observed to the Puritan pastor, that the British seldom went to the church. The pastor acknowledged the fact ; but said, that, notwithstanding thereof, the British were very essential pillars to it ; because, if it were not for them, the rest of those who profess their religion were not able either to uphold the church, or support the pastor.

Courland



Courland is such a country as Livonia, but there are more woods in it; and I think the soil is better, and not so very sandy. It is situated south-west from Livonia, and is but a small dukedom, subject to the crown of Poland, though the Russians, in my time, kept them greatly under; yet the Courlanders are much more free than the Livonians, and are ruled by their own laws.

The people are very like the Livonians, only I imagine the peasants are not such slaves; yet this I cannot certainly say, because, though I was twice in that country, my time was very short; but I am certain, that the gentry are much more at liberty than the Livonians; for they can go where, and do what they please; and are in their own country subject to their own laws. However, they have been of late much bridled by seventeen thousand Russian troops, who lay in Courland during the time I was in Riga.

The Courlanders, when their Duke was an exile, were governed by four great officers of state, in the same manner as if the Duke had been with them: Under them the country is governed by the gentry, many of whom are appointed judges, called Landts Raadts, or country counsellors. I imagine they have greater powers than our justices of peace; for I have been informed, that three Polish gentlemen can inflict capital punishments upon their boors. The e-

stablished

stablished religion is Roman Catholic ; but they are mild enough in Courland to those of the reformed. I suspect, however, that this is much owing to the Russian troops being there, for many of their officers are of the reformed religion, who would not have borne any restraint upon their religion.

Courland and Livonia are very plentiful countries ; they have not only enough for themselves, but are able to export great quantities of all sorts of grain. The capital of Courland is but a very small city, without any fortification : The walls are all in ruins, so that you may ride over them. I suspect that they are not permitted to rebuild them ; but Riga is one of the best fortified cities I ever saw. The citizens of Riga had a very high strong wall between the city and citadel, so that it would appear the citadel was under the authority of the city, in the time of the Swedish government, because the citadel lay exposed to the cannon of the city placed upon that high wall, which effectually covered the city from any attempt of the garrison in the citadel : But things are changed ; the high wall is thrown down, and the city lies exposed to the cannon of the citadel, which is separated from the city by a deep broad fossa, and high walls, well stored with cannon.

The late Earl of Hyndford returned to Britain through Riga, where he was much honoured by the good old field marshal. These



two great men seemed to vie with one another which of them should behave with the greatest politeness. I had been honoured with a letter from the Earl, acquainting me, that he expected to be in Riga on such a day, and desiring that I would not be absent. I obtained leave from the field marshal to go about twenty miles out of the city to meet the Earl. We arrived at Riga late, but the count had ordered one gate to be left open, that the Earl might meet with no stop, a piece of politeness that was never shown to any before. When the Earl arrived, he sent his secretary with compliments to the count; the count returned that ceremony by one of his general adjutants. Next day the Earl paid a visit to the count. The old gentleman took that so well, that he went down stairs, and saw the Earl placed in his coach; nor would he be hindered. Not satisfied with this, he had ordered his own coach to be got in readiness, he went into it, and ordered to drive immediately behind the Earl's coach to the house where he lodged, unknown to the Earl, who was not a little surprized with the novelty of this piece of politeness. When the count was going to return, the Earl proposed to convoy him to his castle; but this the count would not permit, telling the Earl, that if he did so, they would be obliged to drive after one another through the streets of Riga the whole day;  
for,

for, said he, I am determined to pay the last visit, having failed, by your Lordship's alertness, to pay the first, which good manners obliged me to have done. Count Lacy had a very sincere friendship for the late Earl of Hyndford, which he seemed to take pleasure in acknowledging in a very singular and ostentatious manner, upon every occasion which offered ; and which I was assured he never had done to any before, nor in my time of serving in that army. Next day the Earl crossed the river Dwina in a great storm of wind and rain, when the river was running thick with ice, in company with the late Mr Freir surgeon to the Russian guards, who was returning to his native country, and my late brother, who was killed at the Moro Castle, and his secretary. When they were in the middle of the river, they struck against a board of ice, by which means a plank was started from the bow, which, though a new boat, let in much water. No doubt, they were all in danger ; yet none could observe that the Earl was in the least alarmed. The boat-men had some fish in the fore end, which were washed in with the water. The secretary seeing fish, roared out, that they would be all lost, because, said he, there are numbers of fish already in the boat. The country people were carrying over some grains to feed their cattle, which was thrown into the river. Mr Freir had in  
the



the boat a trunk, in which he kept his most valuable papers. He imagined that they had thrown out his trunk, and expressed, upon that occasion, the utmost indignation and surprise, till he was assured that his trunk was still safe; however, though with difficulty, they got all safe to the other side.

## C H A P. XL.

*Concerning the Garrison at Riga, &c.*

I SAID before that I had no difficulty, though very much fatigue with the army, but it was quite otherwise with the garrison. In the Spring season the scurvy raged with the greatest violence, and swept away many men; you may read my description of it in Dr Lind on the scurvy page 338. When I saw what dismal havoc this disease would make in the garrison, I regreted the want of gardens, where fresh herbs, and excellent vegetables might have been nursed up for the use of the sick. One of the surgeons was honest enough to tell me, after taking my promise not to discover my author, that the great Father of Russia, Peter, had not forgotten the garrison hospitals of Riga, and showed me that one acre of land was by that great Emperor allotted to each hospital, but added that the physician

would not enter into any dispute with the superior officers of the regiments. These gardens were at that time dressed up for the use of the colonels, lieutenant-colonels, and majors, and the hospitals for which they were designed had not the smallest use of them. I thanked the surgeon for his information, and assured him that I was determined, in spite of any opposition I could meet with, to get the gardens restored to the sick. Accordingly I went directly to the garrison chancery, and demanded to see the books in which the garrison hospitals were instituted. This the secretary could not deny; there I found out that to each hospital was allotted an acre of ground for the use of the sick, and was ordained to be dressed by the soldiers belonging to the garrison: When I was in possession of so good authority, I represented the miserable situation of the hospital to the Field-marshal. He returned me thanks for my care, and desired me to give into his chancery a petition representing the state of the hospitals, and demanding the gardens to be restored, purely for the use of the sick. In doing this I lost no time; accordingly the gardens were instantly restored, and orders issued that the commissaries should be answerable for any the least embezzlement. Any one may see that I must meet with no friendship from the principal officers who had surreptitiously seized



seized upon these gardens : And Dr Graff was affronted that I had not acquainted him before I proceeded so far. I valued very little any thing they could act against me, and threatned to report the affair to the medicine chancery, which quieted them.

Now I began in earnest to project my exit out of Russia. My wife had born four sons, three of whom were living. I could not bear the thoughts of letting my children have a chance of losing their liberty, which undoubtedly they would run the risque of, if I had happened to die before they attained the use of their reason, and had resolution to insist upon their right. I represented their case and the views I had to their mother, and let her see the necessity there was for her going to Scotland with her children, assuring her that I would return to it next year. She very frankly agreed to my plan. I then went to my good commander the Field-marshal, and told him that it was necessary for my wife and children to be sent to the care of my relations in Scotland, and therefore I begged that he would befriend me, without much trouble, to grant them proper passports, telling him that I had at that time one of the best opportunities of sending them with Captain Scot for Dundee. He most readily granted the passports, and I lost no time in sending them away. My eldest son was seven years old, my second

was one year and five months, my youngest (named Piercy after the Field-marshal who stood godfather for him) was only two months. Probably this will be thought a barbarous action by some, to send a young woman with three infants into a country, where she was an absolute stranger: But I am pretty certain that when every thing is considered, the judicious part of mankind will be of opinion that I acted very right, as by this action, I preserved all our liberties. I risked very great hardships to preserve them. I risked every thing valuable to myself for their safeties: I sent them to the care of my father, and to a country where they could be educated in principles, which I always had judged best; and I provided for the liberty of those not then born. It is evident that I placed myself in the gap, and counted nothing too dear to deliver them from bondage. I cannot express the anxiety I was in at parting, and indeed, which continued till I saw them; for I imagine I was in no small jeopardy as the sequel will prove. I was obliged to bear the impertinent taunts and reproaches of several people, ignorant of the value I put on liberty, at sending them away; however the great inquietudes and commotions in my mind got some relief in about three months thereafter, when I received a letter from my wife acquainting me  
that



that they were all safely arrived in Scotland, and in good health.

My small family being now safely arrived in Scotland. I considered that my petitions, from Astrachan had never been honoured with any answer; therefore determined to petition for my discharge from the service; or if that could not conveniently be agreed to, I demanded one year to go for Scotland, where my family then was, in order to put my affairs in a regular way, that my wife and infants might not be liable to suffer any hardship by my absence: Such a petition I sent off soon after I was assured that they were arrived in Scotland, that they in the chancery might have, according to the regulations, one half year to provide themselves with another in my place.

In the month of August, a most dangerous fire broke out in a brewer's house built to the side of a magazine of hemp, which was contiguous to the greatest powder magazine in Riga. Upon this occasion, the citizens were in very great confusion, the gates of the city were all shut, and none was permitted either to go in or out. The good old Field-marshal had been complaining, but upon this occasion, he went out, and stood upon the magazine of powder during the whole time, though a cold night, and gave out his orders for extinguishing the fire. I attempted to get to him,  
but

but could not, the multitude, hurry, and confusion was so great. The danger was very dreadful, but by the care of our field-marshal it was at last extinguished. The generals flocked all about him, promised to do every thing to get it extinguished, if he would retire to the castle, but he would not, saying, that if Riga the metropolis was blown up, he would not survive it. By the vigorous application of the soldiers, under the eye of their field-marshal, it was at last extinguished, with the loss only of one house, although every one was expecting, every moment, that they would be blown up in the air : But it was the cause of a fever to the good old count, which, though he recovered it, was the cause of a cachexy, which at last sent him to his grave. Next morning he insisted upon being bled contrary to the opinion of all the physicians, and from this time, he continued in a very dangerous way, till the beginning of December, when he recovered some strength. In the time of his illness, expresses were sent to St Petersburg frequently with reports of his state of health ; at last, it was the opinion of all the medical people, that he ought not to be troubled with any business ; we communicated our opinion to him, and begged that we might be permitted to mention it, in our next report to the cabinet, to which he consented. Accordingly Prince

Dolgaruka



Dolgaruka our vice or deputy governor was ordered to take care of the affairs of the province, and four generals were commanded to take care of the army. At last, he was so far recovered, that on new year's day he went into a great hall where many hundreds of officers used to go to do business, pay their respects to the good old count, or see their friends. When the count appeared dressed in a brocade suit of cloaths with his sword by his side, and in all his different orders, the gentlemen shouted for joy to see once more the person who had led them, every where victorious, against their enemies. The count was extremely well pleased with this mark of their love to him, and stood speaking to them so long that I observed him shaking. I went to him, and put him in mind of his weakness. He turned to the gentlemen and told them that his own feebleness, and the doctor's commands, as he thought proper to express himself, would not permit him to stay longer there, made a bow, and retired for the last time from the gentlemen of the army, who truly adored him. That day arrived in Riga, in his way to St Petersburg, an ambassador from the court of Vienna, who dined with the field-marshal. When he arrived in St Petersburg he reported that the count was much recovered, and had, he hoped, escaped all danger: But by the time he reached

ed St Petersburg the case was quite other ways ; for that very night, after the ambassador had left him, he relapsed ; nor did he ever recover it.

When the Empress received such agreeable news, she sent orders to the war-office, that they should require the count to take the command of the army, and congratulate him on his recovery. By the time these orders arrived in Riga the count was worse by much, and took it ill of the council of war to require him, when in so feeble a state, to take the command. He ordered the secretary to return for answer, that he had taken the command ; nor should he ever part with it again till death parted them : That altho' he was no longer able to ride on horseback, he was determined to go where-ever it should be found necessary, carried in a litter.

At this time it was strongly reported, that, early in the spring, we should be ordered to march against the Prussians : But it is well known, that the differences were amicably made up between the courts of St Petersburg and Berlin at that time. I was present when the count gave these orders to his secretary ; but scarce had he done, when the post-master brought a great bag of letters ; I was informed that the number exceeded one hundred. Upon seeing such a number, we, who were not interested, retired,



tired, and there remained with the count only one or two of his sons-in-law to read the contents. After a short time I was desired to visit the count; and was told that the business was ended: I did so, and found him much fatigued with reading letters of congratulation on his recovery; the cause of which happened in the following manner: I was informed by undoubted authority, that when the Empress got notice of the count's recovery, she expressed as great satisfaction as if he had been her father; and with great joy ordered the above-mentioned orders to be sent: That General Apraxin, who expected to get a marshal's staff by the army, and some of his friends, accosted the Empress, telling her, that the field-marshal was worn out with age, and, at his time of life, was unable to command so great an army as was in Livonia. They therefore counselled her to appoint Count Lacy governor-general of the conquered provinces only, and constitute another field-marshal by the army. Whether the Empress saw through their design, or whether she acted according to the dictates of her own reason, I shall not determine; but her gracious answer was, That, from all accounts which she had ever got, Count Lacy had at all times behaved himself strictly as a man of the most unblemished honour: That she desired any present to produce one single instance to the contrary:

That no complaint had ever been made against him, either from the army or provinces ; but that she was well assured that he was revered as their father : That as he had served her father, his successors, and herself, without blemish, she was determined to maintain him in all his places of high trust and honour as long as he lived : And that if any durst attempt after that time, to dissuade her from that resolution, she was determined to make such feel the utmost weight of her resentment. These last words, it is said, she expressed with such an air, as made them all tremble. They flunk off ; and all the courtiers, and others, who heard of it, wrote letters of congratulation, and asked and returned thanks for favours. This great good man continued daily to lose his strength till the 19th of April 1751, when he died, universally lamented by all who had the honour of his acquaintance. His two sons arrived some months before his death, and attended him carefully till his last. The eldest remained at Riga when I left that city, but the youngest, who is at present field-marshal to the Emperor of Germany, returned soon after his father's death to Vienna. Count Lacy left Ireland when 13 years of age, an ensign in King James VII.'s army, and retired to France, where he served some years. He served six years in the Emperor of Germany's army, and entered into the Russian service as  
major



major in the guards, sometime before the battle of Narva ; and I was informed that it was owing to his destroying the roads in the rear of the Russian fugitives, which prevented the Swedes from pursuing, and making a more terrible carnage : From which time he served ever victorious, and greatly in favour of all the crowned heads, and much respected by all good men till his death.

It is needless here to trouble the reader with the many altercations which happened betwixt the malicious Dr Graff and me. It is enough to observe, that he had accused me of impossibilities, and falsely ; which I had well attested by the late field-marshal, and other respectable people in the army ; and what related to the medical affairs, I had attested by the physician of the army, and all the garrison surgeons. In short, I proposed to the most imperious and unjust Hollander, Kaw Boerhaave, to have our affairs tried by a court-martial, when I was certain, supported only by the regulations of Peter the Great, I should have little trouble in rendering him incapable to serve in Russia, or any other well regulated nation. And what respected his practice of medicine, I doubted not would be readily condemned by all the universities in Europe, to whom I was ready to appeal. The fear of this hindered him from causing the surgeons keep regular  
books

books in the hospitals ; but I had abundance of testimonials of his mal-practice, and of his either lettting the soldiers be starved, or fed with small portions of rotten fish, some of which I keep to this day, as a curiosity.

I have reason to believe, that my frequent sollicitations concerning these affairs hastened the happy time of receiving my discharge from the service. On the 3d of April the field-marshal caused read my discharge, which indeed makes very honourable mention of my long services ; then he caused read a memorial from the medicine chancery to him, which I was not expecting, requiring, that before my discharge should be given to me, I should be obliged to sign a paper, binding myself to return to the service in the space of one year, acquainting him that my place in the army could not be kept vacant during so long time. As I had lately obtained my degrees as phyfician, it was required that I should, before I left the country, acquaint the archiator or chancery in what post or place I was willing to serve. The good field-marshal then asked me, If I was resolved to go by land ? I answered, that I intended to wait till the shipping arrived, because the journey by land would be very expensive. Then he returned my discharge and the memorial to the secretary, saying, that, as I intended to stay so long, he expected I would assist him with my advice and attend-



attendance as long as I remained, and that it was but reasonable I should receive my salary as formerly for such trouble. A few days before the field-marshal died, a report was signed by Dr Shilling, physician to the army, and myself, declaring, that it was our sorrowful opinion, that the field-marshal could not put off many days longer; that all hopes of his recovery were at an end. Upon receipt of this, all written affairs were sealed up, and a report sent to the Empress by the vice-governor and generals of the army.

On the 19th, presently after the field-marshal's death, as I was going to the castle, I met the secretary, who delivered to me my discharge, without requiring any conditions, at which I was, no doubt, extremely glad: But when the field-marshal's papers were unsealed, the memorial, which I took notice of formerly, was found amongst them. Prince Dolgaruka, the vice-governor and my patient, sent for me, and required that I should sign a paper, obliging myself to return in the space of one year. I answered, that, if that had been desired before I had received my discharge, I would have complied, and would also have kept my word with as much truth as I had served long fifteen years; but said, that, as I had now got my discharge, I thought it unreasonable in the chancery to ask a free man to oblige himself to be bound to any country. The prince told me, that he could  
not

not answer to let me go till he heard from the chancery, or till I gave him such a writing. Thus we parted, ever in great friendship.

All the citizens of Riga mourned for the loss of the late field-marshal, and tolled their bells eight days. The army were not behind them in expressing their grief; and I lamented his death with as much sincerity as is possible for a human breast. I had great reason, for I had lost a most sincere and potent friend, one who would and could have effectually protected me against all the force of the medicine chancery, who very soon began to let me see that they intended to jump over the sacred walls of honour, justice, and truth, and, contrary to all laws human and divine, rob me of my salary, and even my liberty, notwithstanding the discharge they had given me, making the most honourable mention of my long services!

At the time when my discharge was first received, the field-marshal said, that as I had been long absent from Britain, he thought a declaration from him concerning my services in Russia, with his subscription and seal, might be of service to me. I could do no less than return him thanks for his kindness, and told him, that I thought I would be much honoured by it. He said, that if I wanted to serve any where in Europe, he doubt-

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ed not that it would be a good introduction; but was afraid it would not have much weight in Great Britain, where he lamented that every post or place was bought and sold, a very small value being set upon qualifications. Accordingly he ordered his secretary to make out a testimonial in the French language, which I retain, and value it very much, but have never made use of it.

## C H A P. XLI.

*Concerning my Transactions and Escape, after I had got my Discharge.*

**H**AVING now got my discharge, I wrote a letter to Dr Kaw Boerhaave, begging that he would cause payment be made to me, agreeable to Peter the Great's regulations, of my salary due by the medicine chancery, acquainting him at the same time, that I had sent a petition to the medicine chancery for that purpose. I waited one month in vain for an answer, and then wrote another letter to Dr Condoidy, vice-president at that time in the chancery, in which the nature of the subject obliged me to reflect upon the little notice taken of my petition and letter sent to the archiater; this I did with all decency: But the chancery, no doubt well knowing that they might have been obliged to pay me  
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out of their own pockets, at this time sent one, the most unprecedented order to Prince Dolgaruka that ever was heard of, except possibly, from a board of inquisition. It commanded the prince not to permit me to go from Riga till he received further orders: This order was received the latter end of May. A second order, still more surprising, was received from said chancery in the latter end of June. It commanded the Prince to send me from Riga to St Petersburg on my own charges, and to take from under my hand an obligation, that I should set out from Riga upon a certain day; that I should go by a certain road; and lastly, that I should be in St Petersburg, and appear in the chancery, against such a day as I should fix. I needed no spectacles to see into the design of such an inhumane and unprecedented order, and I hinted no less to the Prince, who could not deny that it looked as if they designed to seize me by the road, and he sincerely condoled with me. I observed to the prince, that he was ordered to let me go from Riga, but not until I had signed such an obligation as the chancery demanded: He assented to the truth of this; then I put him in remembrance of the care I had taken of himself and family, and only desired a few days, till I had laid my distress before the British minister, who, I imagined, could not fail to give me his protection, before



fore he the Prince made a report to the chancery, telling him, that I also would petition the chancery for justice, and send it with his report. To all this he agreed. I then sent off a letter to our minister Mr Guy Dickens, and related all my grievances, and only desired that he would make it known to the Empress, or get the Grand Chancellor to bring me to St Petersburg in safety, where, I doubted not, that I should make my enemies much ashamed of their actions, and very probably punished. I observed to the minister, that, as a British subject, I thought I had a right to demand his protection, to see that justice was done me, which if he did, I had no reason to be in the least afraid of any thing they could do. At the same time, I wrote to an acquaintance in St Petersburg, and desired him to speak with the British minister, and immediately send me notice, what he intended to do. By the course of the post, I received an answer from my friend, telling me that he had spoken with the minister, who said, that if I would come to St Petersburg, he then would protect me, but could not at that distance! and that he never designed to write me one scrap. I could scarcely believe that a minister from Britain would, or indeed durst neglect the security of one of their master's subjects; but in this I was mistaken. I could not soon find out

the cause of Mr Guy Dickens' indifference, especially as I waited on him when he passed through Riga, and offered him any services which were in my power: He also in his turn promised to do me any kindness he could; but, upon reflection, I suppose that the fright he was put into at the court of Sweden, a few years before this period, deterred him from protecting me; but it is evident to every person, that the cases were extremely different; for in Sweden it was said, that he received under his protection a person who had been plotting against the government, and my affair was private, relating only to my just demands. Thank heaven, I was so far from being one of such character, that at this day, if I was informed of any harm to come upon Russia, I would lose no time in contributing all in my power for its safety; and I am not ashamed to declare, that I honour Russia next to my own native country.

Finding no longer safety in Riga, having sealed up all my chests, and secured what money I had in that country, I privately left Riga, entered into a British ship, and safely arrived, on the 15th day of August in Dundee, to my great satisfaction. I, soon after my arrival, went to my wife and children, who were agreeably surprised, not having been informed that I intended to come home at that time.



time. Soon after my arrival, I applied to the late Earl of Hyndford (having been informed, by letters received from Riga, that Prince Dolgaruka would not let my baggage be sent to Scotland) for relief, who most readily required from me a *species facti*, and sent it off with a memorial from himself to the Grand Chancellor Bestucheff. Though the Earl was then at Carmichael-house, and vested with no public character, so much regard was paid to his powerful representation at the court of St Petersburg, that a very threatening order was sent to Prince Dolgaruka to send off my baggage in all haste, and with all care. The Prince was so alarmed with the said order, that Mr Wallace, the only Scotch master remaining at Riga, was ordered to receive them on board his ship, though he scarcely had room, who brought them safely to Aberbrothock in the same year in which I came home. From this it appears, that a proper minister can not only do great good to his country in general, but to every individual belonging to it; so that had the Earl been in St Petersburg when I left Riga, I would have had no great difficulty in getting all my arrears paid up; whereas I lost not only all my just demands, but much precious time, by the inaction or timid disposition of Mr Guy Dickens. My claim, however, being clear and well founded, I formed it into

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to a memorial, which I preferred to a great man at that court, and was favoured with this frivolous answer, “ That none would then speak to the Empress (Elisabeth) about any private affairs !”

F I N I S.

















