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MEMOIRS

OF

PETER HENRY BRUCE, Esq.

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A MILITARY OFFICER,

In the Services of

PRUSSIA, RUSSIA, and GREAT BRITAIN.

CONTAINING

An Account of his Travels in Germany, Russia, Tartary, Turkey, the West Indies, &c.

AS ALSO

Several very interesting private Anecdotes of the Czar, PETER I. of Russia.

LONDON,

Printed for the Author's Widow; and sold by T. Payne, and Son, Mews-gate; and all other Booksellers.

MDCCLXXXII.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Memoirs are taken from the manuſcript of an officer of great merit and undoubted honour. It is immaterial to add, that they are genuine, as they bear ſuch internal marks of authenticity, as will admit of no diſpute.

Any anecdotes that relate to the character of ſo extraordinary a perſonage as the Czar Peter, cannot fail of being acceptable to the reader; who will of courſe enjoy an additional pleaſure in receiving them from the pen of a man who was in his ſervice, and in his confidence. It is this circumſtance that will render it unneceſſary to apologize for any deficiency in point of ſtyle, as it is entirely diſregarded in this narration, the chief merit of which conſiſts in a ſtrict regard to truth, without the leaſt pretenſions to embelliſhments.

As

ADVERTISEMENT.

As the manuſcript leaves off abruptly, in the middle of the Rebellion, in 1745, it may be neceſſary to mention, that the author was, about that time employed in fortifying Berwick; and after having finiſhed that work he retired to his houſe in the country, where he died in the year 1757

CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

THE author's deſcent.—His grandfather's going into the Pruſſian ſervice.—John Bruce's marriage and deſcendants, and the author's birth, &c.—His entering into the Pruſſian ſervice.—Lines on the battle of Ramillies.—A remarkable ſtory of the author's landlady.—His firſt campaign.—His ſecond campaign.—Defeat of the French.—Siege of Liſle.—A remarkable accident to prince Eugene.—Captain Dubois.—A ſad accident to the enemy's cavalry.—Bon mot of the duke of Marlborough.—Siege of Ghent.—Third campaign.—Siege of Tournay.—Battle of Malplaquet.—Story of a Swiſs recruit.—Siege of Mons.—Fourth campaign.—Siege of Doway.—Siege of Bethune.—A ſad misfortune to ſix Scotch officers.—Sieges of Aire and St. Venant.—Terrible ſtory of the Jeſuits at Tournay. Page 1

BOOK II.

He goes into the Ruſſian ſervice, a captain.—Overtakes general Bruce at Pruſs-Holland.—A curious ſtory of a man at Elbing.—They arrive at Jaweroff, where the Czar is privately married.—General Bruce's rank and honours.—Account of the Ruſſian army.—Their numbers and cloathing.—Expedition againſt the Turks.—Council of war at the Neiſter.—Prince Cantamire joins them without any troops.—A ſwarm of locuſts.—The Turks appear.—The Ruſſians form on the river Pruth.—Engage the Turks three days.—The czarina ſaves the whole army and prince Cantamire.—The king of Sweden upbraids the grand vizier.—The Ruſſians return.—Colonel Pitt's lady and daughter carried off by the Tartars—The grand ſeignor approves the treaty.—Captain Bruce ſent expreſs to Conſtantinople.—Deſcription of that city.—Its moſques.—Accommoda-

ations for ſtrangers.—Strength.—The ſeraglio.—Scutari, a fine View.—The port and harbour.—Suburbs.—Arſenal.—Air and climate.—The Turks contraſted.—Domeſtic Accommodations.—Internal government of the country.—Religion.—Worſhip.—The plague.—Their games.—Diet.—Reſt.—Exerciſe of their youth.—Dreſs of their ladies.—Ointment of Pilo.—Their predominant intereſt.—Matrimonial privilege.—Concubine marriage.—Policy of their religion.—Severities on the amorous ſtranger.—Their laws for debt.—In criminal caſes.—Their puniſhments.—The channel of the captain's information.—New difficulties to the treaty at the Pruth.—Change of miniſtry.—A freſh treaty.—Freſh interruption to the peace.—Againſt which the czar remonſtrates.—Miniſtry again changed.—The Ruſſian ambaſſador, &c. ſent to the Seven Towers.—Mighty preparations for war, which end againſt the king of Sweden at Bender.—Reflexions. 33

BOOK III.

Marriage of the czarowitz.—The czar's celebration of his old wedding.—General Baur's diſcovery of himſelf to his friends and brother officers.—The empreſs Catherine's deſcent and riſe.—Prince Menzikof's riſe; and the czar's narrow eſcape from poiſon.—Expedition againſt the Swedes.—Deſcription of the city of Moſcow.—An ambaſſador from Perſia; a great fire in Moſcow. A young phyſician burnt by the clergy, who are therefore deprived of the power of life and death, and holidays and convents abridged.—Manners of the gentry.—Deſcription of the women.—Entertainments of the common people.—Marriage.—The princeſs Natalia's humorous fancy in the marriage of the dwarfs.—Three women puniſhed for drowning their huſbands.—The puniſhment of the knout.—The czar's birth and marriage.—A virtuous young lady.—Muſcovite robberies and murders.—The czar's danger by them.—Remarkable murder of Swediſh officers by Jews.—Suppreſſion of the robbers.—Seat of empire changed from Moſcow to Peterſburg.—A deſcription of the czarowitz's perſon and manners.—Ruſſian reſtrictions of conſanguinity in marriage.—Ridiculous cuſtom in burying.—Their images.—Their baths.—Manner of travelling.—Religious faſts. 69

CONTENTS.

BOOK IV.

City of Novogorod.—The Sterlit fiſh.—Marſhal Zeremetof's military miſtakes.—The readieſt method to get out of the Ruſſian ſervice.—The city of Peterſburgh.—The czar's uſual table.—His entertainments.—His preſent of boats to different ranks, and its good deſign.—An ambaſſador from Uſbeck Tartary.—A naval excurſion for his entertainment.—Cronſtadt and Cronelet.—Oranianbaum, Peterſhoff, and Catharinhoff.—The grand dutcheſs born, and the prince's behaviour on the occaſion. His diſreſpect to the czar.—Naval expedition, in which the czar was rear-admiral.—His gallant action with Ehrenſhield.—He takes Aland.—His triumphal entry at Peterſburg.—Promoted to be vice-admiral.—He compliments Ehrenſhield's bravery.—His ſpeech to the ſenate.—His reſentment of the czarowitz's diſreſpect.—He inſtitutes frequent ſocial aſſemblies and a royal academy.—Court-martial on admiral Kruys.—The order of St. Catherine.—Confuſions in the revenue, and the conſequent diſtreſs.—Many delinquents puniſhed.—Fiſcals appointed.—The czar's public entertainments.—Mr. Slitter's perpetuum mobile.—The old Finlander.—Hard froſt at Peterſburgh.—Experiments on bears.—Method of killing them. 109

BOOK V.

Deſcent upon Sweden.—Birth of the emperor's grandſon Peter, and death of the princeſs his mother.—The birth of Peter Petrowitz, ſon to the emperor.—A carnival.—The czar's double eagle.—The czar's attention to improve his capital and country.—His military rewards and puniſhments.—Thirty tall grenadiers for the king of Pruſſia.—A horrid murder at Riga.—Contributions on Dantzig.—His ſcheme in taking Weiſmar.—Conference with the king of Denmark and arrival at Copenhagen.—The combined fleets.—The Danes alarmed.—Refuſe ſubſiſtence to the troops.—A conference with the king of Denmark in his capital, with its conſequences.—The ſtory of lieutenant-general Bohn.—Oppreſſive ſcheme of the duke of Mecklenburg.—The diſtreſs of his people.—The czarowitz diſappears.—The captain refuſed leave to quit the Ruſſian

ſervice.—The czar's return from Paris.—The return of his army to Peterſburgh.—Diſorders in his abſence redreſſed.—Attempt to diſcover a north paſſage to India.—The fatal expedition of prince Beckwitz.—A new regulation at Peterſburgh, and a ſilk manufactory at Moſcow. 146

BOOK VI.

Return of the czarowitz to Moſcow, and his excluſion from the ſucceſſion.—His accomplices.—The princeſs Mary concerned in it.—The trial of the czarowitz at Peterſburgh.—His death and character.—The Swediſh field-marſhal Rheinſhield's return home.—Negotiation at Aland, for peace with Sweden, renewed.—King of Sweden's death.—The death of baron Gortz.—The fiſcal's information againſt the grandees for miſdemeanours, and their trial.—Prince Gagaren's unaccountable behaviour.—More of the czarowitz's confederates.—Death of prince Peter Petrowitz.—Prince Peter Alexowitz made a ſerjeant, taught his exerciſe, and made enſign.—Negotiations for peace renewed, but fruitleſs.—The czar reſolves to command it.—Memorable deſcent on Sweden.—The Britiſh fleet came too late.—The czar diſguſted with Britain.—The Jeſuits baniſhed.—The czar ſeized with a fit at Revel.—General Weyde's illneſs, and the czar's concern for him.—Affairs of Sweden.—Marſhal Weyde's death.—Ill treatment of his family.—His funeral.—The czar reproves Menzikof.—Captain Bruce's ineffectual attempt to quit the Ruſſian ſervice.—The new king of Sweden notifies his acceſſion.—A ſecond invaſion.—The Swedes attack our fleet with loſs.—The czar receives the duke of Holſtein into his protection.—Court martial on lieutenant-colonel Graves.—A curious law-ſuit between two brothers at Revel.—Freſh preparations againſt Sweden.—Propoſals on their part for a ceſſation of hoſtilities, rejected.—A third deſcent on Sweden, which obliged them to ſign the preliminaries, and conclude the peace.—The fleet and army in a ſtorm, and a child remarkably preſerved.—The fleet arrive at Peterſburgh.—The czar honoured by his ſenate with the title of Peter the Great, &c.—A wiſe reformation in the buſineſs of the law.—The captain again refuſed leave to quit.—Triumphal entry into Moſcow.—A proclamation and oath regarding the ſucceſſion. 181

CONTENTS.

BOOK VII.

The reaſon for the Perſian expedition.—Embark on the river Moſcow.—Niſmi-Novogorod.—Embark on the gallies.—The Ceremiſs Tartars.—Caſan Tartars.—Manner of fiſhing in the Wolga.—Kinds of fiſh.—Alabaſter quarry.—Bulgarian Tartars, and the Maiden-Hill.—Kalmuck Tartars.—Aſtrachan.—Nagayan Tartars.—Short account of the Tartars in general.—The Nagayan Tartars manner of life.—Deſarts near Aſtrachan rich with ſalt.—Fruits at Aſtrachan.—The Banyan woman's burning herſelf at her huſband's death.—The inhabitants of India.—The Banyans. 227

BOOK VIII.

Army embark at Aſtrachan, 18th of July.—Variety of wild fowl on the little iſlands.—Teaki, the capital city of Circaſſia. Herring in the Caſpian.—Voyage to Buſtrow.—General Waterang's account from the province of Andreof.—Circaſſia and its inhabitants, their manners, religion, &c.—Continuation of the voyage and view of mount Caucaſus, &c.—The army land at Agrechan.—March into Aſia.—Kindneſs of the Dageſtan Tartars.—The army paſs the river Sulack.—General Waterang joins the army.—Embarraſſed on their march, and ſevere puniſhment on the officers of the guards.—Arrive at Tarku, with a deſcription of the Dageſtan Tartars.—Interview with the ladies.—The Dageſtan ladies wait on the empreſs.—Erect a monument at Tarku, and march for Derbent through a fine country.—Sultan Udenach's cruelty, and its conſequences.—Twenty deſperate Tartars.—A beautiful Tartar youth ſlain.—Undaunted reſolution of the prieſt.—Arrive at Derbent.—Deſcription of the city.—Remarkable tombs.—Alexander and Melkehatura.—Jackcalls and ſand hares.—Thirteen tranſports loſt and buried in the ſand.—Suckary bread.—Two expreſſes and one ambaſſador arrive at the army.—A Turkiſh ambaſſador obliges the emperor to return.

—Occaſion of the troubles in Perſia.—The army return.—Cold nights.—Dangerous and harraſſing march.—The new town of Swetago-Kreſt.—Fort at the river Nitzi deſtroyed and revenged.—The army re-imbark at Agrechan.—The proviſions for the captains galley loſt; a ſtarving voyage.—Arrive at Aſtrachan the 15th of October. 257

BOOK IX.

Progreſs up the Wolga to Czaritza.—The ghoſt there.—A ſhort hiſtory of the Coſſacks.—Stephen Ratzin's rebellion.—Ordered to ſurvey the Caſpian ſea, on which he proceeds to Jaick and Yembo.—Iſland of Kulala, and Turkiſtan Tartars.—Gulf of Iſkander.—River Oxus and the Uſbeck Tartars.—The gulf of Carabuga.—River Daria.—River Oſſa.—Gulf of Aſtrabat.—Provinces of Terebat and Maſſenderan.—Gulf of Sinſili and city of Reſht.—Difficult path of the Pyles.—The rivers Ardeſchin and Linkeran, and the famous naptha oil-pits.—The river Cyrus, or Kur.—The city of Baku.—City of Shamachie.—City of Derbent.—The river Sulack.—Gulf of Agrechan, Iſland of Trentzeni and city of Terki.—General deſcription of the Caſpian ſea.—Watch tower on John's iſland.—General Matuſkin's marriage to the widow in tears.—Conteſt among the Kalmucks, and expedition againſt them.—Deſcription of their kibbets.—A battle with the Kalmucks.—Some odd cuſtoms among them. The Baranetz, or Lambſkin.—Returns for Moſcow up the Wolga.—A narrow eſcape from the ice.—Proceed by land.—A cruel robbery in the woods.—A remarkable diſcovery of a town, with an account of it.—A wild girl taken in the wood.—Arrival at Moſcow. 303

BOOK X.

The duke of Holſtein.—The fall of baron Shafirof.—The captain endeavours to get his diſcharge.—A dignified troop of chevaliers.—A deſcription of the cathedral.—Proceſſion to the coronation of the empreſs.—Coronation ceremony.—Proceſſion to the church of St. Michael.—Proceſſion to the church

church of the Reſurrection.—Dinner in the hall of ſolemnities.—New mode of promotion.—The captain obtains his furlough.—The captain leaves Moſcow.—A Swediſh colonel at Riga ſuſpected of having ſhot Charles the XIIth of Sweden.—The captain embarks for Scotland.—Puts into Erdholm, a Daniſh harbour and fort.—Deſcription of the harbour.—Departs for Elſingohr.—Driven into Marſtrand, diſmaſted.—Quarrel between Carnegie and his mate.—He arrives in Scotland. 347

BOOK XI.

The captain ſent engineer to fortify Providence, and goes out in the Roſe man of war.—Arrives at the iſland of Madeira.—Waits on the Portugueſe governor.—Deſcription of the iſland.—A hard paſſage to Carolina.—Miſſes a fine prize.—A violent ſtorm.—The fortifications at Charleſtown.—Arrives at Providence.—The ruinous condition of fort Naſſau.—Short hiſtory of the Bahama Iſlands.—The oppreſſive practices of governor Fitz-William.—Governor Tinker ſucceeds him.—Short account of that gentleman.—The captain prevails on the inhabitants to carry materials for building fort Montagu.—Nature of the ſtone—and maſtich wood.—Deſcription of fort Montagu.—The governor's letter about it.—A quarrel with lieutenant Stewart.—The captain confined,—and ſet at liberty. 375

BOOK XII.

The treatment of two privateers and their owners.—Letter from lieutenant Moone.—Letter from a friend.—Letter from lieutenant Dromgole.—Diviſion of the quick-ſilver.—The captain applies again to the aſſembly to bring the materials.—The aſſembly withdraw the governor's ſalary.—Letter from lieutenant Moone.—Another from Charleſtown.—Letter from governor Glen.—Produce of the Bahama iſlands, and the adjacent ſea.—

Obſervations

Obſervations on St. Salvador and the Bimini iſlands.—The inhabitants of Providence.—Deſcription of fort Naſſau—Coſt of both forts.—The captain leaves Providence.—Arrives at Charleſtown.—His report of the ſtrength of Charleſtown.—A viſit from a Cherokee king.—Captain Frankland's rich prize.—A ſhort deſcription of Carolina.—The captain ſails for England.—Arrives at London. 403

MEMOIRS

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PETER HENRY BRUCE, Esq.

BOOK I.

The author's deſcent.—His grandfather's going into the Pruſſian ſervice.—John Bruce's marriage and deſcendants, and the author's birth, &c.—His entering into the Pruſſian ſervice.—Lines on the battle of Ramillies.—A remarkable ſtory of the author's landlady.—His firſt campaign.—His ſecond campaign.—Defeat of the French.—Siege of Liſle.—A remarkable accident to prince Eugene.—Captain Dubois.—A ſad accident to the enemy's cavalry.—Bon mot of the duke of Marlborough.—Siege of Ghent.—Third Campaign.—Siege of Tournay.—Battle of Malplaquet.—Story of a Swiſs recruit.—Siege of Mons.—Fourth campaign.—Siege of Doway.—Siege of Bethune.—A ſad misfortune to ſix Scotch officers.—Sieges of Aire and St. Venant.—Terrible ſtory of the Jeſuits at Tournay.

THE following journal was originally written in the German, my native language; but as I have lately enjoyed the leiſure of a country retirement, I have, in this year 1755, tranſlated it into Engliſh (to me a foreign

BOOK I.

tongue), for the entertainment of my friends, and the information of my family, that they might know their connections in Germany, and the particulars of a life ſpent in war for a ſeries of years in different parts of the globe. —To begin then,

The author's deſcent.

James Bruce and John Bruce, couſins and deſcendants of the family of Airth, in the county of Stirling, (a branch of the family of Clackmannan) in Scotland, formed a reſolution, during the troubles of Oliver Cromwell, to leave their native country, in order to puſh their fortunes abroad; and, as there were ſome ſhips in the port of Leith ready to ſail for the Baltic, they agreed to go together to that part of the world: but as there happened to be two of theſe ſhip-maſters of the ſame name, by an odd miſtake the couſins embarked in different veſſels, the one bound to Pruſſia, the other to Ruſſia, by which accident they never again ſaw each other.

His grandfather goes into the Pruſſian ſervice.

John Bruce, my grandfather, landed at Konigſberg, in Pruſſia; from thence he went to Berlin, and entered into the ſervice of the elector of Brandenburg, and by degrees was advanced to the command of a regiment, which was the higheſt military preferment he ever obtained, notwithſtanding the elector, in other reſpects, ſhewed him many favours: amongſt the reſt the following was no ſmall inſtance of his regard. My grandfather one day attending the elector in hunting, when his highneſs, in the eager purſuit of the chace, entered a large wood, and was ſeparated from all his attendants except my grandfather, who kept up with him. Night overtaking them in the wood, they were obliged to diſmount, and lead their horſes, when,

after groping their way for a conſiderable time in the dark, they at length perceived a light at a little diſtance, and upon their getting up to it, they found themſelves at the miſerable hut of a poor tar-burner, who lived a great way in the wood. Being informed by the poor inhabitant that they were a long way from any town, village, or other habitation, the prince, who by this time was both tired and hungry, aſked him what he had got to eat; upon which the poor man produced a loaf of coarſe black bread and a piece of cheeſe, of which the elector ate very heartily, and finiſhed his meal with a draught of water, declaring he had never eat any thing with ſo good an appetite before. He then enquired how large that wood was, and was told that it bordered on Mecklenburg Strelitz, and that it was of very great extent. Upon this my grandfather obſerved, that it was a pity ſuch a large tract of land ſhould lie uſeleſs, and if his highneſs would give him a grant of it, he would undertake to build a village in the middle of it, and another upon the ſpot where they then were. To this the elector agreed, and ſoon after confirmed his grant by an ample charter, with great privileges annexed thereto; and my grandfather, according to his engagement, built a village in the middle of the wood, which he called Brucenwold (or Bruce-Wood); and another at the tar-burner's hut, which he called Jetzkendorf, its ancient name; for a village of that name had formerly ſtood there, part of the ruins being then ſtill viſible. The elector ſlept upon ſome ſtraw till day-break, when he was awaked by the noiſe of his other attendants, who had been in ſearch of him all night; and on their arrival he departed for Berlin.

BOOK I.

John Bruce's marriage and deſcendants, and the author's birth.

My grandfather married at Berlin a lady of fortune, of the family of Arenſdorf, and got with her ſeveral eſtates in land, of conſiderable value. He had by her two ſons and three daughters; the youngeſt of his ſons was my father; his eldeſt daughter was married to colonel Dewitz, who was afterwards governor of Pomerania, and who got with her a landed eſtate in that province called Malchin; the ſecond daughter was made abbeſs of a proteſtant monaſtery, founded for the education of young ladies, but ſhe was afterwards married to lieutenant colonel Rebeur, who got Brucenwold for her fortune; and his youngeſt daughter was married to major general Lattorff, who got for her fortune his moſt valuable eſtates of Konikendorff and Woletz: he thus diſpoſed of all the landed eſtates he got by his wife in favour of his daughters, and gave his two ſons an education only, and a ſmall ſtock of money. Having placed them in the elector's grand muſketteer guards, he left them to puſh their fortunes in the army, as he himſelf had done before them. His eldeſt ſon, Charles, was a lieutenant at the ſiege of Namur, where he was killed; his youngeſt ſon James, my father, married Elizabeth Catherina Detring, of a conſiderable family in Weſtphalia, and was himſelf then a lieutenant in a Scotch regiment, commanded by the earl of Leven, in the ſervice of Brandenburg, and I was born at Detring-Caſtle, (the manor-houſe of that family) in the year 1692.

This regiment was ordered to Flanders, and my father carried my mother with him, and we remained there till 1698, when the regiment returned to Scotland, and whither we accompanied him. The regiment being then put in garriſon

garriſon at Fort William, I was left in Fife to the care of a grand uncle, my grandfather's youngeſt brother, who poſſeſſed a ſmall eſtate near Cupar, at which place I was put to ſchool, where I continued three years, when my father ſent for me to Fort William, and I remained there three years more. BOOK I.

In the year 1704, my father got leave of abſence from the regiment, and ſet out on a viſit to Germany, whither he carried his wife and family; and after one year's ſtay with their relations, he returned to Scotland, leaving me behind in the care of their friends, who undertook to educate and provide for me. Their firſt attempt in my favour was to get me made a page to the king of Pruſſia, and when I was going to be preſented to his majeſty by the marſhal count Witgenſtein, the prince royal enquired of him who I was; and being informed, and alſo that I was going to be preſented to the king for a page, he aſked me ſeveral queſtions, and told the marſhal that he himſelf would have me for his page. We returned without my being preſented to the king; and on my telling this piece of news to my friends, they would by no means conſent; alledging, that the prince did not uſe his pages well, which my couſin, a ſon of general Lattorff's, had experienced, who had been page of honour to him, and was then a gentleman of the bed-chamber to the king, for which reaſon they would not ſuffer me to accept the offer. 1704.

The next thing they endeavoured was to get me into the Royal Academy, as a cadet; but they were told that was now impracticable, as I had refuſed the prince's offer of being his page: however, they ſent me to the academy, at their 1706.

own

BOOK I. own charge, to learn fortification and other neceſſary branches. My uncle Rebeur arrived at this time from Flanders; he was
1706. then lieutenant-colonel of the marquis de Varen's regiment, and when he was about to return, I expreſſed a deſire to go with him. He very kindly approved my deſign, and on the ſuggeſtion of my friends, that it might be hurtful to me in my education, the colonel aſſured them that it would rather be an advantage, as there were in almoſt every town in Flanders exceeding good maſters for teaching fortification and gunnery, &c. and that I ſhould have double advantage in improving the theory by ſeeing many parts of it in real practice: he farther offered not only to keep me with himſelf, but that no opportunity to improve my education ſhould be neglected. This kind offer was very ſatisfactory to all my friends, and he performed his promiſe with a moſt paternal care.

His entering into the Pruſſian ſervice.

I ſat out with him accordingly for the regiment, which was then in garriſon at Maeſtricht, where we arrived in April 1706, and I was entered in the colonel's company to carry arms, and ſoon became a proficient in the manual exerciſes; after which I found my duty very eaſy, for I had only to mount guard once in a week, the reſt of my time being devoted to the ſtudy of fortification, &c.

This year was memorable for the defeat of the French army under marſhal Villeroy, at Ramillies: the battle was fought on the 12th of May, when the duke of Marlborough gained a complete victory over them: the victory was followed by the ſurrender of many places both in Flanders and Brabant. This year was alſo remarkable for the king of Sweden's entering Saxony, and dethroning king Auguſtus, where

where he raiſed five millions ſterling by levying contributions. Among the priſoners who were ſent in here after the battle of Ramillies, was a marquis, who was a colonel of horſe: general Dopff, the governor of this place, not only gave him the liberty of the town, but alſo allowed him to go a hunting in the country; yet, notwithſtanding this polite uſage, and his own parole, this officer thought proper to make his eſcape, but was ſoon ſent back under a guard by marſhal Villeroy, and was afterwards allowed the liberty only of the town, attended by a ſerjeant for his vade mecum.

Lines on the battle of Ramillies.

After the battle the following French verſes made their appearance:

C'eſt à ce coup, que Villeroy, ce maréſhal incomparable,
Pour avoir bien ſervi le roy, aura l'Epée de connetable
Car pour un moindre evenement, Tallard un governmens
Varus rends moi mes legions? S'écrioit l'empereur auguſte;
Tallard rends moi mes battaillions? Dit Lous, à Titre plus juſte,
Tallard repond—Hé grand roy, demande lès a Villeroy.

A remarkable ſtory of the author's landlady.

At the houſe where I lodged with the colonel, I was told a very remarkable ſtory that happened between my landlady and her former huſband, who was a native of this town; his name was Niepels, and was a captain of dragoons in the Dutch ſervice; he courted our landlady at the Hague, ſhe was the daughter of a merchant there, and after a ſolemn promiſe of marriage, he firſt ſeduced, and then left her pregnant: her father was ſo incenſed at her, that he turned her out of the houſe; but an aunt taking compaſſion on her kept her, till ſhe was brought to bed, and afterwards ſupplied her with a little money, with which, unknown to

any

BOOK I. any of her friends, ſhe equipped herſelf in men's cloaths, bought a horſe, and went and offered herſelf as a volunteer in captain Niepels' troop: her offer was accepted, and ſhe continued ſome time in the troop; the captain uſed ſometimes to tell his volunteer that he was very like an old miſtreſs of his, but never had the leaſt ſuſpicion that he was ſpeaking to the very perſon: ſhe ſtaid till the end of the campaign, when captain Niepels, being informed of his father's death, left the ſervice, and went home to take poſſeſſion of his eſtate. By this accident ſhe ſeemed to loſe ſight of any opportunity to call the captain to an account, which was the ſole motive of her adventure: however, ſhe followed him, but laid aſide the cavalier, and re-aſſumed the female, and arriving at Maeſtricht, ſhe prevailed upon his maid-ſervant (for a little money) to allow her to ſleep in a private room in the houſe for one night, as ſhe was a ſtranger, and did not chuſe to lodge in any public inn. Having thus broke the ground, and got admiſſion, ſhe had an opportunity to reconnoitre the houſe, particularly the captain's apartment, who was generally abroad the whole day, and came home late at night. She kept very cloſe, till ſhe thought every body in the houſe was aſleep, and then proceeding with a candle in one hand, and a poniard in the other, to his bedſide, ſhe awaked him, and aſked if he knew her, and upon his demanding what had brought her there, ſhe told him, that he now muſt reſolve to perform his engagement to her, otherwiſe ſhe was determined to put him to death. The captain thought proper to refuſe, and, at the ſame time, called to his ſervants; but, before any of them could arrive ſhe ſtruck him in the breaſt; and notwithſtanding all the

1706.

defence

defence he could make, ſhe gave him ſeveral other wounds in different parts of his body; the ſervants at length came to his aſſiſtance, and finding their maſter ſtreaming with blood, they ſent for a magiſtrate and guards to ſecure her. In the mean time, the lady never offered to move off, but continued upbraiding him with his treachery, although he entreated her to ſave herſelf, as he thought himſelf mortally wounded; at laſt the magiſtrate came with a guard to conduct her to priſon, which the captain would not ſuffer, but begged them to ſend for a prieſt, to whom, on his arrival, he confeſſed how much he had injured the young woman, and deſired the prieſt, in the preſence of the magiſtrate, to marry them without loſs of time, which accordingly he did: upon the ſurgeon's declaring that none of the wounds were mortal, the guard was withdrawn, and by the careful attendance of the ſurgeon, and the no leſs tender care of his now ſpouſe, the captain ſoon recovered of his wounds. They lived afterwards in the greateſt harmony for ſeveral years, till an ill-fated accident put an end to his life: one evening they were walking togegether before the Trowen-Port, and paſſing by an arſenal where a number of old uſeleſs arms were lying, a gentlewoman in their neighbourhood, with whom they lived in great intimacy, met them, and taking up an old ruſty piſtol, ſaid jocularly to captain Niepels, that it was decreed he ſhould die by the hands of a woman, which he actually did, for the piſtol went off and ſhot him dead upon the ſpot. He left three daughters, who were now marriageable; his widow (our landlady), ſome time after his death, married his nephew.

BOOK I.

1706. One night as I was on guard with our lieutenant upon Peterſberg, and ſtanding ſentry with my muſket in my hand, the but-end on the ground, and pulling it after me in a careleſs manner over the gravel, it accidentally went off, and alarmed the whole garriſon: this accident obliged the lieutenant to ſend a ſerjeant to acquaint the officer at Peterſport; and next day I was brought before the governor, where I appeared in great fear, having been told by the ſoldiers that I ſhould think myſelf well off if I had only to run the gauntlet; but, to my great joy, it ended in a reprimand, and being told, if a common ſoldier had done the like he would have been ſeverely puniſhed: this reproof made me more cautious in future when on duty. I was this winter made a ſerjeant, it being cuſtomary in the Pruſſian ſervice to go through all the low degrees before they can obtain an officer's commiſſion; by this promotion I was advanced two ſteps above the ordinary rule. In

1707. the month of April, 1707, the prince-royal of Pruſſia came to this place, and reviewed our regiment; and in paſſing by him, and anſwering to my name, according to the muſter-roll, he recollected me, and blamed the colonel for making a *child* firſt ſerjeant in his company; but on the colonel's informing him that I performed my duty very well, and was aſſiduous in learning the military art, the prince ſeemed to be very well ſatisfied.

His firſt campaign. In May our regiment marched from Maeſtricht, and joined the army at Mildert; and on the 9th of Auguſt, we advanced to Genap, with an intention to attack the enemy; on the 10th, at night, we paſſed the Deyle at Florival, and marched till morning: at day-break we arrived

rived at Waveren, and found the enemy had retired, upon which we returned to Genap. The French kept retiring before us the whole campaign, ſo warily, that we were never able to bring them to an engagement, which harraſſed our troops by continual marches and countermarches, without being able to effect any thing. Towards winter the army marched to Aſche, where we ſeparated, and went into quarters. The prince of Orange was at this time declared general of the Dutch forces, though no more than twenty-one years of age. Our regiment marched to Huye for winter-quarters, where the Swediſh general, Oxenſtein, was governor: this town lies on both ſides of the Meuſe, and is but indifferently fortified, yet it is ſtrengthened by a caſtle and three other forts, erected upon eminences, which protect the town. I mounted guard one day with a Dutch lieutenant, a very plain man, who could neither read nor write, but was advanced from a ſerjeant for a pretty extraordinary exertion of perſonal courage and gallant perſeverance: the French had beſieged and taken a town with all its fortifications, excepting one tower, where this ſerjeant was poſted with twenty men, and which he bravely maintained againſt every effort of the enemy, till the place was retaken the following year; to which he alſo contributed greatly from his ſituation.

As I was one day out with a party, and paſſing near a monaſtery, we obſerved a woman running, and ſeveral perſons in purſuit of her; we went and met her: being informed that we belonged to the garriſon of Huye, ſhe ſeemed to be overjoyed, and being thus relieved a little from her fright, ſhe told us that ſhe belonged to Namur, and had engaged herſelf to a French officer without the

BOOK I. 1707. conſent of her parents, who, upon the officer's demanding her in marriage, had ſhut her up in that monaſtery, from whence ſhe had juſt made her eſcape over the garden-wall by the help of a ladder, and that ſhe intended to go to Liege, where ſhe had relations who would protect and favour her: the event juſtified the aſſertion, for on her arrival there, her friends procured a paſſport for her lover, and ſhe got the huſband of her own choice.

1708. His ſecond campaign. In May 1708, we marched from Huye to join the army, and came to Anderlech on the 23d, when the Pruſſians, Hanoverians, and Dutch began to form; on the 26th, we went to Bellinghen, where we joined the Engliſh and other troops; the army conſiſted of 180 ſquadrons, and 112 battalions. The French army, under the duke de Vendoſme, formed at St. Ghiſlain, and conſiſted of 197 ſquadrons, and 124 battalions; the two royal princes, the dukes of Burgundy and Berry, were with the army. At Bellinghen we were joined by the electoral prince of Hanover, (his preſent majeſty) and prince Eugene, whoſe troops from the Moſelle were come to Maeſtricht, and ſoon after joined us.

Defeat of the French. The French opened the campaign with taking Ghent and Bruges by ſurprize; they made a fruitleſs attack on Damme, but they took fort Plaſſendahl, between Bruges and Oſtend; and on the 9th of July, they inveſted Oudenarde, but on our approach they raiſed the ſiege, and retired over the Scheld. We purſued them cloſe, and brought them to an engagement on the 11th. It was ſix o'clock in the afternoon before our lines were formed; Prince Eugene commanded the right, and the duke of Marlborough the left wings. After a moſt vigorous and well-conducted attack, the French were beat, and fled under cover of the

night, which ſaved them from being cut to pieces. Next day 4000 of the enemy were found dead on the field of battle; 7000 were made priſoners; beſides 535 officers (generals included); 34 ſtandards, 25 colours, and 5 pair of kettle drums, but no cannon, the battle being fought without artillery on either ſide. The loſs on our ſide was 2972, killed and wounded. BOOK I. 1708.

The Siege of Liſle.

After this battle, the French retired behind the canal, between Ghent and Bruges; and count Lottum, the Pruſſian general, was ſent with a reſpectable detachment, to attack their lines at Ypres, which we took and levelled with little or no reſiſtance. The army then went and inveſted Liſle, which was afterwards beſieged in form by prince Eugene, whilſt the duke of Marlborough covered the ſiege. This ſiege, which laſted ſo long, and coſt ſo much blood, was attended with various events.

A remarkable accident to prince Eugene.

A pretty remarkable occurrence happened to prince Eugene in the time of it. His highneſs received a letter from ſome unknown hand, and upon opening it, he found it contained a greaſy paper, which he immediately and fortunately let fall upon the ground; his aid de camp took it up and ſmelled at it, and was directly ſeized with a giddineſs, ſo much, that they were obliged to give him an antidote: this paper was then tied about a dog's neck for an experiment, and he died within twenty-four hours, notwithſtanding a counter-poiſon was given him. The officers about the prince expreſſing their concern at the accident, he replied, without the leaſt emotion, "You "need not wonder at it, gentlemen; I have received ſeve-"ral letters of this ſort before now."

The

BOOK I.

1708.

The duke of Burgundy being deſirous to know in what condition the garriſon was, one captain Dubois undertook to get into the town, and having got undiſcovered to the outworks of the place, he ſtripped himſelf, and having hid his clothes, ſwam over ſeven canals and ditches, and got ſafe into the town, and returning the ſame way brought the duke a letter from marſhal Bouffleur, which he carried in his mouth, ſo enveloped that it was preſerved quite dry.

Sad accident to the enemy's cavalry.

In the night of the 28th of September, we were alarmed with a loud crack, and in half an hour another, and at midnight there was ſuch a thunder-clap that the earth was ſhaken under us: this ſo alarmed the whole army, that we lay under arms till day-light, when we were informed that 1200 of the enemy's cavalry, having each fifty pounds of powder in bags behind them, were endeavouring to get into the town, but being diſcovered and fired upon, they ſpurred haſtily forwards, by which means ſome of the bags got untied, and the powder pouring to the ground, catched the fire which flew from the horſe's feet, ſtriking on the cauſeway, and communicating with the powder in the bags, the whole blew up; about ſixty of the men periſhed on entering the lines, and an hundred near the gate; it was a ſhocking ſight next day, to ſee the road ſtrewed with half burnt heads, limbs, and carcaſes of men and horſes; the reſt of the corps threw away their powder and made off, but it was believed about three hundred got into the town.

Some few days afterwards, fifty peaſants were taken endeavouring to convey powder into the town in their wheelbarrows: as they had the liberty to ſell milk to the army, they brought it in barrels, two on a barrow; and on this

occaſion, one of the barrels on every barrow proved to be powder; and being all convicted, they were every one hung up. BOOK I. 1708.

About this time, Auguſtus, king of Poland, and ſeveral other princes, came here to be eye-witneſſes of this famous ſiege. The enemy, in endeavouring to obſtruct our convoys from Oſtend, brought on themſelves their defeat at Weynendahl. They had ſtrongly fortified themſelves by a triple entrenchment round their camp at Oudenarde, where they had retired, beyond the Schelde, which greatly impeded our communication with that quarter, and the duke of Bavaria, at the ſame time, beſieging Bruſſels, reduced us to the neceſſity of living for ſome time on turnips and onions. To relieve ourſelves from this diſtreſs, and open the communication with our proviſions, a ſufficient body was detached from the army, and by a forced march in the night, croſſed the Schelde, and attacked their lines next day, when they gave us much leſs trouble than we expected, for they fled with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving us their whole camp, baggage, and all; in the purſuit, our cavalry took a number of priſoners; here we got a very happy relief of proviſions of all ſorts in great plenty, after ſo ſlender a diet. We next marched to the relief of Bruſſels, but before we arrived the duke had abandoned the ſiege, leaving behind him fifteen pieces of heavy cannon, and two mortars; having thus happily ſucceeded in our enterprize, we returned to the ſiege of Liſle.

Upon our breaking ground on the glacis, or covered way, I was with the pioneers; the engineer who marked out the ground being killed, and our men quite expoſed to the

BOOK I. the enemy's fire, I took upon me to finiſh what he had be-
1708. gun, and very ſoon got ourſelves under cover; for which ſervice the general of the trenches for that night, recommended me to our commander in chief, general count Lottum, who wrote to the king in my favour, and in the winter I got an enſign's commiſſion *; but I was generally employed as an engineer. The town ſurrendered the 23d of October, and as we were then quartered in the barracks, we were better able to proſecute the ſiege of the citadel, which ſtill held out, and was carried on by ſap, under the direction of general Coehorn, in very cold weather and hard froſt: this ſervice laſted to the 9th of December, when the citadel alſo ſurrendered; on the 10th, marſhal Bouffleur marched out with his garriſon, and was conducted to Doway.

Surrender of Liſle. During the ſiege, after we had made a lodgement upon the ſecond counterſcarp, a Dutch captain, who was poſted there, fled from his poſt, on the approach of the enemy, without making the leaſt reſiſtance; his ſerjeant, reflecting on the diſhonourable retreat, endeavoured to perſuade him to return and recover it, but in vain; the ſerjeant then addreſſed himſelf to the men, telling them if they would follow him, he would endeavour to regain the poſt they had deſerted in ſo cowardly a manner; the men immediately

* The commiſſion was ſent to his uncle col. Rebeur, who concealed it from Mr. Bruce on account of his youth, being only in his ſixteenth year, till ſome time next campaign; coming to the knowlege of it, he walked to the door of his uncle's tent, and ſticking his halbert in the ground with ſome reſentment, cried out, "There ſtands the ſerjeant!" and walking a few ſteps from it, he called out, "Here ſtands the officer!" and then received his commiſſion.

agreed,

agreed, rallied, and attacked the enemy with ſuch bravery, that the poſt was very ſoon regained. Upon a repreſentation of this action, the officer was degraded for cowardice, and the ſerjeant rewarded as he deſerved. A ſoldier without courage is like a dead corpſe; ſorrow hangs on the countenances of its late beſt friends till it is buried out of their ſight. 1708.

A bon mot of the duke of Marlborough.

A bon mot of the duke of Marlborough was at this time much talked of in the camp; when the king of Poland was going for Saxony, and the duke had taken his leave of him, wiſhing him a good journey, his majeſty alſo wiſhed his grace a good voyage to England; upon which the duke anſwered him in French, "Que le tems étant fort froid, il ne vouloit pas paſſer la mer ſans Gand;" that is, the weather being very cold, he would not paſs the ſea without gloves; the word *gand*, in French, being the name of the city of *Ghent*, as well as the term for *gloves*; and his grace was as good as his word.

Siege of Ghent.

Our army, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon, marched immediately for Ghent, and we inveſted it on the 17th of the ſame month. The duke of Marlborough commanded the ſiege, and prince Eugene covered. The garriſon conſiſted of 30 battalions and 19 ſquadrons; but the water in their moats being all hard frozen over, and apprehending a ſurprize, they thought proper to ſurrender the 31ſt of December. The garriſon marched out the 2d of January, 1709, and was conducted to Tournay; the duke of Argyle immediately took poſſeſſion of the town and citadel. The enemy ſoon after evacuated Bruges, Redfort, Plaſſendahl, and Leffinghen, which finiſhed this me- 1709.

BOOK I. morable campaign, and our army went into quarters: our regiment marched to Bruſſels, where we wintered: the French made propoſals this winter for a general peace, but they did not ſucceed.

1709.

Third campaign. In the beginning of June we marched to join the army, which was formed the 21ſt, between Courtray and Menin, 110,000 ſtrong; from thence we paſſed the Lower Deyle, and encamped on the plains of Liſle. The French army, which conſiſted of 130,000, encamped on the plains of Lens, where they entrenched themſelves ſo ſtrongly, that it was thought imprudent on our part to attempt to force them, and it was then reſolved to beſiege Tournay; the enemy had ſo little ſuſpicion of ſuch an attempt, that they had withdrawn a part of the garriſon to ſtrengthen their army. The town was accordingly inveſted on the 27th, under the command of the duke of Marlborough, and the lines of circumvallation were begun the 30th; count Lottum commanded the attack on the citadel, where I was employed for the firſt time as engineer; the other two attacks, againſt the city, were commanded by generals Schullemburg and Fagel, and the prince of Naſſau, at this time, took the two forts, St. Amand and Mortagne, which were very neceſſary in covering the ſiege. The 6th of July, the lines of circumvallation were finiſhed, and on the 7th at night, the trenches were opened: on the 13th, our batteries began to play upon the town. In ſhort, the town ſurrendered the 28th, and the garriſon to the number of 4000, retired into the citadel; and two captains, four lieutenants, and 150 men, deſerted and came into our camp, and 800 of their wounded were conveyed to Doway. In this

Siege of Tournay.

this ſiege we had 3,210 men killed and wounded; the earl of Albemarle was appointed governor in the town. BOOK I. 1709.

On the 1ſt of Auguſt, they began to fire upon us from the citadel, which was immediately returned from our batteries, and on the 3d, one of our ſhells fell into a powder-magazine of their's, which blew up: a ceſſation of hoſtilities on both ſides was ſoon after agreed to, on condition of ſurrendering on the 5th of September, if they were not then relieved by the French army. During the truce, a number of deſerters from our army, being then in the citadel, got leave to attempt the making of their eſcape, but being informed againſt by one of their number, they were all caught and hanged.

The conditions of the truce being made known to the French king, he would not agree to the propoſition of ſurrender, which being communicated to the beſiegers, hoſtilities were recommenced. The enemy ſprung many mines, and our counter-mining occaſioned many ſkirmiſhes under-ground; on the 26th, they ſprung a mine, which blew up 400 of our men, and killed Mr. Du May, our chief engineer; after this they ſprung ſeveral others, which did us conſiderable miſchief, eſpecially one which left an opening ſixty paces long and twenty foot deep, and which bade fair to have blown up a whole Hanoverian regiment, had it not been very opportunely diſcovered, ſo that we loſt only one private centinel killed by it. On the 30th, we cannonnaded and bombarded them ſo warmly, that they beat a parley on the 31ſt in the morning: they now ſtipulated for conditions, but no other terms could be received than ſurrendering priſoners of war, which they were not, even yet,

BOOK I. diſpoſed to agree to, ſo that hoſtilities were renewed, and upon our redoubled efforts, with every warlike engine, they at laſt were obliged to ſurrender on our own terms, and march out on the 5th of September with 3500 men, beſides their ſick and wounded.

1709.

Before Tournay an expreſs arrived from prince Menzikoff to the duke of Marlborough, informing his grace that the czar's army had obtained a complete victory over the king of Sweden at Pultowa, on the 8th of July laſt.

The battle of Malplaquet.

Our next operation was directed againſt Mons: the elector of Bavaria, who reſided there, hearing thereof, retired to Namur. Marſhal Bouffleur was now ſent by the French king to aſſiſt marſhal Villars, with orders rather to hazard a battle than ſuffer Mons to fall in the general career of our arms. On the 8th, prince Eugene joined us with his army, when we were very much fatigued with marching night and day in rainy weather, and through bad roads. On the 9th, we obſerved the enemy moving towards Blarignies, in order to poſſeſs themſelves of the woods and hedges of Taniers and Malplaquet; upon which we moved forward in order of battle; but as the Engliſh were foraging, they could not join us that day, and the two armies began cannonading each other, which continued till night, and was renewed next morning, when we did not chooſe to engage, as we expected to be joined by twenty-three battalions from Tournay. This day I very narrowly eſcaped being ſhot by one of our own ſoldiers, who being out of his rank I ordered him to it, and as he took no notice of the orders, I ſtruck him acroſs the ſhoulders and puſhing him into it, he ſtepped back and cocked his piece which he directly

directly preſented to my breaſt; I inſtantly parried the muz- BOOK I.
zle downwards, and the bullet went into the ground be- 1709.
tween my feet; the fellow immediately flung down his muſket and run for it, but was purſued by the adjutant on horſeback, and being a ſtout fellow, he took the adjutant by the foot, threw him out of the ſaddle, and was juſt going to mount, when the major came up with and ſecured him. But to return; the enemy by our delay, got time to cut down the wood, and entrench themſelves; in the evening we converſed with the French officers, and entertained each other with ſuch fare as we had, in a very friendly manner; this we were the more induced to, from a perſuaſion on both ſides, that a ceſſation of arms was to take place previous to a peace, but we were undeceived by midnight, when every man had orders to repair to his poſt, and prepare to engage the enemy early next morning.

On the 11th, at two in the morning, we attended at prayers, and then prepared by forming in the order of battle; about eight we advanced and attacked their entrenchments, which we carried, driving the enemy with great diſorder and confuſion in their trenches, out of which we beat them, with numbers ſlain on both ſides: the regiment our's was engaged with, happened to be that with whoſe officers we had been ſo ſocial the night before, and in it was a lieutenant, who had a brother a lieutenant in our's, and who was with us, a French refugee; the lieutenant in the French regiment, ſurrendered himſelf a priſoner to his brother, and was affectionately received under his protection; but unfortunately, at the very inſtant, a ſoldier of our's ran him through the body, and killed him in his brother's arms:

the

BOOK I. the fellow alledged in excuſe for himſelf, that he did it to protect his officer, not knowing the other; yet he had ſeen the brothers the evening before converſing together as ſuch. Fatal miſtakes occur too frequently in the fury and rage of contending foes, met on purpoſe to conquer or die, nor is it poſſible to brand this poor fellow with any foul deſign on this occaſion:—but to my ſtory. The French retiring over a hedge, we purſued them cloſe, and finding them reinforced, we were obliged to retire in our turn, and making our way back through the hedge, we loſt our colonel and ſeveral of our men; but being ſupported by our line of reſerve, we were enabled to force the enemy a ſecond time from the hedge, and to drive them to their ſecond entrenchment, from which we alſo diſlodged them, and purſued them to their third, where I found myſelf ſhot through the leg, and was obliged to be carried out of the field, and arriving at a little cot, I there found the corpſe of my colonel, and got my wound dreſſed. After a very cloſe engagement of ſix hours, the enemy gave way, and left us maſters of a dear bought field, which coſt us not leſs than 20,300 men. The particulars of this famous battle of Malplaquet, having been ſo well deſcribed by better pens, I ſhall ſay no more of it, only that the enemy loſt, by their own confeſſion, 540 officers killed, 1068 wounded, 301 taken priſoners; and 15000 men killed, wounded, and taken. We had two generals killed, counts Lottum and Fettace.

1709.

After this action, it was currently reported that marſhal Villars was for hazarding another battle to prevent our taking Mons, but was oppoſed in it by marſhal Bouffleur; and that the king of France had ſent the duke of Berwick to deter-

determine upon the different opinions of theſe two able generals, upon the ſpot. His grace came, and viewing the ground with their late entrenchments, expreſſed his ſurprize at their extraordinary ſtrength, declaring, as they had been beaten out of that poſt, they muſt be very raſh indeed to venture an engagement on the open field.

While the ſurgeon was attending the wound which confined me, he told me a diverting ſtory of a young Swiſs recruit, who, when his regimentals were making, had procured a round iron plate bordered with ſmall holes, which he deſired the taylor to faſten on the inſide of his coat, above his left breaſt, to prevent his being ſhot through the heart: the taylor being a humourous fellow, faſtened it in the ſeat of his breeches, and the clothes being ſcarce on his back when he was ordered to march into the field, having no opportunity to get this aukward miſtake rectified, before he found himſelf engaged in battle, and being obliged to fly before the enemy, and in endeavouring to get over a thorn hedge in his way, he unfortunately ſtuck faſt till he was overtaken by a foe, who, on his coming up, gave him a puſh in the breech with his bayonet, (with no friendly deſign), but it luckily hit on the iron-plate, and puſhed the young ſoldier clear out of the hedge; this favourable circumſtance made the Swiſs honeſtly confeſs, that the taylor had more ſenſe than himſelf, and knew better where his heart lay.—But to nobler deeds.

Siege of Mons.

Our eminent leaders well knowing their advantage by a reputation for habitually beating the enemy, immediately inveſted Mons, and the trenches were opened on the 25th, under the command of the prince of Naſſau; and, notwithſtanding

BOOK I. ſtanding the continual heavy rains, the ſiege was briſkly puſhed on till the 20th of October, when this town alſo ſurrendered, and the garriſon marched out 8000 men, beſides 1000 that were left behind, and afterwards enliſted in our army.

1709.

The victory at Malplaquet, and the taking of Tournay and Mons, finiſhing this campaign, our army ſeparated, and went into quarters for the winter. Our regiment went to Maeſtricht; and not being yet recovered of my wound, I was obliged to travel in a waggon with eight wounded ſoldiers, under the care of a ſerjeant, to Bruſſels; in the evening of the 20th, we arrived at Notre Dame de Hall, half-way between Mons and Bruſſels, where one of our wheels broke, and the waggoner hearing that there was a party of French in the town, thought proper to ſet off with his horſes; the French having got notice of us, came, and after enquiring for the horſes, and finding they were gone, ſat out in purſuit of them: happily for me, I had formerly been ſome time in this place, and was pretty well known to the people, who conveyed me to a place of ſafety, which, for once, ſaved me from being ſtripped; the party returning, ſtript the eight wounded ſoldiers, and carried the ſerjeant a priſoner to Namur: the ſerjeant, on his arrival there, was examined by the governor, whom he informed that he had been on duty, conducting theſe wounded men to the hoſpital at Bruſſels, and that the French party had ſtripped them naked, and plundered them of a month's pay. The governor ſeverely reprimanded the officer, telling him, he ought rather to have aſſiſted the poor defenceleſs wounded men, than to have uſed them in the manner he

had done; and ordered him to reſtore both the cloaths and money to the ſerjeant, and ſent the ſerjeant, under his own paſs, to Maeſtricht. A piece of generous humanity ſeldom met with in an enemy. Being ſtill ill of my wound, I determined to remain at Hall, although it was an open place, and viſited almoſt every day by parties of the French: here I was attended by an able ſurgeon, who having none but myſelf under his care, had the more time to obſerve the various effects of his treatment of the wound, which could not have been the caſe had I proceeded to Bruſſels, where every place was full of the wounded of our army. While I continued here, I met with great kindneſs from the clergy of the place; but I ſtaid no longer than I was able to walk with crutches, when I obtained a French paſs, and moved to Maeſtricht, where I found a lieutenant's commiſſion waiting for me. 1709.

Early in the month of April 1710, we left our winter-quarters, and on the 15th, arrived near Tournay, the place of our general rendezvous; and on the 20th, the army being formed, was ordered to march at five o'clock in the afternoon, and marched all night in two columns. Our motion was ſo ſudden, ſo ſecret, and ſo regularly conducted, that we entered the French lines next morning, without the ſmalleſt reſiſtance: ſo little did they apprehend this morning viſit, that they were out foraging. Our appearance ſpread ſuch an alarm amongſt their troops near Lens, that they made a very haſty retreat, and we encamped in their room upon the plains of Lens. 1710. Fourth campaign.

On the 22d, early in the morning, we laid our bridges over the Scarp, and the whole army paſſed the ſame night,

BOOK I. and next morning we inveſted Doway; on the 25th, we began our lines of circumvallation, and were joined by the prince of Anhalt Deſſau, who ſucceeded count Lottum in the command of the Pruſſian troops, and now commanded one of the attacks againſt the town, and the prince of Naſſau the other; on the 29th, our lines were finiſhed, when our cavalry had provided a great number of faſcines and gabions for the ſiege; on the 1ſt of May, our troops took poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Pignonville, and on the 3d, Chateaux-Loway, where 340 men ſurrendered themſelves priſoners; the 4th, our trenches were opened at both attacks, and our men were covered without any loſs, as they were not perceived at their work from the town; the 9th, at ten at night, the enemy made a vigorous ſally at the prince of Naſſau's attack, which put the workmen in great diſorder, and levelled ſome parts of the parallel, but they were at laſt repulſed with conſiderable loſs, and purſued to the very counterſcarp; the action was ſo very hot that we loſt 300 men killed, or wounded, in it, and, perhaps, the enemy were not better off: the parallel was repaired the ſame night, and next morning, at day-break, a battery of eight guns, and four mortars, began to play with great fury, from prince Anhalt's attack, upon a ſconce in the moraſs, which had greatly annoyed us by flanking our approaches: it was now ſoon diſmounted. They made a ſally the ſame night on our ſide, but were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. Our heavy artillery arrived on the 10th, and on the 11th, a battery was completed on each attack, each mounting twenty-four guns and eight mortars; the 12th, our approaches were advanced to the firſt ditch; the 14th, our

1710. Siege of Doway.

6 batteries

batteries being completed, and mounted with forty-eight guns, and thirty-two mortars and howitzers, we began to play on the enemy's outworks, but chiefly from the prince of Anhalt's ſide, as the ground in the other was ſo boggy, that they could not approach there with ſuch regularity. The enemy made a ſally on the 17th, but were ſo warmly received, that they retired in great confuſion, leaving above 100 priſoners behind them; on the 21ſt, they made another, in which a great many fell on both ſides. Our army was now ſtrongly entrenched in their lines to prevent the enemy from harraſſing us in the ſiege, as they outnumbered us by 10,000 men, and we had reaſon, from their continual motions, from the 26th to the 30th, to believe that they meant to attack us, and oblige us to raiſe the ſiege; but on the 30th, they encamped within gun-ſhot of our entrenchments, which ſlackened our progreſs in the ſiege, as every regiment that could poſſibly be ſpared was taken off to ſtrengthen the army. The enemy continued four days in this poſition without offering to diſturb us, when marſhal Villars thought proper to retire to a league diſtant from us; upon which the beſieging regiments returned to their poſts, and we now again puſhed on the ſiege with all poſſible vigour. The enemy made frequent ſallies, and ſprung ſeveral mines, which, however, did not prevent us from making ourſelves maſters of the counter-ſcarp on the 5th of June; and on the 17th, we ſtormed and took a ravelin, and after filling the moat with faſcines, we laid our bridges to the main breach of the town: on the night of the 22d, the trenches were opened at Fort-Scarp, which was a regular pentagon; and on the

BOOK I. 1710.

25th, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy beat the chamade, and ſurrendered both town and fort on the 26th. The beſieged had upwards of 3,000 men killed, and our loſs was 8,000 killed and wounded. On the 29th, the marquis d' Albergotti marched out at the head of his garriſon, conſiſting of 4,527 effective men: general Hompeſh was made governor of the town, and brigadier des Roques, the chief engineer, was made commandant of Fort-Scarp.

Siege of Bethune.

After a few days relaxation from ſuch hard duty, we marched with an intention to beſiege Arras, which the enemy perceiving, entered their new lines, and thereby prevented us; and then the ſiege of Bethune became the object, and was inveſted on the 15th of July; the trenches were opened the 23d for two attacks, the one by general Schuylenburg, the other by general Fagel. The French army made a feint as if they meant to relieve the town, but finding us ready prepared to receive them, they were ſatisfied with ſhowing themſelves, and withdrew to their lines. The ſiege advanced briſkly; on the 29th, they made a ſally at Fagel's attack, where they almoſt deſtroyed a regiment of Pruſſian guards, who had unluckily fired upon them all at once, and having no fire in reſerve, the enemy poured in upon them with great deſtruction: our regiment marched quickly up to their aſſiſtance, and ſaved them from being entirely cut off. There happened, the ſame day, a ſad misfortune to ſix officers of a Scotch regiment, who were ſitting in a row on the banquet, and had their legs all ſhot off by a cannon-ball, except one, who ſaved one of his by having it on the banquet; and he was the

A ſad misfortune to ſix Scotch officers.

only one who ſurvived the rough amputation, the reſt died of their wounds: this ill-fated ball came from one of our own guns at Schuylenburg's attack, directed at a baſtion, but unhappily miſſing that object, the ball flanked our own trenches. The town threw a great number of bombs at our batteries, but falling ſhort, they dropped, for the moſt part, into our approaches, which kept us who were employed there in perpetual motion to ſhun them. One day I happened to ſtep into a demoliſhed cellar, on a neceſſary occaſion, when I had ſcarce well got there, till the centry called out, "Gare la bombe," and down it came into the cellar, and I made the beſt of my way out of it, which I had ſcarce cleared till it burſt, and threw down a great quantity of ſtones and rubbiſh about me, but I eſcaped unhurt. The garriſon beat the chamade on the 28th of Auguſt, and on the 31ſt, M. de Vauban marched out at the head of 1,700 men remaining of the garriſon, having loſt near 2000. It coſt us 3,665 men, killed and wounded: major general Keppel was appointed governor.

Sieges of Aire and St. Venant.

The ſieges of Aire and St. Venant came next in our route; we marched on the 2d, and they were both inveſted on the 5th of September. The prince of Anhalt commanded the ſiege of Aire, and the prince of Naſſau that of St. Venant. About this time the enemy intercepted a convoy of our's coming up the river Lys in boats with warlike ſtores and proviſions, which they took and deſtroyed, killed and wounded a great number of the eſcort, and took 800 priſoners: this, however, did not retard the ſieges a moment, for St. Venant ſurrendered on the 30th, and Mr. Bruyn, the engineer, was appointed governor; we loſt 940 men, killed and

BOOK I. and wounded at this ſiege. The French governor was afterwards committed to the Baſtile for his bad behaviour.

1710. At Aire the trenches were opened the 12th of September for two attacks; on the 21ſt, the beſieged made a ſally, in which they were repulſed with the loſs of 40 men; the 23d, we took a redoubt with little oppoſition: at this time marſhal Villars reſigned the command of the French army to marſhal Harcourt, who was ſent by the king for that purpoſe. The 8th of October we took another redoubt, ſword in hand, and at night made ourſelves maſters of the covert-way: after much labour and fatigue to us, the enemy beat a parley on the 3d of November, and on the 12th, general Goeſbriant, the governor, marched out at the head of 3,628 men, beſides 1,500 wounded left in the town; our loſs on this occaſion was 7,000 men, killed and wounded; count Naſſau Woudenburg was appointed governor of this town, and our whole army marched to the plains of Liſle, where they ſeparated on the 15th of November, and went into winter-quarters; and thus ended this campaign, and the laſt I ſerved in this country.

Perhaps no age or country, not even excepting thoſe fields ſtill famous for the celebrated victories of Julius Cæſar, can parallel the rapid ſucceſs of the combined arms in theſe wars; they were continually conquering armies of ſuperior numbers of well-diſciplined troops, abundantly ſupplied with every warlike weapon and engine of deſtruction, and commanded by generals of renowned martial knowledge and experience, and ſtill beating them from plain to plain: neither could they find a refuge in their ſtrong walled cities and towns, well fortified with every additional ſtrength of out-

out-works; theſe fell by numbers in each campaign, and the conquering heroes ſhine illuſtrious in every page of martial ſtory, grateful to the eye and ear of youthful ardour, and pleaſing to the wiſh of military ambition. But we ſhall not find them deſerving ſuch admiration in the lines of civil life, where humanity conſtrains us to commiſerate the childleſs parent and the helpleſs orphan, the ſevered brother, and the widowed dame's bewailed loſs of many dear connections; and friends lamenting friends, whoſe lives were ſacrificed to raiſe the ſtructure of the hero's fame, built on the havock of the deſolating ſword; unſheathed on this occaſion by the boundleſs ambition of that aſpiring prince, whom nothing could pleaſe ſhort of univerſal monarchy, Lewis the Fourteenth, but was at length obliged to ſit down with Gallic ſovereignty.

Terrible ſtory of the Jeſuits at Tournay.

Tournay, of which the earl of Albemarle was now governor, became our quarters for this winter. An affair happened here a little while before, in the Jeſuits college, which amazed the whole town. A ſhoemaker, near the college, having a handſome wife, one of the ſanctified fathers made frequent viſits to beſpeak ſhoes and ſlippers for himſelf and others of the fraternity; at length, giving an order, he deſired the fair dame, when they were done, to bring them home to the cloiſter, and receive the payment for them, and ſhe accordingly carried them; ſhe was admitted into the houſe, but never returned, which much alarmed the poor huſband and his neighbours, who were naturally led to enquire after her at the college, when they were told, that ſhe had received the money and went away again: as the veracity of theſe fathers was held ſacred, no body

BOOK I. body durſt preſume any farther enquiry at the college, and the woman could not be found. Some few days after, a boy in the night-time getting into a garden, next to that of the Jeſuits, to ſteal fruit, ſaw from the top of a tree (being moonlight) theſe very holy fathers buſy in burying a corpſe in the garden. The boy, knowing that the woman could not be found, told his father what he had ſeen; the father, who lived in the neighbourhood of the ſhoemaker, immediately acquainted him of it, and they both, with the boy, went to the governor, who, upon their information, ſent for the magiſtrates, and they proceeded altogether to the Jeſuits college; upon going into the garden, the boy directed to the ſpot where he had ſeen the corpſe buried: upon digging there they found the body of the poor woman with her throat cut, and all her clothes torn in pieces. The fathers declared their ignorance and innocence of the whole matter, charging the foul deed upon two of their ſociety who had diſappeared. This was all the redreſs the poor man could get for the loſs of his wife, notwithſtanding the boy declared there were eight of them at burying the body. The ſhoemaker, his neighbour, and his ſon, thought it prudent to retire to Holland, where they turned Proteſtants, to avoid the mercileſs vengeance of theſe ſacred fathers. This ſtory was told me by ſeveral officers, who were at that time in garriſon here.

1710.

BOOK II.

He goes into the Ruſſian ſervice, a captain.—Overtakes general Bruce at Pruſs-Holland.—A curious ſtory of a man at Elbing.—They arrive at Jaweroff, where the Czar is privately married.—General Bruce's rank and honours.—Account of the Ruſſian army.—Their numbers and cloathing.—Expedition againſt the Turks—Council of war at the Neiſter.—Prince Cantamire joins them without any troops.—A ſwarm of locuſts.—The Turks appear.—The Ruſſians form on the river Pruth.—Engage the Turks three days.—The czarina ſaves the whole army and prince Cantamire.—The king of Sweden upbraids the grand vizier.—The Ruſſians return.—Colonel Pitt's lady and daughter carried off by the Tartars—The grand ſeignior approves the treaty.—Captain Bruce ſent expreſs to Conſtantinople.—Deſcription of that city.—Its moſques.—Accommodations for ſtrangers.—Strength.—The ſeraglio.—Scutari, a fine View.—The port and harbour.—Suburbs.—Arſenal.—Air and climate.—The Turks contraſted.—Domeſtic Accommodations.—Internal government of the country.—Religion.—Worſhip.—The plague.—Their games.—Diet.—Reſt.—Exerciſe of their youth.—Dreſs of their ladies.—Ointment of Pilo.—Their predominant intereſt.—Matrimonial privilege.—Concubine marriage.—Policy of their religion.—Severities on the amorous ſtranger.—Their laws for debt.—In criminal caſes.—Their puniſhments.—The channel of the captain's information.—New difficulties to the Treaty at the Pruth.—Change of miniſtry.—A freſh treaty.—Freſh interruption to the peace.—Againſt which the czar remonſtrates.—Miniſtry again changed.—The Ruſſian ambaſſador, &c. ſent to the Seven Towers.—Mighty preparations for war, which end againſt the king of Sweden at Bender.—Reflexions.

THIS winter I received an invitation from general Bruce *, of the ordnance, at Moſcow, to enter into the ſervice of the czar, if I ſhould wiſh, or think it ad- BOOK II. 1710. He goes into the Ruſſian ſervice captain.

* This general Bruce was grandſon to James, who left Scotland with my grandfather.

BOOK II. viſeable to quit that of Pruſſia; and acquainted me that he was then at Elbing, in Pruſſia; where he would be for
1710. ſome time, ſo that if I accepted his offer, I might reach him before he left that place. Pleaſing as the idea was to myſelf, I could form no reſolution in the matter before I had conſulted my relations at Berlin, whoſe friendſhip I had already experienced, and it was by their unanimous conſent and advice, that I determined to accept of his invitation, and having obtained leave to quit the Pruſſian ſervice, with the rank of captain, I prepared for my departure, and left
1711. Tournay on the 25th of March, 1711. I took the route of Oudenard, Ghent, and Saſs, and came to Rotterdam the 30th; from thence I proceeded by Delft and the Hague, and got to Amſterdam the 1ſt of April, and took ſhipping in a Dutch veſſel for Koningſberg. We paſſed the Texel on the 13th, and entering the Sound on the 2d of May, we anchored at Pillaw the 7th, after above a month's paſſage: this is a harbour and fort belonging to the king of Pruſſia. I directly waited on the governor, who told me, he had a letter from general Bruce, deſiring him, when I came there, to forward me to Elbing; but the governor, thinking the general would not ſo ſoon leave that place, intreated me to ſtay with him a day or two, to give him the particulars of the laſt campaign. After dinner, an officer came in, who told the governor, that he was informed by a gentleman juſt come from Elbing, that the general was to leave it that ſame day: this fixed my immediate departure, and taking a boat for the oppoſite ſhore, I got on horſeback, and arrived at Elbing in the evening, where I found the general had ſat off in the afternoon, having received

an expreſs from the czar to join him with the utmoſt expedition.

1711.

Major-general Balck, the governor of Elbing, told me, general Bruce had deſired him, on my arrival there, to forward me immediately after him; ſo I took horſe directly, in a very dark night, and overtook him next morning, the 9th of May, at Pruſs-Holland, juſt as he was preparing to proceed on his journey. He received me very kindly, and ſeeing me much fatigued, deſired me now to travel in his own ſleeping waggon, where, indeed, I ſlept all day long, having neither reſted, nor taſted victuals, from my dining with the governor of Pillaw. This machine is in every reſpect a chariot, only the bottom is extended ſufficient to ſuffer one to lie at full length on a bed; and I found afterwards every officer, in the Ruſſian army, provides himſelf with one of them, which is very neceſſary on their long marches through ill-accommodated countries. General Bruce had engaged ſeveral officers of our artillery into the Ruſſian ſervice, two of them for engineers.

Overtakes general Bruce at Pruſs-Holland.

On our journey, the general entertained me with a ſtory which happened during his ſtay at Elbing, where he ſaved an old man from being burnt: this old man had an only ſon, who was a druggiſt in town, to whom he had given all he had in the world, upon condition that he ſhould maintain his father while he lived: the ſon had behaved pretty well to him, but his wife treated the old man in ſuch a cruel manner, that he was obliged to leave the houſe and board himſelf, for which the ſon, at the inſtigation of his wife, refuſed to pay, and the people with whom he

BOOK II.

1711.

lived, threatened to throw him into priſon: this undutiful treatment ſo affected the old man that he turned quite frantic, and in his madneſs wrote an obligation with his own blood to ſurrender himſelf, ſoul and body, to the devil, if he, in exchange, would give him a certain ſum of money: this was the eſſay on the part of the old man toward the agreement, and to ſound the devil's ſentiments on the ſubject, he carried this paper to the croſſing of two roads, apprehending that the moſt likely place to meet him, and there he made a hole and depoſited the obligation: returning ſeveral times to the ſpot, to ſee if the devil had accepted his bill, and finding no money, he grew quite out of humour with the devil, and exclaimed bitterly againſt him; ſome labourers at work hard by, obſerving his repeated viſits to that ſpot, went to it when he was gone, and dug up the paper, which they carried to the magiſtrates: the old man was taken up, tried, and ſentenced to be burnt. The general being informed of the whole ſtory, intereſted himſelf for the old man, and convinced both the magiſtrates and judges, that his preſent diſtreſſed ſituation, and dread of future want, had driven the poor old man delirious, and that not he, but his unnatural ſon, was the object of puniſhment: the experiment was eaſy, and the truth would ſoon diſcover itſelf: the old man was ſet at liberty, the ſon bound to pay his board quarterly, and the effect ſoon juſtified the meaſure by his father's return to his reaſon and judgment.

They come to the czar at Jaweroff, where he is privately married.

On the 17th, we arrived at Warſaw, and at Jaweroff on the 29th, where we found the czar and czarina, and there they were privately married, at which ceremony the general

ral was preſent, and upon this occaſion he was made maſter-general of the ordnance, in the room of the prince of Melita, who died a priſoner in Sweden. General Bruce was at this time knight of four orders, viz. St. Andrew, the White Eagle, the Black Eagle, and the Elephant; and here I received my commiſſion as captain in the artillery, and engineer. I went from hence to Lemberg to get myſelf equipped with the uniforms of my new corps, and was recommended to a merchant there of the name of Gordon, who ſhewed me a great deal of civility. When I returned to Jaweroff the army broke up, and we went in his majeſty's retinue to Soroka, upon the river Neiſter, where we joined the Ruſſian army. This place is ſix hundred miles ſouth from Elbing.

1711. General Bruce's rank and honours.

The Ruſſian army is commanded by a field-marſhal, and in his abſence by the general of the ordnance, who has under him a lieutenant general and major-general: the regiment of artillery conſiſts of 2,400 bombardiers, gunners, miners, and matroſſes; beſides every battalion of the army is attended by one field-piece, a three-pounder. The army is reckoned by diviſions, each conſiſting of nine regiments, one of which is grenadiers; each diviſion is commanded by a general, a lieutenant-general, a major-general, and a brigadier. A regiment conſiſts of two battalions, or eight companies, and is commanded by a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, and two majors; and a company conſiſts of 150 private, commanded by one captain, two lieutenants, one enſign, two ſerjeants, one ſub-enſign; and has beſides, one captain at arms, one quarter-maſter, one clerk, a ſurgeon-barber, two drums, one timberman, five denzigs (or officers

Account of Ruſſian army.

BOOK II. cers ſervants), and fourteen waggoners; making in all 183: each company has their own ſeparate colours, there being four to every battalion. The generals have no regiments, nor the field officers, companies; nor have the captains, the paying, clothing, arming, and recruiting of their companies: this is performed by a commiſſary, or paymaſter; the neceſſary recruits are demanded from and provided by the governors of the different provinces. A regiment takes its name from the town or province where they were firſt raiſed, which name they always retain, excepting the regiments of grenadiers, which bear the name of the commanding general of the diviſion; the companies of a regiment are commonly diſtinguiſhed by numbers, from the 1ſt to the 8th; they always charge in battle four men deep, the two foremoſt ranks kneeling. The czar's own diviſion, at this time, conſiſted of four regiments, each of which have a company of grenadiers, which no other regiment has; the firſt of theſe regiments was that called Prebraſinſky, of four battalions; the ſecond that of Samenofſky, of three battalions; the third that of Ingermanlandſky, three battalions; and the fourth, that of Aſtrachanſky, of two battalions; in all thirteen battalions, including the four companies of grenadiers; each company of this diviſion has a captain-lieutenant additional: there were likewiſe in his majeſty's diviſion two other grenadier companies, who were bombardiers, gunners, and miners. Each battalion of the army has at leaſt one officer that is an engineer.

1711.

Their numbers and cloathing.

The forces of Ruſſia, including garriſons, conſiſt of 200,000 foot, and 100,000 cavalry; beſides Coſſack and Kalmuck

Kalmuck Tartars, who can, upon occaſion, bring 150,000 men into the field. All the army wear white cockades; the horſe are clad in blue, faced with ſcarlet; the foot in green, faced with ſcarlet; and the artillery in ſcarlet, with blue facings.

The army, which we joined at Soroka, conſiſted of five diviſions, of 6,000 men each, commanded by count Zeremetof, field-marſhal; the firſt was the czar's own diviſion, the ſecond general Weyde's, the third prince Repnin's, the fourth general Hallard's, and the fifth general Rentzel's; in all 30,000 foot, attended by a very numerous train of artillery, and intended for an expedition againſt the Turks. We were to have been joined by 30,000 dragoons, who had been detached to deſtroy a magazine erected by the Turks upon the Neiſter, a little above Bender, which ſervice they performed, and beat the Turks there, but were prevented from joining us, as we did not wait their return: beſides theſe, there were 50,000 Kalmuck Tartars, and 20,000 Coſſacks in full march to have joined us, and with theſe reinforcements we ſhould have been 130,000 ſtrong.

Expedition againſt the Turks.

His majeſty being now reſolved to march upon that expedition, without waiting the junction of the reſt of his forces, iſſued a general order for all the women, who attended the army to be ſent away: the czarina, however, inſiſted on attending his majeſty in the expedition, which was granted, and the generals petitioned her to obtain the ſame liberty for their wives, that they might attend her majeſty, which was alſo granted; and the reſt of the officers wives, conceiving themſelves equally entitled to the indulgence,

BOOK II. dulgence, all went, notwithſtanding the order. This circumſtance, although it conſiderably augmented the train of our baggage, proved in the end a very fortunate one.

1711.

Our preſent ſudden march ſeems to have been occaſioned by the ſecret engagements of Brancoven, prince of Moldavia, who undertook not only to join us with his whole forces, but to provide us plentifully with proviſions and forage, both which were ſoon out of his power; for the grand ſeignor coming at the knowledge of this intended revolt, diveſted him of his principality, and gave it to Cantamire, prince of Wallachia, with orders to him to ſeize Brancoven, and ſend him to Conſtantinople; and with orders at the ſame time to throw a bridge over the Danube, to facilitate the paſſage of the Turkiſh army to oppoſe us; but the Turk was diſappointed as well as we; for ſome of their principal men uſing Cantamire extremely ill, he protracted the building of the bridge inſtead of haſtening it; and in the mean time diſpatched an officer to the czar, praying him to join him with all expedition with 30,000 men, which number he thought would be ſufficient, with his own troops, to prevent the Turks from paſſing the Danube. The czar having juſt been diſappointed, if not deceived, by Brancoven (for he afterwards made a merit of it to the Turk), could place no confidence in the ſincerity of Cantamire, nor was it ſufficiently underſtood, till it was too late to prevent their paſſing that river.

Council of war at the Neiſter.

On the 14th of June, our army paſſed the Neiſter, when his majeſty called a council of war, which was held in general Bruce's tent, when prince Cantamire's letter was read; the czar then mentioned his intention to march forward,

without waiting the junction of the reſt of the troops; all the generals expreſſed their approbation of the meaſure, except general Hallard, who ſaid nothing. The czar obſerving his ſilence, ordered him to declare his mind, and give him his opinion freely: the general replied, that as the council were ſo unanimous he never would have made any objection, had not his majeſty inſiſted on his declaring his ſentiments; he then frankly told the czar, he was very much ſurpriſed that the king of Sweden's misfortune did not ſerve as a ſufficient warning; for that prince had been miſled by the advice of the traytor Mazeppe: he could not help thinking our preſent ſtate was a ſimilar one; "The "prince of Moldavia has already diſappointed us, and for "any ſecurity we have, the prince of Wallachia may do the "ſame; for although he ſhould mean well himſelf, yet he "may want the power to ſerve us; for it is to be feared his "troops, who have long been uſed to the Turkiſh govern-"ment, will not enter into his ſentiments."—And this proved to be exactly the caſe.

The march, however, was reſolved on, and we ſat out the ſame night to avoid the intenſe heat of the day, and continued to march for three nights through a barren deſart heath, without a drop of water all the way, which was ſeverely felt both by man and beaſt. On the 18th, we arrived at the river Pruth, where we loſt a number of our baggage-horſes by their drinking too plentifully of the water; we paſſed the river on the 19th, near Jaſſey, the capital and reſidence of the prince of Moldavia. At this place, prince Cantamire joined us in perſon with very few attendants, both the Walachian and Moldavian troops having left him for

Prince Cantamire joins them without any troops.

BOOK II. fear of the Turks. We continued our march down the Pruth till the 21ſt, when we met a prodigious ſwarm of locuſts, which, at their riſing, overſhadowed the whole army like a cloud; they had not only deſtroyed the graſs of the fields, but alſo the tender bark and leaves of the trees: here again we loſt a number of our carriage-cattle for want of forage; it was very remarkable that the locuſts never left our army, and we no ſooner pitched our tents than they came down and covered the whole camp; we tried by firing cannon and ſmall arms, and burning trains of powder on the ground to chaſe them away, but all in vain; they attended us on our march along the river till the 27th, when we diſcovered the Turkiſh army croſſing the Pruth. Upon this, general Janus was detached with a body of troops, and twelve pieces of cannon, to diſpute their paſſage; but he was too late, for half their army had paſſed before he could get up to them, ſo that he found it prudent to retreat to the army. It was very ſurpriſing, that we had not the leaſt intelligence of ſo numerous an army, which conſiſted of no leſs than 200,000 men, till they were within ſight of us.

1711.

A ſwarm of locuſts.

The Turks appear.

The Ruſſians form on the river Pruth.

Our army drew up in order of battle, at ſome diſtance from the river, in hopes to bring them to an engagement; but they kept out of the reach of our cannon, and extending their numerous army, endeavoured to ſurround us, and cut us off from the river. We remained under arms till night, and being convinced of their intention, we made a very diſorderly retreat to ſecure the river, our diviſions being all ſeparated from each other in the dark, and as we were now greatly deficient in horſes, we burnt a number of

our

our baggage waggons, that they ſhould not fall into the enemy's hands; and it was ſurpriſing, that from the number of fires that were blazing in the night, the enemy did not perceive our confuſion, which afforded them a fine opportunity to have deſtroyed our whole army, and they might eaſily have done it with a ſmall part of theirs; but happily for us they ſeemed to pay greater attention to their own ſafety than our deſtruction, for they happened to be very buſy entrenching themſelves, by which means we eſcaped their notice. At day-break, our ſcattered troops were again put in order, and our army formed into a hollow ſquare, the river ſerving for the fourth ſide, which enabled us to give our ſquare a larger extent; and our waggons were formed into an incloſure within, for the protection of the ladies.

On the other ſide of the river, and oppoſite to us, the Crim Tartars were placed, where the king of Sweden had pitched his tent to diſcover the motions of our army. The Tartars annoyed us much in watering, but bringing a few pieces of cannon to play upon them, they were ſoon obliged to keep at a diſtance. Our army was ſurrounded by a cheveaux de frize, which was the only protection we had.

Engage the Turks three days.

The Turkiſh army ſurrounded us on all ſides, with a deſign to ſtarve us into a ſurrender, and this they certainly would have done in a ſhort time, had they not been too eager in attacking us, which they did three days and three nights together; but fortunately for us, they attacked only one ſide of our ſquare at a time, which enabled us to relieve our wearied troops, from time to time, as they became harraſſed with fatigue, and it alſo enabled us to uſe our

BOOK II. large train of artillery, which did great execution among them, and luckily they had none to annoy us with, as theirs was not yet arrived.

1711.

The czarina ſaves the whole army and prince Cantamire.

On the fourth day, the czar, being informed that our ammunition was all ſpent to three charges of cannon and ſmall-arms, ordered all the officers in the army, with a number of ſelect men, to mount on horſeback and attend his perſon; his intention was to force his way through the Turkiſh army in the night, and to go through Tranſilvania into Hungary: but the czarina coming to the knowledge of this dangerous reſolution, and foreſeeing the hazard that would attend the czar, and the loſs and diſgrace that would fall upon his arms and army, very luckily hit upon a better expedient, which ſaved us all from deſtruction. She collected all the money, plate, and jewels which were in the army, for which ſhe gave her own receipt and obligation to pay the reſpective owners, and with this valuable preſent ſhe had the addreſs to prevail on the grand vizier to conclude a peace, and the tranſaction was immediately finiſhed in the name of the field-marſhal, without the czar's knowledge who was juſt going to ſet out on his very dangerous expedition, which her majeſty ſtopped by telling him, that the grand vizier had agreed to conclude a peace on reaſonable terms. This piece of conſummate female diſcretion was followed by a moſt punctual diſcharge of her obligations for the plate, &c. on her return home. The principal conditions of the peace, on our part, were to deliver up to the Turks, Azoph, Taiganrog, and Caminiek, and that our troops ſhould evacuate Poland; for the performance of which, the vice-chancellor Schafirof,

Schafirof, and major-general count Zeremetof, were delivered as hoſtages. They inſiſted alſo, that prince Cantamire of Moldavia ſhould be delivered up to them; but were told, that the prince had left our camp; which, indeed, was believed by moſt of ourſelves; for the treaty was no ſooner thought on, than the czarina ſhut him up in her own coach, which was known only to the ſervant who carried him his victuals. The czar ever afterwards entertained a great regard for prince Cantamire, and gave him ſeveral landed eſtates both in Ruſſia and the Ukraine, beſides ſettling a penſion of 20,000 rubles a year upon him.

The king of Sweden hearing of this peace, went with the cham of Tartary who was at that time ſtrongly intereſted in his favour, to the grand vizier, to know why he had concluded a peace ſo haſtily, when he had it in his power to have made the czar and his whole army priſoners. The vizier informed him, that as the ſultan had veſted him with full powers for war or peace, he could not refuſe them peace, ſeeing they deſired it upon terms honourable to the grand ſeignor, and by which he had gained more than could have been expected. The king anſwered, that if he had carried the czar a priſoner to Conſtantinople, they could then have obliged him to grant what terms they pleaſed; and told the vizier, if he would now give him 20,000 of his beſt troops, he would yet recover the opportunity that had been neglected, and was on the point of being loſt for ever. The grand vizier replied, "God preſerve us from breaking a treaty of "peace without any reaſon, as I have already accepted the "hoſtages for the performance of it." Poniatoffſky, a Poliſh general

The king of Sweden upbraids the grand vizier.

BOOK II. general in Staniſlaus's intereſt, being preſent, and ſeeing the king now ſilent, anſwered, "There is ſtill a remedy "without breaking the treaty, which is to put the king at "the head of 20 or 30,000 of your beſt troops, whereby "he may ſtop the czar, and oblige him to a more honour-"able peace before he proceeds any farther:" The vizier then ſaid, "This ſeems to me at leaſt an indirect vio-"lation of the treaty, in which it is provided, that the king "may return into his own dominions, through the czar's "territories, with a ſtrong convoy of Turks, after which, "if he pleaſes, he may make peace with the czar." The king looked full at the grand vizier, and laughed in his face, without making any anſwer; but in retiring, he turned ſo ſhort on his heel, that he tore the vizier's robe with his ſpur, and mounting his horſe, he went off highly diſpleaſed: he then concerted meaſures with the cham to attack us with his Tartars on our march, of which the viſier being informed, reinforced us with 30,000 ſpahis, the beſt cavalry in the Turkiſh ſervice, to conduct us to the Neiſter: the vizier ſent us alſo ſeveral waggon-loads of proviſions as a preſent to our army.

1711.

The Ruſſians return under the eſcort of a baſſa.

Matters being thus accommodated, we decamped on the 2d of July, in good order, with drums beating and colours flying: our artillery and baggage marched between us and the river, and our chevaux de frize were carried, each by two men, between us and the Turks, to be in readineſs in caſe the Tartars had perſevered in their plan to attack us: we marched this day in view of the Turkiſh army. At our ſetting out, colonel Pitt had the misfortune to loſe both his wife and daughter, beautiful women, by the breaking

Colonel Pitt's lady and daughter carried off by the Tartars.

of

1711.

of one of their coach-wheels; by this accident, they were left ſo far in the rear, that the Tartars ſeized and carried them off. The colonel addreſſed himſelf to the grand vizier, who ordered a ſtrict enquiry to be made, but to no purpoſe. The colonel being afterwards informed that they were both carried to Conſtantinople, and preſented to the grand ſeignor, obtained a paſs, and went there in ſearch of them, and getting acquainted with a Jew doctor, who was phyſician to the ſeraglio, the doctor told him there had been two ſuch ladies as he deſcribed, lately preſented to the ſultan; but that when any of the ſex were once taken into the ſeraglio, they were never ſuffered to come out again. The colonel, nevertheleſs, tried every expedient he could deviſe to recover his wife, if he could not get both, till becoming outrageous by repeated diſappointment, and very clamourous, they ſhut him up in a dungeon, and it was with much difficulty he got releaſed by the interceſſion of ſome of the ambaſſadors at the court; and was afterwards told by the Jew doctor, that they both died of the plague: with which information he was obliged to content himſelf and return home.

The grand ſeignor receiving the news of the peace, and the advantages he had thereby acquired, ordered public rejoicings for three days, and teſtified his approbation of the vizier's conduct, not only in the reception he gave him, but by complimentary letters and magnificent preſents. For want of horſes our march was ſo ſlow, that it was the 11th of July before we reached Stepanowa, when we croſſed the Pruth, and on the 14th arrived at the Neiſter, after a ſhort, but very dangerous campaign. Next day we croſſed this

The grand ſeignor approves the treaty.

BOOK II. river and reached the camp where we found our dragoons, Coſſacks, and Tartars, who were now rejoiced at our ſafe return, having heard very diſmal accounts of us. The baſſa, who eſcorted us here, ſaid when he ſaw theſe troops, that if they had joined us, we ſhould have been an over-match for the Turkiſh army. Our army now ſeparated and took different routes: the czar ſet out for Germany, taking general Bruce with him, but not before he had wrote freſh inſtructions for baron Schafirof, and diſpatched them by expreſs for Conſtantinople, of which I was the bearer; ſo that I returned with the baſſa who had conducted us to this place, and who had now only 2000 troops, the reſt having left us on the diſappearing of the Tartars. The ſultan, upon the repreſentations of the king of Sweden, had, in the mean time, twice broke this peace, and renewed it again with the ſame eaſe; this was apprehended, and occaſioned the inſtructions I now carried.

1711.

Captain Bruce ſent expreſs to Conſtantinople.

On our way to Adrianople, I received many civilities from the baſſa, and we arrived there the 2d of Auguſt, where we found baron Schafirof and count Zeremetof, and who ſoon after ſat out with us for Conſtantinople, where we arrived the 25th, being met at ſome diſtance from the city by count Tolſtoi, our ambaſſador, who had been confined in the Seven Towers ever ſince the declaration of the war, but was now releaſed.

A deſcription of that city.

This city is ſituated on a point, or tongue of land, that jets out into the ſea, it is of a triangular form, and fourteen miles in circumference; the houſes are generally built of wood, and the ſtreets ſo narrow, that in moſt of them, two loaded horſes cannot go a-breaſt; and the houſes project

ſo much at the upper parts, that in many places one may with eaſe ſtep out of the window of one houſe into the window of another on the oppoſite ſide of the ſtreet: this capital error in building the city does not ſeem to have proceeded from want of room, for it abounds in gardens and large ſquares and courts; and it is owing to this circumſtance that a fire is always attended with ſuch devaſtation, for it burns with irreſiſtible fury till ſome garden or ſquare puts a ſtop to its progreſs. The moſt regular part of this city is the Beſeſtin, incloſed with walls and gates, where the merchants have their ſhops, which are ranged and diſpoſed in ſuch excellent order, that a buyer may diſpatch his buſineſs in a quarter of an hour; every trade has its own ſeparate department in the place; the gates are ſhut every night at ten o'clock. In another part of the city is the Hippodrome, an oblong ſquare of four hundred paces by two hundred, where they exerciſe on horſeback: towards the end, oppoſite to the ſeraglio, are two obeliſks; the firſt conſiſts of one ſtone ſeventy feet high, and ſtands on a ſquare pedeſtal of marble, adorned with ſeveral hieroglyphical figures in relievo; the other is a ſpiral pyramid built of free ſtone, without any ornament or inſcription; near theſe ſtands the ſerpentine column, a brazen pillar of conſiderable height; it is compoſed of three ſerpents wreathed and twiſted together, with their tails on the ground, and ending at top with three gaping heads and forked tongues, expreſſive of hiſſing. At ſome diſtance from this are two other columns, in a large court appointed for the exerciſe of the bow and arrow, where the archers very frequently hit a mark not bigger than a ſhilling, at the diſtance of

BOOK II. an hundred paces. The Meidan, or parade, is a very large ſpacious ſquare, and is the place of general reſort of all ranks.

1711.

Its moſques. Among the principal moſques, or churches, in this city, the firſt is that of St. Sophia, formerly a Chriſtian church; it is an hundred and twenty paces long and eighty broad; on each ſide is a portico, ſupported by thirty columns, each ſixteen feet high, ornamented with very fine cornices; it is covered with a dome, or round roof, enriched with grand Moſaic work, and finely gilded; the pavement is of marble, and covered over with matting. The tomb of Conſtantine the Great is ſtill preſerved, and which the Turks hold in great veneration, although they ſuffer neither image or picture in their moſques; this being the only ancient building which now remains here of that kind; for all the reſt were built by the ſultans, or ſultaneſſes, whoſe names they bear: they are built after the ſame model, differing only in ſize, with a number of fountains, and variety of painting, ſo that a deſcription of one will convey a juſt idea of all the reſt. The next is the moſque of the ſultaneſs Valide, ſtanding in the middle of a large ſquare court, and is environed with arched canopies, in the form of porticos, under which are many fountains, with cocks for the people to waſh themſelves at before they enter the moſque; it has but one gate, which is ſurrounded with a portico of conſiderable height, paved with white and black marble, and ſupported by ſixty-four columns of red marble, eight of which are porphyry, and placed near the entry; the plafond is adorned with painting and figures after the Turkiſh manner; the portico is covered with little domes, ſurrounding a large one in the middle, and all

covered

covered with lead; at the four corners of the building are four very high turrets, ending in a globe, or creſcent, from which their prieſts call the people to prayers, having no bells for that purpoſe.

Accommodations for ſtrangers.

The city is rendered very commodious with houſes, called Hans, or caravanſerais, for the entertainment and accommodation of foreign merchants; the Hans conſiſt of four ſides of building, incloſing a large ſquare court, with a fountain in the middle; the walls are very ſtrong, and the windows well ſecured with bars for the ſafety of the property lodged there, the roofs conſiſt of little domes, covered with lead, like thoſe of the moſques: the Hans contain only two ſtories, divided into rooms which have not the leaſt communication with each other; the lower ſtory is divided into warehouſes for goods, and the upper ſtory into lodging-apartments for the merchants, who muſt provide every thing for their accommodation, for they find nothing when they come in but the bare walls. The caravanſerais are a poorer ſort of inns, and built in the ſame manner as the Hans, which ſerve the poorer ſort of ſtrangers, and ſervants of the caravans, and have ſtabling for their camels. Beſides theſe, there are no other public houſes of entertainment.

Strength.

The city is ſurrounded by a high and thick wall, with battlements, after the oriental manner, and towers at ſome diſtance from each other, defended by a lined but ſhallow ditch, and on the land-ſide theſe works are double; thoſe, with the Seven Towers, are all the ſtrength of Conſtantinople.

The ſeraglio.

The ſeraglio is built on the point of the land jetting into the ſea; it occupies a ſpace of four miles in circumference,

BOOK II. 1711.

cumference, the greateſt part of which is laid out in gardens; the whole ſtructure is irregular, for it is indeed only a medley of confuſed building, ornamented with a number of thoſe little gilded ſpires and globes without beauty or order; the principal entry is near St. Sophia, and reſembles the gate of an old paltry town, without architecture or ornament; through this gate we entered into a large court, where, on the right, are the apartments for the ſick, and on the left are magazines of arms for a thouſand men; from this court we paſſed into another, bordered with two large porticos; on our right hand are the kitchens, and ſtables for an hundred horſe on the left; but we were permitted to go no farther. The ſeraglio, with its gardens, &c. is ſurrounded with a very high wall of grey ſtone, with a parapet at the top, and battlements like thoſe of the city, and which incloſes the old and new ſeraglios: in the old one, the reigning ſultan ſhuts up the wives of his predeceſſor, who, at their entrance, look back on the pleaſures of this life as gone for ever; the new ſeraglio is contiguous to his own palace. The great officers of ſtate are but meanly lodged, moſt of their houſes are incloſed in a kind of park, containing a garden, and a large court, having ſtables on one ſide, and kitchens on the other. The many gilded globes and ſpires, reſembling ſteeples, which appear in all parts of the city, contribute very much to its grand appearance, eſpecially at a diſtance.

Scutari, a fine view.

Oppoſite to the ſeraglio, on the ſide of Aſia, and diſtant about a mile and a half, acroſs the water, lies Scutari: it is a large town, adorned with a royal moſque and a palace, or pleaſure-houſe, of the grand ſeignior's. The brow of a hill,

hill, near Scutari, preſents one of the grandeſt and moſt beautiful proſpects, perhaps, the world affords: here you have before you, in one view, the cities of Conſtantinople, Galata, and Pera, the ſmall ſeas of the Boſphorus and Propontis, with the adjacent countries on the ſhores of each.

The port and harbour. The port and harbour have their peculiar beauties; the harbour is three miles long, and one broad, clean and deep throughout, and ſo ſteep to the ſhore, that the largeſt veſſels come ſo cloſe you may ſtep on board or a ſhore without a boat; at the entrance of the port ſtands Leander's tower, a high ſquare building; there is a fountain on the rock, and ſome pieces of cannon, which might defend the city on that ſide in caſe of neceſſity. On the oppoſite ſide of the port are four conſiderable towns, but which are rather conſidered as a part of the ſuburbs of the city, as their diſtance from it, over the port, is ſo ſmall, that a perſon may eaſily be heard on the other ſide; they are named Pacha, Galata, Pera, and Tophana, and are eight miles in circumference. Pera is the place where the foreign ambaſſadors, and all the Franks reſide, for they are not permitted to live in the city; Galata is, properly ſpeaking, a city of itſelf, handſomely built, being ſurrounded by walls, and has large ſuburbs, is exceedingly populous, and moſtly inhabited by Franks and Jews, and is a place of great trade. Franks is the general denomination of all ſtrangers that are Chriſtians. At the end of the port ſtands the grand arſenal, which covers a conſiderable ſpace of ground, and contains arms for 60,000 men, where alſo the gallies are laid up in an hundred and twenty arches.

Suburbs.

Arſenal.

The

BOOK II.

1711.

Air and climate.

The air is extremely pure, and ſo wholeſome, that the inhabitants are never ſubject to any epidemical diſeaſe but the plague, which viſits them every year, and then makes a dreadful havock amongſt them. It is imagined they would live till they dropt into the grave through mere old age, if their days were not cut off by this peſtilential malady; they are ſo little acquainted with any other mortal diſtemper, that when they are told the plague is hardly known in Britain, they naturally aſk, "What then do the "people die of?" The climate, being in 41 deg. 30 min. north, is ſo temperate, that the winters are never cold, and the ſummer's heat is greatly allayed by the cooling breezes from the ſeas.

The Turks contraſted.

The Turks ſeem to contraſt us in almoſt their whole manner: with us it has always been deemed honourable to be eſpouſed to one woman, they marry ſeveral wives; we reckon our cloaths the moſt commodious for being ſhort, they wear theirs down to their heels; we eſteem long hair and a ſmooth face ornaments to the countenance, they ſhave their heads and let their beards grow; we write in a ſtrait line from left to right, they in a crooked one from right to left: they crouch down to make water like the women.

Domeſtic accommodations.

They have no houſhold furniture, ſuch as beds, tables, chairs, looking-glaſſes, or pictures; the bare walls, with a plafond, or ceiling, and a ſopha, are all the riches or ornaments in their rooms; the rich, indeed, paint their ceilings and walls in the Moreſco taſte, and their ſophas are two feet high, and reach from the one end of the room to the other, under the windows, and are ten feet broad,

covered

covered with Turkey or Perſian tapeſtry; beſides theſe, there are matts laid along the other ſides of the room, five or ſix feet broad, covered with cloth or velvet, and over theſe are laid large cuſhions, ſtuffed with hair or wool; theſe cuſhions, in the houſes of the grandees, are curiouſly embroidered, or covered with a rich cloth of gold. Loitering in ſloth and idleneſs, croſs-legged like ſo many taylors, the Turk waſtes almoſt his whole time, lolling on theſe cuſhions, or ſophas, ſmoking tobacco, and drinking coffee or ſherbet, without either diverſion or amuſement, but playing with ſhells, or at trick-track, or the gooſe.

Internal government of the country.

Their provinces, cities, and towns, are governed by baſſas, ſub-baſſas, waiwodes, cadis, (or judges), and collectors. The baſſa is inveſted with the ſupreme executive authority, and is accountable for the revenues of his government to the grand ſignior; but to ſecure a free toleration to be as arbitrary a tyrant in his province as his maſter is in his empire, he farms his oppreſſions at an annual tribute to the ſultan, of money and ſlaves, excluſive of the ordinary duties, cuſtoms, and impoſts of the province: the ſultan thus gratified, and a wide door opened to the rapacious avarice of the imperious baſſa, he exerciſes all manner of cruel oppreſſions, when there is any thing to be got by it, in his whole dominions, without regard to quality or condition, widow or orphan, it is all the ſame. The increaſing treaſure of ſome of theſe baſſas enables them to maintain a ſtanding army of their own, whereby they become formidable to the grand ſeignior himſelf, who then is obliged to wink at their crimes rather than run the hazard of puniſhing them; for the baſſa can rely on his forces

BOOK II. 1711.

while he is able to pay them; ſo that between the deſpotic tyrant and his grim lieutenant, it is no very deſirable privilege to be a Turkiſh ſubject. The waiwode is a city magiſtrate: the collector is a receiver of the cuſtoms, and has great authority to take cognizance of all fraudulent practices in the pecuniary revenues, and in all his deciſions he is both judge and jury; and his ſentence is always regulated by the profit it yields. The cadi is a judge of the law.

Religion.

The Turkiſh religion acknowleges four prophets; Enoch, Moſes, Jeſus Chriſt, and Mahomet; they believe that Judas, who intended to betray his maſter to the Jews, was by them crucified in his ſtead, and that Chriſt was tranſlated into heaven; they upbraid the Chriſtians with folly and impiety, for believing that he, whom they adore as God, was put to ſuch a ſhameful death, and the very ſight of a crucifix fills them with anger and rage. They believe that Chriſt will come to judge the world, but that he will firſt reign a thouſand years upon the earth, and marry, and beget children; but they will not acknowlege a Trinity of perſons in the Godhead, alledging, that ſuch an opinion would abſolutely deſtroy the unity of that ſovereign Being, without which he could not be God. They ſay that Chriſt was ſucceeded by Mahomet, after whom there ſhall come no other prophet. They believe that there is an infinite number of angels, ſome good, others bad; ſome white, others black: they imagine, that every man has two angels who conſtantly attend him, the one writes down all his good, the other all his bad actions. They are of opinion, that the ſouls of the wicked enter not into hell till the day of judgment, but remain with their bodies

in the grave, where they are tormented by the black angels till the laſt day, when they will be ſent to hell, and ſuffer moſt cruel puniſhments for a certain period, according to the enormity of the crimes they have committed in this life, at the expiration of which they will be releaſed and admitted into paradiſe, where they will enjoy the ſame happineſs that is appointed for good men; for, ſay they, it is inconſiſtent with Divine goodneſs to puniſh a being eternally for the offences of ſo ſhort a life. They pray five times a day; at day-break, noon, three o'clock, ſix o'clock, and an hour after the cloſe of the evening: on Friday, being their ſabbath, they aſſemble for public worſhip, when the Iman, or prieſt, ſays prayers, and delivers a kind of ſermon, or exhortation, to his hearers, but none of their women are ſuffered to appear at their public devotions. They keep Lent, which laſts thirty days, and they are obliged to faſt every day from morning till night during all that time, being permitted neither to eat, drink, or ſmoak tobacco: lent ends with the moon, and every body is ſo impatient to ſee the new deliverer that is to releaſe them from their loathed abſtinence, that they run to the tops of houſes, and even of mountains to ſee its riſe; and as ſoon as it peeps in the horizon, they ſalute it with ſeveral reverential bows; their caſtles alſo proclaim the welcome news by repeated diſcharges of their great guns: the three ſucceeding days are ſpent in mirth and jollity. They are allowed at no time to eat hog's fleſh, or drink wine. They are ſo entirely abſorbed in their faith of predeſtination, that they uſe no precautions in the time of the plague; and are offended at the Chriſtians for taking care of their health on

Worſhip.

BOOK II. ſuch occaſions, by ſhunning the houſes where the infection is, aſſerting they ought not to forſake dying or dead men.

1711.

The plague, which ſweeps away ſuch vaſt numbers of the inhabitants, ſeems in ſome degree neceſſary to the preſervation of the country, as they are increaſed one fifth part of their number yearly; which is eaſily accounted for, when it is conſidered that every man is allowed to marry four wives and keep ſeveral concubines; and there are beſides, fifty thouſand ſlaves brought into Turkey every year; ſo that the country would ſoon be overſtocked with inhabitants, and the people in danger of ſtarving, if their numbers were not curtailed by this malady: yet, notwithſtanding the terrible havoc made by the peſtilence, the land is ſtill full of people.

Genius. Their manners and cuſtoms, as I obſerved before, are oppoſite to ours in almoſt every reſpect: they are ſo far from ſtudying to improve their underſtanding, that they in a manner glory in their ignorance; and their ambition is ſo ſmall that they never attempt any thing that has not ſome ſordid intereſted view for its object; living for the moſt part a recluſe and lazy life, ſcarce ever looking beyond the ſphere of their own families; and provided their wives are handſome, their horſes well curried, and their ſervants ſubmiſſive and reſpectful, they have not the ſmalleſt curioſity about the affairs of the reſt of the world. Contented with their lot they ſit whole days on a ſopha, without any other occupation than drinking coffee, ſmoaking, or careſſing their wives; ſo their whole life is a continual revolution of eating, drinking, and ſleeping, intermixt with ſome dull recreations.

creations. Yet they cannot be accuſed of luxury in eating, for a fowl boiled with rice, coriander-ſeed, and ſugar, is the beſt diſh that is ſerved up, (which they call pilaw); that, with a diſh of fiſh, &c. and a deſart of ſweetmeats, makes their meal. When the hour of dinner comes, a ſervant brings an octangular table of walnut-tree, inlaid with ivory, not above a foot and a half diameter, which he places on the ſopha, and having laid the cloth, ſerves up the diſhes one after another; another ſervant ſpreads a napkin on his maſter's knees, and ſtands behind him to carve and help him to what he chooſes, for it is beneath the grandeur of a Turk to do any thing for himſelf. They never drink at meals, though they are in no hurry in diſpatching them, but as ſoon as the table is removed, a ſervant brings a cup of ſherbet, and then the coffee and tobacco, with which his maſter beguiles the reſt of the day: their veſſels are all earthen or porcelain. At night, a mat, ſheets, and coverlet, are brought, and they ſleep in the ſame place where they ate, drank, ſmoaked, played, and loitered all the day. This is their conſtant courſe of life, after they ceaſe to be youths; for from the age of fifteen to twenty they learn the uſe of arms, the art of riding, the bow, throwing the dart, and other exerciſes of that nature; and, indeed, they are excellent horſemen, notwithſtanding their high ſaddles and ſhort ſtirrups, for they rule their horſes with great dexterity without whip or ſpur, inſtead of which they uſe a batoon, three feet long, holding it by the middle, and ſtriking with the ends as they find it neceſſary to direct the horſe's motion. Their horſes are very ſwift, and ſtretch themſelves

1711. Diet.

Reſt.

Exerciſe of their youth.

BOOK II. ſelves ſo far, in running, that their bellies ſeem to touch the ground. The Turks throw the dart ſo admirably well on horſeback, that they hit the mark at full ſpeed, very ſeldom miſſing their aim; and what is more ſurpriſing, they will throw their batoon as far before them as they can, and following at full ſpeed, catch it on the ground as the horſe paſſes, without giving him the leaſt check.

1711.

Dreſs. The men's dreſs conſiſts in long and wide breeches, reaching to their ancles, with leathern ſtockings faſtened to the lower part of them, and is called a chackſir, and ſhort boots of red leather: a ſhirt of very fine cotton cloth, made exactly like a woman's ſmock, only wider, eſpecially at the ſleeves, which are open: over this they wear a cafetan, which is a kind of long caſſock, with narrow ſleeves buttoned at the wriſt; the ſummer cafetan is made of white cotton cloth, and in winter of ſilk ſtuff quilted with cotton, and are girt about the waiſt with a ſilken ſcarf, in which they faſten their poniard, the handle of which is made of ſilver or ivory, enriched with jewels: they never appear with a ſabre but when they go into the country. The upper garment is a cloth gown, which they call a veſt; in ſummer it is lined with taffety, and in winter with coſtly furs, theſe with the turban complete the dreſs of the man.

Dreſs of the ladies. The habit of the women is not much different, and that chiefly conſiſts in being a great deal richer. They wear a cafetan of gold brocade, faſtened before with large pearls, or a ſmall knot of diamonds; it covers their ſhoulders entirely, but is cut ſo low before at the top, that their breaſt would remain naked if it was not covered with their ſmock,

and a little waiſtcoat they wear over it; this waiſtcoat ſits very cloſe to the body and keeps up the breaſts: above the cafetan, they wear a leathern girdle, covered with plates and ſtuds of gold and ſilver, ſet with precious ſtones of beautiful luſtre. Their ſmock is always of the fineſt flowered ſilk, and hangs over their chackſir, which, in ſummer is made of the ſame ſilk as moſt agreeable in the exceſſive heat. Their upper veſt is either of fine cloth or velvet, embroidered, or of rich cloth of gold. Their head dreſs is very elegant and becoming; the talpo is a large high velvet cap, ſomewhat reſembling a cloſe crown, is made to ſit neat round the head, and widens upwards; it is adorned with the richeſt embroidery of gold, ſilver, and pearls, and is ſo high, that it would fall back on the ſhoulders, were it not artificially ſupported above the head, where they plait and fold it with much art: it is alſo enriched with long ſtrings of pearls curiouſly interwoven and ſtrewed with diamonds, rubies, and all ſorts of jewels; it is faſtened to the head, with a frontlet two fingers broad, and ſo rich that it may compare with a diadem; round the frontlet are little gold chains, with a diamond hanging at the end of one, an emerald at another, &c. which dangle upon the forehead and on both ſides of the face. Their hair is braided in a long treſs, four fingers broad, hanging down an incredible length, on ſome even to the heel; they wear a little curl on each ſide of the forehead, which hangs in a ringlet down the ſide of the face, and theſe curls ingroſs much of their attention; they dye them black, as they do alſo their eye-brows, which are extremely regular, for they ſhape them with a razor; the women, in general, paint, and are, not-

BOOK II. notwithſtanding, moſt charming creatures. They ſeem to be made for love, their actions, geſtures, diſcourſe, and looks, are all amorous, and admirably fitted to kindle that ſoft paſſion: ſince they have nothing elſe to do they make it their only buſineſs to pleaſe. Beſides their elegance and beauty, their extreme neatneſs is none of their leaſt conſiderable charms; they bathe twice a week to keep themſelves clean; and then, by a peculiar art, they crack all the joints in every limb; and to deſtroy all excreſcent hairs they anoint the ſkin with pilaw, which makes the hairs fall off, and gives an additional whiteneſs and ſoftneſs to the ſkin.

1711.

Ointment of pilaw.

Their predominant intereſt in marriages, &c.

The Turks, who are commonly governed by their intereſt in their marriages, are obliged to court by proxy, and to be ſatisfied with a character inſtead of an interview, which he is only indulged with for the firſt time when they marry; but there are ſo many other conveniences allowed them, that they have not the leaſt reaſon to complain, for they are permitted to marry four lawful wives; and thoſe who deſire a greater variety may marry twenty concubines if they pleaſe, for this alſo is a ſort of marriage, not to mention the pretty ſlaves whom they buy and ſell. Thoſe who are weary of their wives may turn them away when they pleaſe, paying their dowry. It is a pity we have not ſuch a faſhion, for if we had, we ſhould ſee many a fatal knot untied.

Matrimonial privileges.

Concubine marriages.

The concubine-marriage is ſtill more commodious than the other; the man takes the woman he fancies before the cadi, and tells him that he is willing to keep her after ſuch a rate, and when he has no farther occa-

occaſion for her, he will give her ſuch a certain ſum of money.

1711.

Severities on the amorous ſtranger.

This is the uſual refuge of ſtrangers, for if they are caught in making free with their females, they run a riſque of coming under the talons of the ſub-baſſa for a heavy fine, which if they cannot pay, they are pretty ſure of meeting with the baſtinado: and as for the poor kind ſinner, ſhe is immediately mounted on an aſs, with her face toward the tail which ſhe holds in her hand, and in that poſition ſhe is carried through the town, and then ſold for a ſlave; this ſeverity makes moſt ſtrangers conform to the cuſtom of concubinage, or purchaſing a ſlave, to keep clear of the baſſa; though the women are far from being cruel, yet by the ſeverity of the baſſa, and the ſuſpicious vigilance of the cautious huſband, it is almoſt impoſſible for a gallant to thrive in this place.

Their laws for debt, &c.

The Turks have no written laws but what are contained in the Koran; all civil affairs are judged by the cadi, according to evidence upon oath, without any regard to writings; and the higheſt bidder is ſure of the deciſion in his favour; but he that loſes, if it be for debt, muſt pay it immediately or go to priſon; and if it ſo happens that his effects are inſufficient to ſatisfy the demand, the poor debtor muſt receive a baſtinadoe on the ſole of his foot for every piaſter of ſuch deficiency, unleſs the ſum exceeds five hundred; for they do not puniſh with a greater number of baſtinadoes as the ſtouteſt man would not be able to endure it without the manifeſt danger of loſing his life; and after this his creditor may take or ſell him for a ſlave.

BOOK II.

1711. In criminal caſes.

Judgment, in criminal matters, belongs to the baſſa, who proceeds in the ſame manner; for money atones for the moſt barbarous crime, and without it juſtice degenerates into cruelty; ſo that the ſtake and the gibbet is only the portion of the poor villain: nor can there be a ſtronger proof of a man's poverty, than his being executed for robbery or murder. There is, indeed, a proviſion ſeemingly favourable to murderers, for if the perpetrator is lucky enough to get out of the way before he is diſcovered, the baſſa and waiwode can charge the blood on the people before whoſe door the murder was committed, if it happens in a town or village, and levy upon them forty thouſand aſpers, (the ſtated price), ſo that there is ſeldom much diligence uſed to apprehend the criminal himſelf; nor are theſe tribunals leſs favourable to the robbers who infeſt the country.

The moſt uſual puniſhments in Turkey for capital offences are beheading, drowning, hanging, ſtrangling, burning, impaling, and the ſtrappadoe; the two laſt are the moſt cruel, and are appointed only for Turks who renounce the Mahometan faith, or renegadoes who return to the Chriſtian religion: robbers and murderers are hanged; women are drowned; perſons convicted of rebellion or ſedition are beheaded; and burning falls to the lot of Chriſtians and Jews who blaſpheme againſt Mahomet or the Koran, or lie with a Turkiſh woman.

The channel of the captain's information.

The baſſa, under whoſe eſcort I came from the river Neiſter to Conſtantinople, ſhewed me much civility on the way, and treated me with great kindneſs after our arrival: it was owing to my acquaintance with him that I obtained

moſt

moſt of theſe accounts of their government, laws, cuſtoms, and manner of living. At our firſt arrival we lived very comfortably here, but that was ſoon interrupted by the reſtleſs intrigues of the king of Sweden, the cham of Tartary, and the French ambaſſador. By an article of the treaty at the river Pruth, the grand vizier engaged, that the Swediſh king ſhould leave the Turkiſh dominions; but the king appearing in no forwardneſs to depart, we ſtill held Azof beyond the time ſtipulated for our ſurrendering it, and this produced a ſecond declaration of war, which was the more readily entered into, as the vizier, who had negotiated with us had been diſmiſſed, and was ſucceeded by another, entirely in the Swediſh intereſt; but the ſultan being informed, that this miniſter had been won over to that intereſt by largeſſes, diſmiſſed him; and, by the mediation of ſir Robert Sutton and count Colyar, the Britiſh and Dutch miniſters at this court, a peace was again concluded on the 16th of April, 1712, and the grand ſeignor acquainted the king of Sweden with it by letter, deſiring him to think of returning into his own dominions.

1711.

New difficulties in the treaty of the Pruth.

Change of miniſtry.

1712. A freſh treaty.

This peace was of no long continuance, for the Swedes ſoon interrupted it in Poland, where the ſtaroſt Gruzinſki, who had been in Turky with the king of Sweden, made an irruption with a body of 4,000 Wallachians, Coſſacks, &c. and penetrated into Great Poland, where he ſurpriſed and carried off a whole regiment of Ruſſians, who were free from all ſuſpicion of an enemy: another party got beyond Poſnania, where they took a magazine and 300 Ruſſians. General Baur, coming at the knowlege of what had happened, poſted to Poſnania, and haſtily collected a body of

Freſh interruption to the peace.

BOOK II.

1711.

4,000 Ruſſians, with whom he ſurpriſed and attacked Gruzinſki, who ſo little expected it, and was ſo much off his guard, that he did not diſpute the matter a moment, but left his camp as it ſtood. General Baur purſued him ſo cloſe, night and day, that he came up with him at Kruterſchien, where Gruzinſki, not chooſing to riſque an engagement, and taking his officers with him, abandoned his troops, and returned into Sileſia; the whole body of the troops ſurrendered priſoners of war.

Againſt which the czar remonſtrates.

The czar now remonſtrated againſt this violation of the treaty by the Turks; and the king of Sweden, although he was the aggreſſor, exclaimed loudly againſt the Ruſſians, who had purſued ſome of the Coſſacks into the grand ſeignor's territories: and the ſultan ſuffering himſelf to be impoſed on by the cham of Tartary, the French ambaſſador (M. Deſaleurs) and the Swediſh miniſtry, once more broke the peace, on pretence that there were ſtill ſome Ruſſian troops remaining in Poland. The ſultan, however, to ſatisfy himſelf, diſpatched an aga into Poland, to know if any of our troops were in that kingdom; and this aga having alſo taſted the ſweets of Swediſh influence, made his report accordingly; while the grand vizier, falling under the imputation of being influenced by the czar, got himſelf diſmiſſed, and Solyman Baſſa was made vizier; the reſult of all which was another declaration of war, and an order for the Ruſſian ambaſſador, hoſtages, and all the officers in their retinue, to take up their abode in the Seven Towers.

Miniſtry again changed, and the Ruſſian ambaſſador, &c. ſent to the Seven Towers.

Mighty preparations for war.

This ſudden declaration of war was accompanied with orders to all the baſſas to raiſe troops; and the ſultan, with his

his whole court, removed to Adrianople. King Auguſtus, and the republic of Poland, had prepared a ſolemn embaſſy to the ſultan, which was now on its way, at the head of which was the palatine of Maſſovia, with a ſplendid retinue of three hundred perſons; but the ſultan, who acknowledged Staniſlaus as king of Poland, prevented the arrival of this embaſſy, by ſeizing them on the road and impriſoning them. King Auguſtus, however, had addreſs enough to bring the cham of Tartary over to his intereſt; and Ali Coumourgi, the grand ſeignior's reigning favourite, coming into meaſures with the czar, found means to perſuade his maſter that the aga, who had been ſent into Poland, had made a falſe report reſpecting the Ruſſian troops there. Solyman the vizier, and the mufti, being minions of the favourite, although they had both adviſed the war, now finding it no longer agreeable to him, came as eaſily into his deſigns; and, notwithſtanding all theſe mighty preparations, they ſoon prevailed on their inconſiſtent maſter to liſten to propoſals for an accommodation, which was now again ſet on foot. The negotiation was ſoon ſettled, as the chancellor Schaferof and count Zeremetof had full powers, and engaged for the czar that his troops ſhould, bona fide, evacuate Poland; and the grand ſeignior engaged to oblige the king of Sweden to depart the Turkiſh dominions. Upon matters being brought thus far towards a concluſion, I was diſpatched for Peterſburg, where I arrived the 13th of October; but before I got there, our troops had evacuated Poland. This peace, for twenty-five years, was afterwards ratified by the czar; and on the king of Sweden's refuſing to comply with the

BOOK II. grand ſeignior's requiſition to depart the Turkiſh dominions, the cham and baſſa had orders to force him to it; and that brought on the famous action of Bender, the particulars of which are ſo univerſally known, that I think it needleſs to repeat them.

1712.

BOOK III.

Marriage of the czarowitz.—The czar's celebration of his old wedding.—General Baur's diſcovery of himſelf to his friends and brother officers.—The empreſs Catherine's deſcent and riſe.—Prince Menzikof's riſe; and the czar's narrow eſcape from poiſon.—Expedition againſt the Swedes.—Deſcription of the city of Moſcow.—An ambaſſador from Perſia; a great fire in Moſcow. A young phyſician burnt by the clergy, who are therefore deprived of the power of life and death, and holidays and convents abridged.—Manners of the gentry.—Deſcription of the women.—Entertainments of the common people.—Marriage.—The princeſs Natalia's humorous fancy in the marriage of the dwarfs.—Three women puniſhed for drowning their huſbands.—The puniſhment of the knout.—The czar's birth and marriage.—A virtuous young lady.—Muſcovite robberies and murders.—The czar's danger by them.—Remarkable murder of Swediſh officers by Jews.—Suppreſſion of the robbers.—Seat of empire changed from Moſcow to Peterſburg.—A deſcription of the czarowitz's perſon and manners.—Ruſſian reſtrictions of conſanguinity in marriage.—Ridiculous cuſtom in burying.—Their images.—Their baths.—Manner of travelling.—Religious faſts.

THE czar had been in Germany to concert meaſures with his allies, and then went to Carlſbad, to drink the waters for his health, from which he found benefit; and from thence he returned, by the way of Dreſden, to Targau, where he met with his ſon, the czarowitz, on the point of his marriage with the princeſs of Wolfenbuttel, ſiſter to the empreſs of Charles the Sixth: the czarowitz was in the twenty-ſecond year of his age, and the princeſs in her eighteenth. Here the queen of Poland made great preparations for celebrating the nuptials, and the ceremony was performed by a prieſt of the Greek church, with no great

1712. Marriage of the czarowitz.

BOOK III. great pomp, on the 25th of October 1711, the day after the czar's arrival; the czarowitz was led to the altar by the czar, and the princeſs by duke Anthony of Wolfenbuttel, her grandfather; the queen of Poland, and her court, the duke of Wolfenbuttel, father to the bride, and the ducheſs, her mother, were preſent. There was a magnificent entertainment at the queen of Poland's; and if the czar would have ſuffered the old duke to put himſelf to that expence, he intended the ſplendor of his grand-daughter's nuptials to have been beyond example; but inſtead of ſplendor in the introduction, it were to be wiſhed there could have been greater happineſs in the ſequel of this matrimonial engagement, which here indeed could ſcarce well be expected, as inclination, on his part, had no ſhare in the union. The czarowitz was entirely given up to low, ſenſual pleaſures and mean vicious company, and had no deſire at all to marry, nor had any other view at preſent than an endeavour to ſhun the danger he was in of forfeiting his ſucceſſion to the crown: and the princeſs, whoſe amiable perſon and engaging accompliſhments deſerved a better fate, entirely miſſed her road to happineſs.

1712.

The czar's celebration of his old wedding.

A few days after the marriage, the young couple took the route for Wolfenbuttel, and the czar that of Sileſia, for Peterſburg, where the czar's marriage with the czarina was publicly ſolemnized the 20th of February, 1712, in the following manner. M. Kyking, one of the lords of the admiralty, and Jaguzinſki, adjutant-general, were ſent to invite the company *to his majeſty's old wedding*, which were the terms they were ordered to uſe. The czar was married in his admiral's uniform, which occaſioned the naval officers

officers to bear a principal ſhare in the ſolemnities of the day; Vice-admiral Kruys, and the rear-admiral of the gallies, were the bridegroom's fathers; the empreſs-dowager and the vice-admiral's lady, were the bride-mothers; the bride-maids were two of the empreſs Catherine's own daughters; but as theſe princeſſes were too young to bear the fatigue, the czar's two nieces, daughters to czar John, his majeſty's elder brother, performed as proxies: after the ceremony, all the company met at the czar's palace, according to invitation, in a moſt magnificent proceſſion. Prince Menzikoff carried the marſhal's ſtaff, and vice-admiral Kruys was in the ſledge, with the czar on his right hand; the whole entertainment was very ſplendid; the evening concluded with a ball and fire-works, and the city was illuminated the whole night, which finiſhed the old wedding.

Prince Menzikoff was ſoon after ſent into Pomerania, to take the command of the Ruſſian army, conſiſting of 36,000 men, and was then joined by the Danes and Saxons: his majeſty ſoon followed, and taking Berlin in his way, had a conference with the king of Pruſſia; from thence, by Hamburgh, he went into Holſtein, where he took Frederickſtadt, jointly with the king of Denmark. Taking leave of the Daniſh monarch he went to Schonhauſen, where he had another interview with his Pruſſian majeſty. The troops left in Holſtein, aſſiſted the Danes in reducing Toningen, and making general Steinboch and his army priſoners of war; and thoſe in Pomerania took Stettin, and blockaded Stralſund. Prince Menzikoff at that time levied, by contribution, from the city of Ham-

BOOK III. burgh 250,000 crowns; from Lubeck 100,000, and from Dantzig 150,000.

1712. General Baur's diſcovery of himſelf to his friends and brother officers,

At the time our troops were in Holſtein, general Baur, who commanded the cavalry, and was himſelf a ſoldier of fortune, his family or country being a ſecret to every body, took an opportunity to diſcover himſelf, which ſurpriſed and pleaſed thoſe who were about him. Being encamped near Huſum, in Holſtein, he invited all his field-officers, and ſome others to dine with him, and ſent his adjutant to bring a miller and his wife, who lived in the neighbourhood, to the entertainment. The poor couple came very much afraid of the Muſcovite general, and were quite confuſed when they appeared before him, which he perceiving, bad them make themſelves quite eaſy, for he only meant to ſhew them kindneſs, and had ſent for them to dine with him that day, and talked with them familiarly about the country: the dinner being ſet, he placed the miller and his wife next to himſelf, one on each hand, at the head of the table, and paid great attention to them, inviting them to make free and eat hearty. In the courſe of the entertainment, he aſked the miller a great many queſtions about his family and his relations: the miller told him, that he was the eldeſt ſon of his father, who had been alſo a miller at the ſame mill he then poſſeſſed; that he had two brothers, tradeſmen; and one ſiſter, married to a tradeſman; that his own family conſiſted of one ſon and three daughters. The general aſked him, if he never had any other brother than thoſe he had mentioned: he replied, he had once another, but he was dead many years ago, for they had never heard of him ſince he enliſted and went away with ſoldiers

diers when he was but very young, and he muſt certainly have been killed in the wars. The general obſerving the company much ſurprized at his behaviour to theſe people, thinking he did it by way of diverſion, ſaid to them, "Gentlemen, you have always been very curious to know "who and whence I am; I now inform you, this is the "place of my nativity, and you have now heard from this "my eldeſt brother, what my family is."—And then turning towards the miller and his wife, he embraced them very affectionately, telling them, he was their ſuppoſed dead brother; and, to confirm them, he related every thing that had happened in the family before he left it. The general invited them all to dine with him next day at the miller's, where a plentiful entertainment was provided, and told them that was the houſe where he was born. General Baur then made a generous proviſion for all his relations, and ſent the miller's only ſon to Berlin for his education, who turned out an accompliſhed young man.

As general Baur was the perſon by whoſe means the empreſs Catherine arrived afterwards to ſo great a height of grandeur, this leads me to relate her ſtory, as I heard it told by thoſe who knew her from her infancy.

The empreſs Catherine's deſcent and riſe.

She was born at Runghen, a ſmall village in Livonia, of very poor parents, who were only boors, or vaſſals; her father and mother dying, left her very young in great want; the pariſh-clerk, out of compaſſion, took her home to his houſe, where ſhe learnt to read. Dr. Glack, miniſter of Marienburgh, ſeeing her there, enquired of the clerk who ſhe was; and being informed ſhe was a poor orphan he had taken into his houſe out of charity, what from a

BOOK III. wiſh to relieve the poor clerk from a burthen he was not well able to ſupport, and a liking to the little orphan, the doctor took her home to his houſe, notwithſtanding he had a numerous family of his own. Here her company and opportunities for improvement were better, and her deportment ſuch, that ſhe became equally eſteemed by the doctor, his wife, and children; her ſteady, diligent, and careful attention to all their domeſtic concerns, ingratiated her ſo much with the doctor and his wife, that they made no diſtinction between her and their own children. She ever after ſhowed her acknowledgment with the utmoſt gratitude, in richly providing for all thoſe who could lay claim to any alliance to the doctor's family; nor did ſhe forget her firſt benefactor the clerk of Rughen. In this happy ſituation ſhe grew up to woman, when a Livonian ſerjeant, in the Swediſh ſervice, fell paſſionately in love with her; ſhe likewiſe liking him, agreed to marry him, provided it could be done with the doctor's conſent, who, upon enquiry, into the man's character, finding it unexceptionable, readily gave it. The marriage day was appointed, and indeed, came, when a ſudden order came to the ſerjeant that very morning, to march directly with a detachment for Riga, who was thereby diſappointed from ever enjoying his lovely bride. Soon after this, general Baur, at the head of an army, came before the town and took it, in the year 1702, when all the inhabitants were made priſoners, and amongſt the reſt this lovely bride. In the promiſcuous croud, overwhelmed with grief, and bathed in tears at her unhappy fate, the general obſerving her, ſaw a *je ne ſçai quoi* in her whole appearance, which attracted him ſo much, that

1712.

that he aſked her ſeveral queſtions about her ſituation; to which ſhe made anſwers with more ſenſe than is uſual in perſons of her rank; he deſired her not to be afraid, for he would take care of her, and gave immediate orders for her ſafety and reception into his houſe, of which he gave her the whole charge, with authority over all his ſervants, by whom ſhe was very much beloved from her manner of uſing them; the general afterwards often ſaid, his houſe was never ſo well managed as when ſhe was with him.

Prince Menzikoff, who was his patron, ſeeing her one day at the general's, obſerved ſomething very extraordinary in her air and manner, and enquiring who ſhe was, and on what footing ſhe ſerved him, the general told him what has been already related, and with due encomiums on the merits of her conduct in his houſe: the prince ſaid, ſuch a perſon would be of great conſequence to him, for he was then very ill ſerved in that reſpect; to which the general replied, he was under too many obligations to his highneſs to have it in his power to refuſe him any thing he had a mind to, and immediately calling for Catherine, told her, that was prince Menzikoff, and that he had occaſion for a ſervant like herſelf, and that the prince had it much more in his power to be a friend to her than he had, adding, that he had too great a regard for her to prevent her receiving ſuch a piece of honour and good fortune. She anſwered only by a profound courteſy, which ſhewed, if not her conſent, that it was not then in her power to refuſe the offer that was made: in ſhort, the prince took her home the ſame day, and ſhe lived with him till the year 1704, when the czar, one day dining with the prince, happened to ſee

BOOK III. her, and ſpoke to her; ſhe made a yet ſtronger impreſ-
1712. ſion on that monarch, who would likewiſe have her to be his ſervant; from whence ſhe roſe to be empreſs of Ruſſia.

Prince Menzikoff's riſe, and the czar's narrow eſcape from poiſon.

As prince Menzikof was alſo a perſon raiſed from a very low degree, I was told the following circumſtances of his riſe. He was born of gentle, but very poor parents; and they dying, left him very young without any education, inſomuch that he could neither read nor write, nor ever did he to the day of his death: his poverty obliged him to ſeek ſervice in Moſcow, where he was taken into the houſe of a paſtry-cook; who employed him in crying minced-pies about the ſtreets; and having a good voice, he alſo ſung ballads: whereby he was ſo generally known that he had acceſs into all the gentlemen's houſes. The czar, by invitation, was to dine one day at a boyar's, or lord's houſe, and Menzikoff happening to be in the kitchen that day, obſerved the boyar giving directions to his cook about a diſh of meat he ſaid the czar was fond of, and took notice that the boyar himſelf put ſome kind of powder in it, by way of ſpice; taking particular notice of what meat that diſh was compoſed, he took himſelf away to ſing his ballads, and kept ſauntering in the ſtreet till the czar arrived, when exalting his voice, his majeſty took notice of it, ſent for him, and aſked him if he would ſell his baſket with the pies: the boy replied, he had power only to ſell the pies, as for the baſket he muſt firſt aſk his maſter's leave, but as every thing belonged to his majeſty, he needed only lay his commands upon him. This reply pleaſed the czar ſo much, that he ordered Alexander to ſtay and attend him, which he obeyed with great joy.

joy. Menzikoff waited behind the czar's chair at dinner, and BOOK III.
ſeeing the before mentioned diſh ſerved up and placed before
him, in a whiſper begged his majeſty not to eat thereof; 1712.
the czar went into another room with the boy, and aſked his reaſon for what he had whiſpered to him, when he informed his majeſty what he had obſerved in the kitchen, and the boyar's putting in the powder himſelf, without the cook's perceiving him, made him ſuſpect that diſh in particular; he therefore thought it his duty to put his majeſty upon his guard. The czar returned to table without the leaſt diſcompoſure in his countenance, and with his uſual chearfulneſs; the boyar recommended this diſh to him, ſaying, it was very good; the czar ordered the boyar to ſit down by him, for it is a cuſtom in Moſcow for the maſter of the houſe to wait at table when he entertains his friends, and putting ſome of it on a plate, deſired him to eat and ſhew him a good example. The boyar, with the utmoſt confuſion, replied, that it did not become the ſervant to eat with his maſter; whereupon the plate was ſet down to a dog, who ſoon diſpatched its contents, which, in a very ſhort time, threw him into convulſions, and ſoon deprived him of life: the dog being opened, the effect of the poiſon was clearly diſcovered, and the boyar was immediately ſecured, but was found next morning dead in his bed, which prevented all farther diſcovery.

Menzikoff's remarkable introduction ſoon gained him credit and confidence with his royal maſter, which from being one of the meaneſt and pooreſt, raiſed him to be one of the richeſt ſubjects in the Ruſſian empire; he was not only dignified with the title of a prince in Ruſſia, but alſo declared a prince of the Roman empire. He was tall, well-

BOOK III. ſhaped, very handſome in his perſon, and of great penetration: he acted as vice-czar at the imperial court, the czar himſelf appearing at all public meetings as a private perſon, attended by two ſervants at moſt, and, inſtead of pleaſing himſelf with the pomp of grandeur, his delight was the improvement of his empire, which he viſited every where in perſon.

1712.

1713. Expedition againſt the Swedes.

The czar, in his return from Germany, came to Riga, where he met the czarina, who had been delivered of a princeſs, and ſoon after ſet out for Peterſburg, where he got three hundred veſſels in readineſs, and embarked the beginning of May 1713, with 12,000 men, and landed at Helſingfoo, in Finland; returning immediately to Peterſburg, he embarked 6000 more, and went back himſelf with great expedition, and landed them at the ſame place. He gave prince Galitzin the command of the army, conſiſting of 20,000 foot, 4000 horſe, and a large train of artillery, to act by land, and he himſelf put to ſea with twenty men of war in queſt of the enemy's fleet, but found them ſo advantageouſly ſheltered, that he did not think proper to attack them, but returned and joined the army at Shrendo; from thence he marched to Abo and beſieged it, and the place ſurrendered the 8th of September: then leaving orders with his generals to follow and drive the Swedes out of Finland, he returned to Peterſburgh, where he launched ſeveral men of war and gallies.

This city being then in its infancy, many thouſand workmen were employed in building, and lodgings were very ſcarce. I had the good fortune to be accommodated in lieutenant-general Bruce's houſe, who was commandant of Peterſburgh, and brother to the maſter-general of the ordnance;

1713.

nance; but the maſter-general being left in Germany, ſent me orders to go to Moſcow, and ſtay in his houſe with his lady, till he ſhould arrive; for which place I ſet out the beginning of this year, and coming in view of it, in a clear ſun-ſhine day, I never ſaw ſo glorious a ſight as this city preſented at a diſtance with the vaſt numbers of gilded domes and ſteeples: but my expectations were greatly diſappointed when I entered it, finding only ill-built wooden houſes, and timber-ſtreets interſperſed with churches, and brick-houſes, with large courts and gardens, the habitations of the grandees and people of fortune; and coming to general Bruce's houſe, I met with a very kind reception from his lady, who treated me with the affection of a mother: they had then no child.

Deſcription of the city of Moſcow.

Moſcow is divided into four parts; the firſt is called the Middle, or Red-Town, which is ſurrounded by a ſtrong brick wall; part of it is taken up by the caſtle, called Kremelin, being two miles in circumference, and incloſed by three ſtrong walls, each higher than the other, with a deep ditch on the outſide, planted with a great number of cannon; and the two rivers, Moſcow and Neglina, flow by two ſides of this diviſion of the city. The caſtle is ſo extenſive, that it contains the czar's palace and dwellings for his courtiers, the archbiſhop's palace, with many others; and two cloiſters, one for monks, the other for nuns; beſides fifty churches, all built ſquare, each with five domes, the larger one in the middle, and the four leſſer ones on each corner, and are all covered with copper gilt: in the middle of the caſtle ſtands a very high ſteeple, called Ivan Welika, or Great John, in which is a bell that weighs 336,000 lb.; it is 19 feet high, 23 in diameter, 64 in circumference,

BOOK III. 1713.

cumference, and two in thickneſs, and was founded in czar Boris-Goodanof's time, and requires twenty-four men on each ſide of the clapper, to draw it from one ſide to the other; the bell itſelf is moveable, but is never rung except on ſome great occaſion. The other part of this diviſion, without the caſtle, is moſtly inhabited by the grandees: here alſo ſtands the grand market, which is a very large ſquare, divided into ſtreets, where the merchants and tradeſmen have ſhops for the ſale of goods; and as every kind of merchandize, or manufacture, is claſſed by itſelf, in its own department in the market, makes it very convenient for the buyer, who may ſuit himſelf with very little trouble. All the ſhops are locked at ſun-ſet, and the four gates of entrance into the ſquare, are ſhut by the officer of the guard, who places centries all round it, and is accountable for the property in the place: the ſhops are opened at day-break. This is the only place allowed for the ſale of goods, and is much the ſame with the beſeſtin at Conſtantinople.

The ſecond part, or diviſion, is called Zaargorod, and is ſurrounded by a ſtrong wall with battlements, after the Oriental manner, and towers at proper diſtances; this is alſo called Bela-Stena, or White-Wall; the river Neglina runs through it; here are the czar's ſtables, a foundery for cannon and bells, the arſenal, prince Menzikoff's palace, general Bruce's houſe, and many other gentlemen's houſes of rank.

The third diviſion is called Skorodom, or the Houſe-Market, which the word imports, *ſkoro* ſignifying *haſte*, and *dom*, a *houſe*. Here one may buy a wooden houſe of any dimenſions, have it carried to the place where it is to ſtand,

ſtand, ſet up, and ready to dwell in, the third day after the purchaſe; this part is ſurrounded with mud-walls ſupported with planks; the river Jaguſa runs through it. 1713.

The fourth diviſion is called Strelitza Slaboda, where the military are generally quartered, and is ſurrounded by an entrenchment; it ſtands on the other ſide of the river Moſcow, with a fine bridge built over it by prince Galitzin, favourite of the princeſs Sophia, his majeſty's eldeſt ſiſter, who gave him ſo much trouble in the reign of czar John.

It is generally computed that there are in this city fifteen hundred churches, chapels, and cloyſters; this ſurpriſing number is accounted for by every grandee's having a chapel and prieſt of his own. Moſcow lies in 55 deg. 36 min. north latitude, and is in circumference ſixteen Engliſh miles. A great number of foreigners live in the city, as Greeks, Armenians, Perſians, Turks, and Tartars, and are allowed the public exerciſe of their religious worſhip. At a ſmall diſtance from the city, ſtands a large ſuburb called Inoiſemſka Slaboda, or Foreign Town, where the Engliſh, Dutch, and Germans live; there are four Proteſtant and one Roman Catholic church in it; but none of them are allowed to have ſteeples or uſe bells. It is pleaſantly ſituated on the river Neglina, on the banks of which are a number of pleaſure-houſes with fine gardens; the famous general le Fort, built a magnificent palace here; the people live very agreeably among themſelves, without interfering with the natives except upon buſineſs. As the country abounds with great plenty of every neceſſary of life, people live at a very cheap rate, and regale themſelves with balls and

BOOK III. entertainments, which they can furniſh at a very ſmall expence. In the ſummer-time they carry tents, and pitch them in the neighbouring woods, where they make merry with dancing on the green till night. The czar, when in Moſcow, uſed always to make one in their parties of pleaſure and entertainments, and paid them frequent viſits.

1713.

An ambaſſador from Perſia: a great fire in Moſcow.

An ambaſſador from Perſia came here with a very great retinue, and remained waiting the czar's arrival; the preſents he brought were ten Perſian horſes, a very large elephant, a lion, a tyger, an oſtrich, and ſeveral kinds of parrots, and other birds; beſides a great quantity of Perſian ſilks and tapeſtry, and other rarities. Soon after there happened a great and dreadful fire, which conſumed the greateſt part of the city, eſpecially the wooden houſes; the fire broke out in a maiden monaſtery without the town, and a ſtrong weſt wind blew the fire upon the city, which ſet it all on a blaze: the only method they uſe to ſtop the progreſs of a fire is, by pulling down houſes at a diſtance before it, as it is impoſſible to uſe fire-engines; the ſtreets being all of timber, burn at the ſame time with the houſes. On this occaſion, a poor ſuperſtitious man ſeeing the fire advancing to conſume his all, took a picture of St. Nicholas, and holding it between him and the fire, prayed fervently for that ſaint's protection, but in vain, for the flames ſoon ſeized his houſe, for which he became ſo enraged at the ſaint that he threw him into the fire, ſaying, ſince he would not ſave him, he might now ſave himſelf: this coming to the ears of the clergy, the poor man was ſentenced to be burnt alive. All the brick buildings, ſuch

as churches, and other religious houſes, noblemen, and gentlemen's houſes, eſcaped this conflagration, only the roofs of the latter were burnt without being otherwiſe damaged, for all the houſes of three or four ſtories high are arched to the top, and their ſtreet-doors and window-ſhutters are of iron. 1713.

After the fire, the city was very ſoon rebuilt from the Skorodom before mentioned, as every body could fit the dimenſions of his premiſes with a houſe; and it was truly ſurpriſing to ſee with what diſpatch the timber was conveyed to the place appointed, and with what dexterity the timbermen rear it. In two days the houſe was under roof, when the purchaſer gave directions where the doors and windows ſhould be, the parts being cut out they put in the frames, which are all ready prepared.

A young phyſician burnt by the clergy.

An inſtance of the ſuperſtition of the people, and power of the clergy, happened ſome time before this fire. A young man, whom the czar had ſent to Leyden for his education, having finiſhed his ſtudies in phyſic, returned a graduated phyſician, and at a merry-meeting with his friends, they queſtioned him concerning his religion: he being then in his cups, told them, he was as much of the Greek church as ever, but that he had loſt all his faith in ſaint's pictures, and to prove what he ſaid, he took one down from the wall, and threw it in the fire; whereupon he was immediately ſeized, and put into the hands of the clergy, who very ſoon ſentenced him to the flames, and burnt him in a moſt cruel manner; laying the fire at ſome diſtance from him to keep him the longer in torment. The czar, being informed of the cruelty of the

BOOK III.

clergy, as he had formerly aboliſhed the dignity of patriarch, took this opportunity to deprive them of the power of life and death, and made a law that all the clergy ſhould apply themſelves to ſtudy, allowing them five years for that end; after which they were to undergo an examination, and thoſe who were found capable to perform their functions were to be promoted, the others to be diſcarded. And as three fourth parts of the year were holidays in commemoration of ſome ſaint or other, whereby the people were for the moſt part idle, he made a law that no holiday ſhould be kept but in commemoration of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, the twelve Apoſtles, and St. Andrew, and St. Nicolas, the tutelar ſaints of Ruſſia. And as there were in the empire many thouſand convents full of lazy monks, who lived in idleneſs, he reſtricted the number of theſe houſes to fifty, each houſe to contain no more than fifty monks, each monk to be above forty years of age; the reſt of them to be appropriated to hoſpitals for ſuch of the army and navy as were become unfit for ſervice, and other indigent perſons not able to maintain themſelves; and their revenues for their ſupport: and the monks, who had been bred to no handicraft, and were fit for ſervice, to be employed in the army.

1713. Who are therefore deprived of the power of life and death.

Holidays and convents abridged.

Manners of the gentry.

The people of rank and faſhion in Moſcow having laid aſide the old cuſtoms and manners of their fathers, now live very gay, dreſs in the French faſhion, and converſe with more freedom than formerly; and as the fair ſex are allowed all manner of freedom in company, they live in a perpetual round of pleaſure and diverſion, ſpending moſt part of their time in balls and entertainments, inviting each other

other by turns to their houſes; and as they were left lonely by their huſbands, who are for the moſt part employed abroad, the ladies took Swediſh officers who had been taken priſoners at Pultowa into their families; ſome as ſtewarts, others as governors to their children, and ſome to teach them muſic and dancing. So that all their balls were made up with Swediſh gentlemen, and other foreigners, of whom they were very fond. 1713.

Deſcription of the women.

The Ruſſian women are of a middling ſtature, generally well proportioned, and might paſs for handſome in any part of Europe; their features far from deſpicable, were it not for that prepoſterous cuſtom of painting their faces, which they lay on ſo abundantly, that it may truly be ſaid they uſe it as a veil to hide their beauty.

Entertainments of the common people.

As for the ſecond rank of the people, they ſtill retain much of their old manner of living; at their entertainments none but the men appear; the maſter of the houſe waits on his gueſts till the deſert of ſweatmeats comes on the table after dinner, when he takes his ſeat amongſt them, and does all he can to encourage them to drink, for it would be a great reflexion upon them if any of the company ſhould get out of the houſe without being drunk. When the gueſts offer to go away, the miſtreſs of the houſe makes her appearance, at a call, and barely enters the room, when turning round to the corner where the family-ſaints are placed, croſſing herſelf, makes a very low bow, and then pays her reſpects by a bow to the company, without coming a ſtep farther, but remains ſtanding, clad in a looſe gown lined with fur, and a ſable cap on her head, and her face covered over with paint and patches; but

BOOK III. 1713. but her whole body is unconfined, wearing neither ſtays, waiſtcoat, or petticoat, or even garters to her ſtockings, and ſhe wears very high heeled ſlippers: in this ſituation, the landlord introduces all his gueſts to ſalute his ſpouſe, one after another, and a ſervant is ready behind her with a ſalver and four glaſſes filled with brandy, wine, mead, and beer, which every body is obliged to drink to the good health of the lady; after which ſhe retires without ſo much as opening her mouth; after that other females of the family are introduced in the ſame manner, and thus they end their entertainments very drunk.

Marriage. In Ruſſia they commonly marry very young; the parents make the match without conſulting the inclinations of their children, who do not ſo much as ſee one another till they are introduced in their bed-chamber: this was alſo cuſtomary among the firſt rank, till the czar put a ſtop to it by allowing young people to pay their addreſſes in perſon, without impoſing a match upon either againſt their inclinations, whereby many fatal marriages were prevented; but the old cuſtom ſtill prevails among the inferior ranks. When the maiden becomes marriageable, the parents ſend for a broker, or match-maker (commonly an old woman), and give her inſtructions to look out a proper huſband for their daughter; delivering her, at the ſame time, an inventory of what they propoſe to give with the damſel, as money, jewels, plate, houſhold-goods, and her clothes, even to her ſhifts; likewiſe, the number of boors, or vaſſals, who are commonly valued at ten rubles each per annum. With this liſt, the broker goes from one bachelor to another, whom ſhe deems a ſuitable match for the young lady, enquiring of them

1713.

them if they have an inclination to marry, ſhe can recommend them to a pretty young lady with a handſome fortune; ſhewing them at the ſame time the conditions. If the inventory pleaſes the young man, he ſigns his name to it; and, after ſhe has got ſeveral ſubſcribers, ſhe returns the paper to thoſe who employed her; then the parents of the girl make enquiry into the characters and circumſtances of the ſubſcribers; and having pitched on three or four of the moſt eligible, they are invited by the father to an entertainment, where there is a meeting of friends, upon which occaſion the glaſs goes briſkly about: the mother, daughter, and other female relations, take their ſtations in the houſe, ſo as to ſee the company without being ſeen by them; enquiring of the girl which of them ſhe would chooſe for a huſband, and when the point is ſettled, as to their choice, the company, after a hearty drink, is diſmiſſed, none knowing who is to be the happy man. The next day ſome of the girls relations are ſent to confer with thoſe of the intended bridegroom. If the match is accepted, two or three women, deputed by the intended bridegroom, are permitted to examine the perſon of his intended ſpouſe, before whom ſhe appears ſtark naked, to ſhew if there be any perſonal defect; after this the friends ſettle the marriage, the intended couple not being allowed to ſee one another till they they meet in the bed-chamber.

The princeſs Natalia's humorous fancy in the marriage of the dwarfs.

The princeſs Natalia, only ſiſter to the czar, by the ſame mother, ordered preparations to be made for a grand wedding for two of her dwarfs, who were to be married; on which occaſion ſeveral ſmall coaches were made, and little Shetland horſes provided to draw them; and all the dwarfs

in

BOOK III. in the kingdom were ſummoned to celebrate the nuptials, to the number of ninety-three; they went in a grand proceſſion through all the ſtreets of Moſcow; before them went a large open waggon drawn by ſix horſes, with kettle-drums, trumpets, French horns, and hautboys; then followed the marſhal and his attendants, two and two, on horſe-back; then the bridegroom and bride, in a coach and ſix, attended by their bride man and maid, who ſat before them in the coach; they were followed by fifteen ſmall coaches, each drawn by ſix Shetland horſes, and each containing four dwarfs. It was ſomewhat ſurpriſing to ſee ſuch a number of little creatures in one company together; eſpecially as they were furniſhed with an equipage conformable to their ſtature; two troops of dragoons attended the proceſſion to keep off the mob, and many perſons of faſhion were invited to the wedding, who attended in their coaches to the church, where the ſmall couple were married; from thence the proceſſion returned in order to the princeſs's palace, where a grand entertainment was prepared for the company; two long tables were covered, on each ſide of a long hall, where the company of dwarfs dined together; the princeſs, with her two nieces, princeſs Anne and Elizabeth, the czar's daughters, were at the trouble themſelves to ſee them all ſeated and well attended, before they ſat down to their own table. At night the princeſſes, attended by the nobility, conducted the married couple to bed in grand ſtate: after that ceremony, the dwarf-company had a large room allotted them to make merry among themſelves; the entertainment concluded with a ball, which laſted till day-light. The company which attended the princeſſes on this occa-

1713.

occaſion were ſo numerous, that they filled ſeveral rooms.

Some little time after this I ſaw three women buried alive for drowning their huſbands: they had, it ſeems, croſſed the Moſco in a boat, all three together in ſearch of their huſbands, whom they found all drunk in a public houſe, and endeavouring to perſuade them to go home, were ſeverely beaten by them; however, by the aſſiſtance of ſome other people, they got them at laſt into the boat where they fell aſleep; the wives to be revenged on their huſbands for beating them, when the boat had reached the middle of the river, threw them one after another into the river, and after they had drowned them, they came a-ſhore very unconcerned. The matter immediately came to light; they were ſeized, tried, condemned, and ordered to be put alive into the ground up to their necks, there to remain till they died; two of them lived ten, and the other eleven days; they ſpoke the firſt three days, complaining of great pain, but not after that; they had certainly got ſome ſuſtenance in the night time, or they could not have exiſted ſo long; the oldeſt of them was not twenty years of age. 1713. Three women puniſhed for drowning their huſbands.

If a man kills his wife, or ſlave, under correction (as they term it), he is only whipt with the knout; which is thus performed: a luſty fellow takes him upon his back, and another ties his feet with a cord, which comes through between the legs of the perſon who carries him. In this poſture he is held ſo faſt that he cannot ſtir, and being ſtript to the middle, the executioner with the knout, which is a ſtrap of dried elk-ſkin, untanned, faſtened to a ſtick, which The puniſhment of the knout.

BOOK III. 1713.

he applies to the back ſo dexterouſly, that every laſh brings the blood, or leaves a wale as thick as one's finger: this is called the moderate; but when the ſentence orders it to be more ſevere, then the executioner, advancing three or four ſteps, till he is within reach of the offender, gives the firſt ſtroke in the middle of the back, retreating at every ſtroke, and is ſo expert that he never hits twice in the ſame place; each ſtroke brings the fleſh with it. Where the puniſhment is ordered with the utmoſt ſeverity, he ſtrikes the flanks, and often cuts into the bowels, which few ſurvive. It is a general remark that lean people turn fat after the knout; and that it is an infallible cure for thoſe who are hide-bound.

Beſides this, they have another way of chaſtiſing, called the batoags, which is uſed in families for the correction of children and ſlaves, and alſo in the army. The perſon to undergo this, after pulling off his clothes to his drawers, is laid flat on his belly on the ground; one ſits acroſs his head and neck, another upon his feet, each furniſhed with a good ſwitch, with which they ſoundly tickle his back.

The czar's birth and marriage.

During my reſidence in Moſcow, I was told the following particulars of the czar. He was born in the year 1672, and was married in 1690, at the age of eighteen, to Ottokeſſa Lupochin, a boyar's daughter, by whom he had prince Alexis: ſome time after he turned her away, and ſhut her up in a monaſtery, on ſuſpicion of diſloyalty to his bed. It was ſaid, that in one of her jealous fits, ſhe charged prince Menzikoff with carrying the czar to drabs of his former acquaintance, who had been his cuſtomers for cakes; upbraiding him with his firſt occupation, and that Menzikoff ever after bore an irreconcilable enmity to both

both her and her ſon. After the divorce, one miſs Mons, a very beautiful young lady, born at Moſcow, of foreign parents, was much in favour with the czar; but when he was abroad, Mr. Keyſerling, then reſiding at Moſcow as envoy from the king of Pruſſia, paid his addreſſes to, and married her. When the czar returned, he was ſo much offended at Keyſerling, that he ordered him to leave Moſcow, which occaſioned his immediate recall by the king his maſter, who ſent another in his room. It was believed, if his public character had not protected him, he would have ſeverely felt his majeſty's diſpleaſure. 1713.

A virtuous young lady.

The czar was ſome time after ſmitten with the charms of another beautiful young lady, the daughter of a foreign merchant in this city: he firſt ſaw her in her father's houſe, where he dined one day; he was ſo much taken with her appearance, that he offered her any terms ſhe pleaſed, if ſhe would live with him; which this virtuous young woman modeſtly refuſed, but dreading the effects of his authority, ſhe put on a reſolution, and left Moſcow in the night, without communicating her deſign even to her parents. Having provided a little money for her ſupport, ſhe travelled on foot ſeveral miles into the country, till ſhe arrived at a ſmall village where her nurſe lived with her huſband and their daughter, the young lady's foſter-ſiſter, to whom ſhe diſcovered her intention of concealing herſelf in the wood near that village: and to prevent any diſcovery, ſhe ſet out the ſame night, accompanied by the huſband and daughter. The huſband, being a timber-man by trade, and well acquainted with the wood, conducted her to a little dry ſpot in the middle of a moraſs, and there he built a hut for her habi-

BOOK III. tation. She had depoſited her money with her nurſe to procure little neceſſaries for her ſupport, which were faithfully conveyed to her at night by the nurſe or her daughter, by one of whom ſhe was conſtantly attended in the night-time.

1713.

The next day after her flight, the czar called at her father's to ſee her, and finding the parents in anxious concern for their daughter, and himſelf diſappointed, fancied it a plan of their own concerting. He became angry, and began to threaten them with the effects of his diſpleaſure, if ſhe was not produced: nothing was left to the parents but the moſt ſolemn proteſtations with tears of real ſorrow running down their cheeks, to convince him of their innocence and ignorance what was become of her, aſſuring him of their fears that ſome fatal diſaſter muſt have befallen her, as nothing belonging to her was miſſing, except what ſhe had on at the time. The czar, ſatisfied of their ſincerity, ordered great ſearch to be made for her, with the offer of a conſiderable reward to the perſon who ſhould diſcover what was become of her, but to no purpoſe: the parents and relations, apprehending ſhe was no more, went into mourning for her.

Above a year after this ſhe was diſcovered by an accident. A colonel who had come from the army to ſee his friends, going a hunting into that wood, and following his game through the moraſs, he came to the hut, and looking into it ſaw a pretty young woman in a mean dreſs. After enquiring of her who ſhe was, and how ſhe came to live in ſo ſolitary a place, he found out at laſt that ſhe was the lady whoſe diſappearance had made ſo great a

noiſe: in the utmoſt confuſion, and with the moſt fervent intreaties, ſhe prayed him on her knees that he would not betray her; to which he replied, that he thought her danger was now paſt, as the czar was then otherways engaged, and that ſhe might with ſafety diſcover herſelf, at leaſt to her parents, with whom he would conſult how matters ſhould be managed. The lady agreed to his propoſal, and he ſat out immediately and overjoyed her parents with the happy diſcovery: the iſſue of their deliberations was to conſult Madam Catherine (as ſhe was then called) in what manner the affair ſhould be opened to the czar. The colonel went alſo upon this buſineſs, and was adviſed by madam to come next morning, and ſhe would introduce him to his majeſty, when he might make the diſcovery and claim the promiſed reward. He went according to appointment, and being introduced, told the accident by which he had diſcovered the lady, and repreſented the miſerable ſituation in which he found her, and what ſhe muſt have ſuffered by being ſo long ſhut up in ſuch a diſmal place, from the delicacy of her ſex. The czar ſhewed a great deal of concern that he ſhould have been the cauſe of all her ſufferings, declaring, that he would endeavour to make her amends. Here Madam Catherine ſuggeſted, that ſhe thought the beſt amends his majeſty could make was to give her a handſome fortune and the colonel for a huſband, who had the beſt right, having caught her in purſuit of his game. The czar, agreeing perfectly with Madam Catherine's ſentiments, ordered one of his favourites to go with the colonel, and bring the young lady home; where ſhe arrived, to the inexpreſſible joy of her family and relations, who had all been in mourning

1713.

BOOK III. ing for her. The marriage was under the direction, and at the expence of the czar, who himſelf gave the bride to the bridegroom; ſaying, that he preſented him with one of the moſt virtuous of women; and accompanied his declaration with very valuable preſents, beſides ſettling on her and her heirs, three thouſand rubles a year. This lady lived highly eſteemed by the czar, and every one who knew her. Beſides the concurring reports of other people, I had this her ſtory from her own mouth.

1713.

Muſcovite robberies and murders.

Murders are ſo frequent in Moſcow, that few nights paſs without ſome people being found dead in the ſtreets in the morning. The robbers go in ſtrong parties, and kill before they rob: this they do with ſo little fear, that they often perform it before the perſons own door; and the terror of theſe ruffians is ſo great, that none of the neighbours dare aſſiſt the unhappy victim for fear of being butchered themſelves, or at leaſt having their houſes burnt. This obliges people who have occaſion to be in the ſtreets in the night, to go in companies together, or have a ſufficient guard of ſervants on horſeback to attend them. The weapon uſed by thoſe villains is called *a dubien*, which is a long ſtick with a round knob at one end, and made heavy with iron, with which they knock a man down dead at one ſtroke; and if any of them happens to be taken, a good ſum of money from the gang they belong to, gets them off: it is even affirmed, that gangs of them were protected by ſome of the nobility, who partake of the booty; which aſſertion I believe not ill grounded.

The highways are alſo much infeſted by thoſe *Raſbonicks*, as they are called, which makes it very dangerous travelling in

1713.

in any part of Ruſſia; for they have their ſpies in the towns, who inform them when any body is to ſet out on a journey, how they are to be attended, and according to this information, they prepare themſelves for an attack, and way-lay them in ſome wood through which they are to paſs.

The czar's danger by them.

A gentleman of the name of Knipercron, whoſe father had been reſident from Sweden before the war, told me, how the czar himſelf had been attacked in his younger days: his majeſty frequented their houſe very often, and always ſhewed a great regard for their family. One evening the czar intending them a viſit, being only attended by two ſervants, the one riding before and the other ſtanding behind the ſledge, up comes a ſledge with eight Raſbonicks in it, and were juſt going to faſten his ſledge to theirs with a grapling-iron, which they commonly make uſe of on theſe occaſions; but the czar being then young, ſtout, and vigorous, got up, and ſeized one of the robbers by the hair of his head, and pulled him out of their ſledge; and, keeping his hold, drove out of their reach, dragging the fellow along with him till he reached the reſident's houſe, which was not far, and entered to their great ſurprize all in a ſweat, ſtill holding the fellow by the hair. He ordered the gates to be immediately ſhut, that none of the ſervants might go out till he had examined the robber. When the fellow underſtood that it was the czar they had attacked, he ſhook and trembled, ſaying if they had known who he was they would not have meddled with him, and then begged he might be put to death, without being put to the torture. To this his majeſty conſented, on condition he diſcovered the reſt of his gang; but this the fellow would not do, without a promiſe of his life and a reward, which was alſo granted him,

BOOK III. 1713.

him, and he went with a detachment of ſoldiers to the rendezvous of his companions, and coming to the houſe he called to them to open the door. On hearing his voice, they directly opened it, and in ruſhed the ſoldiers, and ſeized not only his ſeven accomplices, but thirteen others of the ſame gang, who were ſoon after all executed, except the informer.

At another time the czar was attacked on his way from Moſcow to Novogorod, when he was attended by four ſervants only. Going from Twer, he was ſtopt by a ſtrong party of Raſbonicks, on which he immediately jumped out of his ſledge, with a ſword drawn in one hand, and a cocked piſtol in the other, and told them he was the czar, aſking them what they wanted? They replied, they were poor fellows reduced to great want, and as he was their lord and maſter, he was the propereſt perſon to relieve them: he told them he had no money about him; to which they anſwered, if he had, they would take none from him, but deſired that he would give them a written order to the governor of Novogorod for what ſum he pleaſed to beſtow upon them, begging that it might be ſuch as would relieve them from their ſtraits. The czar then aſked them, if one thouſand rubles would be ſufficient; and on their ſaying it would, he wrote an order for that ſum payable at ſight, and for which they directly diſpatched one of their number, who very ſoon returned with the money: they then obliged the czar to return to Twer, and to pledge his royal word not to proſecute, or ever enquire after them, promiſing to amend their lives and become good ſubjects for the future. Inſtead of proceeding to Novogorod, the czar returned back to Moſcow.

I cannot

1713. Remarkable murder of Swediſh officers by Jews.

I cannot omit mentioning what happened in my own time to two of the Swediſh officers who had been made priſoners at the battle of Pultowa. They were miſſing: great ſearch was made and much enquiry, but nothing could be heard of them, from which it was concluded they had been murdered: ſome little time after four others diſappeared, but were not miſſed, till one of them, a captain Horn, returned ſhot through the ſhoulder with a piſtol-ball; who privately addreſſed himſelf to a lieutenant of our artillery, who had been his former acquaintance in the Swediſh ſervice, to whom he told the misfortune that had happened to him and his comrades. The lieutenant immediately informed major-general Gunter, of the artillery, what had happened to the Swediſh officers, and that the villains informed againſt were then at a houſe in that part of the town where the artillery men were quartered; the general directly ordered them to be ſecured, being four in number. The ſtory in ſhort was this:—A Jew who had embraced the Chriſtian religion, of the Greek church, and who was an engraver by trade, counterfeited paſſports under the chancellor's ſeal, and agreed with the two firſt for a ſum of money to carry them into Poland, from whence they might ſafely paſs into their own country. In the paſſport they were deſcribed as two officers going to the army, and each of them with one ſervant; they arrived at the borders of Poland without the leaſt interruption or ſuſpicion, and having paſſed by Smolenſko, the Jew deſired them to write to their companions in Moſcow, and inform them with how much ſafety they had made their eſcape; which they did, recommending the Jew as the fitteſt per-

BOOK III. ſon they could employ, if any of them intended to get away as they had done. After he had got theſe letters of recommendation, the Jew offered to conduct them a day's journey farther, which they accepted of, and the officers riding together through a wood, congratulating each other on their happy eſcape, the Jew and his companion riding behind them as ſervants, took out each a piſtol, and aimed ſo well, that they ſhot both the officers dead, and having plundered them, returned to Moſcow, where they entrapped captain Horn, and three others, into the ſame ſnare, by ſhewing the letters from thoſe who had already made their eſcape, and ſetting out with a paſſport for four officers, and as many ſervants: they alſo arrived on the frontiers of Poland, and riding late at night, the ſervants fired, and each killed his maſter, except captain Horn, who being ſhot through the ſhoulder, fell from his horſe, and they thinking him to be dead as well as the reſt, went in purſuit of the horſes which had taken fright at the report of the piſtols, and ran away: in the mean time, captain Horn recovering himſelf, made the beſt of his way into the wood, where he concealed himſelf; the villains returning, miſſed, and ſearched for him, but it being then dark they could not find him, and having plundered the other three, they returned for Moſcow, giving themſelves little concern about captain Horn, as they concluded he durſt not return there to inform againſt them. The captain, however, to prevent thoſe villains from doing more miſchief, and to get them puniſhed, determined to return; and diſcovering himſelf to a nobleman's ſteward near Smolenſko, who happening at that time to be ſending ſome carriages with proviſions to his maſter at Moſcow, the captain

1713.

tain took the opportunity and went with them, and on his arrival made the diſcovery as has been related. The four villains being ſecured, were examined, and confeſſed what I have mentioned, but pretended they had done a meritorious action, by deſtroying his majeſty's enemies, who were endeavouring to make their eſcape from priſon. Horn's preſervation was a happy circumſtance, for they might have done much miſchief if they had not been detected, as they had now alſo recommendations from the four laſt unfortunate gentlemen. The villains were tried, condemned, and all broke alive on the wheel.

Suppreſſion of the robbers.

The czar being informed of theſe frequent murders and robberies, whereby he was continually loſing many of his moſt uſeful ſubjects, ſent the moſt expreſs and poſitive orders to Knez Romadanofſki, whom he had appointed vice-czar in his abſence, to put an effectual ſtop to theſe diſorders at his peril. The vice-czar immediately iſſued his orders to all houſe-keepers and publicans to give in the names of thoſe who belonged to their families, and to be anſwerable for every one who lodged under their roof, and on pain of death, to ſecure all thoſe who could not give a ſatisfactory account of themſelves, and diſcover all ſuſpected perſons. The end of every ſtreet was barricadoed, and had a guard, and none were ſuffered to appear in the ſtreets at night without a paſs from the vice-czar: parties of dragoons were ſtationed on all the public roads, and the people in the country were made anſwerable and liable for thoſe who lodged under their roofs in the ſame manner as the inhabitants in the cities. Great numbers were taken, who were executed in a very extraordinary manner, being hung up by one of

BOOK III. their ribs on an iron hook, in which torment they lived eight or nine days: I ſaw them hung up by dozens in one day. Theſe executions had ſo much the deſired effect, that one might travel through Ruſſia, by day or night, with as much ſafety as in any part of the world.

1713.

1714. Seat of empire changed from Moſcow to Peterſburg.

On the firſt of January, 1714, general Bruce arrived in Moſcow, to remove and conduct his family to Peterſburgh, when a thouſand of the beſt and moſt ſubſtantial families in Moſcow had received orders to prepare for the ſame purpoſe, in order to people that new city, propoſed for the ſeat of empire. The empreſs, dowager of czar Feodor, (ſiſter to admiral Apraxin), with her court; the empreſs, dowager of czar John, with her three daughters; namely, the princeſs Anne, dowager of Courland (afterwards empreſs of Ruſſia); the princeſs Catherine, afterwards ducheſs of Mecklenburg; and the princeſs Proſcovia, (who died unmarried); the princeſs Natalia, the czar's only ſiſter by the mother, and his two daughters the princeſſes Anne and Elizabeth; with all the families of rank and quality, ſet out this ſpring for Peterſburg, with all the foreign merchants, as no more merchandize was to be allowed to come to Moſcow by the way of Archangel; ſo that this metropolis, once the pleaſanteſt and moſt agreeable city in all Ruſſia, became quite deſerted, none remaining in it but the vulgar; which was a great mortification to all ranks of people, being obliged to leave a place of ſuch plenty for one where every thing was both ſcarce and dear.

Deſcription of the czarowitz's perſon and manners.

The czarowitz arrived in Moſcow this winter, where I ſaw him for the firſt time. He kept a mean Finlandiſh girl for his miſtreſs. I went often with the general to wait on him, and he came frequently to the general's houſe, commonly

1713.

attended by very mean and low perſons. He was very ſlovenly in his dreſs; his perſon was tall, well made, of a brown complexion, black hair and eyes, of a ſtern countenance, and ſtrong voice. He frequently did me the honour to talk with me in German, being fully maſter of that language: he was adored by the populace, but little reſpected by the ſuperior ranks, for whom he never ſhewed the leaſt regard; he was always ſurrounded by a number of debauched ignorant prieſts, and other mean perſons of bad character, in whoſe company he always reflected on his father's conduct for aboliſhing the ancient cuſtoms of the country, declaring, that as ſoon as he came to ſucceed, he ſhould ſoon reſtore Ruſſia to its former ſtate; and threatening to deſtroy, without reſerve, all his father's favourites. This he did ſo often, and with ſo little reſerve, that it could not miſs reaching the emperor's ears; and it was generally thought he now laid the foundation of that ruin he afterwards met with. The czarowitz remained in Moſcow till the emperor arrived at Peterſburgh; who finding that his ſon had left his conſort in a melancholy ſituation, he ordered the prince without delay to return to his family.

Ruſſian reſtrictions of conſanguinity in marriage.

The Ruſſians may not marry any one that is related to them within the fourth generation; thoſe of an equal degree of conſanguinity call each other brother and ſiſter, with the diſtinction of firſt, ſecond, and ſo on, to the fourth degree; and thoſe of a higher or lower degree, are called uncles, nephews, &c. with the ſame diſtinction. At their chriſtenings they commonly have three or four godfathers, with an equal number of godmothers, who, after that ceremony, reckon themſelves ſo nearly related that they can no more marry

BOOK III. marry each other than if they were children of the ſame parents.

1714.

Ridiculous cuſtom in burying.

They have a very ridiculous cuſtom at their funerals. Juſt before the coffin is ſhut up, the father-confeſſor of the deceaſed, puts a teſtimonial, or paſs, for the other world, in writing, between the fingers of the corpſe, in theſe words: "—We N. N. do certify by theſe preſents, that the bearer "hereof hath always behaved himſelf and lived among us "as became a good Chriſtian, profeſſing the Greek reli-"gion; and although he may have committed ſome "ſins, he hath confeſſed the ſame, whereupon he hath re-"ceived abſolution, and taken the communion for the re-"miſſion of his ſins. That he hath honoured God and his "ſaints; that he hath not neglected his prayers, and hath "faſted on the hours and days appointed by the church; "that he hath always behaved himſelf towards me, who am "his confeſſor, in ſuch a manner that I have no reaſon "to complain of him, or to deny him the abſolution of "his ſins. In witneſs whereof we have given him theſe "teſtimonials, to the end that St. Peter, upon ſight of "them, may not deny him the opening of the gate to "eternal bliſs."

Their images.

Reſpecting their images, they ſuffer none that are carved or graven, either in their churches or houſes, but ſuch only as are painted on wood, in oil colours, by thoſe of their own religion. They never will own to have bought their ſaints, but go to the god-market, and, having choſen a figure they like, depoſit the money for the exchange of it; if the ſaint-maker thinks it not ſufficient, he ſhoves it back, and the other party is obliged to add more to it, till he

he is ſatisfied. The walls of their churches are every where full of them: over the porch of their churches, in the market-place, and over the gates of their cities, you are ſure to meet with the picture of ſome ſaint or other; ſo that go which way you will, you ſee numbers of people croſſing themſelves with a moſt profound inclination of the head, repeating the *Goſpodi Pomilui*, or, God have mercy upon me. Theſe images they conſider ſo abſolutely neceſſary, that without them they could not perform their devotion: they are the chief ornament of their houſes, and whoever enters, firſt pays his reſpects to the ſaint, and then to thoſe of the family. A Ruſſian once coming to me with a meſſage, looked round about the room for an image, and ſeeing none, aſked me, Where is thy God?—I anſwered, in heaven: upon which he immediately went away without delivering his meſſage. I told the general this circumſtance, and he directly ordered a ſaint's picture to be hung up in my room, to prevent giving any farther offence of that kind.

Their baths.

All Ruſſians, of what degree or condition ſoever, ſleep after dinner; ſo that about noon, the ſhops are ſhut up, and there is no more ſpeaking with any body than if it was at midnight. They bathe frequently: people of quality have their own private ones, and bathe twice a week at leaſt; but the public bathing-places are all built near the ſides of the rivers. Their ſtoves are cloſe places with furnaces, which they heat exceedingly, and for the better raiſing of vapour, frequently throw cold water on the ſtove: there are benches all round, at ſome diſtance one above another, differing in the degrees of heat, ſo that every one

chooſes

BOOK III. 1714.

chooſes the temperature that beſt ſuits him: upon one of thoſe benches they lay themſelves down at full length, quite naked, and having ſweated as long as they think proper, they are well waſhed with warm water, and well rubbed with handfulls of herbs; after which they take a dram of aqua vitæ, and go their ways. But what is moſt admirable is, when they find the heat too intenſe, both men and women will run out of the ſtove, naked as they are, plunge into the river, and ſwim about for ſome time; if it is in the winter, they will roll in the ſnow. Theſe public baths are ſo careleſly built, that it is an eaſy matter to ſee the people in the next room through the aperture of the boards which divide them, which, to the women who frequent them, is of no great conſequence, as they are not nicely delicate in being ſeen naked; both ſexes going out and coming in at the ſame door naked, when they want to cool themſelves. Theſe baths are the univerſal remedies of the Muſcovites, whether for cleanlineſs or health; and thus accuſtomed from their infancy to the extremes of heat and cold, they become both ſtout and hardy, and in general long-lived, little ſubject to any diſtemper: thus they live for the moſt part without phyſicians, and many of them without diſeaſes. They begin their day at ſun-riſing, and end at ſun-ſetting, ſo that their night begins as ſoon as the ſun is down, and ends when it riſes.

Manner of travelling.

The manner of travelling in Ruſſia is extremely commodious, eſpecially in winter, when their ſledges glide away on the ſurface of the ice or ſnow, in a flat country, with incredible diſpatch, and ſo very little labour to the horſes, that they can eaſily perform fifty or ſixty miles a day. Their ſledges

1714.

ſledges are made of the bark of the linden-tree, fitted to the ſize of a man, lined with ſome thick felt, and when a man is laid along in them, he is wrapped up and quite covered in good furs. The driver for the moſt part runs by the ſledge to keep himſelf warm, or ſits at the feet of the perſon who travels; the ſledges being built very low, ſhould they happen to overturn, there is little danger in the fall. In this mode of travelling, the time is moſtly ſpent in ſleeping, the eaſy, almoſt imperceptible, motion favouring their repoſe. When they happen to paſs through deſerts, or great foreſts, where they are obliged to remain all night in the open air, they kindle a great fire, round which they range their ſledges, ſo that being well cloſed on all ſides, and well covered up with their furs, they reſt more commodiouſly than in a country cottage, where men and beaſts being lodged together in one room, greatly diſturb a man's reſt. The greateſt inconvenience in travelling thoſe parts is the want of inns on the road, which obliges the travellers to carry proviſions along with them, and other neceſſaries they may ſtand in need of; but thoſe who travel ſingly commonly go poſt, when they pay the whole expence of the journey at ſetting out, and have no more occaſion to put their hand in their pocket till they come to the end of it, which is very convenient. The poſt-boy receives a written order, which he delivers to the next who ſucceeds him, and ſo on to the end; and they go day and night, having freſh horſes every ten miles, ſo that the traveller may ſleep all the way in his ſledge, if he chooſes. They commonly travel an hundred and fifty miles in twenty-

BOOK III. four hours. I have often travelled three ſtages without waking.

1714. In the ſummer they travel either by water, on the rivers with which this country abounds; or by land on horſeback, by coach, or ſleeping-waggon; the roads in Ruſſia being very broad, beautiful, and eaſy for travelling. For paſſing the rivers they have a kind of floating-bridges made of large fir-trees, faſtened together, which can ſupport a great weight. But the violent heat of the ſummer, and the prodigious quantities of muſkitoes and flies, are very troubleſome, and greatly interrupt the pleaſure a ſtranger would otherwiſe have in paſſing through this country from the beauty and variety of its foreſts, rivers, and lakes.

No religion in the world could well be conceived to impoſe a more ſevere mortification on its profeſſors than the Ruſſian; for, if it were not ſufficient to have enjoined the keeping of two conſtant faſt days in the week, as Wedneſday and Friday, and the eves before holidays, when they are obliged to abſtain ſo ſtrictly from all kind of fleſh, that they muſt not taſte butter, eggs, or milk, they have four Lents every year; the longeſt of them is ſeven weeks, the firſt of which is called *Butter Week*, and that being their carnival, they have liberty for all manner of food except fiſh. In this week their extravagancies exceed almoſt all belief; and as if this time was allotted for the purpoſe of preparing to faſt the other ſix, they employ it in the moſt extravagant exceſs in drinking brandy and melted butter, which they pour down their throats in ſuch amazing quantities, that one would imagine the leaſt ſpark of fire would ſet

1714.

ſet their bodies in a flame; nay, they are very often obliged to quench this inflammation with milk to prevent their dying on the ſpot, which frequently happens. Woe to the ſtranger that meets theſe drunkards at night, unleſs he is well guarded, their inſolencies being ſo great that a number of perſons are murdered every night; not to reckon thoſe who being overcharged with liquor, and wanting attendants to carry them home, fall down upon the ſnow and ſo are frozen to death. During this week, it is very common in a morning, although a ſhocking ſight, to ſee ten or a dozen dead bodies carried upright in a ſledge, frozen to death; yet theſe are the daily objects one meets in a morning, in the ſtreets of Moſcow. All the atonement they make for theſe enormities, when the week is over, is by frequenting the baths, to waſh away the impurities contracted in their exceſſive debauches: they live temperately during the reſt of the Lent, and ſome of the more rigid will not even taſte fiſh all that time, but live upon honey, herbs, and pulſe, and drink only quas, or water.

Religious faſts.

They celebrate the feaſt of Eaſter with great ceremony and rejoicing; as well in remembrance of the reſurrection of our Saviour, as that it puts an end to the mortification they endured during Lent. They now rejoice fifteen days, feaſting together on all manner of good cheer; and to make a full amends for their ſufferings in Lent, the public houſes are now continually crouded by all ſorts of people, women as well as men, eccleſiaſtics and laics; and the ſtreets almoſt not to be paſſed for the multitudes of drunkards at night. For theſe fifteen days they have eggs ready dyed all manner of colours, which they ſend or give in preſents

BOOK III. to each other; and when they meet in this time, they ſa-
1714. lute with theſe words, *Chriſtos wos Chreſt*;—that is, Chriſt is riſen:—to which the other having anſwered, *Woiſtin wos Chreſt*,—that is, He is certainly riſen,—they kiſs one another; he that ſalutes firſt is obliged to preſent the other with an egg; nobody, of whatever condition or ſex, daring to refuſe the egg or kiſs: the people of quality have them covered with gold or ſilver leaf, or very curiouſly painted both outſide and in.

Moſt of their religious feſtivals are ſolemniſed with proceſſions, among which that of Palm Sunday, repreſenting our Saviour's public entry into Jeruſalem, is performed with great ſolemnity. Before the patriarchal dignity was laid aſide, the patriarch uſed to ride in the proceſſion, mounted on an aſs, the czar leading him by the bridle, from the caſtle to the church called Jeruſalem, without the caſtle-gate; and the patriarch, in acknowledgment of the honour conferred on him by his majeſty in leading his aſs, preſented him with a purſe of one hundred rubles.

BOOK IV.

City of Novogorod.—The Sterlit fiſh.—Marſhal Zeremetof's military miſtakes.—The readieſt method to get out of the Ruſſian ſervice.—The city of Peterſburgh.—The czar's uſual table.—His entertainments.—His preſent of boats to different ranks, and its good deſign.—An ambaſſador from Uſbeck Tartary.—A naval excurſion for his entertainment.—Cronſtadt and Cronelet.—Oranianbaum, Peterſhoff, and Catharinhoff.—The grand dutcheſs born, and the prince's behaviour on the occaſion. His diſreſpect to the czar.—Naval expedition, in which the czar was rear-admiral.—His gallant action with Ehrenſhield.—He takes Aland.—His triumphal entry at Peterſburg.—Promoted to be vice-admiral.—He compliments Ehrenſhield's bravery.—His ſpeech to the ſenate.—His reſentment of the czarowitz's diſreſpect.—He inſtitutes frequent ſocial aſſemblies and a royal academy.—Court-martial on admiral Kruys.—The order of St. Catherine.—Confuſions in the revenue, and the conſequent diſtreſs.—Many delinquents puniſhed.—Fiſcals appointed.—The czar's public entertainments.—Mr. Slitter's perpetuum mobile.—The old Finlander.—Hard froſt at Peterſburgh.—Experiments on bears.—Method of killing them.

ON the firſt day of March general Bruce ſet out from Moſcow, with his family, on his way to Peterſburgh; we paſt by the town of Twer, over the river Wolga, and arrived at the city of Novogorod the 10th; it is ſituated in a very fair ſpacious plain upon the Wologda, a river different from the Wolga. The Wologda derives its ſource from the lake Ilmen, about three miles above this city, from whence it falls into lake Ladoga, and emerging from thence in the river Neva, near the fortreſs of Noteburgh, at laſt by the gulph of Finland, empties itſelf into the Baltic ſea. This river is of great advantage to Novogorod, not only by the plenty of all ſorts of moſt excellent fiſh with

1714. City of Novogorod.

BOOK IV. 1714. with which it ſtores their market, at a very moderate price, but by being navigable to its very ſource. The ſurrounding country is very fertile, abounding in wheat, flax, hemp, honey, and wax. Ruſſia leather is one of its principal commodities, being ſuppoſed to be dreſſed here to greater perfection than in any other part of Muſcovy; Novogorod is reputed one of the chief cities in the empire for trade. In former ages, this city was deemed one of the moſt potent in Europe, and was ſo famous that it became proverbial in thoſe parts, *Who can oppoſe God and the great city of Novogorod.* But the czar Ivan Waſilowitz, the great tyrant of Moſcow, having plundered it, laid moſt part of the city in aſhes, and removed all the conſiderable citizens to Niſni, or Lower, Novogorod. The great extent of the ruins of the ancient walls, and the number of ſteeples ſtill remaining, are ſufficient evidence of its former glory, and that its preſent condition bears no proportion to what it was before its deſtruction, being now only ſurrounded by a wooden wall, and the houſes built of the ſame materials. A caſtle ſtands on the other ſide of the river, oppoſite to the city, and joined to it by a bridge; this caſtle is ſurrounded by a ſtrong ſtone wall, and is the reſidence both of the governor and metropolitan. In this city, and oppoſite the caſtle, is a monaſtery dedicated to St. Anthony, of whom they relate moſt ſurpriſing miracles: amongſt the reſt, they ſhew a great mill-ſtone lying againſt the wall of the convent, upon which they ſay St. Anthony performed his voyage from Rome to this place; that he came down the Tiber into the Mediterranean, through the ſtreights, over all the ſeas in his way to the Baltick, on this ſtone, and

going up the Wologda, at laſt fixed his reſidence at Novogorod; after he came aſhore, he agreed with ſome fiſhermen for the firſt draught of their net, which proved to be a large cheſt containing the ſaint's canonical robes, his books, and money; with the money he built this monaſtery, where he ended his days, and his body ſtill remains uncorrupted. Upon my aſking the monk, who gave me this information, in what ſhip the ſaint arrived upon this mill-ſtone, and how they got up the falls in the lake of Lagoda, he fell into a paſſion, and told me I was an unbeliever and no Chriſtian, and ſo went away without ſhewing me the uncorrupted body of his ſaint.

There are at preſent in this city one hundred and forty-four religious houſes, beſides a great number of churches and chapels. Peterſburgh is ſupplied from hence with all ſorts of proviſions and neceſſaries, conveyed in flat-bottomed veſſels, many of which are loſt in the falls, or rapids, of the lake Ladoga, by ſtriking on the rocks, which lie hid under water, with ſuch violence, from the rapidity of the ſtream, that they are beat to pieces. The czar, to prevent ſuch requent loſſes, ordered a canal to be cut in a ſtrait line from the river Wologda to the river Neva, and 30,000 men are employed every ſummer at this work, and an equal number of ſoldiers and peaſants. This canal is near one hundred miles in length, and eighty feet broad; the banks on each ſide, raiſed by the earth dug out of the canal, are ſixty feet broad, and make a road on both ſides; the country is plain and level all the way with a ſmall northern declination, but full of woods and marſhes. When this work is completed, it will be of unſpeakable advantage to the country, as the

BOOK IV. the communication of Novogorod with Peterſburgh will be both ſhort and ſafe; it will alſo be a great convenience for thoſe who travel that way by land in the ſummer, as they are now obliged to go a great way about to ſhun theſe fens and marſhes. The czar alſo intends, when this is finiſhed, to make a communication between the Wolga and the Wologda, which, in fact, will be a navigable conveyance from the Caſpian ſea to the Baltic, and conſequently to any port in Europe.

1174.

The ſterlit-fiſh.

Some time ago, ſome veſſels going for Peterſburgh, with live fiſh, called ſterlit, in paſſing the falls of Ladoga, were beat to pieces, by which accident the fiſh regained their liberty, and ſome of them were afterwards taken at Cronſlot, and one catched at Stockholm, which were conſidered very great curioſities, as none of them had ever been ſeen in thoſe ſeas before. They are about eighteen inches long, of a ſhape peculiar to themſelves; their head like that of a pike, but longer, and inſtead of ſcales, they have a ſort of ſhells on their back, not unlike the turtle-ſhell, but have no bones at all in them; and when dreſſed they are the moſt delicious fiſh in the world, being very fat and pleaſant to the taſte; their common price at Peterſburgh is a ducat a-piece. Brigadier le Fort, who was then a priſoner at Stockholm, and ſeeing this fiſh in the market, bought it, and invited prince Dolgorouky and general Weyde, alſo priſoners, to dine with him, and when the fiſh came on the table, they were both much ſurpriſed, knowing it was a native only of the Caſpian, or the Wolga. I never heard if they propagated their ſpecies in theſe ſeas.

General

General Bruce being governor of this province, it detained him a few days to inſpect the affairs relating to his government; and while he ſtaid, was entertained by the principal people of the city: one day, dining with the deputy-governor, the diſcourſe turned upon ſome miſtakes made by field-marſhal Zeremetof, when the czar firſt began to new model his army after the German diſcipline. For the encouragement of foreign officers to come into the army, he had given orders to the marſhal that, if they came well recommended, they ſhould be promoted one ſtep above the rank they held in the ſervice they had left; at that time there happened to come a brigadier from the Auſtrian ſervice, well recommended by the emperor, and deſired his preferment as a major-general, agreeable to the czar's inſtructions; the marſhal conceiving that to be a ſtep too much, told the gentleman he ought to be ſatisfied with being firſt made a lieutenant-general; and the officer ſubmitting to gratify the marſhal, his commiſſion was ſent to the czar to be confirmed, and the marſhal claimed a merit in having ſatisfied the foreigner ſo eaſily: the czar was much diverted with the marſhal's miſtake, yet he confirmed the commiſſion, but cautioned the marſhal not to make ſuch miſtakes in future. Notwithſtanding this caution, a little time produced another miſtake; a German captain *des armes*, which is below the poſt of a ſerjeant, and whoſe buſineſs it is to take care of the arms belonging to the company, ſolicited to be employed in the army; the marſhal, by his German interpreter, aſked what poſt he laſt ſerved in, and was anſwered, Captain *des armes*; the word *arm*, in the German language, ſignifying *poor*;

1714 Marſhal Zeremetof's military miſtakes.

BOOK IV. the interpreter reported, that he had been *a poor captain*; if that be the caſe, ſaid the marſhal, I'll make him a rich captain; and made out a captain's commiſſion for him; but the czar, inſtead of confirming it, made him only enſign, which made the poor captain very happy.

1714.

The readieſt method to get out of the Ruſſian ſervice.

In thoſe times it was much eaſier getting into the ſervice than out of it, as was evident in the caſe of major-general Gordon, who wanted very much to quit the ſervice, and ſolicited his diſcharge by every application in his power, but all in vain; and being in Poland on a ſeparate command, after the battle of Pultowa, he took that opportunity to ſend to Moſcow for his wife and daughters, and on their arrival in Poland, he carried them to Dantzig, where he took ſhipping and ſailed for Scotland. A ſimilar caſe happened, in my time, to a colonel of dragoons, who, after a long ſervitude, ſolicited, and obtained his diſcharge from the ſervice with little difficulty, but found it out of his power to obtain a paſs to get out of the country, being always put off from time to time with fair promiſes, with which they amuſed him ſo long, that he was at length obliged to draw bills on his friends in Germany for money to ſubſiſt on. The Ruſſian policy is, that money ſaved by the government's ſervants, ſhould remain in the country, and having obſerved this officer, while in Poland with his regiment, making conſiderable remittances to his friends in Germany, took care when they had granted his diſcharge to detain his perſon, with a view to bring ſome of the money back again. The colonel finding he was like to ruin himſelf, without hopes of getting out of the country, applied to ſome of the foreign generals for their council, who adviſed him immediately

1714.

diately to petition to be employed again in the ſervice; which he did, and ſoon found himſelf once more at the head of a regiment of dragoons; the regiment being ordered into Poland, he there made the beſt uſe of his time till he thought himſelf ſufficiently reimburſed, then went into Germany, from whence he wrote to prince Menzikoff, excuſing himſelf for leaving the ſervice in ſuch a manner, but he had no alternative, for he was not permitted to do it in a more honourable way; adviſing the prince not to detain foreigners in the ſervice againſt their will, for ſuch meaſures would only prevent men of abilities and merit from entering at all into their ſervice. But all this did not mend the matter; and it would be too tedious to enter into a detail of the difficulties ſtrangers have to encounter in endeavouring to get out of this country. We ſat out from Novogorod the 25th, and arrived at Peterſburg the 1ſt of April. The diſtance from Moſcow to Peterſburgh is 541 Engliſh miles, or 812 Ruſſian werſts.

The city of Peterſburgh.

The nobility, and people of faſhion and fortune, who had removed with their families from Moſcow, found here a ſad reverſe in their ſituation. Inſtead of their ſpacious palaces and lofty houſes in that city, and their country houſes and villas in its vicinity, where they had every thing in plenty, they found proviſions very ſcarce and moſt conveniences wanting. As this place was agreeable both to the deſigns and humour of the czar, he paid little regard to the complaints of thoſe who conſidered their own eaſe and luxury more than the advantage of their country. The merchant and ſhopkeepers found their account in this new city, where every thing bore an exceſſive price.

BOOK IV.

1714.

This city was now in its infancy, it being yet but barely ten years ſince its firſt foundation was laid. When the czar had made himſelf maſter of Noteburgh and New Schantz, he went down to the mouth of the river Neva, where it falls into the Baltic by ſeveral ſtreams forming ſo many iſlands; the ſituation pleaſed him ſo much, that he reſolved upon building this city. He found only four fiſhermen's huts, to which he added a houſe for himſelf on an iſland in the north ſide of the river, and called it Peterſburgh. This houſe was only a ſhelter from the weather and to reſt in; it is a low hall built of wood, incloſed with a wooden gallery, and the year 1704, in figures, carved over the door; but in memory of this great undertaking, it has been preſerved ever ſince. Lieutenant-general Robert Bruce, commandant of the city, has the charge and uſe of this original hall, and has built a very good houſe adjoining to it for himſelf, which was one of the firſt that made a ſhow in this place. The firſt thing that was undertaken was the building two forts; one here, and another at Cronſlot, to protect the place from inſult from the Swedes by ſea; it being naturally guarded againſt any attempt on the land-ſide, as the country round it is almoſt one general moraſs.

Every body now beheld with ſurprize and admiration ſuch advances toward a city, in ſo ſhort a time, as many thouſand houſes were already built. In that part called Peterſburgh, ſtands a large ſquare brick building, with a ſpacious court within, for merchants and tradeſmen, where they have their ſhops below and ſtore-rooms above, and are ſhut up every night, being under the ſame regulations with the grand market-place at Moſcow; and the merchants all reſide

reſide in this part of the town. Here is alſo a large long brick building, which contains the ſenate-houſe, all the ſupreme courts of the kingdom, chancery court, court of juſtice, the boards of admiralty and ordnance, the war-office, &c. &c. The preſident of every court, or board, is a ſenator. The ſeat of trade, the courts of juſtice, all the publick offices, and the grand council of the empire, being combined in ſuch a ſmall ſpace, makes it extremely convenient for the diſpatch of buſineſs. On another iſland, to the north of this, are the habitations of Aſiatic merchants, viz. Armenians, Perſians, Turks, Tartars, Chineſe, and Indians; but no Jew is now allowed to trade, or indeed, live in the Ruſſian empire. Oppoſite to the ſenate-houſe, on a ſmall iſland, ſtands the fort by itſelf, and being in the center, commands the whole city; the fort is a hexagon, ſtrengthened by ravelines; the ramparts are all caſemated, bomb-proof: it contains houſes and barracks for the officers and ſoldiers belonging to the garriſon, a large arſenal, ſtore-houſes, and magazines; a fine large church, with a very high ſteeple, furniſhed with a ſet of muſical bells, which play every day from eleven to twelve at noon; in this church is a large vault intended for the ſepulchre of the imperial family; the works, and all the interior buildings are of brick, and the only communication with the fort is by draw-bridges, oppoſite the ſenate-houſe. Below the fort, on the ſame ſide of the river, is Waſilio Oſtrof (or Iſland), where prince Menzikoff has built a very grand palace, and a number of fine brick houſes for the accommodation of thoſe belonging to his court: this iſland is large, and well laid out in gardens and parks, and here the grandeur of the Imperial

BOOK IV. 1714.

Imperial court is diſplayed, and all foreign ambaſſadors and miniſters have their audiences; on which occaſion, the czar appears always as a private gentleman; as indeed, he does every where, attended only by one page and one footman who carries his mathematical inſtruments and draughts, for he is an excellent draughtſman, and underſtands all the branches of the mathematics, and is well verſed in fortification, architecture, ſhip-building, and the conſtruction of all kinds of engines. As he is a prince that has a knowledge of every thing, he is not eaſily impoſed on by others. Oppoſite Waſilio-Oſtrof on the ſouth-ſide of the river, is the admiralty and dock-yard for building ſhips and gallies. This iſland being formerly low and marſhy, was interſected by ſeveral canals, and the ground raiſed and made commodious for the purpoſe it is applied to; it is incloſed by the river, and like the reſt of the place, has its natural defence from the moraſſy confines of the river. The people employed in ſhip-building are all quartered here, as alſo the officers and ſailors belonging to the fleet.

Above the admiralty, ſtands the Inoiſemſka Slaboda, or Foreign Town, where all European foreigners live, and have ſeveral Proteſtant and one Roman Catholic, meeting-houſes: here ſtands admiral Apraxin's fine palace. This iſland was alſo low and marſhy, but was drained and raiſed by digging ſeveral canals through it. The czar has both his winter and ſummer-palace on this iſland; the former is next the river, and the latter at the eaſt, or upper-end of the iſland, where his yatchs and pleaſure-boats are ranged cloſe up before the door; here are exceeding fine gardens

gardens and a large park, incloſed by a large and deep canal; the gardens are full of water-works, Italian ſtatues, covered walks and arbors. A fine avenue of large trees, which ſtand by the ſide of the river, were dug out of the ground in the winter, with large quantities of frozen earth ſticking to their roots, and brought in that condition and planted here, and flouriſhed to the ſurprize of all who ſaw them. In the park was built a houſe which contains all ſorts of mathematical inſtruments; alſo the famous globe of Gothorp, contrived by Tycho Brahe, in which twelve people can ſit round a table and obſerve the celeſtial conſtellations as it turns on its axis. In the garden was a long gallery, or hall, where the czar attended every day from eleven to twelve o'clock at noon, when every body had free acceſs, and he then received petitions from all ranks of his ſubjects; after that hour none were permitted to addreſs him except upon affairs of conſequence. He dined commonly at twelve o'clock, and only with his own family; one diſh only was ſerved up at a time, and to have it hot he dined in a room, contiguous to the kitchen, from whence the diſh is received through a window from the cook; at one o'clock he lays down and ſleeps an hour; he ſpent the afternoon and evening in ſome diverſions or other till ten o'clock, when he went to bed, and got up again at four in the morning, ſummer and winter.

The czar's uſual table.

In the holidays, he invented all manner of diverſions, and frequently entertained company in his long hall in the garden, which being ſurrounded by water, the gueſts come in their boats, which, as the company diſembark, are all ſecured under a guard in the harbour, that no body may

His entertainments.

BOOK IV. give him the ſlip before the company depart altogether, which ſeldom happened before next morning. Coaches, or other wheel-carriages, are of little uſe in this city, where the whole is ſurrounded either with rivers or canals, which having no bridges, every body is obliged to go by water. To accommodate this inconveniency, the czar preſented every one of the firſt quality with a yacht; a buyer, which is a ſailing-boat with a large cabin in the middle of her after the Dutch faſhion; a barge of ten or twelve oars, and a wherry of four or two: thoſe of the ſecond rank, a buyer and a wherry; and to thoſe of a lower degree, a wherry only; obliging every one to keep their veſſels in repair, and when worn out, to rebuild them at their own expence; this was alſo a political preſent, for one day in the week was appointed for muſtering thoſe veſſels, for ſailing or rowing, as his majeſty's fancy directed, and the proper ſignal was made by the fort. If they rowed it was on the broad river, in their ſmaller veſſels, when they made a delightful appearance, and the pleaſure much heightened by the bands of muſic: moſt of the firſt quality had bands of their own. If the ſignal was made for ſailing to Cronſtadt, then all the yachts and buyers went in three ſquadrons: in this expedition, they were taught all the different manœuvres of a fleet of men of war, by ſignals, as making or ſhortening ſail, tacking, forming the line of battle, coming to an anchor, &c. &c. by which the young nobility and gentry became acquainted with the nature of the ſervice, and many hands were taught the manual duties of ſeamen, and fitted for the navy. Eaſt from the ſummer palace, on a dry riſing ground, ſtands the grand arſenal, and foundery for

1714.

His preſent of boats to different ranks, and its good deſign.

for cannon, mortars, &c. and a fine houſe built by the maſter-general; and here alſo reſide all the officers, &c. of the ordnance; thoſe alſo of the blood-royal live here on account of its fine ſituation and air, as it is not ſubject to inundations as the other parts; the czarowitz and his conſort have their court here; the princeſs Natalia his majeſty's ſiſter, the two Imperial dowagers of the czar's Feodor and John, beſides a number of noble families; and at the eaſt end of this place ſtands the monaſtery of Alexander Newſki, where an archbiſhop reſides. The great ſtir there was at this time in all parts of the city is paſt deſcription, nothing was to be ſeen or heard all day long but tradeſmen and labourers at work in building ſhips and galleys, or houſes either of brick or timber, digging canals and paving ſtreets. The river was continually full of large veſſels bringing all ſorts of materials, as bricks, tiles, and ſtone for the ſtreets. Large floats of timber came daily down the river for building ſhips and houſes. Every body being employed in one ſhape or other, there was not an idle perſon to be ſeen.

An ambaſſador from Uſbeck Tartary.

On the 17th of May an ambaſſador arrived here from the cham of the Uſbeck Tartars, who had an audience of the czar the next day. His commiſſion conſiſted of theſe three articles; firſt, that the cham rejoiced at his majeſty's ſucceſs in war, and the increaſe of his power, and recommended himſelf to his favour and protection; ſecondly, he deſired the czar to enjoin his vaſſal, the cham of the Calmuck Tartars, to keep good neighbourhood and peace with him, for he ſeemed inclinable to join with the Tartars, ſubject to China, and to ſtir up others of his neighbours againſt

 him:

BOOK IV. him: for which the cham of Uſbeck offered in acknowledgement, to keep 50,000 ſoldiers always ready for the czar's ſervice, to march at his command. Thirdly, as a farther teſtimony of the cham's friendſhip, he offered a paſſage through his dominions for the annual caravans to China, and to enter into a treaty of commerce with Ruſſia, by which an incredible advantage was to accrue to his majeſty, as the caravans were then obliged to make their journey to Peking with great inconvenience, and took a whole year to travel the whole extent of Siberia, where there was no beaten road, whereas they might go thither through his maſter's dominions on a good road in four months. The ambaſſador then laid many ſilks, and other Chineſe and Perſian goods, together with curious furs, at the czar's feet, as a preſent from his maſter; telling him, that he had left ſome Perſian horſes and beaſts behind him at Moſcow, and expreſſed his concern that a fine leopard and an ape had died on the road.

1714.

A naval excurſion for his entertainment.

On this occaſion the ſignal was made for the yachts and boyars to attend his majeſty to Cronſlot; I went with the maſter-general in his yacht, and arrived at Cronſlot in the evening, where we ſlept on board at an anchor. The czar had deſired the Tartarian ambaſſador to follow him next day with the great chancellor, count Golofkin, on board a ſnow, and they ſet off about noon with ſeven ſenators on board; the weather was ſultry, and they ſailed with a gentle breeze, till being got about two leagues from Peterſburgh, by the unſkilfulneſs of the Ruſſian captain they got among the flats, and the veſſel got a-ground on a ſand and ſtuck faſt: the ſailors wrought till ſeven in the evening before they got her off; and about nine, ſo violent a ſtorm aroſe

as

as had not been known in thoſe parts for ſeveral years; about twelve all their boats were beat to pieces, their beſt anchor gone, and with it all their hopes, looking for nothing but death. The ambaſſador having never been on ſuch a ſea before, turned pale, and at length wrapping himſelf up in a ſilk quilt made his prieſt ſit down on his knees before him, and read ſomething out of a book of the prophet Ali, being of the Perſian religion. Towards morning the ſtorm began to abate, the veſſel was happily towed out of the flats, and as ſoon as it came to an anchor, his majeſty went on board, and congratulated him on his ſafe arrival, continuing with him in the cabin above two hours. The ambaſſador ordered ſeveral kinds of fruit of his country to be ſerved up, and called for his muſicians, vocal and inſtrumental, to entertain the emperor. The czar aſked the ambaſſador ſeveral queſtions relating to his country, eſpecially concerning the river Darien, which runs through it, and falls into the Caſpian ſea. There is a great deal of gold found in the bed of this river, waſhed down from the mountains, where there are rich gold mines. The czar brought the ambaſſador on ſhore, and ſhewed him his fleet and harbours, at which he was not a little ſurpriſed, as it was the firſt of the kind he had ever ſeen. BOOK IV. 1714.

We were detained here three days, and I took the opportunity to ſurvey the iſland of Retuſary, which was new to me, and where the czar had begun to build a new town called Cronſtadt: the houſes are all built of brick, and large; the lower ſtories are calculated for ſhops and warehouſes, for the convenience of foreign merchants to trade or ſettle here, as they did not approve the method obſerved in the grand Cronſtadt and Cronſlot.

BOOK IV. market-places of Moſcow and Peterſburgh, in having their ſhops in one part of the town, and living themſelves in another; here the ſtreets are broad, and have a canal in the middle, that goods may be conveyed or removed, at the eaſy charge of water-carriage. There are two fine harbours, the one for the royal navy, and the other for merchant-men, the piers being all mounted with cannon. Within gun-ſhot of the harbour, and a mile from Ingria, ſtands the caſtle of Cronſlot, founded on a ſand-bank in the ſea: the foundation was laid in winter upon the ice, with ſtrong wooden caſſoons filled with ſtone, upon which the ſuper-ſtructure was afterwards built of wood filled up with earth; this caſtle is round with three galleries about it, one above another, and well furniſhed with cannon, and thus the entrance up to Peterſburgh is ſufficiently guarded againſt every attempt of an enemy by ſea: beſides, there is no getting up againſt the ſtrong currents without a favourable wind, and even then it requires a ſkilful pilot to bring them through the ſhoals and ſand-banks, which yearly alter their ſituation.

1714.

A fleet of thirty ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and yachts, now lay here ready for ſea; and the troops which were encamped in the neighbourhood, were ready to embark on board eighty gallies, and one hundred ſcampavies, or half-gallies: the czar ordered the ſhips and gallies out to ſea, where they formed the line, and gave a general ſalute with all their guns, which ſtruck the Tartarian ambaſſador with ſurprize and amazement, having never ſeen the like before; this done, the ſhips came to an anchor again and the gallies on ſhore.

His

His majeſty then went to Oranianbaum, a country-houſe of prince Menzikof's, oppoſite to Cronſlot, on the ſide of Ingria, where a grand entertainment was prepared by the prince's directions; from thence he went to Peterſhoff, a country palace of his own, and thence to Catherinehoff, a palace of the czarina's, at both which the company were entertained with royal magnificence. The emperor now returned to Cronſlot to go to ſea with the fleet, and the empreſs, with the reſt of the company, returned to Peterſburgh. From Oranianbaum to Peterſburgh the country riſes gently from the ſhore, and abounds with the ſeats of the grandees, about half a mile diſtant from each other, which affords a beautiful proſpect from the ſea.

1714. Oranianbaum, Peterſhoff, and Catherinehoff.

On the 29th of June, the governor of Wybourg, in Finland, took Nyſlot, the capital fortreſs of the province of Savolaxia, and made the garriſon priſoners of war.

The Imperial princeſs, conſort to the czarowitz, was brought to bed of a daughter on the 23d of July, who was baptized by the name of Natalia, and had the title of grand ducheſs given her. The czarowitz, at that time, on a pretended indiſpoſition, had withdrawn himſelf to Carlsbad, with his Finlandiſh miſtreſs, but merely to be out of the way at the delivery of his amiable, but unhappy wife: in this diſagreeable ſituation, ſhe had only the princeſs of Eaſt Frieſland, a relation of her own, to comfort her. The czar, ſenſible of her diſtreſs, treated her with the higheſt eſteem, allowed her a ſplendid court, and ſpared no coſt to aggrandize it, and appointed frequent balls and aſſemblies at her houſe on purpoſe to divert her, and ſhe had every mark of reſpect and regard ſhewn her by the czarina; indeed,

The grand ducheſs born, and the prince's behaviour on the occaſion.

BOOK IV. deed, ſhe had greatly endeared herſelf to them both by the gentleneſs of her diſpoſitions, and the ſweetneſs of her temper and manner, but the brutal conduct of her huſband embittered all. When the czarowitz returned from Carlſbad, which was in conſequence of the emperor's expreſs orders, he not only ſhewed the utmoſt diſregard to the princeſs, but maltreated thoſe of her court in ſuch a manner, that they were all going to leave her, which ill uſage threw her into a deep melancholy; his father's frequent remonſtrances on the ſubject ſeemed only to make bad worſe, for he accuſed her of carrying complaints of him to the czar, and told her plainly, if it was not for the fear of his father's anger, he would turn her whole court out of doors, and oblige her to live after the old Ruſſian cuſtom. Although they lived in the ſame houſe, they were ſuch ſtrangers to each other, that they were never ſeen to eat or converſe together, except when he came to upbraid her with her numerous houſhold. This was not the only mortification this amiable princeſs underwent; none of the grandees paid their court to her, except when ordered by his majeſty, out of fear of diſobliging the prince, ſo that the foreign miniſters were the only perſons that could venture to pay her any reſpect.

1714.

All this bad uſage of ſo good a princeſs was the more ſurpriſing, when it is conſidered ſhe was his own free choice. The czar had ſent him to travel for his improvement, and recommended to him the choice of a princeſs abroad for his wife; and ſeeing, in the courſe of his travels, the princeſs of Wolfenbuttel, ſiſter to the empreſs of Germany, he made his addreſſes to her, and wrote to the czar for his conſent, which

which was readily granted. His majeſty arriving ſoon after at Torgau, concluded that unhappy marriage.

1714. His diſreſpect to the czar.

It was very remarkable, that the prince never appeared at any of the public meetings, when his majeſty was attended by all perſons of quality and rank, ſuch as birth-days, celebrating of victories, launching of ſhips, &c. General Bruce, who lived next door to the prince, had orders always to give the prince notice the day before, of ſuch public days or meetings, and I had the honour to carry and deliver the meſſage; but his highneſs, to avoid appearing in public, either took phyſic, or let blood, always making his excuſe, that he could not attend for want of health; when, at the ſame time, it was notoriouſly known that he got drunk in very bad company, when he uſed conſtantly to condemn all his father's actions.

Naval expedition, in which the czar was rear-admiral.

Immediately on his majeſty's return to Cronſlot, he put out to ſea with the fleet, on an information that the Swediſh fleet, under admiral Watrang, had ſailed with an intention to block him up in the harbour; and that their rear admiral, Ehrenſhield, had ſeized on the port of Twerwin, in Finland, where he had ſunk ſeveral of our ſhips, and taken about two hundred priſoners; by which acquiſition, they hoped to be able to repulſe any deſcent on the iſland of Aland. Our fleet was commanded by admiral Apraxin, vice-admiral Kruys, and, as rear-admiral, the czar himſelf; and ſailed directly in queſt of the enemy. The czar was ſent to watch their motions; he ſoon reported their ſtation, and that their vice-admiral, Lilie, was detached with ſeveral men of war and bomb-veſſels, ſteering towards Revel; he deſired the admiral to advance with the fleet, and on rejoining them,

BOOK IV. it was determined to diſpatch vice-admiral Kruys in queſt of the Swediſh vice-admiral, and to ſend twenty gallies under the command of general Weyde, and commodore Iſmaiewitz, to paſs within the enemy's fleet as near the ſhore as they could go. The gallies performed this ſervice under favour of a calm; the enemy endeavoured to prevent them, and fired many guns at them, but the draught of their large ſhips did not ſuffer them to come near enough to do any execution; on which fifteen more gallies were ſent under brigadier le Fort. The Swediſh admiral hereupon made a ſignal for his vice-admiral to return, which he did, without a ſingle effort made by admiral Kruys to intercept him, notwithſtanding his ſuperiority; for this he was directly put under arreſt, and afterwards tried by a court-martial at Peterſburg.

1714.

His gallant action with Ehrenſhield.

The next day our fleet paſſed cloſe by the enemy, and ſuſtained all their fire, with the loſs only of one galley, which had the misfortune to run aground, and they blocked up admiral Ehrenſhield, who refuſing to ſurrender to the czar's ſummons, by his adjutant-general Jaguzinſki, was vigorouſly attacked at three in the afternoon by the czar's own diviſion, now vice-admiral. The action was gallantly fought on both ſides for two hours, when, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority in number of guns, the Swedes were boarded and taken, and Ehrenſhield, having received ſeven wounds in the engagement, delivered himſelf up to our vice-admiral, by whom he was politely received, and by whoſe expreſs orders he was moſt carefully attended in the cure of his wounds, none of which were mortal: the czar had ever afterwards a very great regard for him.

The

The Swedes loſt in this engagement one frigate of twenty-four guns, ſix large gallies of fourteen guns each, and three demi-gallies of four each, all taken; they loſt alſo in this action nine hundred thirty-ſix ſoldiers and ſailors, of whom five hundred ſeventy-ſeven were alive, and made priſoners of war. The loſs on our part was, one colonel, two captains, four lieutenants, one adjutant, one hundred and three ſoldiers, and eighteen ſeamen, killed; one brigadier, ſeven captains, ſeven lieutenants, one enſign, three hundred and nine ſoldiers, and ſixteen ſeamen wounded; amounting in the whole to one hundred and twenty-four killed, and three hundred and forty-one wounded. The Swediſh veſſels and priſoners were ſent to Revel.

He takes Aland.

After the victory, the fleet ſailed to the iſland of Aland, where the czar landed 16,000 men, and took the fort and other poſts, intending to tranſport his troops, encamped at Abo, to this place, diſtant only twelve leagues from the coaſt of Sweden, with a deſign to make a deſcent at Stockholm; which obliged the Swedes to recall their fleet, under Watrang, to guard their coaſts: but it was now too late in the ſeaſon to begin an enterprize of that importance; ſo his majeſty returned by Revel to Cronſlot, where he ſtopped a few days, and from thence to Catherinehoff, the 18th of September, where he found the czarina delivered of another princeſs, to whom he gave the name of Anne.

His triumphal entry at Peterſburg.

On the 20th of September, part of our fleet, with the Swediſh veſſels and priſoners being arrived, the czar made a triumphal entry at Peterſburgh, and approaching the admiralty and fort, he was ſaluted from one hundred and fifty guns. They came up the river in the following order:

BOOK IV.

1714.

1. Three Ruſſian gallies.

2. The three Swediſh demi-gallies.

3. The ſix Swediſh gallies.

4. The Swediſh frigates, all with the Swediſh colours hanging down.

5. The czar in his galley as rear-admiral.

6. All the reſt of our gallies.

When the gallies came oppoſite the triumphal arch, which was erected in front of the ſenate houſe and oppoſite the fort, they ſaluted with all their guns, which was returned with the like diſcharge from the cannon of the fort and admiralty; then all the men came a-ſhore, and began a proceſſion in the following order.

1. A company of the guards, with major-general Galitzin at their head.

2. The cannon that were taken laſt winter by prince Galitzin from major-general Arenfelt, near Waſa.

3. Sixty-three colours and ſtandards taken in that action.

4. Two hundred Swediſh ſubaltern officers, ſoldiers and ſeamen.

5. Two companies of the guards.

6. The Swediſh ſea-officers.

7. The flag of the Swediſh rear-admiral.

8. The Swediſh rear-admiral Ehrenſhield.

9. The czar, as rear-admiral, followed by the remainder of the regiment of guards.

As ſoon as his majeſty came under the triumphal arch, the grandees, ſenators, and foreign miniſters, repaired thither to congratulate him on his victory; but the czarowitz neither appeared in perſon, nor by proxy. The governor of Moſcow, in the name of the empire, complimented his majeſty

majeſty on his bravery, and thanked him for his great and eminent ſervices. The triumphal arch was magnificently adorned with ſeveral emblematical repreſentations; and amongſt the reſt, the Ruſſian eagle ſeizing an elephant, alluding to the Swediſh frigate called the Elephant, with this inſcription, *Aquila non capit Muſcas.*

Promoted to vice-admiral.

The proceſſion proceeded in the ſame order to the fort, where the vice-czar, Romadanofſky, ſeated on a throne, and ſurrounded by the ſenate, cauſed rear-admiral Peter to be called before the aſſembly, and received from his hands a relation, in writing, of the victory obtained; which being read, they took it into conſideration, and propoſed ſeveral queſtions to the rear-admiral; after which, they unanimouſly declared him vice-admiral of Ruſſia, in recompence of his faithful ſervices done to his native country; which being proclaimed in the aſſembly, the whole houſe reſounded with, "Health to the vice-admiral!" The czar having returned them thanks, went on board his ſloop, where he hoiſted his vice-admiral's flag, having received many compliments on that occaſion.

He compliments Ehrenſhield's bravery.

His majeſty, attended by numbers of the nobility and officers, went to prince Menzikof's palace, where a grand entertainment was provided; after dinner, he ſhewed particular marks of his attention to rear-admiral Ehrenſhield; and, addreſſing the company, he ſaid—"Gentlemen, Here "you ſee a brave and a faithful ſervant of his maſter, who "has made himſelf worthy of the higheſt rewards at his "hands, and who ſhall always have my favour while he is "with me, although he has killed me many a brave man:" "I forgive you," ſaid he, turning to the Swede with a ſmile,

BOOK IV. " and you may ever depend on my good-will."—Ehrenſhield, having thanked the czar, anſwered,—" However honour-
1714. " ably I may have acted with regard to my maſter, I did " but my duty; I ſought death, but did not meet it; and " it is no ſmall comfort to me, in my misfortune, to be a " priſoner of your majeſty's, and to be uſed ſo favourably, " and with ſo much diſtinction, by ſo great a ſea-officer, " and now worthily vice-admiral." Mr. Ehrenſhield affirmed, that the Ruſſians had fought like lions, and that nothing but his own experience could have convinced him, that the czar had made ſo good ſoldiers of his ſubjects; ſuch is the effect of ſtrict diſcipline, time, and prudence. The troops were diſciplined in ſuch a manner, and were brought to ſuch a degree of reputation, eſpecially the infantry, that there were no troops in the world they would yield to.

The czar, on this occaſion, addreſſed the following diſcourſe to his ſenators:

His ſpeech to the ſenate. " Brethren, who is the man among you, who, twenty " years ago, could have conceived the idea of being em- " ployed with me in ſhip-building here on the Baltic, and " to ſettle in thoſe countries conquered by our fatigues and " bravery? Of living to ſee ſo many brave and victorious " ſoldiers and ſeamen ſprung from Ruſſian blood? And to " ſee our ſons coming home accompliſhed men from foreign " countries? Hiſtorians place the ancient ſeat of all ſci- " ences in Greece; from whence being expelled by the fa- " tality of the times, they ſpread into Italy, and afterwards " diſperſed themſelves all over Europe; but by the per- " verſeneſs of our anceſtors, they were hindered from pene- " trating any farther than into Poland; the Poles, as well

as

1714.

" the Germans, formerly groped in the ſame darkneſs in " which we have hitherto lived, but the indefatigable care " of their governors at length opened their eyes, and they " made themſelves maſters of thoſe arts, ſciences, and ſo- " cial improvements, which formerly Greece boaſted of. It " is now our turn, if you will ſeriouſly ſecond my deſigns, " and add to your obedience voluntary knowledge. I can " compare this tranſmigration of the ſciences to nothing " better than the circulation of the blood in the human " body; and my mind almoſt prognoſticates that they will, " ſome time or other, quit their abode in Britain, France, " and Germany, and come and ſettle, for ſome centuries, " among us; and afterwards, perhaps, return to their ori- " ginal home in Greece. In the mean time, I earneſtly re- " commend to your practice the Latin ſaying, *Ora et la-* " *bora* (pray and work); and in that caſe be perſuaded you " may happen, even in your own life-times, to put other " civilized nations to the bluſh, and raiſe the glory of the " Ruſſian name to the higheſt pitch." The ſenators heard this harangue of their monarch with a moſt reſpectful ſilence; and anſwered, that they were all diſpoſed to obey his orders and follow his example. Whether they were ſincere in their declaration is another queſtion.

His reſentment of the czarowitz's diſreſpect.

The next day a grand entertainment was given at the vice-czar's, Romadamoſſky, where a battalion of the guards, and a company of grenadiers were ordered to attend. Having marched through the whole town, they were drawn up before the vice-czar's palace, and went through their exerciſe. The czarowitz being yet only a ſerjeant of grenadiers, marched all the way on the right, with his halbert on his ſhoulder,

BOOK IV. and paſſing his own palace, the princeſs, his conſort, looking out with her friend the princeſs of Eaſt Friezland, and ſeeing him march in ſo *grand* a manner, fainted away and was carried to bed. When the exerciſe was over the officers were all invited to the entertainment, but the men remained under arms, and the czarowitz ſtood upon his poſt till the battalion marched off again.

1714.

This mortification was put upon the czarowitz for his neglect of duty, in not meeting his father at his triumphal entry, nor wiſhing him joy on his ſafe arrival: it is certain, a victory by ſea gave him greater joy than any other victory whatever; ſo that a neglect of this kind was worſe taken than any thing elſe that could have happened. However, when his majeſty heard of the princeſs's illneſs, and what had been the occaſion of it, he went to ſee her, and told her, that ſhe ought not to be ſurpriſed at the prince's being a ſerjeant, for he himſelf had gone through all the loweſt degrees both of the land and ſea-ſervice, till he had riſen by his merit to be a general in the army, and now vice-admiral of the navy; and notwithſtanding the prince had not attended to his duty as he ought to have done, yet he had recommended him to the vice-czar, and procured him an enſign's commiſſion in the guards, and that he was now come to give her joy on her huſband's preferment. This kind condeſcenſion in the czar, in a great meaſure, reſtored the princeſs's drooping ſpirits.

The rejoicings on this occaſion continued a conſiderable time, for the grandees gave entertainments in their turns; but, notwithſtanding his majeſty's reſentment againſt the prince for his former neglect of duty, he never appeared at any of thoſe public meetings, although he had regular

notice ſent to him by general Bruce, who ſent me ſeveral times to inform him of his majeſty's diſpleaſure at his non-appearance; but the old excuſe—want of health—ſerved on every occaſion. BOOK IV. 1714.

As the czar had the welfare and aggrandizing of his nation very much at heart, he neglected no opportunity to accompliſh his ſubjects. He at this time made a regulation for holding aſſemblies: he appointed two every week to be held at the houſes of the grandees alternately; one room being allotted for converſation, one for cards, and one for dancing; to meet at eight o'clock and end at eleven; the maſter of the houſe to provide a ſide-board of liquors, which ſhould not be preſented until called for, and to find cards and muſic: free admiſſion to be given to all of the rank of gentlemen, foreigners as well as natives, with their wives and daughters. This new regulation extremely pleaſed the ladies, as it freed them from the ſevere reſtraint they laboured under, not being permitted to appear in public company; but by this means they both learned to converſe and dreſs. He inſtitutes frequent ſocial aſſemblies.

His majeſty alſo inſtituted an academy this winter for the education of young gentleman; and was at much pains to provide able maſters from abroad for teaching the ſeveral ſciences. He likewiſe gave orders to the admiralty to get ready, againſt the enſuing ſpring, fifty ſhips of the line, with a great number of gallies and other veſſels, to enable him to make a deſcent on Sweden next year, and to keep his forces employed, as he had been obliged to withdraw his troops from Germany by the king of Denmark's taking Holſtein, and the king of Pruſſia Pomerania under ſequeſtration; And a royal academy,

BOOK IV. tion; which much diſpleaſed the czar, as he wanted, by all means, to have a footing in Germany, and to be admitted a member of that empire; but the emperor, and the reſt of the princes of the Germanic body, jealous of his growing power, took this method to get his troops out of their country. The king of Sweden, attended only by colonel During, and two ſervants, and travelling three hundred German miles in ſixteen days, arrived at Stralſund the 22d of November, and directly commenced hoſtilities againſt the Pruſſians, which defeated the whole ſcheme of the Germanic body, by his not agreeing to the ſequeſtration, brought a new enemy on himſelf, and afforded a decent pretext for the czar to re-enter Pomerania with his army.

1714.

Court martial on admiral Kruys.

A court-martial was now appointed to enquire into the conduct of vice-admiral Kruys, for not attacking the Swediſh ſquadron agreeable to his orders; and he was found guilty, and ſentenced to be ſhot for cowardice and neglect of duty. He complained of the ſeverity of his ſentence, alledging that no other nation, converſant in naval affairs, would have paſſed ſuch a ſentence for his conduct on that occaſion; which being repreſented to the czar, he tranſmitted copies of the trial to all the neighbouring maritime powers, eſpecially Holland which was the admiral's native country, for their opinion concerning the ſentence; and they all agreed that it was juſt, and would have been inflicted on any officer, in their reſpective ſervices, who had been guilty of the like behaviour. This declaration of the maritime powers being ſhewn to the admiral, he prayed for mercy, which the czar granted with reſpect to his life, but baniſhed him to Olonetz for the remainder of his days; and having ſet

out,

out, and travelled one day's journey toward the place of his exile, his majeſty recalled him, then gave him a free pardon, and appointed him one of the commiſſioners of the admiralty, but was never employed at ſea again, in which office he ended his days with credit.

The order of St. Catherine.

The czar, this year, inſtituted the order of St. Catharine, in honour of the czarina, to perpetuate the memory of that love and fidelity which ſhe manifeſted towards him in his diſtreſſed ſituation, reduced and ſurrounded by the Turks on the banks of the Pruth. The enſign of the order is a medal, enriched with precious ſtones, and adorned with the image of St. Catherine, with this motto, *For Love and Fidelity:* the medal is pendant to a broad white ribbon, wore over the right ſhoulder. The empreſs had the liberty of beſtowing it on ſuch of her own ſex as ſhe thought proper, and appeared in it herſelf for the firſt time at the feſtival of St. Andrew this year; the czarina firſt conferred the order on her two daughters, the princeſs Anne, afterwards married to the duke of Holſtein, and the princeſs Elizabeth, afterwards empreſs of Ruſſia; and ſome time after ſhe beſtowed it on the emperor's three nieces, the daughters of czar John, viz. Anne, ducheſs dowager of Courland, Catherine, ducheſs of Mecklenburg, and the princeſs Paſkovia; and alſo on the princeſs Menzikof.

Confuſions in the revenue, and the conſequent diſtreſs.

His czariſh majeſty having, with infinite pains and aſſiduity, been ſearching into the cauſes of the diſorders that had crept into the adminiſtration of his affairs; and, at length diſcovered from whence it proceeded that his army and fleet had been ſo ill paid and ſuffered ſo much, that many thouſand workmen had miſerably periſhed for want of

BOOK IV. 1715.

ſubſiſtence (it was computed that upwards of one hundred thouſand men loſt their lives at Peterſburgh) his trade decayed, and his revenues in confuſion, took a firm reſolution to remedy theſe evils; and in the beginning of 1715, eſtabliſhed a grand inquiſition under the direction of general Knex Dolgoruky, to examine certain lords and others, who, it was ſaid, had defrauded his majeſty of ſeveral millions.

Many delinquents puniſhed.

Moſt of the great men in Ruſſia were affected by this enquiry, and were obliged to give an account of their conduct. The great admiral Apraxin, prince Menzikof, and Bruce, maſter of the ordnance, alledged for their excuſe their abſence in foreign parts, or in the field on duty, ſo conſtantly, that ſo far from being able to diſcover, or prevent the ill practices of their officers, they were ignorant of what was done at that time in their own houſes, which was admitted for their excuſe: but their unfaithful officers ſuffered ſeverely for their infidelity, as did all others who could not juſtify themſelves. Korſakof, vice-governor of Peterſburgh, Kekin, the preſident; and Sinawin, the firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty; with an incredible number of other officers of the ſecond and third rank, were called to an account; Korſakof publicly ſuffered the knout; Apouchin and Wolchonſky, both ſenators, ſuffered the ſame, and had red-hot irons drawn over their tongues; ſome of inferior degree were chaſtiſed with the batoags, and were ſent into Siberia and other remote places, and all their eſtates confiſcated. Several delinquents were put to the torture to make them confeſs the truth, as by their law no man can be condemned, if the matter is ever ſo clearly proved againſt him, unleſs he confeſſes the fact.

The

The ſevereſt torture they have is the ſtrapado, which is thus inflicted; they hang up the malefactor with his hands tied behind him, with a large beam faſtened to his feet, upon which the executioner every now and then gets up to expedite the diſlocation of his joints, which gives exquiſite torment; a fire is lighted under his feet, the ſmoke and heat of which both ſtifles and burns him. If they want to improve upon this torture they ſhave his head, and when he is hung up as before, they prepare cold water to drop, from a conſiderable fall, on the crown of his head; which is the moſt exquiſite torment that can be invented.

This inquiſition, which had filled Peterſburgh with ſuch conſternation, being ended, things were put on a much better footing to prevent in future ſuch frauds in commiſſaries, and lighten the burthen on the ſhoulders of the people; an entire new ſet of officers were appointed, called fiſcals, or informers. The fiſcal-general was always to attend his majeſty; a head, or over-fiſcal, was appointed in the army, navy, and one in every government; and ordinary ones were appointed in every regiment, ſhip, or garriſon, and every court in the nation; whoſe buſineſs it was to report every thing they obſerved wrong in the ſervice or adminiſtration to the head fiſcals, and they to the fiſcal-general, who laid their informations before the czar. Fiſcals

This new ſet of men were more feared than the czar himſelf; ſome of them being very litigious, and bringing people often into trouble without a cauſe, whereof we had afterwards too many inſtances, which the czar perceiving put a ſtop to, by inflicting the puniſhment on them they intended for others, if they could not prove their informations:

BOOK IV. this obliged them to behave with more moderation afterwards. Nevertheleſs, thoſe againſt whom an information was given, underwent very great hardſhips, being, the moment they were arreſted, deprived of their ſalary or pay, to which they can lay no claim till they have cleared themſelves of the alledged crime and are reinſtated in their office or commiſſion; and if they acquit themſelves ever ſo honourably, they ſeldom or ever receive their arrears. In caſe of a furlough, none in the ſervice were allowed pay till they entered again upon duty. If an officer, a native Ruſſian, was broke by a court-martial for neglect of duty, he was commonly ſentenced to carry arms as a private ſoldier, and never arrived at his former rank except his merit raiſed him, and then he loſt his ſeniority. It is to be obſerved, that if this were not the caſe with the Ruſſians, the greateſt part of them would endeavour to be reduced to get free from the army. The diſtinction made between their pay and that of foreigners, creates no ſmall diſcontent among them and very juſtly. Officers of equal rank, and in the ſame regiment, have three different pays; for inſtance, a captain, who is a foreigner, has eighteen rubles * a month; a captain, of foreign parents, born in Ruſſia, has fifteen rubles; and a native Ruſſian has only twelve rubles; and ſo through every rank in the ſervice in proportion: this makes them look on all foreigners with an evil eye.

1715.

The czar's public entertainments.

The czar now gave frequent balls and entertainments at his own winter and ſummer palaces, and not at prince Menzikoff's as formerly; but finding this inconvenient, ordered a large houſe to be built mid-way between them, for a

* The value of a ruble is about 4s. ſterling. They have beſides, forage, quarters, &c.

general

1715.

general Poſt-Office, with ſpacious rooms above ſtairs for public balls and entertainments; but on grand feſtivals, and extraordinary occaſions, the entertainments were given at the ſenate-houſe; between which and the fort was a ſpacious open place where they played off the fire-works. Upon theſe public meetings, a great many tables were covered for all degrees of perſons; one for the czar and the grandees; one for the clergy, one for the officers of the army, one for thoſe of the navy; one for the merchants, ſhip-builders, foreign ſkippers, &c. all in different rooms; the czarina, and the ladies, had their rooms above ſtairs; all theſe tables were ſerved with cold meat, and ſweet meats, wet and dry, interſperſed with ſome diſhes of hot meat: theſe entertainments commonly ended with very hard drinking. After dinner, the czar went from one room and table to another, converſing with every ſet according to their different profeſſions or employments; eſpecially with the maſters of foreign trading veſſels, inquiring very particularly into the ſeveral branches of their trade. At theſe times, I have ſeen the Dutch ſkippers treat him with much familiarity, calling him by no other name but *Skipper Peter*, with which the czar was highly delighted. In the mean time, he made good uſe of the information he got from them, always marking it down in his pocket-book.

Mr. Slitter's perpetuum mobile.

The emperor having engaged one Mr. Slitter, a famous architect, with a number of good tradeſmen in his ſervice, he was lodged in the ſummer-palace to be near the czar. This gentleman had, at this time, a multiplicity of buſineſs on his hands in building palaces, houſes, academies, manufactories, printing-houſes, &c. and as he had but few hands

for

BOOK IV. for drawing his plans, I offered him my aſſiſtance in that way, provided he would inſtruct me in the rules of architecture, which he gladly accepted of, and I attended him every day. The czar was frequently with him, and ſeeing my drawings, was ſo much pleaſed with them, that I was afterwards much employed in drawing his plans, both of civil and military architecture.

1715.

Mr. Slitter was of a weak ſickly conſtitution, and being much fatigued with continual buſineſs, he ſickened and died, when he had been but one year at Peterſburg; he had ſpent much time in endeavouring to contrive a perpetuum mobile, the intenſe ſtudy of which had much impaired his health, and before he died he had brought it the length of being put in motion; the model of his machine was a circular braſs frame, eighteen inches deep, and two yards diameter, with hollow plates of the ſame metal, four inches in length placed round on the inſide, into which a cannon ball was put; the plates being moved by ſprings, forced the ball in a perpetual round; each of the plates directing ſeveral wheels which occaſioned many different motions; but the ſprings and wheels frequently breaking, it took up much time in repairing them. Mr. Slitter always locked himſelf up when he was at work upon it, and nobody was ſuffered to enter the room except the czar, who was frequently ſhut up with him. After his death, his foreman was employed about it, but he alſo ſoon after ſickened and died, and the machine was locked up; and I never could learn whether any perſon afterwards attempted to bring it to perfection. During my attendance on the architect, I only had twice an opportunity of ſeeing it.

At

1715. The old Finlander.

At this time Knez Golitzin, general of our army in Finland, ſent an old man to Peterſburgh, aged one hundred and twenty years; of a healthy conſtitution, had all his ſenſes entire, and walked ſtrait. The czar took much pleaſure in converſing with him, and offered to keep him at court, where he might end his days in eaſe; but the old man begged his majeſty to permit him to return to his native place, ſaying, he had been uſed to hard labour and ſpare diet, and if he ſhould now alter his way of living, it would very ſoon cut him off: if he were allowed to live in his former way, he hoped God would add ſome few years more to his days; upon which conſideration, the czar, having given him a preſent, ſent him home again; I heard ſix years after this that he was ſtill alive.

There was ſo ſevere a froſt here this winter, that numbers of people loſt their noſes, ears, fingers, and toes by it; it was very common with people in paſſing each other to call out to take care of their noſes, for thoſe bit by the froſt are not ſenſible of it themſelves, when it is eaſily perceived by others, on ſeeing the parts affected white with the froſt; the only cure is to rub the part with ſnow, till they recover their feeling; it is dangerous in that condition to enter into a ſtove, or warm room, as it is commonly attended with the loſs of the part affected. The river Neve was covered with ice the latter end of September, and was paſſable in twenty-four hours, occaſioned by large ſhoals of ice coming down from lake Ladoga; they were cemented by the froſt, and as the ſtrong current forces one piece above another, it becomes very thick, and ſo rugged a ſurface, that people were em-

BOOK IV. ployed in cutting ſmooth paths every where acroſs the rivers, from one part of the city to another; it was the firſt of 1715. May before the river broke up again, when the people were warned by the firing of a gun to get off the ice; then it broke very ſuddenly with a great noiſe, and in two or three hours time there was no more ice to be ſeen; ſome part of it floats down into the ſea, but the much greater part ſinks to the bottom. Notwithſtanding this precaution, great numbers are drowned here every ſpring, the break is ſo ſudden.

Experiment on the bear. Having been often told, that the bears are buried all winter under the ſnow, and have nothing to live on but ſucking their paws; as this appeared to me incredible, I procured a cub, and brought him up till he grew very large: I fixed a maſt in the ground, with a wheel on the top of it, and put a ring round the maſt, with a chain about the bear's neck, placing a large box at the foot of the maſt for him to lay in. He uſed to climb up the maſt, and ſit upon the wheel, where he played many tricks which were very diverting; I fed him with bread and oats, but never gave him fleſh: ſometimes he broke his chain, and found his way to ſome ſhops where they ſold honey, in the neighbourhood of my quarters, where he uſed to fill his belly with honey, as they did not dare to prevent him for fear. Upon the falling of the ſnow, in the beginning of winter, he took to his box, where he remained a month without once offering to ſtir out, nor had any thing to eat, but ſucked his paws; I laid bread at the door of his hut, but he would not come out to eat it, yet he ate it when thrown in to him. Toward the

the ſpring, a young hog happening to ſtroll too near his cell, he got hold of it and pulled it in; but all we could do, we could not ſave it from him, and after he had once drawn blood and taſted fleſh, he grew ſo fierce that he became unmanageable, attacking every body that came near him, ſo that I was obliged to kill him; his ſkin ſerved me for a cover to my ſaddle. It is remarkable, that when he was beaten, he would put his noſe between his fore-paws, from an inſtinctive knowledge of his natural weakneſs, for the leaſt ſtroke on the noſe kills them.

Method of killing them.

The Ruſſians kill many thouſands of them every winter for their ſkins, and only eat their paws, which is eſteemed a delicious repaſt; they never ſhoot them for fear of ſpoiling the ſkin, but as the bears commonly build their hut at the root of a tree, they mark the tree, and when they are buried in the ſnow, the ſteam of their breath aſcending, makes a hole up through the ſnow, by which their den is diſcovered; the country people go in a body upon ſketzers, to prevent their ſinking down in the ſnow, ſurround the place, and making a noiſe, frighten him out of his hut, and as he cannot make his way through the looſe ſnow, they are commonly killed by a ſtroke on the noſe.

BOOK V.

Deſcent upon Sweden.—Birth of the emperor's grandſon Peter, and death of the princeſs his mother.—The birth of Peter Petrowitz, ſon to the emperor.—A carnival.—The czar's double eagle.—The czar's attention to improve his capital and country.—His military rewards and puniſhments.—Thirty tall grenadiers for the king of Pruſſia.—A horrid murder at Riga.—Contributions on Dantzig.—His ſcheme in taking Weiſmar.—Conference with the king of Denmark and arrival at Copenhagen.—The combined fleets.—The Danes alarmed.—Refuſe ſubſiſtence to the troops.—A conference with the king of Denmark in his capital, with its conſequences.—The ſtory of lieutenant general Bohn.—Oppreſſive ſcheme of the duke of Mecklenburg.—The diſtreſs of his people.—The czarowitz diſappears.—The captain refuſed leave to quit the Ruſſian ſervice.—The czar's return from Paris.—The return of his army to Peterſburgh.—Diſorders in his abſence redreſſed.—Attempt to diſcover a north paſſage to India.—The fatal expedition of prince Beckwitz.—A new regulation at Peterſburgh, and a ſilk manufactory at Moſcow.

BOOK V.

1715.

AS to the operations of this year's campaign, field-marſhal count Zeremetof was ſent, in the month of March, with 12,000 men, to ſtrengthen the army of the allies in Pomerania, who were to reduce Weiſmar, the only place the king of Sweden had now left in Germany.

Deſcent on Sweden.

The czar, as ſoon as the river and ſea were clear from the ice, embarked his troops on board the gallies, and went with them to Cronſlot, where he joined his fleet, conſiſting of fifty ſhips of the line; he ſailed from thence to Revel, where he continued to the end of June, and then ſailed to Gothland, and ſtationed the fleet ſo as to prevent the Swedes from ſending any reinforcements from Stockholm into Pomerania. In the mean time, a body of cavalry were detached

tached from the army in Finland, round the Bothnic gulf, to penetrate the northern provinces of Sweden, which threw that kingdom into great conſternation. About the middle of September, the czar ſailed from Gothland to the coaſt of Sundermania, and landed 15,000 men at Jevel, within a few leagues of the Swediſh army, and having laid waſte all the country round them, he re-embarked with a great booty and ſailed to Revel, and from thence to Peterſburgh, where he arrived the beginning of October.

Birth of the emperor's grandſon, Peter, and death of the princeſs his mother.

On the 22d of that month, the Imperial princeſs, conſort to the czarowitz, was delivered of a ſon, who was baptiſed by the name of Peter, and had the title of grand duke conferred on him to the great joy of the czar, but that was ſoon interrupted by the death of the princeſs who brought him into the world, which happened on the ninth day from her delivery, in the twenty-firſt year of her age, having been married four years and ſix days, to a huſband utterly unworthy of ſo virtuous and every way deſerving a princeſs. When ſhe was convinced of her end approaching, ſhe deſired to ſee the czar, and when he came, ſhe took her leave of him in the moſt moving language and affecting manner, recommending her two children to his care, and her ſervants to his protection; and having embraced her children, and bedewed them with the tears of maternal affection, ſhe delivered them to the czarowitz, who carried them to his own apartments, but never once returned, or made the leaſt enquiry after their mother and his amiable conſort; indeed, he had never, from the day of their marriage to that of her death, nor on the preſent moving tender ſcene, ſhewed the ſmalleſt conjugal regard or concern for

BOOK V. her, ſo that ſhe may be ſaid to have been truly unhappy. When her phyſicians would have perſuaded her to take ſome medicine, ſhe ſaid with emotion, "Do not torment "me any more, but let me die in quiet, for I will live no "longer." She expired on the firſt of November, and her corpſe, by her own deſire, was interred, without being embalmed, in the great church of the fortreſs on the ſeventh, with all the funeral pomp and honours due to her birth.

1715.

Birth of Peter Petrowitz the emperor's ſon.

On the day after the princeſs's interment, the empreſs was brought to bed of a prince, to the unſpeakable joy of the czar; the rejoicings on that occaſion laſted eight days, and he was alſo baptiſed by the name of Peter. The ſolemnities on this occaſion were attended with moſt extraordinary pomp; as ſplendid entertainments, balls, and fireworks: at one of the entertainments, three curious pies were ſerved up; upon opening the firſt at the table of the grandees, out ſtepped a naked female dwarf, having nothing on but a head-dreſs; ſhe made a ſpeech to the company, and then the pie was carried away; at the table of the ladies, a male dwarf was ſerved up in the ſame manner; out of the third, at the table of the gentlemen, ſprung a covey of twelve partridges, with ſuch a fluttering noiſe, as greatly ſurpriſed the company; in the evening a noble firework was played off, in honour of the new-born Peter, with ſeveral curious devices, and on the top of all was this inſcription, in large characters:

HOPE WITH PATIENCE.

A carnival.

Theſe rejoicings were followed by a kind of carnival; the czar having united the patriarchal dignity, and the great

revenues belonging to it to the crown, and to render the character of the patriarch ridiculous in the eyes of the people, he appointed Sotof, his jeſter, now in the eighty-fourth year of his age, mock-patriarch, who on this occaſion was married to a buxom widow of thirty-four, and the nuptials of this extraordinary couple were celebrated in maſquerade by about four hundred perſons of both ſexes, every four perſons having their proper dreſs and peculiar muſical inſtruments; the perſons appointed to invite the company were four of the greateſt ſtammerers in the kingdom; the four running footmen were the moſt unwieldy gouty, fat men, that could be found; the bride-men, ſtewards, and waiters were very old men; and the prieſt that joined them in marriage was upwards of one hundred years old. The proceſſion, which began at the czar's palace, and croſſed the river upon the ice, proceeded to the great church near the ſenate-houſe, was in the following order: firſt, a ſledge, with the four footmen; ſecondly, another with the ſtammerers, the bride-men, ſtewards, and waiters; then followed Knez Romadanofſki, the farcical czar, who repreſented king David in his dreſs, but inſtead of a harp, had a lyre, covered with a bear-ſkin, to play upon; and he being the chief character in the ſhow, his ſledge was made in imitation of a throne, and he had king David's crown upon his head, and four bears, one at each corner, tied to his ſledge, by way of footmen, and one behind ſtanding and holding the ſledge with his two paws; the bears being all the while pricked with goads, which made them roar in a frightful manner; then the bridegroom and bride, on an elevated ſledge made on purpoſe, ſurrounded with cupids

BOOK V. cupids holding each a large horn in his hand; on the fore-
part of the ſledge was placed by way of coachman, a ram
1715. with very large horns; and behind, was a he-goat by way of lacquey; behind them followed a number of other ſledges, drawn by different kinds of animals, four to each, as rams, goats, deer, bulls, bears, dogs, wolves, ſwine, and aſſes; then came a number of ſledges, drawn by ſix horſes each, with the company; the ſledges were made long, with a bench in the middle, ſtuffed with hair and covered with cloth; twenty perſons in one ſledge, ſitting behind each other, as on horſeback. The proceſſion no ſooner began to move, than all the bells of the city began to ring, and all the drums of the fort, toward which they were advancing, began to beat upon the ramparts; the different animals were forced to make a noiſe; all the company playing upon, or rattling their different inſtruments, and altogether made ſuch a terrible confuſed noiſe, that it is paſt deſcription. The czar, with his three companions, prince Menzikof, and the counts Apraxin and Bruce, were clad like Frieſland boors, each with a drum. From church the proceſſion returned to the palace, where all the company were entertained till twelve at night, when the ſame proceſſion went by the light of flambeaux to the bride's houſe, to ſee the young married couple fairly bedded.

This carnival laſted ten days, the company going every day from one houſe to another, at each of which were tables ſpread with all ſorts of cold meat, and with ſuch abundance of ſtrong liquors every where, that there ſcarce was a ſober perſon to be found during that time in Peterſburgh. On the tenth day, the czar gave a grand entertainment at the

ſenate-

ſenate-houſe, on the cloſe of which, every one of the gueſts was preſented with a large glaſs with a cover, called the Double-Eagle, containing a large bottle of wine, which every body was obliged to drink; to avoid this I made my eſcape, pretending to the officer upon guard, that I was ſent on a meſſage from the czar, which he believing, let me paſs, and I went to the houſe of a Mr. Kelderman, who had formerly been one of the czar's tutors, and was ſtill in great favour with him; Mr. Kelderman followed me very ſoon, but not before he had drank his double-eagle, and coming into his own houſe, he complained that he was ſick with drinking, and ſitting down by the table, laid his head on it, and appeared as if fallen aſleep; it being a common cuſtom with him, his wife and daughters took no notice of it, till after ſome time they obſerved him neither to move or breathe, and coming cloſe up to him found he was ſtiff and dead, which threw the family into great confuſion. Knowing the eſteem in which he ſtood with the czar, I went and informed him of the ſudden death of Mr. Kelderman. His majeſty's concern at the event, brought him immediately to the houſe, where he condoled with the widow for the loſs of her huſband, and ordered an honourable burial for the deceaſed at his own expence, and provided an annuity for her life. Thus ended that noiſy carnival, but it was ſome time before the members could fully recover their ſenſes. 1715.

On the 14th of January, 1716, in the fifty-firſt year of her age, died Martha Apraxin, czarina dowager, the widow of czar Feodor, his majeſty's eldeſt brother; ſhe was ſiſter to the great admiral Apraxin; ſhe had only lived four 1716.

BOOK V. four weeks in the matrimonial ſtate; her funeral was by torch-light, and the pomp thereof ſuited to her exalted rank; the corpſe was depoſited in the church of the fortreſs, where already lay one prince, two princeſſes, the czar's children, and the imperial princeſs.

1716.

The czar's attention to improve his capital and country.

The czar was all this time indefatigable in the improvements of his country, not only in building ſhips, forts, and houſes, but he provided his new academy with able maſters, to teach all the branches of learning neceſſary for the education of young gentlemen; he alſo erected printing-houſes, well ſupplied with able tranſlators of all languages, who tranſlated all the moſt valuable books then in Europe into the Ruſſian language, his agents abroad buying up the moſt valuable books, and whole libraries at auctions; and it was truly ſurpriſing, to ſee ſuch a grand collection already in Peterſburgh. Here was alſo an elegant chamber of rarities, containing every thing that was curious in all the different parts of the world, and likewiſe a fine collection of coins, medals, &c. &c. over which preſided, as keeper, Mr. Shumacker, a very ingenious and learned man, who had formerly been ſecretary to Dr. Erſkine, his majeſty's chief phyſician. The famous globe of Gothorp, mentioned before in the obſervatory, was a preſent from the king of Denmark, and brought to Peterſburgh at a vaſt expence. The king of Pruſſia preſented the czar with an amber cabinet, reckoned one of the greateſt curioſities in Europe of its kind; there was a curious collection of wild beaſts, birds, &c. one of the largeſt elephants in all Aſia, with all his warlike accoutrements, attended by ſeveral Indians; rein-deer, with their ſledges, and Laplander attendants; the

Vene-

Venetian gondolas, with their gondoliers, &c. &c. all which ſhews, that the czar intended, in the courſe of time, to make Ruſſia worthy the obſervation of every traveller. BOOK V. 1716.

At Moſcow he erected large manufactories for woollen and linen cloth, as alſo glaſs-works for making window-glaſs and looking-glaſs, under the direction of Engliſhmen. The Ruſſians had formerly only uſed iſinglaſs for their windows and coaches; for at the building of Peterſburgh, they were obliged to take all their glaſs from England. Although they ſhipped yearly great quantities of hemp to all parts of Europe, yet they were obliged to bring their ſail-cloth and cordage, manufactured abroad, from their own hemp. To remedy this evil, the czar erected manufactories for ſail-cloth, and rope-walks at Moſcow, Novogrod, and Peterſburgh; and that nothing might be wanting for the improvement of his country, ſkilful miners were got from Hungary and Saxony, who diſcovered metals of all ſorts, gold, ſilver, copper, lead, and iron; which laſt article they were obliged formerly to purchaſe from Sweden, but they now ſupply other countries with it.

It was ſurpriſing to ſee ſo many great things undertaken and put in execution by one ſingle perſon, without the aſſiſtance and help of any one; his own great genius and indefatigable application to things, preſiding over all, and ſeeing every thing with his own eyes, without truſting to the reports of others; ſo that never monarch was leſs impoſed on than himſelf. It is to be obſerved, that the natives, from the higheſt to the loweſt, if they diſcover any thing of value in their grounds, let it be of what quality it will, keep it a ſecret, leſt their ſlaves ſhould be employed to work it; ſo all diſcoveries of

BOOK V. 1716.

that kind are owing to foreigners: by this means many valuable things remain undiſcovered, which otherwiſe might redound to the riches of this nation.

In the month of February, colonel Swarts arrived here from Caſan; he had been ſent thither with a German regiment of twelve hundred men, compoſed of the Swediſh priſoners, and now brought intelligence that he had fallen in with a body of ſix thouſand Cuban Tartars, who had made an irruption into the kingdom of Caſan, and were returning home with about eight thouſand Ruſſian captives whom they were carrying into ſlavery; that he had not only relieved the captives, but defeated the Cubans, and made a great number of them priſoners, among whom was the chan's ſon, whom he cauſed to be hanged up immediately, with ſeveral of his companions in robbery: for this ſervice the czar made him a preſent of an eſtate of an hundred boors.

His military rewards and puniſhments.

It was an invariable maxim with the czar to reward merit wherever he found it: after a victory by ſea or land, every officer was preſented with a gold chain and medal, of a value proportioned to his rank, and every ſoldier a ſilver one, or a month's pay in lieu of it; and the officer who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf out of the common way had the firſt promotion: on the other hand, the ſoldier or officer who had miſbehaved, was puniſhed with great ſeverity. The czar took no notice of people on account of their high birth and family, but promoted merit in every ſtation, even in the meaneſt plebeian, ſaying, that high birth was only chance, and if not accompanied with merit ought not to be regarded. Hiſtory ſcarce affords an example where

ſo

ſo many people of low birth have been raiſed to ſuch dignities as in czar Peter's reign, or where ſo many of the higheſt birth and fortune have been levelled to the loweſt ranks in life. 1716.

On the 6th of February, their majeſties ſet out for Dantzig, accompanied by the princeſs Catherine, ſecond daughter of czar Ivan, (or John) and niece to his majeſty, and arrived the 29th. On the 19th of April, the princeſs was married to Charles Leopold, duke of Mecklenburgh.

Thirty tall grenadiers for the king of Pruſſia.

I was ordered this winter to diſcipline thirty grenadiers, intended for a preſent to the king of Pruſſia; they were collected from different parts of the czar's dominions, and were from ſix feet ſix, to ſix feet nine inches high, without ſhoes; they were taught the Pruſſian exerciſe, armed in their manner, and clad in their uniform and caps: amongſt the number, there was one Indian, who had attended the elephant, one Turk, two Perſians, and three Tartars, and it might probably be ſaid with propriety, that no prince in the world had a guard compoſed of ſo many different nations as the king of Pruſſia, conſidering the preſents of men ſent him from all parts of Europe.

By orders from prince Menzikoff, I ſet out on the 25th of March from Peterſburgh, to conduct the thirty grenadiers to Berlin; and as the roads were ſtill good for travelling on the ſnow, we were furniſhed with horſes and ſledges to Riga: we arrived at Narva the 30th, and at Riga the 12th of April, where I reſted three days to refreſh the men. Here we ſaw twelve men broke alive upon the wheel; their crime was as follows:

A horrid murder at Riga.

A man who kept a tavern, or inn, without one of the gates of the city, and had alſo a windmill on his ground,

BOOK V. having detected one of his men-ſervants in ſeveral frauds,
1716. turned him away, and retained his wages for ſome little indemnification; the fellow, at his going away, threatened his maſter he would make him repent detaining his wages; whereupon he went and aſſociated himſelf with eleven more as bad as himſelf. Soon after this they went to the houſe in the middle of the night, and meeting one of the maid-ſervants going for water, they murdered her, and put her body under the ice; they then entered the houſe and ſtables, and murdered three other women, and five men-ſervants; at laſt, they entered the landlord's apartments, and murdered his wife and three of his children before his face; the fourth, a boy of five years old, had hid himſelf in the confuſion, below a bed unperceived; they then forced the landlord to open all his cheſts and drawers, and carried away what was portable and valuable out of the houſe; they then tied the landlord neck and heel to the foot of a large table, at which they ſat down and regaled themſelves with the beſt things the houſe afforded: here they concluded putting hay and ſtraw in all the apartments, and then ſet the houſe on fire, that the villain of a landlord, as they called him, might be burnt alive, and which would alſo conſume the murdered bodies, and prevent any poſſibility of diſcovery; and to make all ſure, they brought the ſervant maid's body from under the ice, and laid it down by her living maſter: after this well-laid plot, they ſet the houſe on fire, and fled with their booty. The little boy, who was hid under the bed, was forced from thence by the ſmoke, and the father perceiving the child called to him, and deſired him to take a knife out of his pocket, and cut the cord from off his hands,

hands, which the child did: the father being thus cleared, took his little ſon in his arms, and made his way through the flames, and immediately retired into the covered way of the town, for fear of being diſcovered by any of the villains who might be ſtill lurking near the place. The houſe and outhouſes being all in flames, the governor ordered the gates to be opened, and ſent out a party of men to try to ſave what they could from the fire; but before they could get to the place all was burnt to the ground; ſo that the plot of thoſe villains was ſo well laid, that if it had not been owing to the miraculous preſervation of the child and his father, it might have remained a ſecret to this day. The landlord diſcovering himſelf to the officer that was at the head of the detachment, intreated that he might be privately carried to the governor, to whom he diſcovered the whole of this dreadful ſcene, and who gave orders to ſecure and examine all perſons who ſhould enter the town that morning; by which caution the villains, apprehending themſelves ſecure from every poſſibility of diſcovery, as all evidence had periſhed in the fire, were, on their entering the town, every one taken.

The 16th of April I ſet out from Riga, and went by Mittau and Polangen, and arrived at Memel the 24th, having travelled all the way in waggons; from hence I went by water to Staken, paſſing the haff, or bay of Courland, which is fifteen German miles, and from thence to Konigſberg, where I arrived on the 26th; where I was kindly received, and great care was taken of the men, as they were to be of the king's guards. It being rumoured about the town that theſe men were of ſeveral different nations, it brought

BOOK V. great crouds of people to ſee them. We remained here in free quarters to the 2d of May, when I ſet off for Elbing, and arrived at Dantzig the 5th, when I found the city ſo crouded, that I could not get my men quartered there, and was obliged to march forward to Cloſter of Oliva. There were at this time reſiding in Dantzig, the czar and czarina, king Auguſtus of Poland, and the duke and ducheſs of Mecklenburg, with all their numerous retinues; the czar was at preſent gone to Pillau to review forty-five of his gallies, that were arrived there from Peterſburgh, with eight thouſand men on board; I waited, therefore, upon the czarina, who ordered me to ſtay at Oliva till his majeſty's return, which happened on the 9th; and he came next day with the duke of Mecklenburgh to Oliva, where he reviewed the grenadiers, making them go through their exerciſe, and was very well pleaſed with their performance: his majeſty then ordered me to proceed to Berlin, by ſlow marches, for fear of fatiguing the men.

1716.

His contributions on Dantzig.

The Dantzigers did not ſeem much pleaſed either with the czar, or the king of Poland at this time; who had obliged the city not only to renounce all commerce with the Swedes, but to equip four ſhips of war to cruiſe againſt them; and alſo to pay the czar one hundred thouſand rix-dollars. His majeſty ſetting out from thence, the 10th, for Mecklenburgh, with all his retinue, was ſaluted by one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, to convince him they were in no want of artillery. I ſat out with my men the next day, and got to Stolpe the 15th, where I underſtood that the czar and the king of Pruſſia had held a private conference three days before; in which they had agreed, as I afterwards

wards learnt, not to ſuffer the king of Sweden to make any attempt on the dominions of the Dane; nor to aſſiſt the Danes in any attempt againſt the Swedes, who were already ſufficiently reduced; having loſt all their foreign provinces, and had now nothing left but Sweden itſelf.

His ſcheme in taking Weiſmar.

I cannot here omit mentioning the czar's deſigns relative to the town and fort of Weiſmar, which lay very convenient for the duke of Mecklenburgh, being near to Schwerin and Roſtock. The czar had promiſed the duke to take that place from the Swedes, and put him in poſſeſſion of it; for this purpoſe he aſſembled an army of twenty-ſix thouſand men to beſiege it; but the troops of Denmark, Pruſſia, and Hanover, having got poſſeſſion of it, put each two battalions of their troops in garriſon, without admitting any of the Ruſſian troops, which entirely fruſtrated that deſign, to the no ſmall diſappointment of the czar. This tranſaction of the allies he could never digeſt, but reſented it upon every occaſion, as will be afterwards ſeen in the intended deſcent on Schonen, and other tranſactions. The czar had it always much at heart to get footing in Germany: firſt, he offered to aſſiſt the emperor with twenty-five thouſand men, at his own expence, againſt France, if he ſhould be admitted a member of the Roman empire; but in this he was diſappointed; ſecondly, by the marriage of his niece with the duke of Mecklenburgh, and promiſing him Weiſmar; intending thereby to get a ſafe harbour for his ſhipping in thoſe parts. It was afterwards propoſed to the duke to exchange Mecklenburgh for an equivalent, which muſt have been either Courland or Livonia. But the princes of the empire having grown very jealous of the czar's exorbitant power, fruſtrated him in all his views of getting any footing in the empire.

Even

BOOK V. Even the regent of France intereſted himſelf ſo far as to get the czar's promiſe to withdraw his forces out of Germany.

1716. On the 16th of May, I ſet out from Stolpe, and arrived at Berlin the 27th, with all the men, in good health and high ſpirits. I was conducted, by an officer upon guard, to the houſe of field-marſhal count Wartenſleben, to whom I delivered a letter from prince Menzikoff; the field-marſhal immediately ordered the men into quarters of refreſhment, till the king ſhould return from Potſdam, which he did in two days after; and when his majeſty reviewed the men, he declared they were the beſt ſhaped, and handſomeſt men of their ſizes, he had ever ſeen; and was very much pleaſed with them. When I had delivered up my charge, I retired; and the next day the field-marſhal preſented me with a purſe of two hundred ducats: the diſtance between Peterſburgh and Berlin is 1210 Ruſſian werſts, or 807 Engliſh miles.

As many of my relations reſided in and about Berlin, from whom I had now been abſent ten years, I paſſed three months very agreeably among them: they endeavoured to perſuade me to leave the Ruſſian, and return to the Pruſſian ſervice, from an opinion that it might eaſily be obtained at preſent, as I had juſt brought his majeſty the moſt deſireable preſent he could receive; and my friends conſulted field-marſhal Wartenſleben and general Gerodorf about it, who were both of opinion, that it might be eaſily accompliſhed at preſent, if I could obtain my diſcharge from the Ruſſian ſervice. While my relations were uſing all their intereſt to get this change brought about, an expreſs was brought me from field-marſhal count Zeremetof, with orders to join him immediately at Roſtock, in Mecklenburg, and to attend him as aid-de-camp to Denmark,

Denmark, as he had none at that time that could ſpeak the language. Upon which I ſet out immediately from Berlin, and I arrived at Roſtock the 24th of Auguſt; the marſhal ſet out next day for Warnemunde, where we found our troops embarking.

Conference with the king of Denmark, and arrival at Copenhagen.

His majeſty the czar had held a long conference with the king of Denmark at Ham and Horn, near Hamburgh, which laſted from the 28th of May to the 4th of June; in which a deſcent upon Schonen was agreed upon and concerted. On the 5th of June, the czar ſet out for Pyrmont, to drink the waters; and returned the 30th to Schwerin, the reſidence of the duke of Mecklenburgh. The 4th of July, he went to Roſtock and Warnemunde, where the forty-five gallies were arrived from Dantzig, with eight thouſand troops on board, with which he then ſet ſail for Denmark, and was met at Proveſtein by his Daniſh majeſty, who went on board the czar's galley, and they arrived together at Copenhagen the 17th.

On the 28th of Auguſt, marſhal Zeremetoff ſet ſail from Warnemunde with ten thouſand men, and arrived at Copenhagen the 29th. The marſhal going aſhore to the houſe fitted up for him in the city, the cuſtom-houſe officers came on board to ſearch his baggage, but were prevented by the officer then upon guard; upon which they ſtopped the ſhip from entering the harbour, and I was ſent to the cuſtom-houſe to know why the ſhip, with the marſhal's baggage, was hindered from entering into the harbour? There they told me it was to ſearch for merchandize; I replied, it was not cuſtomary for Ruſſian generals to turn merchants, and aſſured them there was no merchandize at all on board the

BOOK V. 1716.

ſhip; and that the marſhal would certainly reſent ſuch injurious treatment: upon this an order was ſent to bring the ſhip into the harbour, and upon landing the baggage, the cuſtom-houſe officers had a watchful eye on every thing that was brought on ſhore. The next day, a gentleman was ſent from court to the marſhal, to apologiſe for the indecent behaviour of the cuſtom-houſe, and to aſſure him the officers concerned in that rudeneſs were all fined and turned out of their places.

The combined fleets.

At this time admiral Norris, and rear admiral Graves, lay before Copenhagen with an Engliſh and Dutch ſquadron, to whom the czar now propoſed to join the Ruſſian and Daniſh fleets, and drive the Swedes into port; which was agreed to, and the czar to command the combined fleet, with admiral Norris to command the van, the czar the centre, and the Daniſh vice-admiral the rear diviſions; and admiral Graves was to convoy the trade of both nations to their reſpective harbours. The czar accordingly hoiſted his imperial flag, and weighed with the fleet; but paſſing by Bornholm, they were informed that the Swediſh fleet were gone to Carlſcroon; upon this the combined fleet ſeparated; the czar went to Stralſund, embarked his troops that were quartered there, and carried them to Copenhagen.

The Danes alarmed.

By this augmentation, our army conſiſted of 24,000 men, all encamped very near the capital, which rouſed the jealouſy and alarmed the fears of the Danes ſo much, that they drew their forces together from all parts of Zealand to Copenhagen; great part of which were encamped upon the ramparts all round it, and they placed a ſtrong guard at every gate,

gate, with ſtrict orders not to ſuffer above one hundred Ruſſians to enter the city at once to get water, as there was none elſewhere to be got. This water was brought from the king's park, a conſiderable diſtance, into the city through pipes: but one hundred men being found inſufficient to carry water for ſuch an army, they permitted fifty more to enter at a time, one party being ready to enter as ſoon as the other came out; but as they were often hindered from ſupplying themſelves by the Daniſh ſoldiers, who thought themſelves entitled to be firſt ſerved, this occaſioned great diſorders; at laſt, it came to blows, and ſeveral were killed and wounded on both ſides: the Ruſſians finding the guard too partial to their own people, ſeized, diſarmed, and drove them off. After they arrived at the camp, they began to dig for water every where, and happening upon one of the pipes that conveyed the water into the city, they cut it, by which they were afterwards very well ſupplied: but being ill ſupplied with fire-wood for dreſſing their victuals, they began to cut down the trees in the park, and had cut down a great number before a ſtop could be put to it by their officers; ſeveral of the ring-leaders were ſeverely puniſhed for it.

Refuſe ſubſiſtence to the troops.

The Danes had agreed to ſerve us with proviſions only for the 16,000 men the czar ſtipulated to bring to their aſſiſtance, and now refuſed ſubſiſtence for the 8000 brought from Stralſund, alledging they came without their conſent or knowledge: ſo that from henceforth there was nothing but jealouſy and miſtruſt on both ſides, which, however, did not interrupt the court diverſions of balls, aſſemblies, and maſquerades. During the three months the czar was

BOOK V. at Copenhagen, he attentively viſited their colleges and academies, and ſaw every thing that was curious in the place; he went alſo almoſt every day out in a boat, ſounding and ſurveying the coaſts both of Denmark and Sweden ſo exactly, that the leaſt bank of ſand did not eſcape his obſervation; and he laid down the whole in a chart. One day when he was coaſting Schonen, to diſcover a proper landing-place, on his return he met with a freſh contrary gale of wind, which prevented his reaching Copenhagen with day-light; the czarina ſent to the governor to deſire the gate might be left open till the czar's arrival, which he promiſed to do; and upon my being ſent by the marſhal to ſee if this was complied with, I found it ſhut; and was told by the officer of the guard that the keys were ſent to the king. I reported this to the marſhal, who went himſelf to the governor, who, after ſome frivolous apology, that the keys had been ſent by miſtake to the king, told him, now that his majeſty was at reſt, he durſt not diſturb him. It was one o'clock in the morning before the czar could make the land, and not being able to make the harbour, or get the boat near the ſhore, he jumped out up to the neck in water, waded aſhore, and walked in his wet clothes all the way up to the gates, which finding ſhut, he returned to the ſuburbs, went into the lodging of an officer of his own guards, where he ſhifted himſelf with the officer's linen and clothes, and reſted the remaining part of the night: in the morning he dreſſed in the officer's regimentals, and although they were much too ſhort for him, yet he walked up the city in them, where he was met by the czarina, the marſhal, and ſeveral others. Many were the apologies for the miſtakes

1716.

miſtakes and blunders committed, and both the governor and colonel of the guard were put under arreſt; but the czar laughed at it, and interceded for them, ſaying, they had only done their duty; and they were accordingly releaſed.

A conference with the king of Denmark, with its conſequences.

A few days after this the two crowned heads met, and held a council of war, attended only by their prime miniſters and field-marſhals, thereby to keep the meaſures they were to take a profound ſecret: it was reſolved at this meeting to make a deſcent on Schonen without loſs of time. Notwithſtanding the method taken to keep this intended expedition a ſecret, it was immediately known all over the city, inſomuch, that I heard every ſtep that was to be taken from a Daniſh officer in a public coffee-houſe. When I informed the marſhal thereof, he was very much ſurpriſed; and the czar, with the prime miniſter, coming at the time to dine with him, he repeated what I had heard in the town, wherewith the czar ſeemed very much diſſatisfied.

The troops, however, were all in motion getting ready to embark, and a demand was made for one month's proviſion for the army; to which we were told, there was no occaſion for any, as there had been a plentiful harveſt at Schonen, where we would meet with every thing we ſtood in need of; and beſides, as there was an open communication with Copenhagen, we could be ſupplied from thence as we had occaſion. The czar not reliſhing this, told the king it was now too late in the year to attempt ſuch an enterprize, as nothing was provided beforehand, and therefore it ought to be laid aſide till next ſpring; but if his majeſty was reſolved to venture on the deſcent this ſeaſon, the czar,

agree-

BOOK V. 1716.

agreeable to the treaty made at Stralſund, would aſſiſt him with the fifteen battalions therein ſtipulated. The king then deſired the aſſiſtance of thirteen more battalions, which the czar refuſed, ſaying, that he had occaſion for his troops elſewhere. To this the king returned, that ſince matters ſtood thus, he deſired none of his troops, and wiſhed that they might all ſpeedily be withdrawn from his dominions, that the tranſports which coſt him 40,000 rixdollars a month might be diſcharged: accordingly, all our troops embarked on the 19th of September, and we lay near a month windbound before Copenhagen, and became ſo diſtreſſed for fire-wood, which was not to be procured at any price, that the czar ordered ten of his gallies to be cut up for that purpoſe, and diſtributed among the fleet.

The ſtory of lieutenant-general Bohn.

While we were at Copenhagen, a circumſtance happened to a lieutenant-general of our ſervice, whoſe name was Bohn, which I cannot omit mentioning. He was born on the iſland of Bornholm, where his father had been a miniſter; his mother was left a very poor widow, and now hearing that her ſon was at Copenhagen, a general in the Ruſſian ſervice, ſhe came to ſee him, and calling at his lodgings, was told by his ſervants that he was not at home: ſhe deſired the ſervants to tell their maſter that ſhe was his mother, and was come from Bornholm on purpoſe to ſee him, and would call again next morning. Upon this information, the general flew into a great paſſion, ſaying, his mother had been dead many years ago, and that this muſt be ſome needy perſon or other, or perhaps, out of her mind; and ordered his aid-de-camp, if ſhe called again, to give her ten ducats, and ſend her away, that he might not be

farther troubled with her. The mother calling next morning, the aid-de-camp did as he was directed, and offered her the ten ducats as his maſter's charity; ſhe threw them with diſdain upon the ground, and ſaid, with tears in her eyes, ſhe did not come to beg charity, but to ſee her ſon; and ſince he could both deny and deſpiſe his mother, ſhe would return from whence ſhe came, and trouble him no more. This made ſo great a noiſe all over the town, that it came to the czarina's ears: ſhe ſent for the woman, who ſoon ſatisfied the empreſs that ſhe was the general's mother; he was ſent for, and received a reprimand for his unnatural behaviour, and was ordered to ſettle two hundred rubles a year on his mother for her life, which was complied with; and he was, in the mean time, twitted with general Baur's generous behaviour to his poor relations, who was not aſhamed of them, though of a lower degree than his. This reprimand put the general into great confuſion, and he was afterwards very much diſregarded. BOOK V. 1716.

We weighed from Copenhagen early in the morning of the 12th of October, with a freſh breeze at North, and arrived the next day at Warnemunde, in Mecklenburgh; the whole army diſembarked the ſame day and encamped. Two days after our departure from Copenhagen, the czar had a grand entertainment from the Daniſh monarch, and having taken leave of that court, ſat out next day, with the empreſs, in his way to Hamburgh, and having paſſed the Belt, and taken a view of Toningen and Frederickſtadt, proceeded for Lubeck and Schwerin.

Field-marſhal count Zeremetof was now ordered to march with 12,000 men through Pomerania into Poland; and 12,000 Oppreſſive ſcheme of the duke of Mecklenburgh.

BOOK V. 12,000 men were quartered in Mecklenburgh, under the command of general Weyde, at the duke's own deſire, as a means to diſtreſs and humble the nobility of his country, who were at law with him at the Imperial court to ſupport their rights. When the marſhal was ſent into Poland, with part of the army, I was ordered, on account of the language, to remain with general Weyde as his aid-de-camp, at his own requeſt: we were quartered at Guſtrow, and the army upon the eſtates of the nobility, by an order from the duke himſelf, who laid them under moſt oppreſſive contributions, which utterly ruined them: they had recourſe to the Imperial court, and the diet of the empire, for redreſs of their grievances, who did all they could to perſuade the czar to withdraw his troops out of Germany; but the czar was now gone from Schwerin to Havelberg, where he had a private interview, for two days together, with the king of Pruſſia, and then went to Hamburg, and from thence to Amſterdam, where he arrived the 6th of December, and waited for the arrival of the empreſs, who, when ſhe was preparing to ſet out from Weſel, was delivered of a prince, the 2d of January, 1717; but the child died the day it was born, ſo that it was the 10th of February before ſhe arrived at Amſterdam; and their majeſties went to the Hague the 9th of March, where they continued till the 4th of April.

1716.

1717.

A report was ſpread that the circular troops of the empire were forming an army upon Grander Heyde, near Hamburgh, with an intention to diſlodge our troops in Mecklenburgh; upon which our army took the field, and encamped at Gadebuſh, under the command of lieutenant-

general Lacy, major-general Slippenbach, and bregadier-general Le Fort; general Weyde was then indiſpoſed at Guſtrow, and ſent me to Grander Heyde to learn what number of troops were encamped there; when I came I could neither ſee nor hear of any troops being aſſembled at that place: I then proceeded to our reſident in Hamburgh, to obtain intelligence, but inſtead of hearing of any circular troops forming againſt us, it was currently reported there, that the Ruſſian army were going to make an irruption into the electorate of Hanover; which falſe report ſo much alarmed the Hanoverians, that many of the people of property moved off their effects, to ſecure them in Hamburgh, and other places of ſafety: all this being occaſioned by our forming a camp at Gadebuſh, ſo that we were alarmed on both ſides without the ſmalleſt foundation. Upon my return to Guſtrow, and reporting what had paſt, I was immediately diſpatched to our camp, with orders for our army to break up and return to their quarters. This falſe alarm being over ſoon ſettled people's minds again; but the poor ſubjects of Mecklenburgh, were daily more and more haraſſed by our troops, at the deſpotic commands of their unrelenting prince, which occaſioned many petitions from the ladies of the nobility and gentry, to the ducheſs, to commiſerate their deplorable ſituation, and intercede for their relief. She really pitied their miſerable condition, but could not prevail with the duke to ſhew them the ſmalleſt favour; on which ſhe determined to ſend an expreſs to the czar, to plead in behalf of the diſtreſſed people, and to lay before him ſeveral grievances of her own: but as ſhe could ſend none of her own domeſtics without the duke's knowlege, ſhe therefore ſent

BOOK IV. 1717. Mr. Beſtuzof, then gentleman of her bed-chamber (afterwards great chancellor of Ruſſia), to general Weyde, deſiring the general to ſend an expreſs, in his own name, to the czar: upon this the general ſent me with Mr. Beſtuzof to Schwerin, to receive the ducheſs's commands, and to get into the ducheſs's apartment unknown to the duke, who was of a very ſuſpicious temper. We went by a back door through the garden, and on entering the houſe, he was the firſt perſon we met, which put us into ſome confuſion; we made him a low bow, and paſt without his ſpeaking a word, or taking any notice of us; but inſtead of going directly to the ducheſs as we had propoſed, Mr. Beſtuzof conducted me to his own apartments, where I remained till it was dark, when I was introduced to the ducheſs who gave me my inſtructions, with which I returned the ſame night to Guſtrow. The general having by this time prepared his diſpatches, I ſet out next day on my way to Holland, and arrived at Amſterdam the 8th of May; but the czar being gone from thence to Paris, I waited upon the czarina, who ordered me to follow his majeſty; and having received her packet, I ſet out the next day and got to Paris the 13th, ſix days after his majeſty's arrival. The reception and honours paid the czar at Paris are ſo well known, that it would be tedious to repeat them; I ſhall only therefore juſt mention that it was now the duke of Orleans (regent of France) obtained a promiſe from him to withdraw his troops from the German dominions.

Having received his majeſty's diſpatches for Amſterdam, on the 3d of June, I ſet out and arrived there the 9th; and receiving her majeſty's commands, I ſet out thence the

next day and got to Schwerin the 16th, where I delivered both their majeſty's diſpatches into the ducheſs's own hands. The contents of what I brought were ſo very acceptable, that I met with a very gracious reception, and had a handſome preſent made me; and, to prevent diſcovery, I left Schwerin privately in the night time, and ſet off for Guſtrow. The czar's diſpatch to general Weyde, brought him orders to levy no more contributions on the inhabitants of that country. 1717.

The diſtreſs of his people.

The duke was ſo much diſſatisfied with this new order, that he employed his own troops to exact contributions from them, with greater rigour than ever, which reduced his nobility to the neceſſity of ſelling their plate and jewels, and at laſt their equipages and furniture, and became ſo entirely ruined, that they were obliged to fly their country; and their boors for the moſt part, went into the Pruſſian territories, where they offered themſelves, with their wives and children, for vaſſals or ſlaves. At the deſire of ſome of my friends, I engaged a number of theſe poor families for their behoof, and that with the conſent of their late owners who told me that they had no farther uſe for them, being reduced to ſo low a ſtate that they were left without the means to cultivate and ſow their lands for want of cattle and ſeed; ſo that their miſery and calamity were paſt deſcription, which made the princes of the empire intereſt themſelves earneſtly in their behalf, in an application to the czar to withdraw his troops from thence, which was ſoon after complied with, and the affair at laſt ended in the utter ruin of the duke himſelf, for his country was put under

BOOK V. ſequeſtration, and he was obliged to live ſeveral years an exile at Dantzig.

1717. When we ſet out on our expedition to Denmark, the czarowits had his fathers's expreſs orders to attend him; he rather choſe to abſent himſelf than obey, and abſconded without the knowlege of any body: meſſengers were ſent all over Europe in queſt of him, and he was at length diſcovered at Naples, by captain Romantzof of the guards. The captain acquainted count Tolſtoi, our ambaſſador at Vienna, with the diſcovery, and the count went to him at Naples, and perſuaded and prevailed with him to return to Moſcow, and ſubmit himſelf to his father's clemency, aſſuring him that no prince in Europe would riſque the czar's reſentment by protecting him.

The captain refuſed leave to quit the Ruſſian ſervice.

My friends at Berlin had by this time procured me a company in general Gerodorf's regiment of the Pruſſian army, if I could procure my diſcharge from the Ruſſian ſervice; and as I had a company in their artillery under general Bruce, and was aid-de-camp to general Weyde, I applied to them both, and to prince Menzikof for my diſcharge, but could by no means obtain it; ſo I was obliged to continue in the Muſcovite ſervice, very much againſt my inclination, nor could I think of quitting it without my diſcharge, knowing I could not be admitted into the Pruſſian ſervice without it.

The latter end of June, we received orders from the czar to march out of Mecklenburgh, after nine months free quarters, leaving four battalions there for the duke's ſervice, at his deſire; and we began to march the firſt of July. By

thoſe

thoſe and 4000 of his own troops, he thought to prevent the circular troops from entering his territories. Our army were no ſooner gone, than he got intelligence that a body of Hanoverians were on their march to enter into his territories, upon which he ordered general Schwerin, with his own and the Ruſſian troops, to ſecure the paſs which was at a mill-dam, by which the Hanoverians were to enter; there the Duke's forces entrenched themſelves with ſeveral pieces of cannon. The Hanoverians advancing, endeavoured to force their way, and a very bloody rencontre enſued, in which a number were killed and wounded on both ſides, and the Hanoverians obliged to retire: but upon a complaint being made to the czar, that his troops had been the aggreſſors, he ordered them to leave Mecklenburgh and join our army; the duke's troops ſoon followed and were retained in the czar's ſervice, and the duke himſelf retired to Dantzig.

On the 13th of July, our army aſſembled at new Brandenburg, and we marched through Stettin and Landſberg, to Poliſh Schwerin, where we arrived the 25th; and as we were now in the dominions of Poland, we reſted till the 7th of Auguſt, and then marched by Friedland to Tuchol the 1ſt of September, where we were to remain till farther orders.

The czar's return from Paris.

The czar left Paris the 21th of July, and travelled by the way of Soiſſons, Charleville, Namur, Huy, and Liege, taking a minute view of all the fortifications in his way, but more particularly at Namur, where the governor ſhewed his majeſty a moſt reſpectful attention during his ſtay; he arrived at Spa the 28th, where he ſtopt to drink the waters, and went the 2d of Auguſt for Amſterdam, in which city the

BOOK V. the czarina had impatiently waited his return. After a month's ſtay at Amſterdam, in which time he had ſeveral private conferences with baron Gortz, miniſter to the duke of Holſtein, at Loo, (a palace belonging to the prince of Orange), the czar ſet out the 2d of September on his way to Berlin, and arrived there the 19th; and the czarina in three days after, being met at ſome diſtance from the city by the queen of Pruſſia, and the margravine of Brandenburgh, who conducted her into Berlin; where the duke and ducheſs of Mecklenburgh came to pay them a viſit.

1717.

The return of his army to Peterſburgh.

Their majeſties continued here but three days, and then took the route for Dantzig, where they arrived the 15th of September, and where general Weyde waited on the czar to receive his commands. His majeſty ſet out on his journey for Peterſburgh, and we returned to Tuchol the firſt of October. Mr. Gruzinſky, a commiſſary appointed by the king of Poland, attended us through Poland, till we arrived in the Ruſſian territories. We began our march on the 2d of October, by Warſaw, Wilda, (the capital of Lithuania), Riga, and Narva, paſſing many rivers in our way, ſuch as the Viſtula, or Weixel twice, twice over the Weper; and over the Zaas, Memel, Wilda, Swenta, Dwina, and Narva; as we were in no hurry, reſting in good quarters, four days in every week, and plentifully ſupplied with proviſions, we ſpent ſeven months moſt agreeably on this march, and arrived at Peterſburgh the 19th of February; the diſtance from Guſtrow, our head quarters in Mecklenburgh, to Peterſburgh, is 1,959 Ruſſian werſts, or 1,306 Engliſh miles. The Poliſh commiſſary, Gruzinſky, was handſomely rewarded, by the czar, for providing ſo plentifully for the troops.

The czar having arrived at Peterſburgh on the 21ſt of October, after an abſence of ſixteen months, a multiplicity of affairs of great importance waited his return. Great charges were exhibited againſt thoſe who had been entruſted with the reins of government in his abſence: in order to examine into the accuſation againſt the parties concerned he attended the ſenate every morning at four o'clock; but finding it would require much time to judge thoſe who were accuſed, he erected an extraordinary court of juſtice, to enquire into theſe matters. Wolchonſky, the governor of Archangel, and many others being capitally convicted, ſuffered death; many more were knouted and ſent into baniſhment.

1717. Diſorders in his abſence, redreſſed.

Various attempts had been made by the czar's orders and directions, with ſhips from Archangel, to diſcover a north paſſage to the Eaſt Indies; but that was found impracticable, by reaſon of the many large ſhoals of ice, like iſlands, floating upon thoſe ſeas. Before the czar ſet out for Germany, he ſent a gentleman who underſtood the mathematics, as his envoy, with preſents to ſeveral of the northern Tartar princes, to diſcover if there was a continuation of the ſea to China, by the north of Tartary. This gentleman being returned, reported that he met a very friendly reception, and great civility from many of the Tartarian princes, who eſcorted him for his ſafety from one to another, till he came within the 70th degree of north latitude, to a province called Iakuti, on the river Lena, which empties itſelf into the Frozen Sea at 80 degrees, near an iſland called Tazata, the prince of that country would neither accept his preſents, nor ſuffer him to proceed down the river, but

An attempt to diſcover a north paſſage to India.

BOOK V. but threatened if he did not return from whence he came, he would give orders to cut him and his men to pieces; this put an end to his farther progreſs and diſcoveries, and he was obliged to return. He made a very accurate map of the ſeveral Tartar kingdoms through which he paſſed, with a particular deſcription of the countries and the inhabitants, much more than was before known of thoſe wild parts; which map, &c. he preſented to the czar. He reported, that they were all vagabond Tartars, living in tents, and ſhifting their reſidence from place to place for paſturage, as all their riches conſiſted in herds of cattle; but he obſerved a ſort of houſes, or huts, on the ſides of rivers, and ſome corn, and in theſe ſituations their chams generally reſided. But while the northern Tartars remain ſo ſavage, it will be impoſſible to make a full diſcovery of thoſe parts.

1717.

The fatal expedition of prince Beckewitz.

About this time his majeſty received a very diſagreeable account of the iſſue of an attempt that was made on the eaſt ſide of the Caſpian ſea, towards Uſbeck Tartary. The czar having been informed, that great quantities of gold ſand came down the river Daria, he ſent prince Alexander Beckewitz, at the head of 3000 men, to land at the mouth of that river, and build a fort there; and then to proceed farther up the country to diſcover the mines from which this gold ſand came; the prince accordingly built a fort without the ſmalleſt oppoſition, although the Uſbeck Tartars were upon the very ſpot; but, inſtead of hindering, they gave him every aſſiſtance in their power, providing the troops with all kinds of proviſions, and maintained a moſt friendly intercourſe with each other. The fort being finiſhed, the prince wanted to proceed up the river to diſcover the mines, which

1717.

which the Tartars obſerving, told him, if he propoſed to follow the courſe of the river, he would find it unſurmountable, by its many turnings and windings; and if he wanted only to come to the mines, there was a much nearer way by land, which they could march in three days, and that they were ready to conduct them. The prince, truſting to their ſeeming friendſhip, and having no reaſon to fear their inconſiderable number, left a captain with 200 men to garriſon the fort and ſecure the ſhips; ſet out through a deſert with his Tartarian guides, and having marched ſeven days, inſtead of three, they were in the utmoſt diſtreſs for water; and, at length, after abundance of fatigue, they arrived at the mines, but found there, before them, the cham of Uſbeck with 50,000 of his Tartars, who now, with every appearance of friendſhip, offered prince Beckewitz all the aſſiſtance in his power; aſſuring him, ſince he underſtood that the prince was to erect a fort there, he would give orders to his people to provide materials for the building; and offered to canton the army in the kibbits, or tents, with his own men, as they had ſuffered ſo much on their march through the deſert for want of water, and might now be diſtreſſed for proviſions, with which he alſo offered to ſupply them till they could be otherways provided: the cham all the while entertaining the prince, and all his officers, with ſo much ſeeming friendly familiarity, that they thought themſelves extremely happy. When the prince propoſed cantoning the men among the Tartars, all his officers to a man proteſted againſt it, alledging, the Tartars ought not to be truſted; for ſo long as they kept themſelves together in a body, they had nothing to fear from the Tartars, not-

BOOK V. withſtanding their numbers; but as ſoon as they ſeparated themſelves, they would run the riſque of being every one maſſacred.

1717.

The Tartar cham obſerving that they were not inclined to truſt him, ſaid to the prince and his officers, that they had no reaſon to miſtruſt his kindneſs, as it entirely proceeded from his regard to the czar, their maſter, whom he knew to be engaged in great wars in Europe, which could not be carried on without gold; and for that reaſon, he freely gave them liberty to take as much of it as they pleaſed; for his own part, he neither valued gold nor ſilver, as it was of no uſe in their country, for they lived without that, or even bread, conſequently had no uſe for either; their whole riches conſiſting in herds of cattle, which, with their tents, they could remove at pleaſure; and, conſequently, could not fear having either caſtles, towns, or villages, rifled or taken from them; for they lived here one day, and elſewhere the next. As to his offer to quarter their men amongſt his people, it was made with a kind intention, and to provide for them till the arrival of their own ſtores from their ſhips, which could not be long, as he had ſent a party of his men with camels to haſten them forward.

The general, at length, by theſe inſinuations, againſt the advice of all his officers, was prevailed upon to quarter his army amongſt the Tartars; while this was doing, the cham was entertaining the prince, and his principal officers, in his own tent, till late in the night, when, in the height of their merriment, a Tartar entered and told the cham, his orders were executed; on which the cham put on a ſtern countenance, ordered all the officers to be diſarmed

and

1717.

and bound, which was inſtantly done; he then told the prince that all his troops were maſſacred, and that ſince he had preſumed to enter into his territories, and taken poſſeſſion without his leave, he, and his officers were to be put to death: the officers were that inſtant diſpatched before his face, and prince Beckewitz was ordered to kneel down on a piece of red cloth, ſpread on the ground for that purpoſe, to meet his fate; but the prince began to upbraid the cham with his treachery, and aſſured him, that the czar would reſent it in the moſt ample manner; he was immediately cut on the legs with their ſcymetars till he fell, and then they inhumanly cut him in pieces. At the ſame time, the party that had been ſent to the fort for proviſions, ſurpriſed and maſſacred the whole garriſon that was left there, and then deſtroyed the fort and burnt the ſhips, leaving not the leaſt appearance that any thing of that kind had ever been there.

This diſaſter occaſioned various conjecture and ſpeculation all over Ruſſia, as not the leaſt accounts had been received either of the men or ſhips, till at laſt it was concluded they muſt have all periſhed in the Caſpian ſea. The whole of this affair was diſcovered to the czar by an officer, a German by birth, who had been taken priſoner at the battle of Pultowa, in the Swediſh ſervice, and went on this expedition as a captain and aid-de-camp to the general, and was an eye-witneſs to the whole tranſaction, from firſt to laſt; he was preſerved in the general maſſacre by his hoſt, in order to ſell him; but as he had not been uſed to hard work, he was often ſold from one maſter to another, till at laſt he fell into the hands of an Armenian merchant, who had a correſpondence with other Armenians

BOOK V. 1717.

at Aſtrachan: he diſcovered himſelf to this merchant, who, on having ſecurity for the money he coſt, gave him his liberty; by which means we got this information, otherwiſe it might have remained a ſecret for ever.

Prince Alexander Beckewitz was the only ſon of prince Archilla, of Iveria and Mongrelia, who fell in diſgrace with the Perſian ſovereign for refuſing to reſign his wife to him (mother to this prince), a moſt beautiful woman; this obliged the prince to fly his country, and put himſelf under the protection of the czar. He dying ſoon after, left his only ſon, prince Alexander, all the immenſe treaſure he had brought with him. This prince married a princeſs of the houſe of Galitzin, the greateſt beauty in all Ruſſia; this lady, intending to go to her huſband, was unfortunately drowned in the Wolga, on her way to Aſtrachan.

A new regulation at Peterſburgh, and a ſilk manufactory at Moſcow.

The czar, finding the abuſes in the management of his revenue aroſe chiefly from the confuſed method of his courts, he now modelled them on a new plan, formed on his own obſervations at Paris. The firſt was the ſenate; the ſecond for foreign affairs; the third for finance; the fourth for juſtice; the fifth for reviſion; the ſixth for war; the ſeventh for marine; the eighth for commerce; the ninth for receipts and expenditure; and the tenth for arts, ſciences, mines, buildings, &c. At the ſame time, he erected a ſilk manufactory at Moſcow, having engaged a number of ſilk-weavers at Paris, and being ſufficiently ſupplied with raw ſilk from the province of Gilan, on the ſouth coaſt of the Caſpian ſea, which is eſteemed the beſt in Perſia, and is brought acroſs that ſea to Aſtrachan, from thence up the rivers Wolga and Ocka to Moſcow.

BOOK VI.

Return of the czarowitz to Moſcow, and his excluſion from the ſucceſſion.—His accomplices.—The princeſs Mary concerned in it.—The trial of the czarowitz at Peterſburgh.—His death and character.—The Swediſh field-marſhal Rheinſhield's return home.—Negotiation at Aland, for peace with Sweden, renewed.—King of Sweden's death.—The death of baron Gortz.—The fiſcal's information againſt the grandees for miſdemeanours, and their trial.—Prince Gagaren's unaccountable behaviour.—More of the czarowitz's confederates.—Death of prince Peter Petrowitz.—Prince Peter Alexowitz made a ſerjeant, taught his exerciſe, and made enſign.—Negotiations for peace renewed, but fruitleſs.—The czar reſolves to command it.—Memorable deſcent on Sweden.—The Britiſh fleet came too late.—The czar diſguſted with Britain.—The Jeſuits baniſhed.—The czar ſeized with a fit at Revel.—General Weyde's illneſs, and the czar's concern for him.—Affairs of Sweden.—Marſhal Weyde's death.—Ill treatment of his family.—His funeral.—The czar reproves Menzikof.—Captain Bruce's ineffectual attempt to quit the Ruſſian ſervice.—The new king of Sweden notifies his acceſſion.—A ſecond invaſion.—The Swedes attack our fleet with loſs.—The czar receives the duke of Holſtein into his protection.—Court martial on lieutenant colonel Graves.—A curious law-ſuit between two brothers at Revel.—Freſh preparations againſt Sweden.—Propoſals on their part for a ceſſation of hoſtilities, rejected.—A third deſcent on Sweden, which obliged them to ſign the preliminaries, and conclude the peace.—The fleet and army in a ſtorm, and a child remarkably preſerved.—The fleet arrive at Peterſburgh.—The czar honoured by his ſenate with the title of Peter the Great, &c.—A wiſe reformation in the buſineſs of the law.—The captain again refuſed leave to quit.—Triumphal entry into Moſcow.—A proclamation and oath regarding the ſucceſſion.

HIS majeſty ſet out for Moſcow on the 3d of February, having received intelligence that count Tolſtoi was on his way thither from Naples, with the czarowitz, where they arrived the 11th. A grand council was held at

BOOK VI.

1717. Return of the czarowitz to Moſcow.

BOOK VI. Moſcow on this occaſion, conſiſting of the great men of the empire; the czar being determined to exert, in a moſt ſolemn manner, his juſtice on the prince for his diſobedience. The council being met, the czarowitz was brought into the hall as a priſoner before them: at his entering he preſented a writing to his majeſty, containing a confeſſion of his crime. The czar demanded of him what was his deſire: the prince implored his mercy and begged he would ſave his life; his majeſty granted his requeſt, on condition he made a full diſcovery of all his accomplices, and renounce all his claim and title to the ſucceſſion, under his hand; upon this the prince ſigned an inſtrument ſetting forth that, finding himſelf not qualified for government, he diſclaimed all right of ſucceſſion to the crown; and afterwards confirmed it upon oath, acknowleging his brother Peter, lawful heir to the crown. This being done, all the miniſters and great men preſent, took the oaths, excluding prince Alexis from the crown, and acknowleging prince Peter to be the undoubted ſucceſſor to it, engaging to ſtand by him with their lives, againſt all that ſhould dare oppoſe him; and that they never would, under any pretence whatever, adhere to prince Alexis, or aſſiſt him in the recovery of the ſaid ſucceſſion. The ſame oath was afterwards adminiſtered to the army and navy at home and abroad, and to every ſubject of the Ruſſian empire. Nevertheleſs the prince was ſtill kept under confinement, and nobody admitted to him, except count Tolſtoi, and ſuch others as were appointed by the czar.

1717. and his excluſion from the ſucceſſion.

His accomplices.

This being over, the prince's accomplices were ſecured; in which number were his mother, formerly czarina, now abbeſs of the monaſtery of Suſdale, and her gallant, the boyar Glebof,

1717.

Glebof, who not only had lived a lewd life with the mother, but was a principal agent in the conſpiracy, between her and her ſon, the czarowitz; the letters they had written to each other were publiſhed, and were both treaſonable and ſcandalous. Next the boyar Abraham Lupochin, brother to the late czarina, and uncle to the prince; Alexander Kikin, firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty, formerly a very great favourite with the czar; the biſhop of Roſtof, and Puſtinoi the late czarina's confeſſor and treaſurer, were all tried and ſentenced. Glebof was impaled alive, and the other four were broke alive on the wheel. A high ſquare wall was built before the Caſtle gate for that purpoſe: the impaled corpſe of Glebof was placed in the middle, and the heads of the other four, were each on a long pole, ſet up at the corners. Several others ſuffered death at the ſame time, among whom fifty prieſts and monks, late companions to the czarowitz, who had led him into all manner of debauchery, were all beheaded on one block, which was a tree provided for the purpoſe of holding them all at once.

The princeſs Mary concerned in it.

In this conſpiracy, the princeſs Mary, half-ſiſter to the czar, was alſo concerned; ſhe was afterwards confined in a monaſtery near to lake Ladoga; and the late czarina Ottakeſa Lupochin, was confined in the fortreſs of Slutelburgh, upon an iſland in that lake. All the czarowitz's domeſtics, and his miſtreſs Euphroſina, were taken up; as was alſo prince Waſilia Dolgoruky, lieutenant-general and colonel of the guards, knight of the order of the elephant, and director-general for enquiring into the miſmanagements of the czar's revenues; in which poſt he had behaved with the utmoſt inſolence to prince Menzikof, admiral Apraxin,

and

BOOK VI. and ſeveral others. He was baniſhed to Caſan for life: the Siberian czarowitz, and the ſenators Woinof, Worof, and John Kikin, brother to Alexander Kikin, were alſo baniſhed; but the ſenators count Peter Apraxin, brother to the admiral, and count Samarin were acquitted. One of the czar's pages and ſeveral nuns ſuffered ſevere corporal puniſhment, and were, with moſt of the czarowitz's domeſtics, ſent into baniſhment; but Euphroſina making it appear that it was by her perſuaſion the prince returned, and that after her firſt lying in, having conformed with the Ruſſian faith, ſhe was actually married to the prince, when they were on their journey, by a Grecian prieſt, who was ſeized at Leipzig and brought priſoner to Moſcow; ſhe was not only ſet at liberty, but had ſeveral of the czarowitz's jewels reſtored to her, and a handſome fortune appointed for her ſupport, out of the treaſury. She could never be prevailed upon to marry: ſhe was but of mean extraction and a captive of Finland.

1717.

When this grand inquiſition at Moſcow was finiſhed, his majeſty ſet out from thence, and arrived at Peterſburgh the 4th of April, and the czarowitz, arriving two days after, was confined in the fortreſs. The czar was no ſooner come to Peterſburgh than he went to the dock, and ordered the men of war that were ready, to be launched, and to get his fleet equipped with all expedition, to endeavour to prevent Britain and Holland from compelling the king of Sweden to a ſeparate peace with the former.

About the latter end of May the firſt conference was held at Aland, whither it was transferred from Abo at the deſire of baron Gortz, as it was much nearer Stockholm, and therefore more convenient for the diſpatch of buſineſs. The pleni-

plenipotentiaries from the czar, at this congreſs, were count Bruce, grand-maſter of the ordnance, and baron Oſterman, a privy-counſellor; and from the king of Sweden, baron Gortz and count Gullenburg. None of the foreign miniſters were admitted to theſe conferences but baron Mardefelt, envoy from the king of Pruſſia.

The czarowitz's trial at Peterſburg.

From the numerous executions and puniſhments after the inquiſition at Moſcow, every body believed that buſineſs at an end; but from the freſh diſcoveries made every day, it appeared, the prince had not been genuine in his confeſſion of all his confederates in the conſpiracy; and the accomplices appearing ſo numerous, and the plot ſo deep laid, the czar found it abſolutely neceſſary to bring the prince to a formal trial. For this purpoſe he ſummoned all the nobility and clergy, the principal officers of the army and navy, the governors of provinces, and many others of different ranks and degrees, to attend at the ſenate-houſe, to examine and try the ſaid prince. The trial was begun the 25th of June (the particulars of which have been ſo fully related by others, that I thought a repetition of it needleſs), and continued to the 6th of July, when this ſupreme court, with unanimous conſent, paſſed ſentence of death upon the prince, but left the manner of it to his majeſty's determination: the prince was brought before the court, his ſentence was read to him, and he was re-conveyed to his priſon in the fortreſs.

His death and character.

On the next day, his majeſty, attended by all the ſenators and biſhops, with ſeveral others of high rank, went to the fort, and entered the apartments where the czarowitz was kept priſoner. Some little time thereafter marſhal Weyde

 came

BOOK VI. 1718. came out, and ordered me to go to Mr. Bear's the druggiſt, whoſe ſhop was hard by, and tell him to make the potion ſtrong which he had beſpoke, as the prince was then very ill: when I delivered this meſſage to Mr. Bear, he turned quite pale, and fell a ſhaking and trembling, and appeared in the utmoſt confuſion, which ſurpriſed me ſo much, that I aſked him what was the matter with him, but he was unable to return me any anſwer; in the mean time the marſhal himſelf came in, much in the ſame condition with the druggiſt, ſaying, he ought to have been more expeditious, as the prince was very ill of an apoplectic fit; upon this the druggiſt delivered him a ſilver cup with a cover, which the marſhal himſelf carried into the prince's apartments, ſtaggering all the way as he went, like one drunk. About half an hour after, the czar with all his attendants withdrew with very diſmal countenances, and when they went, the marſhal ordered me to attend at the prince's apartment, and in caſe of any alteration, to inform him immediately thereof: there were at that time two phyſicians and two ſurgeons in waiting, with whom, and the officer on guard, I dined on what had been dreſſed for the prince's dinner. The phyſicians were called in immediately after to attend the prince, who was ſtruggling out of one convulſion into another, and, after great agonies, expired at five o'clock in the afternoon. I went directly to inform the marſhal, and he went that moment to acquaint his majeſty, who ordered the corpſe to be imbowelled; after which it was laid in a coffin, covered with black velvet, and a pall of rich gold tiſſue ſpread over it; it was then carried out of the fort, to the church of the Holy Trinity, where the corpſe lay in ſtate

ſtate till the 11th in the evening, when it was carried back to the fort, and depoſited in the royal burying-vault, next the coffin of the princeſs his late conſort; on which occaſion, the czar and czarina, and the chief of the nobility, followed in proceſſion. Various were the reports that were ſpread concerning his death: it was given out publicly, that on hearing his ſentence of death pronounced, the dread thereof threw him into an apoplectic fit, of which he died; very few believed he died a natural death, but it was dangerous for people to ſpeak as they thought. The miniſters of the emperor, and the ſtates of Holland, were forbid the court for ſpeaking their minds too freely on this occaſion, and upon complaint againſt them were both recalled. BOOK VI. 1718.

Thus died prince Alexis, undoubted heir to that great monarchy; little regretted by people of rank, as he always ſhunned their acquaintance and company. It was ſaid, the czar had taken uncommon pains in the education of this prince, but all in vain; indolent and ſlovenly by nature, he kept the loweſt of company, with whom he indulged himſelf in all manner of vice and debauchery. His father, to put a ſtop to this, ſent him abroad to ſee foreign courts, thinking thereby to reclaim him, but all to no purpoſe; on which he ordered him to attend him in all his expeditions, thereby to have a watchful eye over him himſelf; but the prince evaded this, by continually pretending to be ſick, which might probably be the caſe, as he was moſt part of his time drunk. The czar, at laſt, thought to reclaim him by marrying him to ſome foreign princeſs; what effect that had has been already mentioned. After the death of his amiable princeſs, his majeſty ordered him to attend him in his expedition to

BOOK VI. Germany; and being on his journey, under pretence of going to join him in Mecklenburg, he fled privately, and fought the protection of his brother-in-law, the emperor of Germany, whom he endeavoured to engage in a war againſt his father.

1718.

It was made appear on his trial, that he threatened whenever he came to the throne, to overturn all his father had done, declaring, that he then would be revenged on prince Menzikof, and his ſiſter-in-law, by impaling them alive, as alſo the great chancellor count Goloſkin, and his ſon, for perſuading him to marry the princeſs Wolfenbuttel; that he would ſend all his father's favourites into baniſhment, and expel all foreigners out of the country; that he would releaſe his mother out of confinement, and put dame Catherine, and her children, in her place; after this, he would form his court of people who had the ancient manners and cuſtoms of Ruſſia moſt at heart, for he hated all innovations. Nothing could have touched the czar more ſenſibly than threatening to overthrow all he had been doing for ſo many years for the welfare and glory of his country, with ſo much danger, toil, and labour, without ever ſparing his own perſon; which made him ſay, with great emotion, that he would rather give his dominions to a worthy ſtranger, than be ſucceeded by ſo worthleſs a ſon: at the time of this expreſſion, he had no other ſon but the czarowitz, which ſhewed plainly, he had the good of his country more at heart than the ſucceſſion in his own family.

The Swediſh field marſhal Reinſhield's return home.

Count Reinſhield, the Swediſh field-marſhal, who had been a priſoner at Caſan ſince the battle of Pultowa, arrived at Peterſburgh with twenty officers, to be exchanged for the

two Ruſſian generals, knez Trubetzkoi and count Gollowin, who had both been priſoners at Stockholm ſince the battle of Narva. Count Reinſhield was very graciouſly received by the czar, who recommended him to the particular care of field-marſhal Weyde; he was daily invited by one grandee or other, where the czar always made one of the party; and on theſe occaſions converſed very familiarly with the count, telling him, one day, that he deſired nothing ſo much as to be perſonally acquainted with his brother king Charles, which he hoped would ſoon happen by concluding a laſting peace to both their ſatisfactions; and that he hoped to have a perſonal interview with him, where matters might be concerted between themſelves without many witneſſes. Count Reinſhield being detained much longer than he expected, was afraid that the king, his maſter, would not conſent to the exchange, which made him ſo uneaſy, that he complained thereof to our marſhal; who aſſured him, that if the king of Sweden ſhould refuſe the exchange, he ſhould not be detained, for the czar would let him go on his parole; but, in a few days after, I was ſent at midnight with the agreeable news that he was to ſail in the morning for Stockholm, as a yacht lay ready to take him and his officers on board. When I came the marſhal was aſleep, but I communicated the good news to his officers, who received it with ſo much joy, that, by their noiſe, they awaked the count; and, on his enquiring what the matter was, I ſtepped up to his bedſide and delivered my meſſage, which ſo agreeably ſurpriſed him, that he got up and embraced me, ſaying, If ever I went to Sweden he would make me a ſuitable return for the good news I brought him, as he had nothing then to reward

BOOK VI. 1718.

BOOK VI. ward me with, according to his wiſh. I ſtaid with him till day-light, and then went on board the yacht with him. About eleven o'clock the czar, attended by marſhal Weyde, came on board to take his leave of the count, and preſented him with a ſword from his own ſide, which was enriched with diamonds, wiſhing him a good voyage to Stockholm.

1718.

Negotiation at Aland for peace with Sweden renewed.

Baron Gortz being returned from the king of Sweden with his final reſolution, the conference at Aland, between our miniſters and thoſe of Sweden, were continued. The czar ſet out from Cronſlot with his fleet, in the month of Auguſt, for Revel, and from thence he went to Abo to be near the place of conference; where it was agreed, that the czar ſhould give up Finland, and part of Carelia, to the king of Sweden; and he ſhould have in lieu thereof Wyburgh, part of Carelia, all Ingria, Eſthonia, and Livonia; and the czar was beſides to aſſiſt the Swedes to recover Swediſh Pomerania, and Bremen and Verden; and to reinſtate the duke of Holſtein in his dukedom, as alſo to perſuade the duke of Mecklenburgh to reſign his dukedom to Sweden for ever; for which he was to have an equivalent elſewhere (ſuppoſed to be Courland); and to replace Staniſlaus on the throne of Poland, according to the agreement made with king Auguſtus at Alt Ranſtadt; and if Great Britain interfered in retaking Bremen and Verden, that they would, with their joint fleets and forces, make a deſcent on Britain with the pretender, and place him on the throne.

Upon this, it was agreed, that baron Gortz ſhould once more return to the king of Sweden with theſe propoſals: for which purpoſe he ſet off the end of September, in full expectation of prevailing with the king to come into them.

In

In the mean time, nothing was done to diſturb the king of Sweden in his expedition againſt Norway, as the czar returned with his fleet to Cronſlot, and arrived at Peterſburgh the 15th of September, where he found the czarina delivered of a princeſs, whom he named Natalia. His majeſty ordered the fleet to be laid up at Cronſlot, ſo that every body conſidered the peace with Sweden at no great diſtance: theſe hopes, however, were ſoon blaſted by the death of the king of Sweden, which happened in the night between the 29th and 30th of November, being ſhot through the head before Frederickſhal in Norway, and it was generally believed to have been done by one of his own people. Field marſhal Reinſhield being then in the trenches, and going to wait on the king, found him kneeling on the banquet, with his head on the parapet inclining to one ſide; the marſhal thinking he was aſleep, endeavoured to waken him, but found him cold and dead.

1718.

King of Sweden's death.

Baron Gortz was arreſted in his way to Frederickſhal to wait on the king, and ſoon after beheaded, and his corpſe buried under the gallows; ſeveral perſons in the confidence of Gortz, were arreſted, and an officer was diſpatched to Aland to ſeize on ſecretary Stamble and all his papers, by whom we were appriſed of the king of Sweden's death, and that his ſiſter, the princeſs Ulrica, had been proclaimed queen. Secretary Stamble went to Peterſburgh, where he remained under the czar's protection, and afterwards engaged himſelf in the Ruſſian ſervice. This ſudden change overturned all advances towards peace, which then, to all appearance, only waited for ſigning.

The death of baron Gortz.

The

BOOK VI.

1718. The fiſcal's information againſt the grandees for miſdemeanors, and their trial.

The fiſcal-general, on the czar's return, gave information againſt ſeveral great men in the adminiſtration, for oppreſſing the ſubjects and defrauding his majeſty of conſiderable ſums of money. The czar directly eſtabliſhed a tribunal to enquire into thoſe matters; and appointed marſhal Weyde preſident of this court, ſaying, he was the only man he had never found faulty in any one thing, and joined with him as aſſiſtants, the lieutenant-generals Butterlin and Slippenbach, major-generals Galitzen and Jaguſinſky, and the brigadier generals Wolkof and Mamonof. This tribunal was to examine into the miſmanagement of ſuch perſons as the fiſcal-general ſhould lay before them, and to pronounce ſentence on thoſe who ſhould be found guilty, as the nature of their crime deſerved, without reſpect of perſons. The firſt that was cited before this court was prince Menzikoff, who pleaded guilty to the charge laid againſt him, and having ſubmitted to the ſentence of the court, delivered up his ſword, and went to his own houſe to remain in confinement till his majeſty's pleaſure was known; the next were the great admiral Apraxin, and his brother, a ſenator and governor of Aſtracan, and director-general of the ſalt-works: being all three found guilty, they received ſentence to be diſmiſſed from their employments, and their eſtates to be confiſcated to his majeſty's uſe, and themſelves to be ſent into baniſhment: they were accordingly degraded, and their trials publiſhed in print. Prince Dolgoruky, paymaſter-general, was next called upon, but he pleaded his own cauſe ſo well, that he was acquitted. Several others were tried and found guilty, and when every body expected their ſentence would have been put in execution, the czar, in remembrance of their

their former merits and faithful ſervices, reſtored them again to his favour, after their paying great ſums into the treaſury.

1718. Prince Gagarin's unaccountable behaviour.

Prince Gagarin, governor of Siberia, was next impeached by the fiſcal general, on a charge for having, by parties of Tartars, he kept for that purpoſe, way-laid and robbed his majeſty's caravan coming from China, whereby ſeveral men of the detachment ſent by the ſaid prince to protect that caravan, had been killed, ſo that the crime was not only for plundering his majeſty's caravan, but of deſtroying the lives of ſo many of his innocent ſubjects; by which unlawful and wicked means, he had accumulated immenſe riches. The proofs againſt him were ſo clear, that the court ſent him priſoner to the fortreſs till his majeſty's farther pleaſure ſhould be known: upon his commitment, the czar himſelf went to the fort, and examining, told him if he would make a fair confeſſion to him how far he was guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, upon the faith of his royal word, he would pardon him; upon this, the prince freely confeſſed his being guilty of the whole charge laid againſt him, and ſigned this confeſſion in writing. The ſenate was ordered to meet next day; prince Gagarin's confeſſion was produced, and read before the ſenate; and then his majeſty told them, that he had fully pardoned the prince on his making the ſaid confeſſion; and that he had convened them on purpoſe to ſhew them that he inclined more to lenity than ſeverity, by which he hoped to reform thoſe who had been hitherto remiſs in their duty. Prince Gargarin being then brought from the fort into the ſenate, his confeſſion in writing, and ſigned by himſelf, was publicly read before him; and being aſked if he now acknow-

BOOK VI. ledged the ſame before the ſenate, he ſaid that he was innocent of the crime laid to his charge; but the czar had frightened him ſo much, that he forced him to write and ſign that confeſſion againſt his will. This declaration confounded the czar ſo much, that he remained ſome time ſilent, and the whole ſenators looked amazed: at laſt the czar ſaid, that although the prince laid ſo notorious a falſhood to his charge, and preſumed ſo much on his own innocence, he ſhould nevertheleſs have fair play for his life; and then ordered the witneſſes againſt him to be produced: at the head of whom appeared his own ſecretary, who proved undeniable facts againſt him. The prince, not knowing till then that his ſecretary was an informer againſt him, was ſo much confounded, that he fell down on his knees, and ſaid, he had been a hardened ſinner, and deſerved no mercy.

1718.

This unaccountable behaviour in prince Gagarin, after being fully pardoned, greatly ſurpriſed every body; ſome thought him mad, others that he was aſhamed to confeſs to the whole world ſo publicly, that he had been guilty of ſuch atrocious crimes, who had always paſſed for a pious and godly man. He was charitable to a great degree, and the priſoners in Siberia loſt a very good friend in him; eſpecially the Swediſh officers, who could not enough extol his liberality to them. On his arrival at Peterſburgh, he was very profuſe with his preſents, eſpecially to the czarina, to whom he gave ſome not only curious, but valuable; and it was owing to that lady's powerful interceſſion, that he was pardoned at all: but after ſuch bare-faced inſult to majeſty itſelf, in full ſenate, no body durſt preſume to ſay one word in his behalf. The czar being exaſperated to the

5 higheſt

higheſt degree againſt prince Gagarin, ordered a gallows, in imitation of Haman's, fifty cubits high, to be erected before the ſenate houſe, on which he was hanged in preſence of all the ſenators, to moſt of whom he was either related or allied. His ſentence was to hang till he dropt in pieces from the gallows; but to entice ſomebody to cut him down ſooner, the prince put two bags with money, in each ſide pocket of his breeches: this was prevented by placing a ſtrong guard every night, to watch the corpſe, ſo that he actually hung till the money, with part of his limbs, fell down; the money was ſhared among the ſoldiers, and the gallows, with the remainder of the corpſe, was at laſt removed. 1718.

More of the czarowitz's confederates.

At this time there were ſeveral more of the late czarowitz's domeſtics, put to death; as Puſtinoi, his confeſſor; Aſſonaſief, his maſter of the horſe; Woinof, his ſteward of the houſhold; Dubroſſky, a gentleman of his bedchamber, and four others of his ſervants: the firſt four were beheaded, and afterwards twiſted on wheels; the reſt were knouted.

On the 15th of January, 1719, Mr. Jefferies, the Britiſh reſident at the court of Sweden, arrived at Peterſburgh from Stockholm; but inſtead of bringing any propoſals of accommodation, as was expected, he ſaid he came to demand thoſe of the Ruſſian court. In the beginning of February, baron Oſterman was ſent from Aland to Peterſburgh, for freſh inſtructions, and the conferences went on in the mean time, between the counts Bruce and Gullenburgh; but in the month of April, baron Oſterman was ſent to Sweden, to declare, that unleſs they accepted in two months time, of the conditions formerly agreed on, they muſt expect a viſit from forty thou-

BOOK VI.

ſand plenipotentiaries, who would force them to it, ſword in hand.

1719. Death of prince Peter Petrowitz.

Prince Peter Petrowitz, his majeſty's only ſurviving ſon, died on the 6th of May, in the fourth year of his age, to the great grief of his father: his corpſe lay ſome time in ſtate, and was carried, with great funeral pomp, to the church in the fortreſs, where it was depoſited in the royal burying vault.

Prince Peter Alexowitz made ſerjeant, taught his exerciſe, and made enſign.

After this, the great-duke, Peter Alexowitz, ſon of the late czarowitz, grandſon to his majeſty, was taken from under the care of his governeſs (who had educated his mother), and was made a ſerjeant in the guards, and maſters were appointed to inſtruct him in all manner of ſciences. I was ordered to attend him two hours in every day, to teach him the military exerciſe, gunnery, and fortification: a corporal with twenty-four men and a drum, mounted as his daily guard; the duke exerciſed thoſe men every morning himſelf, with his halbert in his hand, and took great delight in it; after the excerciſe, he always fired three braſs cannon, of one pound ſhot, which were placed before his door for his diverſion. The czar came frequently to ſee him perform his exerciſes, and was vaſtly pleaſed with his ſprightlineſs and attention; and ſeeing ſome draughts and models of fortification laying on the table, he aſked the young prince the uſe and advantage of each particular work, to which he gave his anſwers ſo readily, and with ſo much judgement, conſidering his years, that his grandfather was ſo well pleaſed, that he embraced him moſt heartily, and made him a preſent of his picture richly ſet with diamonds, and gave him an enſign's commiſſion in the firſt regiment of

1719.

guards: and finding he had a genius far above his age, he ordered ſeveral artiſts, as ſhip builders, architects, &c. to wait upon him, and ſhew him their draughts, and explain them to him. It was very remarkable that he would not amuſe himſelf with any kind of children's play, for when his ſiſter, the great-ducheſs, propoſed to amuſe him with play, he told her that it became one of her ſex better than him, for he ought to employ his time in improving himſelf as became a prince. This ſort of behaviour made him be admired by every body, and filled their minds with great expectations from him, as he was then the apparent heir to the crown of Ruſſia.

Negotiations for peace renewed, but fruitleſs.

The queen of Sweden at laſt named baron Lilienſted, to ſupply the place of the late baron Gortz, at the congreſs of Aland; where he arrived in the month of June: but the death of the king of Sweden, whoſe ambition had given great umbrage to all his neighbours, had now wholly changed the diſpoſitions of the princes of Europe towards that kingdom. The king of Great Britain ſent lord Carteret, his ambaſſador, to Sweden, to conclude a treaty and an alliance with that crown; by which it was agreed that Bremen and Verden ſhould remain with the king of Great Britain, for a million of crowns, and in caſe the war with Ruſſia continued, Great Britain ſhould pay Sweden three hundred thouſand crowns a year, and act with her forces againſt the czar. A ſhort time after this the Swedes made peace with the king of Pruſſia, on terms ſomewhat ſimilar, for ceding to his majeſty Stetin, and its diſtricts; and at the ſame time the king of Poland had concluded a treaty with the emperor and his Britannic majeſty.

The

BOOK VI.

1719. The czar reſolves to command it.

The czar, now finding himſelf forſaken by all his allies, was reſolved to make a deſcent on Sweden, thereby to force them to a peace, ordered all his gallies and ſhips of war to be got ready, and embarked on board his fleet 40,000 men, under the command of Apraxin, his great admiral; with orders to waſte and deſtroy the coaſts of Sweden. The admiral held a council of war at the iſland of Capel, and ſhaped his courſe for the Dalder Iſles, where he took ſeveral priſoners of note; he then went and ruined the chief copper-mines, and burnt the woods, and ſeveral noblemen's houſes thereabouts; from thence he went to South Telle, where he landed fifty coſſacks on horſeback, who advanced within a league of Stockholm, defeated an out-guard, and brought off a major and eight men priſoners. The 19th of July, the fleet arrived at Landſort, having taken on their paſſage two ſhips laden with corn, bound to Stockholm; the gallies, in the mean while, were divided into three ſquadrons, one landed between north and ſouth Talle, another on the coaſt of Geefle, and the third at Nikoping; ſeveral detachments of dragoons and Coſſacks were landed at Sandmar, who burnt and deſtroyed all the country near to Stockholm. Our fleet, at the ſame time, arrived at the mouth of the river of Stockholm, where they took five barks laden with proviſions; from thence they proceeded to the northward, where a number of towns and villages were deſtroyed, eſpecially thoſe near which the moſt conſiderable iron-mines of the kingdom lay; the deſtruction of which was an irreparable loſs to Sweden. In ſhort, the landing the Ruſſian troops in ſo many different places of that kingdom, made it impoſſible for the Swediſh army to prevent it: no ſooner

Memorable deſcent on Sweden.

had

1719.

had they deſtroyed one place of the country, than they immediately removed to another. According to the report of the damages ſuſtained by theſe deſcents on the coaſts of Sweden, they conſiſted in the deſtruction of eight towns, eleven palaces, one hundred and thirty noblemen and gentlemen's houſes, one thouſand three hundred and ſixty-one villages, forty-three mills, twenty-ſix magazines, two copper-mines, fourteen iron-mines, beſides all their corn and cattle; and all the inhabitants they met with, old and young, of both ſexes, were taken and carried off in tranſports over to Finland, to the amount of ſixty thouſand and upwards, where they were detained till the concluſion of the peace. The Swedes, relying too much on the promiſed ſuccours from their allies, would not come into the meaſures that had been agreed on between the czar and their late ſovereign; the czar, therefore, now inſiſted on keeping all Carelia and Keckſholm, over and above what he formerly demanded of Sweden: but theſe propoſitions were rejected with ſcorn, the congreſs of Aland broke up, and the miniſters retired.

The Britiſh fleet came too late.

The Engliſh fleet, under admiral Norris, came before Stockholm the 21ſt of Auguſt, eight days after our fleet were retired into their different harbours. Soon after Mr. Berkeley arrived at Aland, with letters from lord Carteret and admiral ſir John Norris, for his majeſty, deſiring a paſs from count Bruce to Peterſburgh; but the count being informed of the contents, refuſed to ſend the letters to the czar, nor would he give Mr. Berkeley a paſſport to Peterſburg, but ſent him back with an anſwer to lord Carteret, wherein he told him, that he found the contents of the letters they had ſent to his majeſty ſo ſingular, and ſo little con-

BOOK VI. 1719.

conſiſtent with the ties of alliance and friendſhip, that ſtill ſubſiſted between his czariſh majeſty and his Britannic majeſty, that he could not prevail on himſelf to do what was deſired of him, until he firſt received orders from the czar, his maſter; beſides, he was perſuaded, his Britannic majeſty would not fail to acquaint the czar with his thoughts or pretenſions on a matter of ſo great importance, either by letter to himſelf, or by his miniſter at Peterburgh; and therefore there was no occaſion to uſe ſuch extraordinary ways and means. Upon this anſwer, the ſieurs Jefferies and Weber, the Britiſh and Hanoverian miniſters, received orders to leave the court of Peterſburgh, as did all Britiſh ſubjects to quit the Ruſſian ſervice; on which the czar cauſed all the Engliſh merchants in his dominions to be put under arreſt, threatening, if the Britiſh nation made war upon him, he would confiſcate all their effects, which amounted to above fifty millions of rubles.

The czar diſguſted with Britain.

The Jeſuits baniſhed.

At this time the Jeſuits, thoſe peſts of ſociety, who had got footing in Ruſſia, through the recommendation of the emperor, were now baniſhed for intermedling too much with ſtate-affairs, and ordered to quit the Ruſſian dominions within four days after having notice given them; as the world was ſufficiently appriſed of their dangerous machinations, in troubling the political affairs of every country they are received into. The padres were now in great hurry and confuſion, being obliged to ſet out immediately, leaving their rich chapel to the Capuchins, who were the only order of the Romiſh profeſſion that were ſuffered to remain in Ruſſia; and they were tolerated for the ſake of the Roman Catholics, who were numerous in the Ruſſian army.

It

It came out on the late trial of prince Menzikof, that Mr. Weſaloffky, his late ſecretary, had been principally concerned with the two Solowiofs, the prince's agents, in carrying on an illicit trade to the great detriment of the nation; the two Solowiofs ſuffered for their crime, and as Weſaloffky was then envoy at the Britiſh court, he had orders to return home, and Mr. Beſtuzof was appointed to ſucceed him at that court: but as Weſaloffki dreaded, not without reaſon, to be brought to an account for malpractices, thought proper, inſtead of returning, to write a letter to the emperor, in which he acknowledged his guilt, and that, to avoid his majeſty's juſt reſentment, he had changed his name, and was reſolved to return no more to Ruſſia, but to ſpend the remainder of his days in ſome remote and free part of the globe where he ſhould never be heard of more. It was, however, generally believed, that he married and ſettled in England, and was afterwards naturalized there. Mr. Beſtuzof had not long ſucceeded him, before he diſobliged the court of London by a memorial, wherein he reflected on the miniſtry, for which he was ordered to depart the kingdom.

The czar ſeized with a fit at Revel.

When his majeſty went to ſurvey the fortifications of Revel, in the month of September, I had orders to attend him: he propoſed to make that one of the ſtrongeſt places in Europe, and alſo for the equipment of his fleet. One day when he was ſurveying the fortifications, and giving orders about the additional works he thought neceſſary to be made, he was ſeized with a violent fit of the colic, which threatened his life, but the vigour of his conſtitution got the better of it. He ſoon after returned to Peterſburgh, where he made

BOOK VI. 1719.

great preparations for the enſuing campaign: by his orders I remained ſix weeks after he was gone, to draw the plans, and give the neceſſary directions for erecting the out-works. Notwithſtanding the perpetual hurry of buſineſs his majeſty was continually employed in, he did not neglect to ſolace himſelf every evening, when the fatigues of the day were over, with ſome diverſion or other, eſpecially aſſemblies, which were held every evening at the houſes of people of rank, who held them by turns, at which meetings he converſed very familiarly with all ranks and degrees of people, which made thoſe aſſemblies very much frequented.

General Weyde's illneſs, and the czar's concern for him.

At my return to Peterſburgh marſhal Weyde was juſt arrived from Olonitz, where he had been drinking the mineral waters for his health, which, inſtead of being of ſervice, had made him a great deal worſe. His majeſty intereſted himſelf ſo much in the marſhal's recovery, that he went in perſon every day to ſee him, and gave ſtrict charge to the phyſicians never to leave him, but to uſe their utmoſt ſkill for his preſervation; declaring, that if he died, he ſhould loſe the beſt general and the moſt faithful ſervant he had in his whole empire; and now by much care and attention, the general recovered his health pretty well again.

The czar had made marſhal Weyde a preſent ſome years ago of an eſtate in Livonia, of the value of twelve thouſand rubles a year, by charter to him and his heirs whatſoever: he had only two daughters, the eldeſt was married to major-general Le Fort, nephew to the grand Le Fort, the czar's peculiar favourite; and ſhe, dying ſoon after, left only one daughter. The youngeſt, and then only daughter, being aſked in marriage by Mr. Weber, the Hanoverian miniſter,

was

was refuſed, on account of his belonging to a foreign court; beſides, his majeſty did not approve of the match. Then Mr. Romanzof, adjutant-general to the czar, made his addreſſes, but that was not agreeable to the lady herſelf, as he was a Ruſſian and of a different religion. The marſhal, apprehending the czar would inſiſt on that marriage, betrothed her, againſt her inclination, to lieutenant-general Bohn, a man ſhe could neither love nor eſteem, being of an age more like a father than a huſband; the grief thereof threw the young lady into a lingering indiſpoſition. 1720.

The czar being now informed, that the queen of Sweden had reſigned the crown to her conſort, the hereditary prince of Heſſe Caſſel, and that the regent of France had paid Sweden ſix hundred thouſand crowns of arrears, with aſſurance, that the ſubſidies ſhould be regularly paid in future; beſides one million of crowns they got from Britain for Bremen and Verden, and the ſtipulated ſubſidy of three hundred thouſand, while the war laſted with Ruſſia; all this made the Swedes take freſh courage, and they gave the czar to underſtand he was not to expect peace, unleſs he gave up all the provinces he had conquered from them ſince the commencement of the war. On the other hand, the czar finding his enemy thus largely ſupplied with money, ſupported by an Engliſh fleet, favoured by the kings of Pruſſia and Denmark, and on the point of concluding a peace with Poland, while he himſelf was deſerted by every ally, ſent a numerous army into Finland, and endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of the Bothnick gulf by a large fleet. Affairs of Sweden.

Early in the ſpring 1720, admiral Norris arrived in the Sound with a Britiſh ſquadron; and ſailing from thence, he 1720.

BOOK VI. joined the Swediſh fleet before Stockholm; and the 5th of March, the palatine of Maſſovia arrived at Peterſburgh as ambaſſador from Poland, inviting the czar to enter into a peace with Sweden, jointly with Poland; but the czar had already formed his reſolutions to force Sweden to a ſeparate peace, and to convince the world, notwithſtanding the powerful aſſiſtance afforded his enemy, while he ſtood by himſelf alone, he had it ſtill in his power to command his own terms with the Swedes.

1720.

Marſhal Weyde's death.

Marſhal Weyde now loſt his only daughter, who died the day ſhe was to have been married to general Bohn, of a broken heart, at being obliged to marry ſo much againſt her inclination: her affections had been engaged to Mr. Weber, the Hanoverian miniſter. Her father took the loſs of his only child ſo much to heart, that he ſickened again, and died the 4th of June, very much regretted by both their majeſties, and by all ranks of people; but more eſpecially by the army, who adored him, notwithſtanding his ſtrict diſcipline, for he had the art of making them obey his orders with pleaſure, by his affability in checking thoſe in private who tranſgreſſed againſt his orders: ſo that court-martials and puniſhments were rare during his command of the army. Notwithſtanding this lenity, the Ruſſian army was never under better diſcipline, or in finer order. The marſhal was born at Moſcow, of German parents; had made ſeveral campaigns in his youth in Hungary, under prince Eugene, and was employed by him as one of his aid de camps, under whom he always confeſſed to have learned the military art. He was made a priſoner of war in the year 1700, at Narva, and detained at Stockholm till the

year

year 1710, when he was ranſomed, and was appointed field-marſhal, when count Zaremetof died after his march through Poland.

Ill treatment of his family.

The marſhal no ſooner expired than lieutenant general Romantzof came to the houſe in his majeſty's name, and ſealed up every thing in the preſence of general Le Fort and me, and then took an inventory of all the plate and furniture in the houſe, to the great ſurprize of the general, who was father to the marſhal's grand daughter, the only undoubted heireſs to his great fortune. Upon this general Le Fort deſired to know, ſince all the money, to the amount of ſixty thouſand ducats, was ſealed up, how his father-in-law was to be buried, as he had no caſh to defray the charges. Romantzof then told him, that his majeſty intended the marſhal's corpſe ſhould have a ſplendid funeral, and that no coſt ſhould be ſpared, and then one of the cheſts was opened, and ten thouſand rubles taken out, which were delivered to me, with orders to lay it out as I ſhould be directed by general Le Fort, and when that was expended I might call for more; keeping an exact account of every thing that was laid out, which I was to deliver in with the proper re-receipts and vouchers, after the funeral ceremony was over.

This mal-treatment of Mr. Le Fort proceeded from a reſentment in Romantzof, as he apprehended it was owing to Mr. Le Fort, that he did not ſucceed in his addreſſes to the marſhal's daughter; and to mortify him ſtill more effectually, he begged and obtained the marſhal's eſtate of the czar, who refuſed him nothing, as he was then a riſing favorite; and to ſatiate his revenge, lord Nereſkin, a near relation of the czar's, being juſt arrived from his travels, and wanting

BOOK VI. wanting a houſe, Mr. Romantzof adviſed him to purchaſe the late marſhal's, with all the furniture and plate, which was done by appraiſement, on an order from court; but no part of this eſtimated price was ever paid, and the heireſs, then a child, had only the few jewels her grand-father left, and twelve thouſand rubles for her portion: the remainder was generally believed to have been applied to Mr. Romantzof's own uſe. In this general plunder I ſuffered alſo; the marſhal by his will, had left me two hundred ducats, his beſt ſuit of cloaths, and his beſt horſe with the furniture; I received the money and cloaths, but the fine horſe and furniture were brought to the czar's ſtable, and for which I was promiſed three hundred ducats, but never got any thing. This was chiefly owing to Mrs. Le Fort, the general's ſecond wife, to whom he was married in Germany: as ſhe had been very ſevere on Mr. Romantzof's conduct, he reſented it in part againſt me, as ſhe was my near relation, although I was otherwiſe very much in his favour.

1720.

As this was the firſt inſtance of foreigners being uſed in ſo arbitrary and unjuſt a manner, it occaſioned much ſpeculation amongſt all ranks of people, eſpecially as it happened to a man of ſo great perſonal merit, and general eſteem, beſides to one who was nephew and heir to the grand Le Fort, and ſon-in-law to marſhal Weyde, both great favourites of the czar; ſo that after this none could think themſelves ſecure in their poſſeſſions. This unjuſt action gave me ſuch an idea of Ruſſia, that nothing after could induce me to ſettle amongſt them, notwithſtanding all their proffered advancements and advantages.

The marſhal's corpſe being embowelled and embalmed, lay in ſtate twelve days, in a coffin under a canopy, dreſſed in a white embroidered ſuit of cloaths, in boots, with a full-bottomed wig, and the order of ſaint Andrew about his neck. Several ladies and gentlemen watched the corpſe every night, which is the cuſtom of the country. As there was nobody in the houſe belonging to the marſhal, but his domeſtics, I ſuperintended the whole. The laſt night being at ſupper with the company who were to watch, I took a fancy to frighten them, by removing the corpſe into another room, and laying myſelf down in its place; accordingly, when the company were entered the room, and ſeated ſome time, I began to ſtir under the cover that was laid over me, on which the company took to their heels, and ran out of the houſe, nor did they return to aſk what was the matter, but ſpread a moſt dreadful report of the viſion they had ſeen. Next morning crouds came to enquire into the wonder of that night, but went away no wiſer than they came: the re-report reached the czar's ears, who ordered my attendance, and demanded of me what the affair was. Without the leaſt heſitation, I told how it had happened, before the czarina and the two princeſſes, which diverted them very much, but her majeſty thought proper to give me a very ſevere reprimand. 1720. His funeral.

The 16th of June, being appointed for the interment, it was attended with great pomp, and the proceſſion was conducted in the following manner.

1. A battalion of the guards, the officers in black ſcarfs, and the drums covered with black.

2. A harbinger on horſeback, in a mourning cloak.

3. A mar-

BOOK VI. 1720.

3. A marſhal with a ſtalf, covered with black and white crape.

4. A pair of kettle-drums, covered and carried by two men in black.

5. Four trumpets, four hautboys, and two baſſoons, in pairs.

6. A white ſtandard, with the deceaſed's coat of arms.

7. A gentleman on horſeback, in complete armour, with a ſword in his hand.

8. A black ſtandard.

9. A horſe in mourning, led by two men in black.

10. A maſter of the ceremonies.

11. A war-horſe with complete furniture, led by two officers in their regimentals.

12. A helmet.

13. A cuiraſs.

14. A pair of gilt ſpurs.

15. A marſhal's truncheon.

16. A ſword.

17. The order of ſaint Andrew; all theſe carried ſeparately on velvet cuſhions, by officers.

18. Two officers with their ſwords pointed to the ground, followed by twenty-four halbardiers, in pairs.

19. The corpſe of the marſhal drawn by ſix horſes, capariſoned with black cloth, each led by a groom in black, attended by three gentlemen on each ſide; the canopy was ſupported by eight lieutenant-colonels, and eight colonels held up the taſſels of the canopy; the corners of the pall were ſupported by four brigadiers.

20. A marſhal.

21. Miſs

21. Miſs Le Fort, grand-child to the deceaſed.

22. A colonel's lady (his niece.)

23. General Le Fort's lady; both theſe ladies led by two gentlemen each.

24. A great number of ladies in pairs.

25. His majeſty, attended by all the grandees and foreign miniſters.

26. The officers of the army and navy.

27. The proteſtant miniſters, merchants, and burghers.

28. Another battalion of the guards; which cloſed the proceſſion.

In this order, they went to the monaſtery of Alexander Newſky, at three miles diſtance; minute guns were fired from the fort, all the while till the corpſe was interred, and was concluded by three vollies from the two battalions of guards. His majeſty, with the reſt of the company, returned to the houſe of the deceaſed, where a grand entertainment was prepared for them. Every one of the company was preſented with a mourning ring, of the value of two ducats, with the dates of the marſhal's birth and death engraven thereon; near ſeven hundred of theſe rings were given among the company.

At this meeting, a debate happened between prince Menzikof and prince Galitzin, abuſing each other in a very unbecoming manner. The czar being in the next room, overheard them, and ſent for Menzikof, and gave him a moſt ſevere rebuke, telling him he ought not to forgot himſelf, but conſider he was only of yeſterday, whereas prince Galitzin was of the ancient family of the Jagellons, princes of Lithuania, afterwards kings of Poland; and ordered him to

BOOK VI. 1720.

aſk pardon of Galitzin before the whole company, which he was obliged to do. The two princes lived ever after in enmity, but the family of Galitzin were too powerful to fear the reſentment of Menzikof.

Captain Bruce's inaffectual attempt to quit the Ruſſian ſervice.

The day after the funeral, Knez Repnin was declared field marſhal, and ſending for me, aſked if I choſe to be his aid-de-camp. I told him I had already ſerved under two field marſhals in that ſtation, and as I had been ſo long in that employ, I hoped he would excuſe me: he took my refuſal ſo much amiſs, that he threatened to make me repent it. As I was now heartily tired of the Ruſſian ſervice, I thought this a favourable opportunity to aſk my diſcharge, which I did next day, by preſenting a memorial to the czar himſelf: his majeſty aſked me why I wiſhed to leave his ſervice? I anſwered, that ſince marſhal Repnin had threatened me, for refuſing to ſerve him as aid-de-camp, it would be unſafe for me to remain any longer in the army. The czar replied, that I was not to be under the command of the marſhal, and had nothing to apprehend from him. I could not then preſume to inſiſt farther on my diſcharge, for fear of ſharing the fate of captain Dean, of the fleet, who was ſent into baniſhment, for laying down his commiſſion, upon a proclamation by king George the Firſt, forbidding all Britiſh ſubjects to ſerve in Ruſſia; a copy of which proclamation was given captain Dean, by Mr. Jefferies, the Britiſh miniſter. The captain was releaſed ſome time after, and returning to England, was ſent conſul to Oſtend.

The czar having appointed me to be a captain in his own diviſion, I got my company in the regiment of Aſtrachan, which was then at Revel, to which place I received orders

to

to repair directly, there to inſpect and forward the additional works of the fortification, planned by his majeſty laſt year. On my arrival, the 24th of July, I found the works well advanced ſince I had left it. I was now billetted on the houſe of a merchant in town, who led me to a houſe of pleaſure he had at the farther end of his garden, which conſiſted of a cellar, a room for ſervants, and two rooms over them, handſomely furniſhed. The landlord ſeeing me ſeemingly much pleaſed with my lodging, ſaid he was afraid I ſhould be diſturbed with ſome noiſe in the night-time, and named an officer of my acquaintance, then in town, who had been obliged to leave his houſe on that account: I aſked him what noiſe could diſturb me in a place ſo remote from other houſes? He ſaid it was haunted by a ghoſt: I told him if that was the caſe, I could, upon occaſion, act a ghoſt myſelf, and as two of the ſame profeſſion ſeldom agreed under the ſame roof, it ſhould be my buſineſs to diſlodge the other: at the ſame time I ordered my ſervants, before the landlord and his people, to load their pieces with ball, that in caſe of any diſturbance, they might be ready to go and fire on thoſe who made it. Thoſe orders prevented any diſturbance all the time I lodged there, and others were not afraid to lodge in that haunted houſe after I left it.

The new king of Sweden notifies his acceſſion.

About this time the new king of Sweden ſent an adjutant-general to Peterſburgh, to notify to the czar, his acceſſion to the throne, by the conſent of the queen, his ſpouſe, and the ſtates of the kingdom; and as he had a particular eſteem for the czar, he wiſhed for nothing more earneſtly than to conclude a firm and laſting peace with him; to which hewas ready to contribute every thing in his power.

BOOK VI. The czar anſwered, that he heartily gave the king of Sweden joy on his acceſſion to the throne, and thanked him for his notification of it to him; that he was moſt willing to conclude a laſting peace with Sweden, if his Swediſh majeſty would alſo come to a firm reſolution on that point. This gentleman was detained for ſome time at Peterſburgh, that he might be an eye-witneſs of the preparations that were going forward for next campaign, and was ſhewn all the ſhips, gallies, and troops; and, after many civilities, was diſpatched to Stockholm, with the czar's anſwer to the king of Sweden's letter.

1720.

The czar, to return the compliment he had received from the king of Sweden, ſent adjutant-general Romanzof to Stockholm, to felicitate the hereditary prince of Heſſe Caſſel on his acceſſion to the throne, and aſſure him how true an eſteem he always had for his perſon; that he earneſtly wiſhed to find in him, the ſame inclination to peace that he had himſelf. This envoy was received with as much ſplendor at Stockholm, as that of his Swediſh majeſty had been at Peterſburgh; was carried wherever the court went, and was always one in every court-party of pleaſure; and after ſome ſtay there, he returned to Peterſburgh, highly pleaſed with the honours he had received at the Swediſh court.

A ſecond invaſion.

In the mean time, our forces in Finland were not inactive; prince Galitzin advancing as far as Aland with his gallies, to attempt an invaſion on Sweden as ſoon as the froſt broke, and before the arrival of the Britiſh ſquadron under ſir John Norris, but was prevented by the ice: however, it drew the attention of the Swedes to that ſide, and favoured the execution of another deſign. The prince had ordered brigadier

1720.

Von Mengden to embark 5000 men at Waſa, and proceed directly to Uma, in Lapland, which he did; took ſeveral officers and ſoldiers priſoners, and burnt the town, in which were ſeveral magazines; and then penetrating into the country on both ſides, burnt and deſtroyed two gentlemen's ſeats, forty-one villages, containing above one thouſand houſes, ſeventeen mills, one hundred and thirteen magazines, and other buildings; which done, they returned to Waſa loaded with booty, and without ſuffering the ſmalleſt loſs.

The Swedes attack our fleet with loſs.

On the 7th of Auguſt, the Swediſh vice-admiral attacked our fleet under Ameland, commanded by prince Galitzin; but they met with ſuch a warm reception as made them ſheer off, with the loſs of four frigates and two gallies, one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, and four hundred priſoners taken, beſides two hundred men killed, and three hundred wounded: the priſoners, &c. were afterwards carried in triumph into Peterſburgh, at which ceremony both the czar and czarina were preſent, which was conducted with great pomp, becauſe no victories were ſo much prized by the czar as thoſe he gained at ſea.

The ſeaſon of the year at length obliged admiral Norris to leave the Baltic, where it may be ſaid he had done much, by ſuffering the Ruſſians to do little. The czar not doubting but the Britiſh ſquadron would return next year, and ſeeing, from the conduct of the Swedes, that they muſt be conſtrained to ſue for the peace they had rejected when offered to them, began early to prepare for a deciſive campaign, by augmenting his navy, to put himſelf in a condition to face both the Britiſh and Swediſh fleets.

Mr.

BOOK VI.

1720. The czar receives the duke of Holſtein into his protection.

Mr. Stamke, miniſter of the duke of Holſtein, had been at Peterſburgh, ſince he left Aland on the king of Sweden's death; and had done every thing that lay in his power to obtain the friendſhip and protection of the czar for that prince, his maſter, who waited at Breſlaw in Sileſia, to know the ſucceſs of this negotiation. The duke of Holſtein, being ſon of the late king of Sweden's eldeſt ſiſter, claimed a right to the crown preferable to that of the princeſs Ulrica, who was the younger ſiſter, but now conſidered himſelf farther removed from it, by the reſignation the queen had made of her right to her huſband, the prince of Heſſe. The czar, commiſerating the unfortunate circumſtances of the duke, whom the late king of Sweden deſigned for his ſucceſſor, determined to afford him his protection, and for the firſt proof of it ſent him a hundred thouſand crowns, with an invitation to come from Breſlaw to Riga.

Court-martial on lieutenant-colonel Graves.

The over-fiſcal having laid an information this winter againſt lieutenant-colonel Graves, of the artillery, an Engliſhman, for embezzling his majeſty's ſtores, and ſelling them to foreign ſhip-maſters, I ſat on the court-martial. In the courſe of the trial we found the accuſation to be entirely falſe, and proceeded from malice, becauſe he refuſed the fiſcal ſome ſtores he wanted, who had ſuborned two gunners as witneſſes againſt the colonel, but who were both found guilty of perjury, and ſent to priſon. The fiſcal being ill-pleaſed with our proceedings, complained to the fiſcal-general of our partiality; and he laid the matter before the czar, who ordered the court-martial, the accuſed, and evidence, to repair to Peterſburgh, where the affair was brought before a board

a board of general officers; and the litigiouſneſs and villany of the fiſcal appeared ſo evident, that he and his two witneſſes were knouted and baniſhed to Siberia. We had our travelling expences paid, and returned to Revel; but, notwithſtanding colonel Graves was honourably acquitted, he could never recover the ſix months pay for the time he was under arreſt on his trial, which is ſufficient evidence of the hardſhip officers labour under in this ſervice: the plea they uſed was, that he had done no duty in that time. The colonel was ſo much diſguſted with this treatment, that he left the ſervice without taking leave. 1720.

A curious law-ſuit between two brothers.

At my return to Revel, a comical law-ſuit was commenced between my landlord and his brother, both merchants in the town; the caſe was thus:—The two brothers had always lived at great variance with each other; my landlord, who was very rich, was determined, in caſe he ſhould die, his brother ſhould not ſucceed him; he had been married ſeveral years to a very handſome woman, without having any children by her; the blame whereof he attributed more to himſelf than to his wife; and being reſolved that his wife, at any rate, ſhould have a child, to deprive his brother from being his heir, he took a lieutenant into his houſe as a lodger, a handſome young fellow, to whom he gave all manner of opportunities to converſe with his wife, having before-hand concerted the matter with her, by which means ſhe ſoon proved to be with child: ſhe then made the gentleman a preſent of a purſe with a hundred ducats, deſiring him, at the ſame time, to ſeek out another lodging, as her huſband was grown jealous and began to ſuſpect her, which made it abſolutely neceſſary for him to remove, promiſing, that

if

BOOK VI. 1720.

if he ever ſtood in need of her aſſiſtance, he might depend upon her. The gentleman finding her very poſitive, notwithſtanding all his remonſtrances, was, at laſt, obliged to comply, flattering himſelf to find frequent opportunities to converſe with her; but in this he found himſelf miſtaken, for ſhe ſhunned all occaſion of ever being alone with him. This exaſperated him ſo much, that one evening, when he knew her huſband to be from home, he forced his way into her bed-chamber, and deſired to know why ſhe ſhunned his company. She very frankly told him, that ſhe had cohabited with him, not from luſt, but with an intention to have a child by him to inherit her huſband's eſtate; and as ſhe was now with child, ſhe hoped he would not envy its being heir to a good eſtate; and deſired, therefore, he would not be an inſtrument in defaming her and ruining his own child; deſiring him to give over any thoughts of enjoying her any more, ſhe being fully determined againſt it. After this ſpeech ſhe gave him a diamond ring, and a purſe with fifty ducats and retired, locking herſelf up in another room: upon this he went away in a great paſſion, and in a fit of ill-humour, divulged the whole intrigue to ſome of his companions, who ſoon ſpread it over the town, by which means his brother got notice of it, and commenced the law-ſuit; but the huſband acknowledging the child to be his, the ſuit was dropt in courſe.

Freſh preparations againſt Sweden.

As the Swedes ſtill perſevered in refuſing peace on the terms that had been agreed upon by the late king, the czar was now determined to compel them; and for this purpoſe augmented prince Galitzin's army in Finland with five battalions and two grenadier companies, from his own diviſion,

and

and two other regiments from Revel; we all embarked on board the gallies early in the morning of the 9th of May, 1721, and arrived in the evening at Elſingfoo, in Finland, being fifty Engliſh miles over.

Propoſals on their part for a ceſſation of hoſtilities, agreed to.

The Swediſh monarch had ſent Mr. Dahlman, his adjutant-general, to the czar, with propoſals for a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities for one year, and, in the mean time, to ſettle affairs towards a laſting peace; but as the czar had made great preparations for the enſuing campaign, he would by no means conſent thereto. He conſented, however, to the mediation of France, which Mr. Campredon, the French miniſter at the court of Sweden, had, in ſome ſort, before propoſed. Upon this declaration, Mr. Campredon, at the deſire of the Swediſh court, ſet out for Peterſburgh, to know what were the propoſitions of the czar, and found his majeſty in the ſame mind he was before the congreſs of Aland, notwithſtanding the many advantages he had gained ſince that time. Mr. Campredon returned to Stockholm, and Newſtadt, in Finland, was appointed for the congreſs, where the plenipotentiaries met.

In the month of April, the duke of Holſtein arrived at Riga, where the Ruſſian court then reſided, and was moſt graciouſly received by the czar and czarina; and, at this meeting, the foundation was laid of a nearer alliance with that prince. Our operations in Finland were puſhed with great vigour: we were no ſooner arrived at Elſingfoo, than ſent, under lieutenant-general Lacy, to make a deſcent on the coaſts of Sweden; 5000 men, and 370 Coſſacs, with their horſes, embarked on board of fifty gallies, were under ſail the 27th of May, and landed next day near Gevel, on

A third deſcent on Sweden,

BOOK VI. 1721.

on the Swediſh coaſt, and marched along the coaſt to Sunderham, and from thence to Uma, which is above a hundred leagues. In all that way we met with ſo little reſiſtance from the Swedes, having, as it ſeemed, loſt their former bravery, that we had only eleven men killed; whereas they had one hundred and three of their's killed, and we took forty-ſeven priſoners, with one ſtandard and four colours, two braſs and five iron cannon, three trumpets, and ten kettle-drums; we alſo took and burnt ſix of their gallies, lately built, with two merchant-ſhips, and twenty-five other veſſels; and burnt and deſtroyed a magazine of arms and ammunition; ruined a manufactory of muſkets, and two iron forges; burnt and deſtroyed thirteen mills, four towns, five hundred and nine hamlets, ninety-eight pariſhes, and three hundred and thirty-four barns, &c. &c.

which obliges them to ſign the preliminaries, and conclude the peace.

This deſtructive expedition alarmed the Swedes to ſuch a degree, that their plenipotentiaries at Newſtadt had orders to ſign the preliminaries directly; upon which we received orders to reimbark with our detachment, and return to Finland, and we arrived at the Junfer Sheerin, the 9th of September, where the peace was proclaimed. On the 14th, we went and joined the grand army, under the command of prince Galitzin, at Elſingfoo, where the peace was celebrated with every demonſtration of joy, every one now being in hopes of enjoying ſome eaſe and reſt after this long deſtructive war, which had laſted twenty years; but we found ourſelves miſtaken, for the Swediſh war was no ſooner ended than another was begun, as will be ſeen hereafter. On the 16th, I was ordered to demoliſh the fort at Elſingfoo, and three thouſand men being employed on that ſervice, the

1721.

materials were ſoon thrown into the ſea, which choaked up the harbour, and the fort was ſo effectually raſed, that not the leaſt appearance remained of a fort having been on the ſpot.

The fleet and army in a ſtorm, and a child remarkably preſerved.

On the 7th of October, the army embarked on board the gallies, to return to Peterſburgh, and general Lacy ſailed the ſame day with the vanguard, and we followed him the next with the main body, under the command of prince Galitzin; and major-general Von Mengden brought up the rear. On the 10th, we were overtaken by a violent ſtorm, in which we loſt ſeveral gallies, and a number of our men; we ſaw ſeveral wrecks on the rocks, which were of general Lacy's detachment, and met a number of feather-beds, tables, chairs, and barrels, floating on the ſea; amongſt the reſt, a barrel floating paſſed one of the gallies, was taken up, and in it was found a child aſleep, which proved to be the child of a major, who, with his lady, periſhed in the ſtorm; and, as they were both foreigners, the infant was left a deſtitute orphan without a relation to take care of it; but the caſe being made known to the czarina, her majeſty took care of the child. We had ſeventeen gallies daſhed to pieces in this ſtorm, and ſeveral hundred men drowned. We reached Sand-Iſland on the 11th, and on the 13th Black-Iſland: it was ſtill blowing freſh with froſt and ſnow, ſo that it was with difficulty our men could manage the ſails, or handle the oars. On the 17th, we got to White-Iſland, making our way through the ſhoals of ice, with a great deal of ſnow, whereby we were ſo benumbed, that we were obliged to keep ourſelves in heat by hard labour. On the 18th, we got to Beloſorof, where we refitted our damaged

BOOK VI.

1721. Fleet arrive at Peterſburg.

gallies, and on the 20th arrived at Cronſlot. We did not ſtop here, but proceeded and got into the river Neva the next day, where the gallies were collected, and followed each other up the river in grand parade, each ſaluting the fort as they paſſed, and coming oppoſite to the ſenate-houſe, were ranged at an anchor, in ſix lines, acroſs the river; and on a ſignal made by a rocket, we diſcharged all our guns and ſmall-arms at one general volley; which was returned by the fort and admiralty with all their cannon: this was repeated three times, and the prodigious noiſe made us all ſo deaf, that we could ſcarce hear for ſeveral days after. This ſalute being ended, all the officers, above the degree of a ſubaltern, came aſhore, by invitation, to the ſenate-houſe, where a grand entertainment was provided for all ranks of people, on which occaſion numerous fire-works were played off, and the entertainment laſted till day-break, when the officers retired on board the gallies, and brought them to the wharfs where they were to be laid up; the men debarked, and we were put into winter-quarters, hoping now to enjoy our eaſe for ſome time after ſo much fatigue and danger.

Great rejoicings were now every where diſplayed throughout the empire; nothing was to be ſeen but treats, balls, and maſquerades; the priſoners on both ſides were ſet at liberty; a general promotion took place both in the army and navy; our plenipotentiaries were loaded with favours; general Bruce was made a count of the empire, and had a preſent of ten thouſand rubles given him; Mr. Oſterman was made a baron, and had a preſent of eight thouſand; the ſecretary got two thouſand; a general pardon was given to all thoſe whoſe crimes deſerved arbitrary puniſhments; and

and all who were under ſentence for public debts, which amounted to ſeveral millions, were diſcharged.

1721. The czar honoured by his ſenate with the title of Peter the Great.

On this important occaſion, the ſenate, with the grandees, the chief clergy of the empire, and the deputies of the ſeveral provinces, went in a body, and thanked his majeſty for the fatherly care and unremitted attention, with which he had applied himſelf to advance the happineſs and proſperity of the empire, and prayed him that he would be pleaſed to receive the grateful acknowlegement of his faithful people, and accept, after the example of other monarchs, the titles of *Father of his Country*, *Emperor of all the Ruſſias*, and *Peter the Great*: which titles being offered him by all the ſtates of the empire, he took ſome time to conſider of it; and after ſome deliberation, accepted their offer, on which the ſenate repeated three times, long live *Peter the Great*, *Father of his Country*, and *Emperor of all the Ruſſias*; and the whole aſſembly teſtified their applauſe with the ſound of trumpets and kettle drums, at the ſame time the cannon were diſcharged from the ramparts of the fort and admiralty, and that was followed by a ſalvo from the muſketry, of 24,000 foot, beſides ſome battalions of the guards that were drawn up before the ſenate houſe. His majeſty then made a ſpeech to the ſtates, and thanked them for their loyal addreſs; to which they replied by a profound reverence, and thanked his imperial majeſty for his paternal and gracious ſpeech, which was followed by a ſecond ſalute of cannon and ſmall arms, and loud acclamations of the people; and this ſalute by a third. The ſenate next went in a body and congratulated the empreſs, and the imperial princeſſes, who very graciouſly thanked them. The emperor and empreſs then went to the

hall

BOOK VI. hall of the ſenate, where the duke of Holſtein waited with all his retinue, and with him all the foreign miniſters, who, every one congratulated their majeſties on their entrance into the hall. After this ceremony, the company ſet down to table, where above a thouſand perſons of both ſexes were entertained; the conduits in the ſtreet ran with wine; an ox was roaſted whole, ſtuffed with fowls, for the populace; and the evening concluded with illuminations and fire works, which ended theſe rejoicings that had now continued fifteen days, to the great ſatisfaction of every body.

1721.

A wiſe reformation in the buſineſs of law.

The emperor having been informed how much his ſubjects ſuffered from law-ſuits, by the avarice of thoſe they employed, in delaying to end a proceſs, while any money was to be got from their clients, now took the matter into conſideration, and ordained that a ſufficient number of lawyers and attornies ſhould be employed, and that each of them ſhould have a handſome yearly ſalary, for which they ſhould officiate to all his ſubjects, in every matter of law, gratis; and to prevent one perſon being preferred to another, they were obliged to inſert every ſuit as it was laid before them in their daily regiſters, and proceed in them according to their dates of entry, without reſpect of perſons; and whoever ſhould be found to accept bribe or fee, or dilatory in forwarding a proceſs at law, ſhould be knouted and ſent to Siberia into perpetual baniſhment: and whatever ſubject ſhould conceive himſelf injured by the judge's ſentence, might appeal to the emperor in perſon. This new regulation was highly acceptable to all his majeſty's ſubjects, but more eſpecially to the lower claſs: and as they had hitherto no written laws, the emperor cauſed a code to be compoſed of the

1721.

the civil law, in as plain, ſhort, and eaſy a method as poſſible, agreeable to the method which marſhal Weyde had formerly adopted in compiling the military law; which was contained in a ſmall pocket volume, printed in the Ruſſian and German languages, and of which every officer had one given him for his inſtruction.

The captain again refuſed leave to quit.

I was now informed from Scotland, that a ſmall eſtate had devolved to me there, by the death of my grandfather's brother, upon which I begged count Bruce to procure me leave from the emperor, to go to Scotland, to ſee my friends and ſettle my affairs in that country; but his majeſty told him he intended to take me with him upon a certain expedition, where he would have occaſion to employ me, and promiſed when that was at an end, I ſhould have leave to go to Scotland.

Triumphal entry into Moſcow.

The emperor intending to make a triumphal entry into Moſcow, the metropolis of his empire, ordered his own diviſion, or guards, conſiſting of four regiments, or twelve battalions, and four grenadier companies, to repair to Moſcow, where we were to meet on the 26th of December, every one being permitted to make the beſt of his way to the place of rendezvous, as ſuited him; but this was now attended with great inconvenience to the officers, having left all our horſes and equipages at Revel, which we were obliged to ſell at a very low rate, and were now hard put to it for want of horſes, as the preſent demand made them very ſcarce, and exceſſive dear. Upon my communicating my difficulty to count Bruce, he gave me ſix of his coach-horſes, which he intended to have ſent away before him to Moſcow. By which means I ſet off by myſelf the 1ſt of November, but the froſt being not hard enough to carry the weight of the horſes,

I found

BOOK VI. I found it exceeding bad travelling, and proceeded with the utmoſt difficulty; the horſes legs ſoon became ſo cut and wounded by the ice, which broke at every ſtep they made, that it was the 25th before I could reach Novogorod, where I left the general's horſes to be cured of their wounds, and ſet forward with hired horſes to Seragorod, where I got the 4th of December, and joined our regiment who were forming there, and we marched from thence in a body on the 15th, and arrived near Moſcow on the 26th, where we joined the reſt of our diviſion, and were augmented with two field regiments, making in all ſeventeen battalions.

1721.

On the 29th of December, his imperial majeſty made his triumphal entry in Moſcow, in a very fine order; he walked on foot, dreſſed in his colonel's uniform, at the head of the firſt regiment of guards, preceded by a company of grenadiers, and a band of martial muſic, conſiſting of a pair of kettle-drums, two trumpets, two French horns, eight hautboys and four baſſoons; after the emperor walked two lieutenant-colonels, Menzikof and Butterlin, behind them four majors, Galitzin, Uſupof, Matuſkin, and Romanzof; after them four captains, followed by four captain lieutenants; next followed the colours of the ſixteen companies of the firſt regiment of guards, in two ranks: the other regiments followed in the ſame order; and the balconies, windows and ſtreets through which we marched, were crouded with ſpectators innumerable. Being arrived at the firſt triumphal arch, erected in Twer ſtreet, his majeſty was received with the ſound of trumpets, and a general diſcharge of all the artillery in the city, and ringing of bells. When he arrived at the ſecond triumphal arch, he was com-

plimented by the archbiſhop of Novogorod, vice-preſident of the ſynod, at the head of the ſecular and regular clergy, where he was entertained ſome time with vocal and inſtrumental muſic, performed by young ſtudents, in various foreign languages, before the duke of Holſtein, the ſenators, and others of rank. His majeſty then proceeded to the third arch, erected by the directions of prince Menzikof, where he ſtopt a little to gratify the curioſity of the populace, who gave every demonſtration of their joy. His majeſty then continued his march towards the fourth arch, erected by the magiſtrates, when he was received by Knez Trubetzkoi, preſident of the magiſtracy, and by the whole body of magiſtrates, accompanied by a great number of eminent merchants; from thence we proceeded to the Inoiſemſka Slaboda, which is that part of the city where all the foreigners dwell, where we were entertained with eating and drinking-ing till very late: from whence we went to our reſpective quarters.

This triumphal entry was ſucceeded by ſix weeks feaſting, with balls, maſquerades, and other diverſions; amongſt the many other ſhews that were exhibited on this occaſion, was a little yacht, of fine wormanſhip, and gilded all over, mounted with twelve ſmall braſs guns, with colours and pendants flying; this veſſel was ſet upon a ſledge and drawn by horſes, in which the emperor and the duke of Holſtein, with others, to the number of twenty, all dreſſed in ſeamen's cloaths, drove for ſeveral days through the ſtreets of Moſcow, attended by a band of muſic, from one grandee's houſe to another, where magnificent entertainments were prepared for them; the guns from the yacht firing at every houſe

BOOK VI. where they ſtopped. All the ſtreets of the city were illu-
1721. minated every night; and this ſhew was very pleaſing to the inhabitants, who had never ſeen any thing like a ſhip before; people of all ranks minded nothing but their pleaſures during the whole time, till a new and ſudden affair put a ſtop to all their merriment, which was this:

1722. On the 22d of February 1722, a proclamation was made by the ſound of trumpet, requiring every natural-born ſubject of the Ruſſian empire, and all foreigners then reſiding there, to ſwear and ſign an oath, "That they will acknow-"lege as ſucceſſor to the empire, the perſon whom his ma-"jeſty ſhould nominate for their ſovereign, after his death." This order ſtruck a damp on the ſpirits of every body, when they reflected on the undoubted title of the young prince Peter, his majeſty's grandſon, and only remaining male heir of the imperial family; who was as promiſing and hopeful a young prince, as any of his age could poſſibly be. The order however muſt be obeyed, and was complied with by many with a reluctant heart, as the innocent prince could not help his father's failings. All the officers of our diviſion were ordered to different pariſhes, to adminiſter this oath and ſee it ſubſcribed; one of the pariſhes within the city fell to my lot, which being very numerous, took me no leſs than five weeks cloſe attendance, from day light in the morning till late at night by candle; this was to me, the moſt diſagreeable ſervice I ever performed in Ruſſia, as I was ſo well acquainted with the excellent temper and genius of the young prince, having had the honor to teach him the military excerciſes and fortification, and to whoſe prejudice this oath was certainly adminiſtered.

BOOK

BOOK VII.

The reaſon for the Perſian expedition.—Embark on the river Moſcow.—Niſmi-Novogorod.—Embark on the gallies.—The Ceremiſs Tartars.—Caſan Tartars.—Manner of fiſhing in the Wolga.—Kinds of fiſh.—Alabaſter quarry.—Bulgarian Tartars, and the Maiden-Hill.—Kalmuck Tartars.—Aſtrachan.—Nagayan Tartars.—Short account of the Tartars in general.—The Nagayan Tartars manner of life.—Deſarts near Aſtrachan rich with ſalt.—Fruits at Aſtrachan.—The Banyan woman's burning herſelf at her huſband's death.—The inhabitants of India.—The Banyans.

AFTER this point was ſettled, the emperor made preparations for an expedition to take ſatisfaction for the injuries he had received from the rebel Perſians, bordering on the Caſpian ſea. Mr. Wolinſky, whom his majeſty had ſent ambaſſador to Myr Maghmut, the uſurper, was juſt returned from Perſia, with a very unſatisfactory anſwer. The people about mount Caucaſus, on the weſt ſide of the Caſpian, had taken Schamachi, in the province of Shirvan, and put three hundred Ruſſian merchants to the ſword, who were there on their mercantile affairs, and ſeized their effects to the amount of above a million of rubles: the Ruſſian caravan from China, had been treated in the ſame manner by the Uſbeck Tartars, who were in alliance with the uſurper; and the inhabitants of Androfſka, near the borders of Ruſſia, had made frequent inroads on the Ruſſian territories, and pillaged, burnt, and deſtroyed, every thing they met with, and carried off a great number of people, of both ſexes, into ſlavery. Mr. Wolinſky, who had been ſent to demand ſatisfaction for theſe inſults, returning

1722. The reaſons for the Perſian expedition.

BOOK VII. without being able to obtain the leaſt ſatisfaction, determined the emperor to ſeek redreſs by force of arms, and to command the expedition in perſon. While this was in agitation, there arrived three ſucceſſive expreſſes from Chach Huſſein, the dethroned monarch of Perſia, imploring his majeſty's aid and aſſiſtance againſt the uſurper, on conditions too advantageous for ſo wiſe a prince to neglect, and which haſtened forward the expedition.

1722.

Embark on river Moſcow.

When the emperor firſt reſolved on this expedition, he gave orders for building at Niſni Novogorod, a ſufficient number of gallies and ſtore-ſhips to carry 30,000 of his regular troops down the river Wolga to Aſtrachan; and having now ſettled how the affairs of government were to be conducted in his abſence, we embarked on the river Moſcow, for our expedition into Aſia, on the 26th of April. In going down the river, we had a fine view of one of the moſt fertile and pleaſant countries in the world. On the 3d of May, we arrived before the town of Columna, which is one hundred and eight werſts by water from Moſcow, but not half that diſtance by land; it is a town of conſiderable ſize, environed with a ſtone wall and towers, and is a biſhop's ſeat. Here the river Moſcow falls into the Occa, which coming from the ſouth, is not only a much larger river, but has on its banks a noble country, very populous and fruitful; and the vaſt number of ſtately oaks on both its ſhores, renders it one of the moſt delightful countries in the world. The city of Wolodimer ſtands between the Occa and Wolga, and is ſituated in the moſt fertile country in all Moſcovy; it was for a conſiderable time the reſidence of the great dukes, till the imperial ſeat was transferred to Moſ-

Moſcow, ſince which it is much decayed. To this province are annexed the two Tartarian principalities of Caſſinou and Mordwa; the capital of the firſt is Caſſinogorod, ſituated on the right of the river Occa, ſurrounded with a great many villages and monaſteries, which ſtand moſt pleaſantly among the woods. The chief city of the ſecond is Moruma, which ſtands on the left of the Occa, which here receives the ſtream of the Cleſna, which comes from Wolodimer. Two unfortunate accidents befell us here; a ſoldier loſt his leg by a cable at the letting go an anchor, and a ſoldier's wife was ſqueezed to death between two veſſels, having fallen down in ſtepping from the one to the other.

On the 25th of May, we arrived before Niſni-Novogorod, ſeven hundred and fifty werſts from Moſcow. This city is built at the conflux of the two great rivers Occa and Wolga; the Wolga is, at the junction of the two rivers, four thouſand five hundred geometrical feet wide. This river hath its riſe from a lake called Wolga, in the province of Roſhovie, and is, without doubt, the largeſt river in Europe, being from its ſource to the Caſpian, into which it falls, above two thouſand nine hundred werſts long; but from its ſource to this city, running for above four hundred werſts through the ſouthern parts of Moſcovy, it has but an indifferent ſtream, and touches upon few places of note. This city received its name from the famous city of Novogorod, the inhabitants of which were, by order of the tyrant Ivan Baſilowitz, tranſported to this place; it is ſurrounded by very ſtrong ſtone walls and towers, and the ſuburbs are larger than the city, being near three miles in circumference; it is inhabited by Tartars, Ruſſians, and Dutch, moſt of them

Niſni Novogorod.

BOOK VII. them merchants; the Dutch have a Proteſtant church here.

1722. All the army deſtined for this expedition were aſſembled here in one body, and embarked in the new gallies built here; and as they were but ſmall, ſixteen of them were allotted to each regiment, which, with a great many ſtore and hoſpital ſhips, made a very numerous fleet. The emperor and empreſs arrived here the 27th, in a fine yacht, built for them at Moſcow. His majeſty's birth day being on the 30th, the army was drawn up in order on the ſhore, and after firing three vollies, went all again on board the gallies; in firing the guns on board his majeſty's yacht, one of them burſt, and killed a grenadier on ſentry, and wounded one of the maids of honour ſo dangerouſly, that ſhe died in a few hours. On this occaſion, a grand entertainment was prepared in the city, for their majeſties and all the field-officers, by Mr. Strogenof, a merchant, reputed to be a man of the moſt extenſive trade and riches, of any merchant in all Ruſſia. He ſent plenty of beer and brandy on board the gallies for the ſoldiers; and at the concluſion of the entertainment, the emperor created Mr. Strogenof a baron. Their majeſty's went on board the yacht the ſame evening, and ſet out before us on their paſſage to Aſtrachan, to ſee every thing prepared that was neceſſary for the expedition over the Caſpian, but the fleet was detained ſome days in getting all things ready.

There was here a Capuchin friar, who had been a captain in the Swiſs ſervice; but having killed an officer in a duel he turned Capuchin, and was now in his way as a miſſionary to Perſia: underſtanding he was to preach, curioſity led me

to

1722.

to accompany ſome officers of the Romiſh perſuaſion, to hear him, and his diſcourſe far exceeded our expectation. After he had ended his ſermon, he addreſſed himſelf to his audience deſiring a paſſage to Aſtrachan; but, notwithſtanding there were then preſent, ſeveral field-officers of his own perſuaſion, none of them had the civility to make him the offer, at which he appeared much concerned. After all the officers were gone out, I went up and told him, if he would accept of a paſſage from a heretic, he ſhould be very welcome to a ſhare of my cabin, which he very thankfully accepted; and I muſt acknowledge, I never travelled with a more agreeable companion, who afterwards, upon all occaſions, ſhewed his utmoſt gratitude. When we arrived at Aſtrachan, he ſucceeded to one of the fraternity, who was lately dead, and ſettled there, which was a happy circumſtance for this friar, conſidering the convulſed ſtate in which Perſia then was.

On the 10th of June, our fleet ſet out under the command of admiral Apraxin. We found vaſt quantities of aſparagus, growing wild on the banks of the river in great perfection, occaſioned by the overflowing of its waters from the melting of the ſnow in the ſpring. On the 11th we arrived at Baſiligorod, on the right ſide of the Wolga, built by the tyrant of that name, as a frontier place againſt the incurſions of the Tartars, called Ceremiſſes; but ſince the Ruſſians have extended their conqueſts over the Tartars on that ſide, all the way to the Caſpian ſea, this place has been much neglected, and now only reſembles a large village.

The Ceremiſſe Tartars inhabit both ſides of the Wolga, from hence to the kingdom of Caſan. They are a people bar-

BOOK VII. barbarous, treacherous, and cruel, living by robberies; their food is wild-fowl, fiſh, and honey, with plenty of milk, which their paſtures furniſh them with, and they eat the fleſh of their horſes and cows, when they die of their own accord, for they never kill any for themſelves: they have no houſes, but moſt wretched huts. Thoſe on the right ſide of the river are called Nagarin, or Mountaineers, and thoſe inhabiting the left, are called Lugoivi, from their meadows, which ſupply them on both ſides of the river with hay: they are all heathens, uſing neither circumciſion nor baptiſm; they give a child its name from the firſt perſon they meet that day ſix months after its birth; they acknowlege an immortal God, the author all good, who ought to be adored, but ridicule the immortality of the ſoul; although they believe not in a hell, yet they dread the devil as the author of all misfortunes, and therefore they pretend to appeaſe him with ſacrifices: when they offer a ſacrifice to God, they kill a horſe, cow, or ſheep, and extend its ſkin on a high pole, which they implore to intercede for them with God, that he may increaſe the number of their cattle. They have a high veneration for the ſun and moon, as the authors of the productions of the earth. They make uſe of no churches, prieſts, or books: polygamy is uſed among them, ſo as to marry two or three ſiſters at a time. Their women and maids are all wrapped up in a piece of white coarſe cloth, and ſcarce any thing to be ſeen but their faces; the men wear a long coat made of linen cloth, under which they wear breeches: they all ſhave their heads; the young men that are unmarried, leave a treſs of hair to hang down their back by way diſtinction. Their language is peculiar to themſelves, having no reſemblance to that

1722.

1722.

of other neighbouring Tartars, or with the Turkiſh or Ruſſian; although ſome of them that are converſant with the Ruſſians have attained ſome knowlege of their tongue. Forty werſts diſtant from Baſiligorod, is the town of Kaſmademiunſki, ſituated at the foot of a hill on the right ſide of the river, the whole country thereabouts being as one continued foreſt of elm-trees, of an extraordinary compaſs. Forty werſts farther down the river, on the ſame ſhore, ſtands the town of Sabakzar, the moſt pleaſant of any in thoſe parts, from its ſituation. Twenty-five werſts lower, and having paſt three ſmall iſlands on the left ſide of the river, we come to the town of Kockſhage. On the ſame ſide, ſome werſts lower down, ſtands the town of Suiatſki, built on the aſcent of a hill; the caſtle and churches are of ſtone, the reſt of the buildings and fortifications are of wood.

Caſan Tartars.

Going from this in the night, towards the river Caſanſki, my veſſel ſprung a leak, and was very near being loſt before we diſcovered it: we got aſhore with the utmoſt difficulty, and having cleared the veſſel of water, and ſtopped the leak in the beſt manner we could, we ſtood up the river Caſanſki, to the city of Caſan, ſeven werſts from the Wolga, and there I got my veſſel repaired. This city is very large, and ſtands in a fertile plain, on the left ſide of the Wolga; its houſes and fortifications are of wood, but the caſtle and its works, which conſiſt of four baſtions and a good many towers, are of ſtone; the river ſurrounding it, ſerves for a ditch. The garriſon conſiſts of Ruſſians only, under a governor, but the city is inhabited by Tartars and Ruſſians, who have their own governor. The kings of Caſan, in former times, maintained very bloody wars with the Ruſſians,

BOOK VII. and frequently laid them under contribution, bringing commonly an army of ſixty thouſand men into the field; but they were at laſt ſubdued by Ivan Baſilowitz, in the year 1552, and the royal family brought priſoners to Moſcow, where their poſterity ſtill remain, the chief whereof is called the Caſanſki czarowitz to this day. It is to be obſerved that the courſe of the river Wolga, from Moſcow to Caſan, is eaſt; and from thence to the Caſpian, is ſouth. The kingdom of Caſan lies on the left ſide of the Wolga, and its inhabitants live all in houſes, and ſubſiſt by agriculture: they ſupply the ſouthern provinces with all ſorts of proviſions, and by this means they are the moſt civilized of all the Tartars. They are partly Mahommetans, but moſt of thoſe who inhabit cities and towns, are of the Greek church; they are forbid, under ſevere puniſhment, to enter within any of the fortifications. They are bounded on the ſouth by the Tartars of Bulgaria, and on the north by thoſe of Siberia.

1722.

Having got my galley repaired, I departed from Caſan on the 17th of June, but did not overtake the fleet again till we arrived at Aſtrachan, as they made no ſtop by night or day. About ſixty werſts below Caſan, the river Kama falls into the Wolga on the left ſide; and thirty werſts below that, the river Zerdick alſo falls in; and at thirty werſts diſtant from thence, on the right ſide of the river, ſtands the town of Tetus, reſembling, by its diſorderly buildings, rather a great village than a town. Twenty-five werſts below that, on the oppoſite ſide, the river Utka falls in, which riſes near the city of Bulgar, the capital of the Tartarian kingdom of that name. Some werſts lower is an iſland called Staritza, fifteen werſts long; and not far below that, ſtands the ruins

of

of a conſiderable city among the Tartars, called Ureneſkora, deſtroyed by Tamerlane; it is moſt delightfully ſituated, and famous this day for the ſepulchre of one of their ſaints, to whom they pay great devotion.

A good many werſts below this, on the right ſide, are likewiſe to be ſeen the ruins of two other great cities, not far diſtant from each other; pleaſantly ſituated near the banks of the river: the firſt was called Simberſka, the ſecond Arbuchim; they were likewiſe deſtroyed by Tamerlane. Here I overtook three gallies and one ſtore-ſhip; they had loſt three of their anchors, and had three ſoldiers and one gunner drowned. Being the ſenior officer, I took them under my command, and this meeting made the remainder of the voyage ſo much the more agreeable, as there were ſome officers ladies and a band of muſic on board the ſtore-ſhip, paſſing our time with dancing in the evenings, and with fiſhing and fowling by day, both kinds being of the beſt ſort in great plenty; all ſorts of butchers meat and others kind of proviſions we bought for little or nothing, and as we had good ſtore of all ſorts of liquors on board our veſſels, we paſſed our time altogether in the ſtore-ſhip, where we were not ſtraitened for room, very agreeably.

The Wolga, hereabouts, is full of ſmall iſlands and ſandbanks, lying ſcattered up and down on both ſhores, which renders the paſſage very difficult, and at certain ſeaſons impracticable for veſſels of great burthen, who are obliged to go for the moſt part, in the months of May and June, when by reaſon of the ſnow melting, and rivers which fall into it being thawed, its waters ſwell to ſo great a height, that boats can often paſs over the ſmaller iſlands. This river

BOOK VII. contains prodigious ſtore of fiſh of all ſorts, and which are a valuable commodity in Muſcovy, on account of their numerous faſt days, which both Tartars and Ruſſians catch with a cord, but in a different manner. The Tartars take a long rope, to one end of which they faſten a large ſtone which ſinks it to the bottom, and to the other end they faſten ſeveral large pieces of wood, which float in the water; all along this rope, and at ſome diſtance from each other, they faſten many ſmall cords, with a hook at the end of each, baited with a certain ſmall fiſh, which the large ones are fond of; they lay ſeveral of theſe ropes acroſs the river every evening, and take them up in the morning, and ſeldom miſs a fiſh of one kind or other on every hook, ſome of them ten, twelve, or more, feet long. The Ruſſians alſo uſe a rope, and faſten a baited hook to the end of it, and have alſo their ſmall cords baited with ſmall wooden fiſh, tinned over, which being dragged behind a boat, by the reflection of the ſun reſembles the ſcales of fiſh, by which means they draw up fiſh of a very great ſize, to the bait. Among the great variety of fiſh with which this river abounds, the ſturgeon is none of the leaſt conſiderable, whoſe eggs afford what the Ruſſians call Ikari, and we caviar: the beluga, or white fiſh, deſerves alſo to be mentioned; they are from five to ſix yards long, and thick in proportion; they likewiſe make caviar of the eggs, or roe of this fiſh, which is of a clear grey colour, larger and more delicious to the taſte than thoſe of the ſturgeon, but not ſo fit for exportation, as they cannot find out the method to preſerve them; the roes of the ſturgeon are black and ſmall, and after ten or twelve days preparation in ſalt, are put up in a paſte and tranſ-

1722. Manner of fiſhing in the Wolga.

Kinds of fiſh.

ported to all parts of Europe: this commodity affords a conſiderable trade to Ruſſia. Beſides the ſturgeon and beluga, it yields alſo the oſotrin, another very large fiſh, very fat and delicious: this river alſo abounds with ſalmon, ſterlitz, a moſt delicious fiſh, and innumerable other ſorts too tedious to mention.

Going down the river we met ſeveral ſtruſſes, or flat-bottomed veſſels, carrying from eight to nine hundred tons, which go loaded from Aſtrachan to Moſcow, with ſalt, fiſh, caviar, and all ſorts of Indian and Perſian goods; they ſeldom carry leſs than two hundred men, on account of the laborious work they have to undergo, in going up againſt the ſtream when the wind fails them, which is often the caſe; and where the ſhore is rough, they ſend their boats a head with warp anchors to a conſiderable diſtance, one after another, by which means they warp themſelves up againſt the ſtream very expeditiouſly; the men running with the warp-rope on their ſhoulders, relieving each other by turns: where the banks are plain and even, the people are ſet to tow her.

Near the ruined city of Arbuchim, was a ſtone ten yards long, and ſix broad and deep, ſunk in the ground; on the upper ſide was an inſcription in the Ruſſian language, ſignifying, whoever lifted this ſtone up ſhould be rewarded for their pains; ſeveral of the inhabitants aſſembled and turned it up, and found another inſcription on the reverſe ſide, "Fools, what do you ſeek? there is nothing laid here."

From hence we came to a village called Teneſowa, where there was a fine alabaſter quarry, of which I took three large pieces, and put them in the ſtore ſhip, to ſhow them to his majeſty. On the 20th of June, we arrived at Samara,

Alabaſter quarry.

BOOK VII. 1722.

mara, on the left ſide of the river, a town belonging to the kingdom of Bulgar; the river Samar, from which it takes its name, falls into the Wolga here, and is above three hundred werſts from Caſan. The form of Samara is ſquare, and the fortifications and buildings are all of wood, except the churches and monaſteries. The garriſon conſiſts of a number of regular troops and Coſſacks under a governor. The life and manners of the Bulgarians, are much the ſame with thoſe of Caſan.

Bulgarian Tartars, and the Maiden-hill.

Not far from this place, and near the river Uſſa, ſtands a remarkable hill, called Dewitza-Gora, or the Maiden-hill, of which they relate many fabulous ſtories that are not worth repeating. It was formerly the rendezvous of a body of Coſſack robbers, who from its top, could ſee a conſiderable diſtance both up and down the river, and were thereby enabled to intercept and rob ſuch veſſels as they thought proper; but at this time it was converted into a convent of monks. The hill is in ſhape like a ſugar-loaf, with an eaſy aſcent winding round it to the top; and at ſmall diſtances on this winding road, are cells containing one monk each; at the top is the dwelling of their ſuperior, whoſe houſe, as alſo the chapel, is built of wood, on a ſpacious flat piece of ground; from hence is one of the moſt beautiful proſpects I ever ſaw. By the ſides of this winding road, from the bottom to the top, large pine trees ſtand at ſuch regular diſtances, as if they had been planted on purpoſe; and have a moſt pleaſing effect to the eye. At a ſmall diſtance from hence, riſes another hill, which reaches near forty werſts along the river, and the vallies between are ſtored with apple-trees, which yield plenty of cyder, which the Ruſſians call yablona quas. Some of thoſe mountains run a long way

way into the country. In this moſt delightful voyage, we found great convenience from the pinnaces belonging to the gallies, from ſix to ten oars each, which enabled us to gratify our curioſity, without hindering our veſſels from proceeding on their voyage.

On the 27th of June we got to Saratof, ſeventeen hundred and eighty werſts by water from Moſcow; here we caught two large ſturgeon and a beluga, or white-fiſh, ſix yards long, and thick in proportion; theſe three fiſh were a ſufficient meal for all the people on board the five veſſels. The city of Saratof is ſituated on a very fair large plain, about four werſts from the main river, on a branch of the Wolga; it is inhabited, or rather garriſoned, by a great number of Ruſſian ſoldiers and Coſſacks, who are put here as a guard againſt the incurſions of the Kalmuck Tartars, inhabiting, a vaſt territory lying between the Wolga and the river Jaick, toward the Caſpian ſea, and poſſeſs the left ſide of the Wolga from hence near to Aſtrachan, in all which immenſe tract there is not ſo much as one ſingle houſe to be ſeen, as they all live in tents, and remove from one place to another in queſt of paſturage for their large herds of cattle, conſiſting of horſes, camels, cows, and ſheep; they neither ſow, nor reap, nor make hay for their cattle, ſo that they live without bread, or any ſort of vegetable; and in the winter their cattle fare as other wild beaſts. Their food is fleſh (eſpecially that of horſes), fiſh, wild-fowl, and veniſon, and have a great plenty of milk, butter, and cheeſe; but mare's milk is the moſt eſteemed among them, and from it they make a very ſtrong ſpirit, of which they are very fond; it is clear as water, but

Kalmuck Tartars.

I could

BOOK VII. 1722.

I could never learn how it is made. The Kalmucks are divided into an infinite number of hordes, or clans, every one under their own particular chan, and all of thoſe acknowledge the authority of one principal chan, who is called Otchicurti-chan, or the king of kings, and who derives his pedigree from the great Tamerlane. He is a very potent prince, and lives in great ſplendor; is formidable to all the neighbouring Tartars, and to the Ruſſians themſelves, who are obliged to keep conſiderable garriſons on the right-ſide of the river, all the way from Saratof to Aſtrachan to prevent their excurſions, as the Kalmucks are in poſſeſſion of the oppoſite ſhore, and are alſo under the neceſſity of furniſhing the Negayan Tartars about Aſtrachan with arms to defend themſelves, in the ſummer, againſt the incurſions of the Kalmucks, who formerly uſed to come every ſummer to ravage the country of the Nagayans about Aſtrachan, but ſince they have been made ſenſible of the effects of the ſmall arms and cannon now put in their hands by the Ruſſians, they content themſelves with coming once a year to the great plains of Aſtrachan for the conveniency of food for their cattle, at a ſeaſon when their more northern poſſeſſions are quite deſtitute of it. This is commonly done with not leſs than one hundred thouſand men, and they rarely return without having received their accuſtomed preſent of bread, brandy, and tobacco, from the governor of Aſtrachan.

There is no doubt but the Ruſſians are powerful enough to curb the inſolence of theſe vagabonds, were it not for the conſideration of a benefit ariſing from the traffic for their furs and horſes, which they bring every year in great abundance to Aſtrachan; and alſo for the ſervice they are of to the

the Ruſſians in their wars with the Turks and Crim-Tartars, being accounted the moſt alert at pitching and removing their tents of any people in the world, which they are accuſtomed to by their conſtant incurſions to ſome or other of the neighbouring countries. It is principally from this view that the Ruſſians looked upon it as a piece of policy rather to allay their fierceneſs by ſome preſents, which, however, by continuance of time, they now demand as an obligation, than to engage in a war againſt a multitude of vagabonds who have ſo little to loſe; having neither houſe nor fixed reſidence in all their dominions, but live the year round in tents covered with felts, in which, however, both for neatneſs and conveniency, they far exceed all the neighbouring nations, even thoſe who live in fixed habitations.

The Kalmucks, as well as the other nations of Great Tartary, are Pagans. As to their perſons, they are of a low ſtature, and generally bow-legged, occaſioned by their being ſo continually on horſeback, or ſitting with their legs below them; their faces are broad and flat, with a flat noſe and little black eyes, diſtant from each other like the Chineſe; they are of an olive-colour, and their faces full of wrinkles, with very little or no beard; they ſhave their heads, leaving only a tuft of hair on the crown. The better ſort of them wear coats of ſtuff or ſilk, above which they wear a large, wide, fur coat of ſheep-ſkins, and a cap of the ſame: in the time of war, they cover their head and body with iron net-work, which they call a pantzer, the links of which are ſo cloſe, that it is proof againſt any kind of weapons except fire-arms, as a bullet will break it, and generally carries ſome broken pieces into the wound,

BOOK VII. 1722.

which makes them ſtand in great awe of fire-arms. Their only weapons are the ſcymitar, lance, and bow and arrow; but they are coming into the uſe of fire-arms, which, in time, will make them more formidable. Their cattle are large, and their ſheep are of the largeſt kind, having great fat tails, weighing from twenty-ſix to thirty pounds; their ears hanging down like our dogs, and inſtead of wool they have ſoft curled hair, ſo that their ſkins are all converted into fur coats. Their horſes are but ſmall and of a bad ſhape, but ſwift, hardy, and ſtrong, and many of them pace naturally, and trot at an incredible rate. They eat the fleſh of camels, cows, and ſheep, but univerſally give the preference to that of the horſe.

They are, in their own way, the happieſt people on the earth, being fatigued with no kind of labour, but diverting themſelves with fiſhing and hunting; and I can conceive nothing preferable to their way of living in the ſummer: but in winter they are obliged to croſs the river, and live on the bare plain of Aſtrachan, where their only firing is the dried dung of the cattle, and the cattle themſelves ſtarving on the ſcanty produce of a barren deſart. Here they remain till the ſpring, when their former habitation, on the eaſt ſide of the river, is overflowed for near a month to a vaſt extent by the melting of the ſnow, and their country appears one continued ſea over-grown with trees: as ſoon as this ſubſides, they return with great joy, ſwimming their loaded camels and cattle over the river, where the intervening iſlands make their paſſage eaſieſt. It is to be obſerved, that the Kalmucks, when they go upon any expedition, have no regard either to bridges or boats; they no ſooner come

to a river, than in they plunge with their horſes, and ſliding from their backs hold faſt by the manes till they get over, and then immediately mount again, and ſo proceed. But to return to our paſſage down the river.

The 2d of July we arrived at Kamuſinſki, which is a well fortified town, ſituate on the river Kamus, and has a numerous garriſon of ſoldiers and Coſſacks. A canal was begun here to make a communication between the rivers Wolga and Don, or Tanais, and after being greatly advanced, was at laſt found impracticable by the vaſt quantity of hard rock lying in the way, which could only be removed by blowing at ſuch an immenſe expence of time and treaſure that the attempt was dropt. Oppoſite to Kamus, a branch of the Wolga points its courſe into the country, north-eaſt, one werſt, quite contrary to the current of the great river; but afterwards reſuming its former courſe, returns to the ſouth-eaſt, and continues in that direction, till it falls into the Caſpian ſea. About forty miles from this, and at a ſmall diſtance from the river-ſide, are to be ſeen the ruins of a great city, formerly called Czarefgorod, built, as is related, by Tamerlane: its palace and walls were all of brick, and have ſerved the city of Aſtrachan with materials, theſe many years, for building their walls, churches, and monaſteries. The 4th of July, we came before Czaritza, which is fortified with ſeveral baſtions and towers, but all of wood, and inhabited only by ſoldiers and Coſſacks. All about here, and even as far Aſtrachan, the iſland of Zerpinſko excepted, which, being twelve werſts long, ſupports the cattle belonging to the garriſon, the ſoil is ſo very barren, that it affords no manner of corn: this defect, however, is eaſily ſupplied

BOOK VII. 1722. by the help of the river, the fertile lands of Caſan furniſhing thoſe parts, and even the city of Aſtrachan, with wheat and rye, at a very moderate price. Forty werſts below Czaritza, this great river caſts out her ſecond branch, which joins the firſt, and with it falls into the ſea. From hence, on both ſides the Wolga, as far as the ſea, grow vaſt quantities of liquorice of a very large ſize, its ſtalk being as thick as a luſty man's arm, and ſometimes above four feet high, the ſeeds lying in cods upon the ſtalk; yet this is inferior, both in ſize and ſweetneſs, to that which grows near the river Araxis in Aſia.

The 6th, we arrived before Zornayar, ſeated on the right ſide of the river, on a high ſhore, near a vaſt plain, without trees or eminences; the form of the place is a ſquare, fortified with wooden towers and ramparts, and garriſoned with ſoldiers and Coſſacks, all horſemen. A few werſts below this is a third branch of the Wolga, called Buchwoſtowa, which falls into the two preceding; and at twenty werſts farther down ſhe ſends out her fourth branch called Donitoſka, which does not mingle with any of the other three, but flows by a particular channel into the Caſpian ſea. In paſſing the left ſhore, we frequently viſited the Kalmucks in their kibbits, or tents, which we always found pitched on the moſt delightful places I ever ſaw, their country being a large plain, full of wood and meadows; and we were much diverted with the numbers of their children of both ſexes, running naked along the ſhore; and upon our throwing bread into the water, they ſwam in crouds to take it up, there being none of them but can ſwim to admiration. About ſixty werſts above Aſtrachan is the fifth branch of the Wolga,

Wolga, and is called Mituſka, which, at ſome diſtance from the main river, divides again into two ſtreams, one of which unites with the Donitoſka, and the other returns again to the Wolga. Twenty-five werſts above Aſtrachan lies the iſle of Buſan, and ten werſts below that iſle is the ſixth branch of the Wolga called Baltzick; and ſome werſts lower, the ſeventh, called Kniluſſe, which forms the iſle of Dolgoi, upon which ſtands the city of Aſtrachan: having encompaſſed this iſland, it falls through ſeveral channels into the Caſpian ſea.

On the 10th of July I arrived at the city of Aſtrachan, where I joined the army again. They were all ſurpriſed to ſee me, as they had been informed by a galley, which paſſed us in the night, when we were in our greateſt danger, that we were all drowned. Here my agreeable companion, the Capuchin, entered into a cloyſter of his own order, as there happened to be a vacancy by the death of one of their brethren, which was very fortunate for the Capuchin, as the confuſions then in Perſia made it impracticable for him to proceed thither, as he at firſt propoſed. I met with the utmoſt gratitude and civility from him and the reſt of his brethren, and when I went away, upon our expedition over the Caſpian ſea, I left every thing I had no occaſion for at their convent; and he ſent me afterwards, by every ſhip that arrived, proviſions of all kinds, by which means I was better provided than any officer in the army: ſo that I loſt nothing by my civility to the Capuchin.

Aſtrachan.

The city of Aſtrachan is ſituated on the confines of Europe and Aſia, which are divided by the river Wolga. It ſtands on the iſland of Dolgoi, which is formed by the branches

BOOK VII. 1722.

branches on that river, as has been already mentioned, in 46 deg. 22 min. north lat. two thouſand ſix hundred and thirty werſts from Moſcow, allowing ninety werſts to a degree. The city is of a conſiderable bigneſs, and at preſent inhabited almoſt entirely by Ruſſians; the former inhabitants of the country, being Tartars, are not permitted to live within the walls, but in the adjacent ſuburbs, which are only fenced round with palliſades: the fortifications of the city are all of ſtone, very high, and at a diſtance make a very gallant appearance, eſpecially toward the river, by the great number of ſtone turrets and ſteeples; but the houſes within the city being all of wood, and very low, its inſide does not appear anſwerable to the reſt. There is a great train of artillery in this place, no leſs than five hundred braſs cannon, with a proportionable number of mortars; the garriſon, in peaceable times, is commonly ſix thouſand men, under the command of a governor and other officers. Aſtrachan being ſituate on a navigable boundary, between the two moſt conſiderable quarters of the globe, is naturally the ſeat of an immenſe trade; being frequented not only by the neighbouring Tartar nations, but by Perſians, Armenians, and Indians: the Indians have a particular diſtrict aſſigned them within the walls of the city.

Nagayan Tartars.

Czar Iwan Baſilowitz, having conquered the kingdom of Caſan, in the year 1552, turned his arms againſt the Nagayan Tartars, and took Aſtrachan, their capital, by aſſault, in the year 1554; and to ſecure his conqueſt he ſurrounded the city with a ſtrong wall. Czar Michael Fedrowitz, beſides ſtrengthening the city with ſome new fortifications, built that part of it called Strelitza-Gorod, or the city of ſoldiers, as the military

military had their quarters aſſigned them there. I will now endeavour to give a ſhort deſcription of this country and its inhabitants. BOOK VII. 1722.

It ſeems beyond a diſpute, the Tartars were unknown to the ancient geographers, who comprehended them under the general appellation of Scythians and Sarmatians; it is evident the Tartars conſiſt of ſeveral nations, diſtinct among themſelves, in their names, language, and cuſtoms. The Nagayans, with the Tartars of Caſan, and ſome others inhabiting between the Wolga and the Don, or Tanais, are ſaid to have been Indians, who revolting from their ſovereigns about the year 1212, emigrated and ſettled themſelves on the Palus Meotis, near the Euxine ſea, and extending their conqueſts to the river Don, and from thence at laſt to the Wolga, near which they inhabit at this day. The Nagayans are ſeated along the ſhores of the Caſpian, from the river Iaick, to the Wolga. Aſtrachan, their principal city, they relate to have been built by a Tartar king, whoſe name being Aſtra, gave his city the name of Aſtra-chan, or king. Before this country was conquered by the Ruſſians, it was inhabited altogether by Tartars, but now they are neither ſuffered to reſide within this city, nor build a new one, nor fortify any of their towns or villages with walls. Short account of the Tartars.

The Nagayans live for the moſt part in round huts made of bull-ruſhes, or canes, and ſeldom exceed twelve or thirteen yards in circumference, with a hole at the top to let out the ſmoak; yet the leaſt of theſe huts has a falcon, or hawk, as thoſe Tartars are great maſters of this ſport: they have hawks of all ſorts and ſizes, each bred to fly at different kinds of game. The Ruſſians call the Nagayans, vagabonds, The Nagayan Tartars manner of life.

as

BOOK VII. as they have no ſettled habitations in the ſummer, but ramble up and down. They pack up their huts in carts; their wives, children, and goods, on camels, horſes, and oxen; and move about from one place to another, where they can find better paſturage for their cattle. When winter approaches, they begin to reaſſemble with their flocks, to paſs it in ſeveral troops near Aſtrachan, where they are furniſhed with arms to repulſe any inroads from the Kalmucks, or other Tartars from the River Iaick; and as ſoon as the winter is over, they are obliged to return all their arms. They pay no tribute to the Ruſſian emperor, but are obliged to ſerve him in his wars under their own commanders, as they are, in time of peace, governed by their own petty princes and judges. To ſecure their obedience to the emperor, he has always ſome of their princes, or myrzas, hoſtages in the caſtle of Aſtrachan.

1722.

Their religion is Mahometaniſm, of the ſame ſect with the Turks, except ſome few who have embraced the religion of the Greek church: they are uſed to dedicate ſome of their children, like the Nazarites, to God or to ſome ſaint or other; they are diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by a ring, which the boys wear in their right ear, and the girls in their noſtril. They live upon what their cattle, hunting, and fiſhing ſupply them with. They make uſe of fiſh dried in the ſun inſtead of bread, although they alſo make cakes of meal and rice; they eat camels and horſe fleſh, and they hold mares milk in great eſteem: their common drink is milk and water, yet, beſides wine, hydromel (or mead), and brandy, they find indifferent good beer in Aſtrachan: their cattle are much the ſame with thoſe of the Kalmucks. The Naga-

yans in their perſons are handſomer than the Kalmucks, eſpecially their women; the men wear a looſe coat of ſome coarſe cloth, and over that a ſort of cloak of ſheep ſkin, the woolly ſide outwards, with a cap of the ſame on their heads; the cap is commonly of a black colour. Their women are clad in white linen, with a plaited coif on their heads, both ſides of which is ornamented with a great many pieces of ſilver coin, hanging down. The climate here is very hot; the heat in the months of September and October much exceeds the dog-days in Britain; notwithſtanding which, the winter, which ſeldom continues longer than two months, is ſo exceſſive cold, that this great river is frozen up, and the ice ſtrong enough to carry horſes and ſledges.

Deſarts near Aſtrachan, rich with ſalt.

On the weſt ſide of the Wolga, towards the Euxine Sea, lies a vaſt deſart, above three hundred and fifty werſts in length, and ſouthward, along the ſhore of the Caſpian, another near four hundred werſts long; on neither of which ſtands city, town, or village, nor is there a hill or even a tree to be ſeen in all this immenſe extent, only here and there a little ſpot of graſs; neither is there any water, but what the river Kiſſiar or ſome ſtanding pools of ſalt water afford: yet theſe very deſerts are enriched with prodigious quantities of ſalt; for from ten to twenty werſts diſtance from Aſtrachan, there are large ſalt veins, which being congealed by the ſun, ſwims on the ſurface of the water of the thickneſs of a finger, as clear and tranſparent as rock cryſtal, and ſmells like a violet; from hence all Ruſſia is ſupplied with ſalt. The three principal of theſe ſalts-pits, are called Mozakofski, Kainkowa, and Goſtofski, where the ſalt is in ſuch abundance, that one may buy a hundred weight for two pence, on the

BOOK VII. ſpot. It is carried to the Wolga, and from thence tranſported to other parts.

1722. Fruits at Aſtrachan.

The Iſle of Dolgoi, or Long Iſland, about Aſtrachan, and ſome other parts of this province, abound with moſt excellent fruits, yielding neither for beauty nor flavour to any, even thoſe of Perſia or the Indies; their apples, quinces, nuts, peaches, and melons, exceed their other kinds in goodneſs, and eſpecially the water-melon, the rhind of which is of a lively green colour, the meat carnation, and the ſeeds black, moſt pleaſant to the eye and delicious to the palate, and are ſold ſo very cheap as two for a penny, and ſo large that one is ſufficient for two men, and ſo refreſhing, that people in fevers may eat them without danger. It is not yet above one hundred years ſince the grape was ſeen in theſe parts, but the Perſians having brought ſome ſetts of the vine to this place, they were firſt planted by a monk, a German by birth, in the garden belonging to his convent, ſituated in the ſuburbs of Aſtrachan; this ſmall ſtock has been ſince improved and encreaſed to that degree, that not only the walks and arbours of the gardens, but large vineyards are planted; the grapes are ſo extraordinary large and plentiful, that the tables are not only liberally provided with excellent wine, both red and white, but made in ſuch quantities that our army was now ſupplied with it. Beſides this, there is to be found near Aſtrachan, and all along the Wolga, abundance of ſimples, which grow very large. The herb eſula is here about as high as a man, and the angelica root as thick as a man's arm. About thirty werſts below Aſtrachan, is one of the beſt fiſheries in the Wolga, and from which

which the city is plentifully furniſhed with ſalmon, ſturgeon, beluga, oſotrin, ſterlit, and many other kinds of delicious fiſh; and the ſmall iſlands hereabouts abound with great variety of wild-fowl; and although the neighbouring countries are not fertile in corn, yet that defect is ſo well ſupplied from the fruitful country of Caſan, that, taken altogether, this city may juſtly be reckoned one the moſt convenient and pleaſant in Europe. But to return where I left off.

The day after my arrival here, I waited on his imperial majeſty, and preſented him with the three pieces of alabaſter I had brought with me from Teneſowa, which pleaſed him ſo much, that he gave immediate orders to work that quarry, which proved to be moſt excellent of its kind. The emperor obſerved, when I had preſented him with theſe pieces of alabaſter, that no mineral of any kind whatever, had been diſcovered to him by any of his own ſubjects, but that many had been diſcovered to him by foreigners: but his majeſty did not reflect upon the hardſhips thoſe were put to upon whoſe lands any thing of that kind was found, as they not only loſt the benefit of it, but were obliged to work the mine by their vaſſals, without the leaſt emolument to themſelves; which verifies the common ſaying they have in Ruſſia, that *every thing they have belongs to God and their emperor.*

I was quartered, in this city, at the houſe of a widow, who had a maid ſervant that had been purchaſed as a ſlave from the Tartars: this ſervant had ſtolen ſeveral things from her miſtreſs, which being found in her cuſtody, ſhe was ſeverely puniſhed for the theft; for which ſhe threatened to be revenged on her miſtreſs, who diſregarded the menace at that time: however, ſhe was ſeized, in a few days after, with

BOOK VII. ſuch a fit of madneſs, that they were obliged to bind her; on which the girl diſappeared, and in her cheſt were found a variety of herbs, roots, and powders; and upon the phyſicians examining into the nature of them, they ſoon found out the cauſe of the woman's diſorder, and applying the proper remedy, ſhe recovered her ſenſes again. A party of Tartars brought back the ſlave, who, upon examination, confeſſed what ſhe had done, pretending that ſhe underſtood witchcraft, and could avenge herſelf on thoſe who injured her: on which ſhe was firſt whipt through the city, and delivered to the Tartars to ſell her at ſome diſtance.

1722.

The Banayan woman's burning herſelf at her huſband's death.

The Armenians have one of the ſuburbs of this city allotted for their reſidence, and carry on a great trade from hence into Perſia; but the Banyans without doubt contribute moſt to its flouriſhing condition. They are a ſort of Pagan Indians, whoſe principal purſuit is trade, and have their factory within the city. One of their chief merchants dying at this time, his widow deſired leave of the emperor to burn herſelf with his corpſe, according to the cuſtom of their country: but his majeſty, unwilling to encourage ſo barbarous a cuſtom, refuſed her requeſt, and the Indian factory were ſo much diſſatisfied with it, that they threatened to withdraw from the city with their effects. His majeſty finding no argument could prevail on the woman to alter her reſolution, at laſt gave them leave to do as they thought proper. The corpſe being dreſſed in his cloaths, was carried to ſome little diſtance from the town, where a funeral pile of dry wood was raiſed, and the body laid upon it: before the pile were hung Indian carpets, to prevent its being ſeen. The wife in her beſt apparel, and adorned with ear-rings,

ſeveral

ſeveral rings on her fingers, and a pearl necklace, attended by a great number of Indians of both ſexes, was led by a bramin, or prieſt, to the funeral pile, which on her approach was kindled: ſhe then diſtributed her upper apparel and jewels among her friends and aquaintances, of whom ſhe took her laſt farewel with a great deal of ceremony, and the pile being in full flame, and the carpets taken down, ſhe leaped into the midſt of the fire; her friends then poured quantities of oil over her, which ſoon ſuffocated her, and reduced both corpſe to aſhes, which were carefully gathered and put into an urn, to be conveyed to their relations in India.

This barbarous cuſtom was firſt introduced upon a political account; for polygamy, cauſing abundance of heart-burning and jealouſy among the women that were rivals in their huſband's affections, it often happened that ſuch as thought themſelves neglected, uſed frequently to procure their huſband's deaths; wherefore, to make them more careful of the lives of their huſbands, it was ordered that thoſe wives only, who were willing to accompany their huſbands to the other world, by being burned with his corpſe whenever he died, ſhould have the reputation of being honeſt and virtuous; and ſuch as would not give that proof of their affection, ſhould be deemed infamous for ever after the death of their huſband. Notwithſtanding the obligation to burn with their huſbands, impoſed no other penalty on ſuch as refuſed than being accounted infamous for not conforming to ſuch a dreadful cuſtom, yet ſuch was the ſenſe of honour and love for reputation, among the Banyan women, that there are innumerable examples among them, of ſuch as have voluntarily ſacrificed

BOOK VII. crificed their lives upon the burning pile: and what makes them undergo this with ſo much chearfulneſs, is a perſuaſion, that if a woman has ſo great an affection for her huſband, as to burn herſelf with him after his death, ſhe ſhall live with him in the other world ſeven times as long, and ſhall enjoy him with ſeven times as much ſatisfaction as ſhe has done in this, without a rival; ſo that they look upon this kind of death, as a paſſage through which they are to enter into the enjoyment of thoſe pleaſures, of which they had but a ſmall ſhare of in this world. This cuſtom prevails only among the Banyans, and not in general over India.

1722.

India is inhabited by three diſtinct ſorts of people; firſt, the Indoſtans, who are the ancient natives of the country, an idle and a ſlovenly generation; ſecondly, the Moguls, who came out of Grand Tartary, a warlike people, and much addicted to arms; theſe are all Mahometans; thirdly, the Banyans, who came originally from China, and are all Pagans, and who apply themſelves entirely to manufacture and trade. The Banyans are incomparably more ingenious, ſubtle, and civil, than any of the other Indians: there is no trade in Perſia, or the Turkiſh dominions, which is not principally managed by them, nor any commodity throughout all the Indies which they do not deal in. The Banyans are diſtinguiſhed from thoſe who profeſs Mahometaniſm by their habit, for they do not wear their hair long, neither ſhave their heads, nor do their women cover their faces, as the Mahometans do. Black teeth are in ſo much eſteem amongſt them, that they call the white-teethed Europeans *bondra*, or apes. They wear no breeches, as the other Indians do

The Banyans.

do, but only a piece of thin ſilk ſtuff, which is wrapped about them, hanging down to their hams, over which they wear their ſmocks, and on them their upper garment, which they tie with a girdle round the waiſt; under theſe a narrow waiſtcoat, the ſleeves of which reach no farther than the elbow; they wear ſhoes of velvet, brocade, or gilt leather, faſtened to their feet with ſtraps, and they pull them off when they go into any room, where the floors are generally covered with tapeſtry, but when they walk abroad they wear wooden ſhoes.

Their bramins, or prieſts, are diſtinguiſhed from the reſt only by what they wear about their heads, which is made of linen cloth, wrapped ſeveral times round the head to cover their *ſacred hair*, which is never cut; they have alſo two pieces of packthread next their ſkin, croſſing the breaſt from the ſhoulders to the waiſt, which they never put off, though it were to ſave their lives. They are, moreover, in ſuch reputation for ſanctity, that no marriage is holy where the bride has not been conſecrated by the ſacred initiation of the prieſt, to whom ſhe is always conducted for that purpoſe; and he rates this part of his *holy office* at an exorbitant price, beſides a ſtrong ſolicitation to relieve the bridegroom from his drudgery; and thus the crafty prieſt, by impoſing on the ſimplicity of his flock, improves his natural talent to the beſt advantage, and ſatisfies at once both his appetite and his avarice. But this is not all, for the huſband retains ſo much pious regard for his co-partner, that if they go any journey, or upon any occaſion are detained from home, he recommends his whole family, but

eſpeci-

BOOK VII. especially his wife to the care of the prieſt in his abſence, to ſupply his place till his return; and the wife makes it her care to cheriſh his languiſhing ſpirits with powerful reſtoratives, at which the Indian women are the moſt expert of any in the world, as they are alſo perfect miſtreſſes of the eaſieſt methods, upon certain occaſions, of diſpatching their huſbands to the other world. Theſe are the accounts I received at Aſtrachan.

1722.

BOOK VIII.

Army embark at Aſtrachan, 18th of July.—Variety of wild fowl on the little iſlands.—Terki, the capital city of Circaſſia.—Herring in the Caſpian.—Voyage to Buſtrow.—General Waterang's account from the province of Andreof.—Circaſſia and its inhabitants, their manners, religion, &c.—Continuation of the voyage and view of mount Caucaſus, &c.—The army land at Agrechan.—March into Aſia.—Kindneſs of the Dageſtan Tartars.—The army paſs the river Sulack.—General Waterang joins the army.—Embarraſſed on their march, and ſevere puniſhment on the officers of the guards.—Arrive at Tarku, with a deſcription of the Dageſtan Tartars.—Interview with the ladies.—The Dageſtan ladies wait on the empreſs.—Erect a monument at Tarku, and march for Derbent through a fine country.—Sultan Udenach's cruelty, and its conſequences.—Twenty deſperate Tartars.—A beautiful Tartar youth ſlain.—Undaunted reſolution of the prieſt.—Arrive at Derbent.—Deſcription of the city.—Remarkable tombs.—Alexander and Melkehatura.—Jackalls and ſand hares.—Thirteen tranſports loſt and buried in the ſand.—Suckary bread.—Two expreſſes and one ambaſſador arrive at the army.—A Turkiſh ambaſſador obliges the emperor to return.—Occaſion of the troubles in Perſia.—The army return.—Cold nights.—Dangerous and harraſſing march.—The new town of Swetago-Kreſt.—Fort at the river Nitzi deſtroyed, and revenged.—The army re-imbark at Agrechan.—The proviſions for the captain's galley loſt; a ſtarving voyage.—Arrive at Aſtrachan the 15th of October.

GEneral Waterang had been diſpatched ſome time ago, through the great deſart of Aſtrachan, with an army of 7,000 dragoons, and 10,000 Coſſacks, attended by 20,000 Kalmuck Tartars, with a very large train of camels to carry their proviſions and water; and with orders to attack and deſtroy the province of Andreof, to revenge the many ravaging incurſions made by them on the ſubjects of

BOOK VIII. 1722.

BOOK VIII. Ruſſia: the general was ſhortly after followed by 10,000 Coſſacks and 20,000 Kalmuck Tartars more, to augment his army, and enable him to complete the deſtruction of that province.

1722.

Army embark at Aſtrachan.

On the 18th of July, our army embarked on board two hundred and fifty gallies, attended by thirty-five ſtore and hoſpital-ſhips; our infantry conſiſted of 33,000 of thoſe warlike veterans, who had been in every campaign during the long war with Sweden. We ſat out from Aſtrachan the ſame evening, under a general ſalute from all the artillery of the city and fleet; we dropt down with the ſtream all night, and arrived next day at the mouth of the river, which is ſixty werſts from Aſtrachan, where we got ſight of the Caſpian for the firſt time. We went down the weſternmoſt ſtream of the Wolga, which is the only one that can carry veſſels of heavy burden; the reſt of the ſtreams, which form a prodigious number of ſmall iſlands, are to the eaſtward, and fall into the Caſpian ſea in thirty-two different channels.

Variety of wild fowl on the little iſlands.

Theſe iſlands feed a vaſt number of cattle in the ſummer; and as they are all ſurrounded by vaſt quantities of thick tall reeds, the great number of wild fowl, eſpecially ſea-fowl, is paſt deſcription; upon firing of a gun, they riſe in the air like a cloud, when numbers of them may be killed with great eaſe; a greater variety is not to be ſeen any where in the known world. Beſides ſwans and common wild geeſe, there is a very large kind called by the Ruſſians *baba*, or crop-geeſe, and by others pelicans; their bills being a foot and half long, and two inches broad, are forked at the ends; ſome of theſe fowls, from the head to the feet, are above ſeven feet in length; under their bills they have a

ſhrievelled ſkin hanging, reſembling a bag, which when dilated, contains three gallons of liquor; this bag they make uſe of to hold the fiſh that they catch, which they afterwards eat at their leiſure. There is another kind called ſpoon-geeſe; their beaks are long and round, and at the extremity are flat like the mouth of a ſpoon beaten out; this fowl, when it puts its beak in the water, makes a moſt hideous noiſe, ſomewhat like the braying of an aſs: another kind, by ſome called the red geeſe, by others flamingos, are in great flocks on the Caſpian ſhores; they walk after their leader in a very regular order, and at a diſtance appear not unlike a regiment of ſoldiers following their commander; their legs are very long, of a ſcarlet red, and they have very long necks, the plumage of various colours, but their heads are like ſcarlet, their bodies are of different colours, beautifully variegated, and their wings ſcarlet; it is in every reſpect a moſt beautiful bird; they exceed in height a tall grenadier, with his cap on his head, yet their bodies are not much bigger than that of the ſwan: there are alſo black geeſe of the ordinary ſize, and this kind are no where elſe to be met with, and are preferable in taſte to any of the other geeſe. As for wild ducks, their variety is incredible, and to deſcribe their different kinds almoſt impoſſible. I cannot, however, paſs over two of them without notice, which I thought the moſt extraordinary; the one is called the ſcarlet-duck, from the colour of its feathers, which are ſhaded by other beautiful coloured feathers, and has upon its head a large tuft of feathers reſembling a crown, intermixt with all the colours of the rainbow; it is very large, and delicious eating; the other is the yellow-duck,

BOOK VIII. whoſe feathers are entirely of that colour; theſe are alſo very large and fat and moſt excellent eating, and what is very uncommon, they build their neſts on the tops of the higheſt trees, and when their young come out of the ſhell, they carry them in their beaks to the water: no fowl is more eſteemed than theſe, for their delicious taſte, or eaſier got, as they commonly betray themſelves by the noiſe they make, which is heard at a great diſtance; they are always in pairs, and when you kill the one you are ſure of the other, as it never leaves its dead mate till you kill it alſo.

1722.

Terki, the capital of Circaſſia.

On the 20th we weighed from the mouth of the Wolga, under the command of the great admiral Apraxin; their majeſties, the emperor and empreſs, having ſailed before us for Terki, the capital city of Circaſſian Tartary, which is the moſt ſouthern boundary of his majeſty's preſent dominions: this city is ſtrongly fortified, and ſtands on an iſland formed by the rivers Terki and Buſtrow, and is garriſoned by two thouſand regulars and one thouſand Coſſacks, who are all horſemen; the native Circaſſians are not permitted to live near the city, but inhabit the country at ſome diſtance from it. The wind turning contrary, our fleet came to an anchor towards evening, and next day the wind being ſtill foul, the whole fleet took to their oars, and keeping as near the ſhore as poſſible, for there is no coming nearer to it than four or five werſts, becauſe of the ſhallowneſs of the water, and the whole ſhore even to that diſtance being overgrown with ſtrong high reeds, which makes it impoſſible to land any where, even in a canoe. Towards night a favourable gale relieved the poor wearied ſoldiers, who had rowed hard all day. The wind continued favourable all night: at one o'clock

in

1722.

in the morning we had heavy rain, with thunder and lightning. The weather cleared up on the morning of the 22d; and as the wind continued in our favour, we ſailed all this day in ſight of the ſhore, and came to an anchor at night near Labugin, in ten feet water. This day afforded us an amuſing entertainment, with a kind of fiſh of the ſize and ſhape of a herring; they ſwam and ſkipped on the ſurface of the water continually, without offering to go down, notwithſtanding we purſued and killed numbers of them: we concluded it was their conſtant way of living, but having baited ſome hooks with them, we caught a ſturgeon and two belugas, which convinced us that they fled to the ſurface to eſcape the purſuit of the fiſh of prey, in the ſame manner as the flying-fiſh riſe to eſcape the purſuit of the dolphin: theſe little fiſh have exactly the ſhape and taſte of herrings, and I am perſuaded they are nothing elſe.

Herrings in the Caſpian.

Early in the morning of the 23d, we weighed again, with the wind ſtill fair, and got out of ſight of land; and in the afternoon our diviſion loſt ſight of the admiral, which gave us no ſmall trouble as we had neither pilot nor compaſs on board, (indeed the reſt of the fleet laboured under the ſame inconveniency), and when the night came, not knowing how to ſteer, we dropt anchor in eighteen feet water, and waited the return of day-light. Early in the morning of the 24th, we got under way again, and about noon got ſight of the land, to the great joy of every body on board, as it was the only rule for the direction of our courſe; but the wind being againſt us, we were obliged to have recourſe to the oar, and rowing along the coaſt, which was ſtill cloſely

Voyage to Buſtrow.

covered

BOOK VIII. 1722.

covered with ſtrong reeds, above two werſts from the land, which made it impractable to land any where on this coaſt, except in the mouth of a river. At night a ſignal was made by our commanding officer, to come to an anchor, which we did in nine feet water, where we caught very good fiſh of ſeveral kinds. At day break of the 25th, by ſignal, we got under way with the oar, the wind being contrary, ſtill rowing as near the reeds as poſſible: ſeveral of the gallies ſent out their pinnaces to the reeds, when on firing of a muſket ſuch multitudes of different ſorts of water-fowl roſe, that they killed great numbers of them. At night we came again to an anchor in fourteen feet water, after a hard day's labour. The wind proving fair in the morning of the 26th, we got early under way, and towards the evening arrived in the mouth of the river Buſtrow, which flows by the city of Terki, ſituated three werſts from the ſhore, and here we found the reſt of the fleet which had kept up with the admiral.

General Waterang's account from the Province of Andreof.

While we were here, his majeſty received accounts from general Waterang, with the agreeable news that he had defeated and cut to pieces a body of five thouſand men, of the province of Andreof, and that he had burnt and deſtroyed their capital city, laid the whole province waſte, and carried off all the inhabitants that he could meet with, old and young of both ſexes, amounting to many thouſands; and ſent them to Aſtrachan under the eſcort of five thouſand Coſſacks, and fifteen thouſand Kalmucks; and had beſides given liberty to ſeveral thouſand Ruſſian ſlaves of both ſexes, who were then on their way to Terki, to be tranſported from

from thence by ſea to Aſtrachan. For this ſignal ſucceſs we had orders to fire three vollies, from all our guns and ſmall arms.

Circaſſia and its inhabitants, their manners, religion, &c.

I cannot here omit giving ſome farther deſcription of Circaſſia, and its inhabitants. Terki, the principal city, is ſeated in a very ſpacious plain, very ſwampy towards the ſea-ſide, in 43 deg. 23 min. north latitude: it is about three werſts in compaſs, well fortified with ramparts and baſtions in the modern ſtyle, well ſtored with cannon, and has always a conſiderable garriſon in it, under the command of a governor. The Circaſſian prince who reſides here, is allowed five hundred Ruſſians for his guard, but none of his own ſubjects are permitted to dwell within any part of the fortifications. Ever ſince the reduction of thoſe parts to the obedience of Ruſſia, they have put in all places of ſtrength, not only Ruſſian garriſons and governors, but magiſtrates, and prieſts for the exerciſe of the Chriſtian religion; yet the Circaſſian Tartars are governed by their own princes, lords, and judges, but theſe adminiſter juſtice in the name of the emperor, and in matters of importance, not without the preſence of the Ruſſian governors, being all obliged to take the oath of allegiance to his imperial majeſty. The apparel of the men of Circaſſia is much the ſame with that of the Nagayans, only their caps is ſomething larger and their cloaks, being likewiſe of coarſe cloth or ſheep ſkins, are faſtened only at the neck with a ſtring, and as they are not large enough to cover the whole body, they turn them round according to the wind and weather. The men here are much better favoured than thoſe of Nagaya, and the women extremely well ſhaped, with exceeding fine features, ſmooth clear complexions, and beau-

BOOK VIII. beautiful black eyes, which with their black hair hanging in two treſſes, one on each ſide the face, give them a moſt lovely appearance; they wear a black coif on their heads, covered with a fine white cloth tied under the chin: during the ſummer they all wear only a ſmock of divers colours, and that open ſo low before, that one may ſee below their navels; this with their beautiful faces always uncovered, (contrary to the cuſtom of moſt of the other provinces in theſe parts), their good humour and lively freedom in converſation, altogether render them very deſirable: notwithſtanding which they have the reputation of being very chaſte, though they ſeldom want opportunity; for it is an eſtabliſhed point of good manners among them, as ſoon as any perſon comes in to ſpeak to the wife, the huſband goes out of the houſe: but whether this continency of their's proceeds from their own generoſity, to recompence their huſbands for the confidence they put in them, or has its foundation only in fame, I pretend not to determine. Their language they have in common with the other neighbouring Tartars, although the chief people among them are alſo not ignorant of the Ruſſian; their religion is Paganiſm, for notwithſtanding they uſe circumciſiom among them, they have neither prieſt, alcoran, or moſque, like other Mahometans. Every body here offers his own ſacrifice at pleaſure, for which, however, they have certain days eſtabliſhed rather by cuſtom, than any poſitive command: their moſt ſolemn ſacrifice is offered at the death of their neareſt friends, upon which occaſion both men and women meet in the field to be preſent at the offering, which is an he-goat; and having killed, they flay it, and ſtretch the ſkin with the head and

1722.

horns on, upon a croſs at the top of a long pole, placed commonly in a quickſet hedge, (to keep the cattle from it), and near the place the ſacrifice is offered by boiling and roaſting the fleſh, which they afterwards eat. When the feaſt is over, the men riſe, and having paid their adoration to the ſkin, and muttered over ſome certain prayers, the women withdraw, and the men conclude the ceremony with drinking a great quantity of aqua vitæ, and this generally ends in a quarrel before they part. The river Buſtrow is the ſouthern boundary of Circaſſia, and the province of Andreof are their next neighbours, who dwell between the river Koiſu, which riſes out of Mount Caucaſus, and the Buſtrow. Thoſe people were reduced by general Waterang.

Continuation of the voyage, and view of Mount Caucaſus, &c.

Their majeſties having embarked on the evening of the 26th, the fleet ſailed early in the morning of the 27th, with a very favourable breeze, and paſſed the iſland of Trenzini, and ſoon after we ſaw land on both ſides of us, occaſioned by a peninſula which formed a large bay, upwards of forty werſts long, and here we had the firſt view of the high mountains of Caucaſus, which ſeem to hide their heads in the clouds. The mountains of Taurus and Arrarat, are ſo contiguous to the Caucaſus, that they appear like a continuation of the ſame mountain, which croſſes all Aſia, from Andreof, or Mongrelia, to the Indies. Mount Arrarat is one entire vaſt rock, exceeding even Caucaſus itſelf in height, its top being covered with ſnow all the year round. It is ſaid to be the ſame on which the ark reſted after the Deluge. The Armenians, who call it Meſſina, believe there are ſtill ſome fragments of that ark on this mountain, but that by the length of time they were all petrified; which muſt now re-

BOOK VIII. main uncertain, as the mountain is inacceſſible from the ſurrounding precipices. Thoſe high mountains are of great uſe to mariners in theſe parts of the Caſpian, as moſt of them have very little knowledge of the compaſs; the different appearances they make toward the ſea, ſerve as an inſtruction to the pilots in determining whereabout they are. But to return to our voyage:—we arrived the ſame evening in the mouth of the river Agrechan, where we anchored for the night, when we had rain, thunder, and lightning.

1722.

The Army land at Agrechan.

By a ſignal from the great admiral, early in the morning of the 28th, we began to land our troops, which was performed with much difficulty. By reaſon of the ſhoal water, our gallies could not come within a conſiderable diſtance to the ſhore, and the men were obliged to carry their arms, ammunition, baggage, and proviſions, a long way in the water on their backs; the unloaded veſſels were all hauled up on the ſhore, and a ſtrong entrenchment thrown up about them for their ſecurity, under the guard of a colonel and ſix hundred men, with all our ſick, who were afterwards reinforced with a thouſand Coſſacks from general Waterang's army. Here a great number of Circaſſian and Dageſtan Tartars came to us, with little waggons, horſes, camels, and oxen to ſell, and being well convinced we could not well proceed without ſuch accommodation, they took advantage of our neceſſity, and made us pay what they pleaſed to demand for them. I bought a waggon and two horſes for my baggage, and one to ride on, for which I was obliged to pay ſix times their value.

March into Aſia.

We remained here till the 4th of Auguſt, when we decamped, and began our firſt march in Aſia: the heat was

ſo

1722.

ſo intolerable, that numbers of our men dropt down by the way, and notwithſtanding that, we marched twenty-five werſts this day, and arrived on the banks of the river Sulack at night. On the 5th we marched ten werſts farther up the river, to a place intended to ferry over our army; on our march we were met by the ſhafkal, or prince, of Tarku, the chief of the Dageſtan Tartars, who was attended by a very grand retinue, and welcomed his imperial majeſty into the Dageſtan territories, and offered his aſſiſtance to the utmoſt of his power; his ſubjects, at the ſame, brought us all manner of refreſhments for the army. After our army paſſed by him in good order, he ſeemed to be much ſurpriſed at the regularity and fine diſcipline he obſerved they were under, having never ſeen any regular troops before; and after ſeeing our camp formed, he left us ſeemingly well pleaſed. The Tartars brought ſuch quantities of grapes, melons, oranges, pomgranates, apples, pears, &c. to the camp, and our people devoured them ſo voraciouſly, that many were ſeized with fevers and fluxes; on which no fruit was permitted to be brought into the army. Here we found ſeveral ſmall boats, of which we made two ferries to waft the army over the Sulack.

Kindneſs of the Dageſtan Tartars.

On the 6th his majeſty paſt over with his own diviſion and ſome other regiments, and formed a camp on the other ſide, and in the evening the governor of Gorſki, and the governor of Axay, two Dageſtan princes, came to wait upon his majeſty: the firſt brought him a preſent of three fine Perſian horſes, with rich furniture, and ſix hundred waggons for the baggage, each drawn by two oxen, beſides fifty fat oxen to kill for the army: the latter preſented his majeſty

The army paſs the river Sulack.

BOOK VIII. with ſix fine Perſian horſes, with very rich furniture, and one hundred oxen for the army; recommending themſelves and their country to his majeſty's protection. The next day we had ſuch a violent ſtorm of wind, that it blew down all our tents, and made the river ſwell to that degree, that it overflowed its banks, and we were obliged to remove at ſome diſtance from it; ſeveral men who were croſſing at that time, were drowned in their paſſage: our ferries got ſo much damage by this ſtorm, that we did not get all the army over before the 10th, when we were joined by general Waterang, with his dragoons and Coſſacks, and one thouſand of the latter were immediately ſent back to reinforce thoſe left in the entrenchments, that covered our gallies at the mouth of the river Agrechan. The general brought with him priſoner, the chief of the province of Andreof, whom the emperor cauſed to be hanged up the ſame day, for an example to others. This irritated the other chiefs of the Dageſtans to ſuch a degree, that they were determined to be revenged, which brought us into no ſmall trouble.

1722.

General Waterang joins the army.

Embarraſſed in their march, and ſevere puniſhment on the officers of the guards.

We began to march again on the 11th, with one half of the dragoons and Coſſacks for our advanced guard, and the other half to cover our rear; and went thirty werſts that day, notwithſtanding the intenſe heat, which made many of our men drop by the way. When we halted in the middle of the day, we diſcovered great numbers of armed men on horſeback riding on the ſides of the mountains: his majeſty was at that time in the rear, and riding along the army, enquired of the men if their pieces were loaded; and being informed they were not, he gave orders himſelf to load them, ordering, at the ſame time, all the officers of his own diviſion

diviſion to meet at the head of the grenadier company, where having met, he harangued and reprimanded us ſeverely for neglect of duty; we were then diſarmed, and our ſwords, (viz. the field-officers, who were at the ſame time generals, and all the captains,) were put all together into a waggon; the field-officers were ordered to march on foot in one rank, and the captains were formed in three ranks behind them, and every officer was loaded with four muſkets on his ſhoulders; in this poſture we marched near two hours in the moſt intolerable heat, when the empreſs being informed of our miſerable ſituation, came up in her chariot with the utmoſt haſte, and pleaded ſo effectually in our favour, that we were relieved from our heavy burdens, had our ſwords reſtored, and were admitted to kiſs his majeſty's hand, who told us, that he had only puniſhed the officers of his own guards, becauſe they ought to give a good example to all the reſt of the army.—This was diſcipline with a vengeance.—The poor captain of the grenadiers died the next day of the fatigue, being a corpulent man, and ſeveral others ſickened, ſome of whom died alſo. We loſt ſeveral horſes this day by their eating a poiſonous herb and want of water; but none of the camels or oxen were affected, and I concluded they had not eat any of it.

Arrive at Tarku, a deſcription of the Dageſtan Tartars.

On the 12th, we reached the city of Tarku, ten werſts; the ſhafkal met the emperor half-way, and conducted him to the city; it ſtands on the ſide of a hill, quite open, without any walls, and our army encamped on a ſpacious plain below the town. Being now arrived at the capital of Dageſtan Tartary, I ſhall endeavour to give ſome deſcription of the province and city, from the beſt information I could obtain.

BOOK VIII. obtain. Their territory reaches from the river Buſtrow, their boundary with Circaſſia, all along mount Caucaſus, as far as Derbent, and they are neither ſubject to the Turk nor the Perſian, but are in general governed by the ſhafkal, who is their ſupreme head: his office is not hereditary but elective. The whole country of Dageſtan is divided into ſmall diſtricts, or lordſhips, each under the juriſdiction of its proper lord, or myrza, who, though hereditary, is nevertheleſs not abſolute, but his authority is controlled by that of ſome of the chief men among them. All theſe petty lords acknowlege one whom they call ſhafkal as ſupreme head, to whom they pay their reſpect, but not paſſive obedience. Theſe people are generally very miſchievous, barbarous, and ſavage, living for the moſt part by robbery and plunder; a great part of their livelihood is for the men to ſteal children, not ſparing even thoſe of their own neareſt relations, whom they ſell to the neighbouring Perſians, leaving the care of their cattle to their wives in their abſence. They are called Dageſtans, from the word *Dag*, which ſignifies in their language, a mountain, and are from thence called mountaineers; they pretend to be the deſcendants of the Amazons, and firmly believe that Thaleſtris, the queen of the Amazons, went from hence to Hircania on a viſit to Alexander the Great, to obtain that favour which ladies, although ever ſo deſirous of, ſeldom care to beg. The Dageſtans are all Mahometans, uſing circumciſion and all the other ceremonies of the Turks. Their habit is a long cloſe coat, commonly of a dark grey, or black, coarſe cloth, over which they wear a cloak of the ſame ſtuff; and in winter, of ſheep ſkins: they wear a ſquare cap of a great many pieces ſewed together;

1722.

their ſhoes are for the moſt part made of horſes hides, ſewed together only at the inſtep; the pooreſt man among them is provided with a coat of mail, head-piece, and buckler, beſides a ſcymitar, javelin, bow and arrows.

Interview with the ladies.

This city of Tarku, being the metropolis of Dageſtan, contains above three thouſand houſes, and is very full of inhabitants; the houſes all two ſtories high, platformed at top, ſtanding cloſe to each other: the women walk upon them in the cool of the evenings, as the men do in the ſtreets. Every houſe has a garden ſtored with all kinds of delicious fruits, and all well ſupplied with fine ſprings of water: as for their women, they are incomparably beautiful, both in feature and ſhape, with a fair clear complexion, accompanied with lovely black eyes and hair; but as the men are very jealous, they are always locked up, ſo that it is no eaſy matter to get ſight of them; and I believe we ſhould not have ſeen any of them if it had not happened twice by accident. We had the liberty to go into the city to buy neceſſaries, and were ordered on theſe occaſions to go in ſtrong parties and well armed, for we placed no great confidence in the fidelity of the inhabitants; and being in town one day with ſeveral officers, well eſcorted, we ſaw one of the principal inhabitants going into his houſe, when we made bold to throng in with him much againſt his inclination; but, being informed by our interpreter, that we were officers of rank, and that we begged the favour he would indulge our curioſity by ſhewing us the inſide of his houſe, he at laſt reluctantly conſented, and led us into his apartments; the floors were all covered with very fine Perſian

BOOK VIII. 1722.

ſian tapeſtry, without any other kind of ornament, excepting ſome fine mattraſſes, and ſilk quilts, upon which they lie at night; they have neither chairs nor tables, but all ſit or lie on the floor: inſtead of glaſs in the windows, they have blinds, very curiouſly checkered of plaited reed, through which they can ſee what paſſes in the ſtreet without being ſeen within; the walls and cielings are all white, without any ornament. After this he led us into a ſquare court, divided in the middle by a high wall, which ſeparated his own apartments from thoſe of the women; having ſhewed us alſo his garden, very well ſtored with all kinds of fruit, he invited us to ſit down with him on a ſofa under a piazza, and entertained us with coffee, fruits, and ſweet-meats; when captain Brunie, one of our company, ſhewed him a very pretty ſhaving-glaſs he carried in his pocket, and obſerving he was much pleaſed with it, the captain made him a preſent of it, which ſeemed to ingratiate us with him. After ſome converſation with our hoſt, we begged the favour of him to let us ſee his women in their dreſs, only at a diſtance; to which, though unwillingly, he at laſt conſented, and went himſelf to their apartments to order them to get themſelves ready, as we apprehended, and returning preſently, he ſat down again and converſed ſome time with us. He then went again, and brought out four of his wives, and eight of his concubines, and placed them all in a row that we might have a full view of them, in which poſture he left them ſtanding, and returning himſelf to the ſofa, he ſat down with us: the ladies, however, ſeemingly diſpleaſed to be gazed at, at ſuch a diſtance, advanced with one accord, and ſeated themſelves upon the ſofa oppoſite to us,

us, at which forwardneſs our hoſt ſeemed not at all pleaſed, and they, not regarding him in the leaſt, examined our dreſs very narrowly, and put a great many queſtions to us, by our interpreter, eſpecially relating to the cuſtoms and dreſs of our women, and how many women were allowed in our country to each man; on their being informed that no man was allowed to have more than one wife, and that the women had the ſame liberty as the men to walk abroad and viſit their neighbours; they clapped their hands, and cried out with emotion, "O! happy, happy country!" Our hoſt not being at all pleaſed with their conduct, ordered them immediately to their apartments, and they obeyed with much reluctance. They were all moſt lovely creatures, but the concubines excelled the wives in beauty; the reaſon is obvious, for they are married to their wives by proxy, and the others they take from choice. After ſome ſhort ſtay we took our leave, having invited our hoſt to come next day and ſee us in the camp; upon his coming we entertained him very handſomely, and he appeared to be moſt delighted with our regimental muſic; and he told us at his taking leave, that as we had ſhewn him ſo much politeneſs and civility, we ſhould always be welcome to his houſe while we ſtaid in thoſe parts; but although we attempted it we never could again obtain admiſſion.

The Dageſtan ladies wait on the empreſs.

The next view we got of the Dageſtan ladies was at the empreſs's tent; the ſhafkal's ladies, attended by other ladies of rank and faſhion, came to wait on her majeſty; they came ſo cloſe ſhut up in coaches that they could not be ſeen; when they arrived at the empreſs's tent, they were ſeated on cuſhions of crimſon velvet, laid on Perſian carpets, that

BOOK VIII. were ſpread upon the ground, and there they ſat croſs-legged according to their cuſtom. After they were ſeated, the empreſs gave orders that the officers ſhould be admitted to ſee the ladies, who were, indeed, all of them extremely lovely; her majeſty had ordered, that when one company of the officers had gratified their curioſity, they ſhould retire and make way for others; by which means the viſit of the ladies laſted till it was pretty late at night, when they were attended back to the city by her ſervants, with abundance of torches, highly pleaſed with their reception; and not only being informed, but alſo ſeeing how unconfined our women live, they certainly were as much taken with it as thoſe of our hoſt; and I dare ſay, if we could have beat up for volunteers among thoſe lovely daughters of the Amazons, their men would now have been left as womenleſs as they were in thoſe ancient times.

1722.

Erect a monument at Tarku, and march for Derbent.

His majeſty's manifeſtos having been publiſhed, not only throughout Dageſtan, but alſo at Derbent, Backu, and Shamachie; letters were received from Derbent, on the 15th, with aſſurances, that the manifeſtoes were received with great joy there, and that they would, with the utmoſt pleaſure, put themſelves under the emperor's protection whenever he arrived there with his army. Upon this news it was ordered, that every perſon belonging to the army, from the higheſt to the loweſt, ſhould bring a ſtone of the middling ſize, into the middle of the camp, where a croſs was erected, round which they were piled up for a laſting memorial, I ſuppoſe, and after this divine ſervice was performed. We broke up on the 16th, and marched twenty-five werſts, in a ſcorching heat, to the river Manas, which afforded us

1772.

plenty of water, but we could get no forage, and were obliged to ſend our horſes in among the mountains for graſs, where great numbers of them were taken and carried off by the Tartars, and among the reſt all my three horſes. When we moved next day, the 17th, general Waterang was ſo good as to order two dragoons to diſmount, and yoke their horſes to my baggage-waggon, but I was, myſelf, reduced to walk on foot, which was extremely fatiguing in that hot climate. Madam Campenhauſen, one of her majeſty's ladies of honour, obſerving me marching on foot before my company, ſent in the evening to enquire the reaſon, and being told my misfortune, was ſo kind as to acquaint the empreſs with it, who was graciouſly pleaſed to order her equerry to give me a horſe with furniture; and his majeſty being informed of my neceſſity, gave orders to provide me with another, ſo that I was again mounted, and my ſervant alſo, on horſeback: that night, however, I bought two camels for my baggage, at fifteen rubles each, and gave my waggon to one of my officers who was in want of one: I was ſoon fully convinced of the uſefulneſs of the camels, who not only carry heavy burdens, but feed where no horſe can ſubſiſt; and can live ſeveral days without water, if they get but a handful of ſalt in lieu of it. This day we paſſed the river Manas, and at no great diſtance from it, the river Boinack, over a ſtone bridge, and encamped for the night at Old Boinack, having marched thirty werſts, and come through large fields of cotton and ſaffron. We loſt this day a number of horſes by heat, fatigue, and want of forage. It is to be obſerved of this country, that the ſummer is ſo exceſſively hot, and all the graſs is ſo entirely

BOOK VIII. withered and ſcorched up, that the inhabitants are obliged to feed their cattle with hay, which they provide in the winter when the country abounds with graſs and paſturage. From this place his majeſty diſpatched three Coſſacks, with a guide, to ſultan Udenich, who lived at ſome diſtance among the mountains, requiring him to ſend a deputation in order to a conference, and deſiring him to ſupply the army with beaſts of burden, to tranſport our baggage to Derbent.

1722.

Sultan Udenich's cruelty and its conſequences.

On the 18th we marched twenty five werſts, and encamped on the banks of the river Nitzi, where the guide returned to us, with ſultan Udenich's anſwer, having his noſe and both ears cut off, and informed his majeſty that they had, in his preſence, put the three Coſſacks to death, in a moſt cruel and barbarous manner: the ſultan bade him tell the emperor, that whoever of his people fell into his hands they ſhould be treated in the ſame manner, and as to the deſired conference, they were ready to hold it with their ſcymitars in their hands.

On the 19th, the Tartars appeared on the ſide of the hill, about twelve thouſand ſtrong, to put their threats in execution; and as we were ſufficiently on our guard by the return of the meſſenger, the army was immediately under arms without ſtriking their tents, and his majeſty marched in perſon toward the enemy with only his own diviſion, which conſiſted of ſix battalions, ordering only a part of the army to follow. Upon our approaching the foot of the hill, we fired ſmartly on each other, without much damage on either ſide, and as they ſtood upon a very high eminence, we could not bring our cannon to bear on them; the emperor perceiving they kept their ſtation without advancing towards us, ordered

dered the dragoons and Coſſacks to march round, and attack them upon the hill, which they did with great expedition, and as they aſcended the declivity we ſaw them all the way, but they were not diſcovered by the enemy till they were cloſe at their backs, when a great ſlaughter enſued, and the Tartars fled with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving between ſix and ſeven hundred men dead on the ſpot, and forty were taken priſoners; among whom were ſome perſons of diſtinction, and their Mahometan prieſt, who had been one of their principal leaders, and not only adviſed but perpetrated with his own hands, that horrid cruel murder of the three Coſſacks, cutting open their breaſts while they were yet alive, and taking out their hearts, and whoſe bodies were afterwards found ſtuck upon ſtakes near the ſultan's palace, by our dragoons who purſued the enemy to the very gates, which they alſo entered, putting every one they met with to the ſword, amounting to upwards of three thouſand men; for they had ſent away their women and children to the mountains, before they ſat out on this expedition, in which, beſides the ſlain, the ſultan's reſidence and ſix other villages were burnt and entirely deſtroyed.

Twenty deſperate Tartars.

In the purſuit, a party of the dragoons had driven twenty Tartars into a narrow place, from which there was no poſſibility of eſcaping, and finding themſelves ſo cloſely hemmed in, they fell on their knees, and offered, in this ſupplicating poſture, to deliver up their fire arms with the butt ends foremoſt, upon which twenty of the dragoons were ordered to diſmount and ſecure them; but upon their approach, theſe deſperadoes roſe up and threw their javelins, and killed every one of the dragoons, and then made ſo bold an attack with their ſcymitars in their hands, that they

wounded

BOOK VIII. wounded ſeveral more, not giving over till they were every one cut to pieces.

1722.

General Romantzof was ordered to march with our ſix battalions, to aſſiſt the dragoons in deſtroying the ſultan's reſidence, and on our way we were attacked by a body of ſix hundred horſe, who were coming from a neighbouring chief to Udenich's aſſiſtance. In their attack they advanced and retired in a very uncommon manner: they were formed only twelve in front, but fifty in depth, following each other with their drawn ſcymitars; when the front ranks had made an attempt on our ſcrewed bayonets, they wheeled about and placed themſelves again in the rear; having continued to attack us in this manner near half an hour, they thought proper to march off with the loſs of ſeveral men and horſes killed and wounded. In this attack one of their commanders who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf with ſuperior courage and activity, made frequent attempts and wounded two of our men: general Romantzof obſerving him, and ſeeing me with a rifle-piece in my hand, deſired I would endeavour to bring him down, which I did at his next attack, by ſhooting him through the thigh, and he tumbled from his horſe, which with his own perſon was immediately ſecured. The general was pleaſed to make me a preſent of his horſe and furniture, with his ſcymitar, bow and arrows; the bridle and furniture were overlaid with ſtuds of gilt ſilver, the handle and ſcabbard of the ſcymitar, with the ſame in filigree work; the horſe I ſold for ſixty ducats, the ſcymitar, bow and arrows, I brought with me to Britain, and ſtill have them in my poſſeſſion. By this means general Romantzof made me ſome amends for the horſe and furniture left me by marſhal

1722.

marſhal Weyde, which had been detained from me as I mentioned formerly. This rencounter being ended, we continued our march toward Udenich's reſidence, and found all the way we went, the road ſtrewed with dead bodies, which had been killed by our dragoons in the purſuit; and among the reſt a youth between eighteen and twenty years of age, whoſe head had been but newly cut off: the beauty of his face and perſon were, even in death, ſo extraordinary, that every one ſtood to look on him as they paſt the corpſe, declaring they had never ſeen any one comparable to him; but as the admiration of this corpſe retarded our march, the general ordered the body to be removed out of the way. After having marched about fifteen werſts, we were met by the dragoons and Coſſacks on their return, richly laden with plunder; and general Waterang having informed Romantzof that all was over and completely finiſhed, we returned all together in one body, and on our arriving at the eminence where the enemy made their firſt appearance, we found twenty-one of the priſoners hung up by way of repriſal, for the cruel death of our three Coſſacks: one of the priſoners was ſent back to ſultan Udenich, with his noſe and ears cut off, with a letter reproaching him with his ſavage cruelty toward our innocent meſſengers. The prieſt was quartered for his inhuman barbarity.

A beautiful Tartar youth ſlain.

While this detachment were abſent on that ſervice, lord admiral Apraxin, who commanded the army in chief, had been examining ſome of the priſoners, and aſking them why they had put our innocent meſſengers to ſo cruel a death, they replied that they knew nothing farther about it, but that it was done by their ſultan's orders at the inſtigation of

Undaunted reſolution of the prieſt.

BOOK VIII. 1722. of the prieſt: the prieſt being thereupon interrogated, very boldly anſwered, that he would have done the ſame to every one of our people whom he could have got in his power, to revenge the treatment the Tartars of Andreof had received from us, whoſe chief we had put to ſo ignominious a death, and whoſe friends and allies they were; beſides, they were a free nation, and would ſubject themſelves to no prince on earth. The admiral then aſked him how they could venture to attack ſo numerous and regular an army, who were ſo far ſuperior to any force they could raiſe, and all the aſſiſtance they could expect from their neighbours; to which the prieſt replied, that they were not at all afraid of our foot ſoldiers, who were not able to follow them into mountains, and as to the Coſſacks they had been uſed to beat them often on former occaſions: but what diſconcerted them moſt was our blue coats, (meaning the dragoons), who kept ſo cloſe together on horſeback. He then told the admiral to aſk him no more queſtions, for he was fully determined not to anſwer any, and that he neither aſked not expected any favour from ſuch Chriſtian dogs; upon which he was taken away. Another priſoner being brought before the admiral's tent to be examined, he would give no anſwer to any queſtion that was put to him, on which he was ordered to be ſtripped and whipped; but on receiving the firſt laſh, he ſnatched a ſword from an officer's ſide, and flew with it towards the admiral, whom he would certainly have killed, had not the two centries before the tent, run him through the body with their bayonets; and even after he fell he pulled the muſket out of the hands of one of the centries, who in ſtruggling to wreſt it from him, had a large piece of

fleſh bit out of his arm by this deſperate fellow, who was then ſoon diſpatched. His majeſty coming up at this time, theadmiral told him that he was certainly come into this country to be devoured by mad dogs, having never had ſuch a fright before in his whole life: the emperor replied, ſmiling, if the people of this country underſtood the art of war, it would be impoſſible for any nation to cope with them.

The emperor, with a view to keep theſe people in awe, ordered a fort to be erected on the river Nitzi, under the direction of baron Renne, lieutenant of the guards, as engineer, and all the Kalmuck Tartars, with ſome Coſſacks, were left to cover and protect the works.

The army moved again on the 21ſt, and marching all the way through vineyards and orchards, we came at night to the river Durback, twenty werſts. Here we were met by a meſſenger, with a handſome retinue, from the ſtrong city of Buku, to congratulate his majeſty on his ſafe arrival in thoſe parts; recommending themſelves and their city to his protection; earneſtly requeſting to be relieved from Myr Maghmud the uſurper, againſt whom they had found means to defend themſelves the two years laſt paſt, and beſeeching the emperor to haſten to their relief.

We marched again on the 22d, through orchards and vineyards, fifteen werſts, when we arrived at a ſmall river, where we found plenty of graſs, having ſuffered greatly for want of it all the way from Tarku to this place; and next day, the 23d, we continued our route through theſe delightful vineyards, fifteen werſts, to Derbent. His majeſty was met half way by the governor and principal citizens, who

Arrive at Derbent.

BOOK VIII. preſented him with the keys of their city, offering, at the ſame time, to admit his troops into the citadel, to garriſon it for the protection of their city, which had defended itſelf a conſiderable time againſt the arms of the uſurper Maghmud: this generous offer met a very gracious reception. We marched through the city the ſame day, under a triple ſalvo of all their artillery, and encamped on the ſouth ſide of the town, being now entered for the firſt time into Perſia. We could now plainly ſee Mount Arrarat from our camp, rearing his ſummit far above the reſt of the Caucaſus. The emperor now appointed a governor and three thouſand men to garriſon the caſtle, to whom the inhabitants with much joy, gave the immediate poſſeſſion of, as they were thereby relieved from the fatigues and hardſhips they had ſo long undergone, in defending their city againſt the forces of the uſurper. On the ramparts were mounted one hundred iron, and ſixty braſs cannon, twelve and nine pounders, with large ſtore of ammunition. At a ſmall diſtance on each ſide of the caſtle, ſtands a high watch tower, from which they can diſcover the approach of an enemy at a great diſtance.

1722.

Deſcription of the city.

The city of Derbent, in the province of Shirvan, lies in 41 deg. 51 min. north latitude, is ſituated on the ſhore of the Caſpian; the walls are carried into ten feet depth of water, to prevent any one's paſſing that way; its length from eaſt to weſt, is nearly five werſts, but its breadth is not proportionable. It is not only the frontier of Perſia, lying on its utmoſt confines on this ſide, but may with great propriety be called the gate of it, reaching from the mountain into the ſea. The city is divided into three diſtinct quarters;

ters; the caſtle, ſituated upon the top of the mountain, had always a ſtrong Perſian garriſon. The ſecond, and principal, reaches from the foot of the mountain to the lower town, which makes the third, and reaches to the ſea-ſide. This laſt, which was formerly inhabited by Greeks, is not now much frequented, being for the moſt part converted into gardens, ſince the place was regained from the Turks. The whole city is incloſed with a very ſtrong wall, ſo broad that a waggon may drive along the top of it without the leaſt inconvenience, and flanked with ſquare towers at proper diſtances. The walls are built with large ſquare ſtones, which appear like a heap of ſea-ſhells cemented together, yet are hard and durable as marble, and when poliſhed look extremely beautiful. Moſt of the quarries in the Caucaſus, are of this kind of ſtone. The houſes are built and furniſhed in the ſame manner as thoſe of Tarku; the inhabitants are all Mahometans, except ſome Jews, whoſe chief buſineſs is trading in ſtolen children, brought to market here by the neighbouring Tartars of Dageſtan; or ſome Turkiſh or Ruſſian captives, which they pick up on ſome of their excurſions, which the Jews carry farther into Perſia, and diſpoſe of.

The mountain above the city, which is for the moſt part covered with wood, preſents us with the ruins of a very ancient wall, which, if any credit can be given to the tradition of the natives, had formerly a communication all the way to the Euxine ſea, through an extent of country near three hundred werſts in length: this much, however is certain, the ruins of it ſtill appear in ſome places ſix feet high, in others two or three, and in others the track of it is

BOOK VIII. quite loſt. On ſome of the adjacent hills are alſo to be ſeen the ruins of ſeveral old caſtles, of a ſquare form, two of which remaining undemoliſhed to this day, are garriſoned by the Perſians. The natives in general are of opinion, that the city of Derbent was built by Alexander the Great, and that the long wall, which reached to the Euxine, was built by his order, to prevent the incurſions of the Scythians into Perſia.

1722.

Remarkable tombs.

Near to our camp we ſaw ſome thouſands of tombs, covered with ſtones half round (cylindrical) but exceeding the ordinary ſtature of men, having all of them Arabic inſcriptions. The report is, that in former ages, (yet ſince the time of Mahomet), there was a certain king in Media, named Kaſſan, received a ſignal defeat in a battle he fought againſt the Dageſtan Tartars at this place, and that the bodies of his officers, ſlain in the battle, were buried in theſe tombs. The relation ſeems not to be altogether fictitious, there being at ſome ſmall diſtance, near the ſea, forty other tombs exceeding thoſe in bigneſs, incloſed by a wall, which having each its banner, are ſaid to be the ſepulchres of ſo many lords of the firſt rank, and other holy men who accompanied them: here both Perſians and Tartars, of both ſexes, come to pay their devotions, by kiſſing thoſe ſepulchres, and laying their hands on them while they are at prayers.

Alexander and Melkehatun.

The inhabitants of Derbent have an old tradition among them, concerning Alexander the Great and Melkehatun, a widow ſultana, in the province of Irvan. On an expedition into thoſe parts, Alexander went as his own ambaſſador to the city of Berda, where the ſultana reſided, to demand a ſurrender of herſelf, her city, and country, to the diſcre-

diſcretion of the conqueror: Melkihatun being a woman of curioſity and taſte, had ſome time before procured a picture of Alexander, drawn from the life, ſo that he had no ſooner preſented himſelf before her than ſhe knew him: having delivered his meſſage, ſhe deſired him to dine with her, after which he ſhould receive his anſwer to carry to the king his maſter; upon which he was carried into a great hall, where a table was covered with gold and ſilver, and the ſide diſhes of gold plate were full of her jewels. The great conqueror being ſeated with the queen, ſhe earneſtly preſſed him to eat, at which the great Alexander was very much ſurpriſed, and aſked the queen if her table could afford no other victuals than what he ſaw before him, for theſe would not allay his hunger: ſhe ſaid,—"O! Alexander, I "thought you could live on nothing elſe, ſince for the ſake "of riches, you have laid ſo many countries waſte, and left "the poor inhabitants to periſh for want: you ſee now, if "you had all the treaſure this world affords, and had no "victuals, you muſt periſh." Here ſhe ordered a curtain to be drawn aſide, which diſcovered his own picture, that hung juſt oppoſite to him, thereby ſhewing him by what means ſhe knew him; telling him, that notwithſtanding he was now in her power, ſhe would preſent him with all her treaſure, as ſhe found that riches were his only motive for ranſacking the world; begging, in return, that ſhe and her ſubjects might be allowed to cultivate and enjoy their land in peace. The behaviour and wiſe diſcourſe of the queen ſo pleaſed the great Alexander, that he granted her what ſhe could aſk or deſire, without accepting any of her preſents, except her picture; and after being regaled with ſubſtantial

victuals,

BOOK VIII. victuals, he departed very well ſatisfied with the lady and her entertainment. They ſay he then proceeded to the province of Shirwan, and laid the foundation of Derbent, and gave order that a wall ſhould be built from thence to the Euxine ſea, with watch-towers at every mile's diſtance, which was accordingly executed. They alſo ſay, it was at Derbent where he received a viſit from the Amazonian queen Thaleſtris, whoſe territories extended from hence to the river Buſtro, on the borders of Circaſſia.

1722.

Thirteen ſtore-ſhips having arrived at the mouth of the river Millukenti with proviſions, from Aſtrachan, for the army, we marched thither, fifteen werſts, on the 24th, and found them at anchor. Here his majeſty propoſed to make a harbour for his ſhips on the Caſpian, as there was no other place near Derbent fit for that purpoſe, and I received orders to erect a fort to cover it: the dragoons were immediately ſet to work to provide faſcines and paliſades, and the infantry to break the ground. The firſt night after our fires were lighted, we were viſited by creatures called jackals, which howled in a moſt pitiful manner; the light of our fires had brought ſuch numbers from the mountains, and they made ſuch a diſagreeable noiſe in the very front of our camp, that we could get no ſleep for that night, and being ignorant what they were, our ſurprize continued till day-light, when we ſhot ſeveral of them, and found them to be of the fox kind; after this we fired evening guns, which terrified them ſo much, that they kept in the mountains. We found alſo at this place a number of ſmall creatures, called ſand-hares, ſomewhat larger than rats; the head, fore-part, and tail, exactly reſemble thoſe of the lion; their

Jackalls and ſand-hares.

fore-legs are very ſhort, and their hinder ones very long, ſo that inſtead of running they jump, backwards or forwards, at a ſurpriſing quick rate, ſpringing full three feet from the ground. We had much diverſion in chaſing theſe creatures, although we could catch but few of them, as they ſoon get into their holes, for they burrow like rabbits: they are very fat and good to eat. This night we loſt above ſeven hundred of our horſes, all of which ſwelled and burſt by eating a poiſonous herb which abounds in theſe parts; but none of our camels or oxen ſuffered by it, who, upon trial, would ſcarcely ſmell at it. The natives are particularly careful to keep their horſes from feeding where this herb grows, which is only found near the ſea-ſide.

Thirteen tranſports loſt and buried in the ſand.

We had ſuch a furious ſtorm of wind on the 25th, from the north, that all our thirteen ſtore-ſhips, with our proviſions, were driven aſhore and ſoon beat to pieces, but the men were all ſaved, and in leſs than three hours there was not the leaſt appearance of any of the wreck to be ſeen, which was all buried under the ſand occaſioned by the ſhortneſs of the waves which ſucceed each other ſo quickly, that the ſands are thereby raiſed to a great degree: the next day it was quite calm, and all hands were ſet to work to dig for our loſt proviſions, and with ſome toil and labour we recovered them; they conſiſted chiefly in rye meal and flour all in ſacks, and the ſalt-water had not penetrated above an inch into them, and all within that was entirely ſafe; it was immediately diſtributed to the army, with orders to bake it into bread, and after that to make ſuchary of it. The Ruſſian ſoldiers always bake their own bread, making ovens in the ground wherever they come; and when

Suchary bread.

they

BOOK VIII. 1722.

they are ordered to make ſuchary of it, they cut the loaves, which commonly are of ſix pound weight, into ſmall ſquare pieces, and dry them in an oven, or in the ſun, by which they turn ſo light, that a man can eaſily carry as much bread as will ſerve him twelve or fourteen days, and this kind of bread is ſo hard, that they ſoak it before they eat it; but they never make it but on neceſſary and preſſing occaſions. The Ruſſians are ſo fond of ſuchary, that they always have plenty of the beſt kind of it in their houſes and uſe it in ſoups; it eats very pleaſant, and will keep above a year.

Two expreſſes and an ambaſſador arrive at the army.

Two meſſengers now arrived in our camp; the one from the city of Shamachie, and the other from Baku, imploring his majeſty's aſſiſtance againſt Myr Maghmud, the uſurper; and very ſoon after thoſe, came other three meſſengers, viz. from the Armenians, Melitener, and the Georgians, who are all of them of the communion of the Greek church; praying the emperor to ſend them ſome of his troops to enable them to defend themſelves againſt the uſurper, as they were fully determined to perſevere in their allegiance to their rightful ſophi; and the next day an ambaſſador arrived from the young ſophi himſelf, who was very preſſing to have our army advance with all poſſible diſpatch to his aſſiſtance; offering to give his majeſty poſſeſſion of the ſtrong cities of Reſht, Shamachie, and Baku. Upon this we made all the diſpatch we could to finiſh the fort and harbour; after which we intended to ſet out upon this expedition. Having ſo many hands continually employed on the works, the fort was finiſhed on the 5th of September, which conſiſted of four baſtions, ſurrounded by a moat, into which water from the river was led; and a

covert way paliſaded; a captain with 200 regulars, and 300 Coſſacks, were put into it for its defence.

1722.

A Turkiſh ambaſſador obliges the emperor to return.

Our army was in readineſs to ſet forward next day, when, to our great ſurprize, a Turkiſh ambaſſador arrived from Shamachie, informing the emperor that they had taken poſſeſſion of that city, and that it was by the orders of the grand ſignor his maſter, that he came to ſignify to his majeſty, the umbrage taken by the Porte at the progreſs he had made in thoſe parts; and likewiſe to deſire him to withdraw his forces; and if the emperor ſhould refuſe, to declare war againſt Ruſſia. Upon weighing this matter duly, his majeſty did not think proper to proceed, as he did not chooſe, at this juncture, to have any rupture with the Turks; more eſpecially, as he was then at ſo great a diſtance from his own country with the flower of his army; he therefore immediately reſolved to return back, ſo that this was the utmoſt limits, for this time, of our Perſian expedition, and the provinces which had now ſo earneſtly ſought our aſſiſtance, were afterwards obliged to put themſelves under the protection of the Turks.

Occaſion of the troubles in Perſia.

All theſe troubles and diſorders at this time in Perſia were occaſioned by the indolence and ſloth of Shah Huſſein, their king, whoſe only enjoyments were the pleaſures of his haram, (or ſeraglio,) ſuffering his eunuchs to govern at pleaſure. This encouraged the Tartars, Moguls, and Arabians, to make ſeveral irruptions into his provinces, and they were only removed thence by the force of money. Georgi-chan, the prince of Georgia, was governor of the city of Candahar, on the frontier of India, who being informed or apprehending that Myr Weis, the tax gatherer, was endeavour-

BOOK VIII. ing to excite a revolt among the Aghvans, communicated the affair to the court of Iſpahan: Myr Weis was ſent for, where his fine parts enabled him very ſoon to make many friends, and at the ſame time to diſcover the weakneſs of a court quite immerſed in ſoftneſs and pleaſures. He found means to be ſent back to Candahar with ſome authority; where he was no ſooner returned than he aſſaſſinated prince Georgi-chan, and forced the Aghvans to revolt. Thus he raiſed himſelf to the ſovereign power, which he maintained till the died, the court of Perſia not being able to reduce him to obedience. He was ſucceeded by his brother, who was ſoon aſſaſſinated by his nephew Myr Maghmut, ſon of Myr Weis. It was he that made himſelf maſter of all Perſia, and drove Shah Huſſein from the throne. What became of that prince after his flight, none could ever tell.

1722.

The army return.

Our army decamped on the 6th of September, and we ſet out on our return to Derbent, to the great mortification of thoſe people, who had ſo long relied on our aſſiſtance, whoſe meſſengers now left us with heavy hearts, finding all their hopes fruſtrated, being now left at the mercy of the uſurper Myr Maghmut. The Turkiſh ambaſſador attended us till we entered again into Dageſtan. We paſſed through and encamped on the north ſide of Derbent, on our return, to the general joy of the whole army, who did not in the leaſt reliſh this expedition among ſuch a ſavage barbarous people. On the 7th the Turkiſh ambaſſador had his audience of leave, and went to Derbent, where he remained till he heard we were re-embarked for Aſtrachan. We had now left behind us the five hundred men in the ſmall fort on the river Millukenti, and our governor and three thou-

ſand

ſand men in garriſon at Derbent, and this day marching fifteen werſts, we reſted on the 8th. The heavy dews now began to fall in the night-time, which rendered it very cold; the ſudden change from the ſcorching heat of the days to the coldneſs of the nights, made it intolerable. We marched again fifteen werſts on the 9th, and reſted on the 10th, in the night of which the hills were very thick covered with ſnow, which made it ſo exceeding cold, that we heartily repented having left our warm cloaths behind us at Aſtrachan, thinking we ſhould have no occaſion for them in ſo hot a climate.

1722. Cold nights.

On the 11th we marched twenty-four werſts to the river Nitzi, where we found the fort finiſhed by baron Ronne, for the defence of which we had left one hundred ſoldiers, and two hundred Coſſacks. It was at this place where we were attacked by ſultan Udinach's army, and we now found they had carried away in the night, the bodies of their countrymen we had hung up by way of repriſal for the murder of the Coſſacks. A meſſenger arrived here from Derbent, to inform us that Udinach, joined by Perſian Uſmei and ſultan Mahmut of Utimiſhof, had aſſembled twenty thouſand men with an intention to attack us in the night-time, which obliged us to ſtand to our arms all night long, which was bitter cold, and we continued in that poſture till next day at noon, the enemy hovering all the while within ſight: however, we moved again, and made an afternoon's march of twelve werſts, in continual view of the enemy, who endeavoured to attack us ſeveral times on our march, but as conſtantly fled on our approach, ſtill hovering near us, and took two of our Coſ-

Dangerous and harraſſing march.

BOOK VIII. 1722. ſacks priſoners, and we took three of their Tartars. The wind blew ſo very hard this day, that we were almoſt blinded with the ſand and duſt, of which they thought to avail themſelves, but were fruſtrated by our vigilance. We continued under arms all this night, which proved very dewy and cold, but as we were attacked in the night in ſome part or other, our continual motions kept us in ſome heat. Next day ſeeing the enemy drawn up very near us, we formed and continued all day in order of battle, and remained all the following night in the ſame order, and not a man offered to ſtir out of his rank, being attacked this night in almoſt every quarter of the army; yet we no ſooner offered to advance toward them than they fled. We now again loſt ſeveral hundreds of our horſes by that poiſonous herb before mentioned.

On the 14th we marched twenty-four werſts in conſtant view of the enemy, who ſtill kept ſkirting the mountains, every now and then attacking us with ſmall parties, on which occaſions we took two more of them priſoners, but were obliged to continue all this night alſo under arms, without either pitching our tents or lighting fires, by which means officers and men were reduced ſo low by continual marching, watching, and cold, that our whole army were become very feeble and unfit for duty. On the 15th, notwithſtanding the low ſtate to which we were reduced, we marched to Tarku, twenty-five werſts, and before we got there the enemy diſappeared. We diſpatched two trumpeters, attended by two Coſſacks, to acquaint the ſhafkal with our approach, but when we advanced near the city, we found them lying murdered on the road; their cloaths and horſes

horſes were found in the poſſeſſion of ſeven Dageſtan Tartars belonging to Tarku, whom we apprehended and quartered them in the city in the preſence of the ſhafkal and the inhabitants, and hung up their quarters in the moſt public places for an example to others. His majeſty upbraided the ſhafkal in ſevere terms, both for the murder of his meſſengers, and his treachery in joining and conniving with his enemies to annoy his army: the ſhafkal in his own vindication aſſured his majeſty that he was innocent of what had happened, but that his brother, and two of his own ſons, had put themſelves at the head of a diſaffected body of his people, and riſen in rebellion againſt him; and as he had now ſecured them, he entreated his majeſty to take them, and the reſt of the malcontents, and do with them whatever he pleaſed: they were accordingly all delivered over to us, and ſent as priſoners or hoſtages to Aſtrachan.

We marched again on the 16th, ten werſts from Tarku, without the leaſt moleſtation: on our way one of the priſoners brought from Tarku, ſnatched a ſabre from the ſide of one of our Coſſacks, with which he very near cut off his right arm, but, upon his endeavouring to make his eſcape, was ſhot through the head by another Coſſack who was attending him. Reſuming our march on the 17th, we went twenty-ſeven werſts; but our guide led us quite out of the road, into fenny and marſhy ground quite over-grown with reeds, which occaſioned great confuſion in the army, and obliged us to return in a very dark night to extricate ourſelves. Our guide being ſuſpected of treachery was put in irons, and being found guilty, he was hanged next morning.

The

BOOK VIII. 1722.

The 18th, we marched twenty-five werſts to the banks of the Sulack, where the river Agrechan ſeparates from it. Here we found a plain beautiful ſpot of ground on both ſides the river; the country overgrown with large tall trees and excellent paſturage, which enticed his majeſty to build a new and well fortified town at this place to keep the Dageſtan Tartars in awe, and I had orders to lay a plan before him. The plan conſiſted of five baſtions, and two demi-baſtions next the river on the ſouth-ſide, with ravelins and a paliſaded covered way; on the north-ſide were ſix baſtions, alſo with ravelins and a paliſaded covered way; the two ſides to communicate by a bridge in the middle over the river. The emperor approved the plan, and all hands were immediately ſet to work under my direction in chief, with ſix engineers under me to carry on the work: when the works were laid out and the ſtreets regulated, a number of hands were employed in felling timber for building houſes, ſo that fortifying and building went on at the ſame time. His majeſty named the new city Swetago-Kreſt (or Holy-Croſs), and appointed general Waterang commander in chief of the army which was to be left for the protection and accompliſhment of the works; the army conſiſted of 7000 dragoons, 5000 regular infantry, and 6000 Coſſacks; in all 18,000 men.

The new town of Swetago-Kreſt.

At this time an expreſs arrived from Derbent, which informed his majeſty that a body of 10,000 rebel Perſians had attacked our fort at the river Millukenti, and that the garriſon had made ſuch a vigorous defence, that the enemy were obliged to retire with the loſs of 600 men; and that the other fort, at the river Nitzi, had been ſurpriſed and taken

Fort at the river Nitzi deſtroyed and revenged.

taken by ſultan Udinach, who had quartered all the garriſon, and crucified the officers on the ſame ſpot of ground where we formerly executed his people: the expreſs alſo brought intelligence, that ſultan Udinach was no ſooner informed of our army's being gone to the river Sulack, than thinking himſelf in perfect ſafety, he had brought all his people down from their retreats in the mountains, and that they were then enjoying themſelves in great ſecurity in the vallies. The emperor now loſt no time in diſpatching a body of light horſe, conſiſting of 10,000 Coſſacks, and 15,000 Kalmuck Tartars, who went with ſuch expedition, that they came upon them living in the utmoſt ſecurity; put ſeveral thouſands of their men to the ſword, the two ſultans Udinach and Maghmut, very narrowly eſcaped, leaving their women, children, and cattle, a prey to the vanquiſhers, beſides their ſlaves, the whole amounting to ſeveral thouſand of both ſexes. Among the ſlaves were four hundred and thirty-ſeven Ruſſians, of both ſexes, who were now left to inhabit the new city of Swetago-Kreſt; the emperor allowed the captors two rubles a head for the Ruſſians; the reſt were ſold; as the Coſſacks and Kalmucks ſerve the emperor in his wars, no purchaſe no pay, having only bread allowed them while they continue in ſervice, all the priſoners and booty they take is their own, to diſpoſe of as they can to the beſt advantage. When the remaining priſoners, on this occaſion, were offered to ſale, there were found among them upwards of two hundred Georgian ſlaves, all Chriſtians of the Greek church; for theſe an agreement was made with the captors at ten rubles a head, which her majeſty, the empreſs, paid for their redemption, and

1722.

BOOK VIII. and they were likewiſe left to people the new town. The reſt of the Coſſacks who were not employed, and the Kalmuck Tartars, were now ſent home to their own country through Circaſſia and the deſerts of Aſtrachan, richly provided with ſlaves and cattle of all ſorts, having made a profitable campaign of it.

1722.

The army re-embark at Agrechan, and the proviſions for the captain's galley loſt, a ſtarving voyage.

His majeſty was now preparing to move homewards, and I had accommodated my affairs to ſtay in this place, but I received orders to attend the emperor to Aſtrachan, and to leave the direction of the works to lieutenant-colonel Brunie, as engineer in my abſence, which I obeyed with great pleaſure; and as I had neither ſold my camels, nor horſes, the general kindly took upon himſelf to diſpoſe of them to the beſt advantage. We marched, on the 1ſt of October, thirty werſts, along the banks of the river Agrechan, to the entrenchments that protected our gallies, and on our arrival, we found them all out and ready at anchor to receive us. We embarked the ſame evening, and the fleet lay there all night; the next morning, a boat coming from the ſhore with proviſions for the uſe of my galley, ſunk before ſhe could reach us; the men were ſaved, but every bit of the proviſions loſt; I ſent immediately to the admiral a report of our misfortune, and deſired a ſupply of proviſions; and he returned for anſwer, that he could not ſupply us, as the reſt of the gallies had little enough for their own ſubſiſtence. Makarof, his majeſty's ſecretary, being then on board with me, was much ſurpriſed at the anſwer; ſaying, that a ſmall ſhare from each galley could not have been miſſed, and that, from ſo many, would have been ſufficient for us. The ſecretary adviſed me immediately to make

the beſt of our way to Aſtrachan, without any regard to the admiral's ſignals, offering to be anſwerable for the conſequences if I ſhould be called to an account for it; which advice I was determined to follow whenever I met with a favourable wind to put it in execution.

The 2d in the afternoon, the ſignal was made to weigh, and the weather being quite calm, we rowed along ſhore till it was dark, when another ſignal was made to anchor; the next day it being ſtill a calm, we rowed till night, and while we lay at anchor, a furious ſtorm aroſe, which beat the ſhort waves ſo violently againſt our galley, that ſhe ſprung a leak, and notwithſtanding all our exertion with the pumps, the water gained ſo faſt upon us, that we expected ſhe would very ſoon go down; I run down to the cabin to ſee what water was under its floor, and upon entering there, I heard a noiſe of water below the ſecretary's bed, and immediately called the carpenter to take up the boards, and then we diſcovered the leak, which was a hole ſo big that I thruſt my hand through it; we got it immediately ſtopt, and the pumps then ſoon cleared the veſſel to our great joy: ſeveral of our gallies were loſt in this ſtorm, but moſt of the people ſaved. When day-light appeared, we ſaw four gallies ſunk at a ſmall diſtance from us, with their maſts only above water, and men hanging by them, where they remained till the boats went and brought them off. Three gallies were ſo deeply loaded, that they ſunk and all the men periſhed. On the 4th, the ſtorm being abated, and the wind favourable, the fleet ſailed all day; but the two following days, being quite calm, we were obliged to have recourſe to our oars again, and row along ſhore, which was

BOOK VIII. very mortifying to the poor ſoldiers, who were by this time reduced to very ſhort allowance. The ſecretary and I diſtributed to them what little proviſions and brandy we could ſpare, which went but a ſhort way among ſo many men.

1722.

The 7th, having a favourable wind, we not only made all the ſail we could, but likewiſe applied to our oars, and by this means we ſoon left the fleet out of ſight, and continued under ſail all night; but it being calm in the morning, we were obliged to row, notwithſtanding the miſerable condition the poor ſoldiers were reduced to by hunger: two of them died this day, more for want of food than ſickneſs: at noon the wind began to blow freſh, which relieved the ſoldiers from the oars, and we continued ſailing all that night, but I had loſt three more of my men. We had a fair wind all day of the 9th, and made the beſt uſe we could of it till we ran a-ground in the evening, but with the aſſiſtance of a warp-anchor, we got her towed off again without the leaſt damage. This little obſtruction to our voyage greatly diſheartened the poor ſtarving men, and two more of them died that night; and the ſurvivors were more like ghoſts than men, and were now reduced ſo low that they could no longer handle the oars or ſails, and even begged leave to eat their dead companions: from this, however, as we ſailed with a fine breeze, we got them perſuaded to refrain, in hopes that one day more would bring us to the mouth of the Wolga. On the 10th, the wind ſtill favoured us, till in the evening we happily fell in with a fiſhing-boat with plenty of fiſh, and the poor ſtarved men fell to eating them ſo voraciouſly, that they had not patience to broil them; ſo that I was obliged to ſet off the boat for fear of the men killing

killing themſelves; but as the fiſhermen had given us a bag of ſuchary, or biſcuit, it was divided in ſmall ſhares among them, which, with the broiled fiſh, a little refreſhed them; and the joyful information that ſeveral proviſion-ſhips were lying at the mouth of the river, greatly revived their fainting ſpirits. I kept one of the fiſhermen on board for a pilot, and ordered the boat with the fiſh to follow us, in caſe we ſhould have farther occaſion for them. We continued to ſail all night, but four more of my men died this night, who certainly would have been eaten by their companions, had we not been provided with plenty of fiſh. The 11th, in the morning, we got into the mouth of the Wolga, where we found ſtore-ſhips full of all ſorts of proviſions, and of which I had what we wanted, by giving a receipt; yet I loſt three more of my men before I got on ſhore, ſo that I had fourteen in all ſtarved to death on the voyage, and nine more died of too great plenty after we came on ſhore. Here we waited the arrival of the fleet, which was on the 14th, in the evening. Admiral Apraxin's galley being the firſt that entered the river, he enquired what galley that was on ſhore; and on being informed, he ordered me to come on board his galley. Secretary Makarof went with me, and when we got on board, he had a long conference with the admiral in his cabin, and then I was called in and received his commendations for what I had done, and was diſmiſſed; but from the caution he gave me not to mention what had happened, I had reaſon to believe he was afraid this proceeding of his might come to the emperor's ears.

BOOK VIII. 1722.

BOOK VIII.

1722. Arrival at Aſtrachan the 15th of October.

On the 15th, the fleet proceeded up the river to Aſtrachan, and on our arrival, were ſaluted by all the artillery of the city, to the inexpreſſible joy of the whole army. We debarked the next day, and were put into quarters of refreſhment, of which we ſtood in great need. One of our hoſpital ſhips, with 360 men, had been caſt away upon the coaſt of Turkiſtan, or Turkomania, on the eaſt ſide of the Caſpian; of which number only one enſign, a prieſt, and ſeven men returned to give the diſmal account: the reſt had all either died or been made priſoners by the Tartars. We loſt on this deſtructive expedition, above one third of our whole army, not in battle, but by ſickneſs and fatigue.

At this time an expreſs arrived from Reſht, the principal city of the province of Gilan, upon the ſouthernmoſt coaſt of the Caſpian, deſiring his majeſty to ſend them a ſufficient number of our troops to defend them againſt the uſurper Myr-Maghmut, and offering to put their ſtrong city into our poſſeſſion. His majeſty ſent a colonel and two engineers with one thouſand men to their relief, by ſea to Reſht; but at the time of their landing, the uſurper being near the town with a numerous army, the inhabitants were afraid to admit our troops into the town; our troops therefore, were obliged to entrench themſelves near the ſea-ſhore. On receiving intelligence of this, general Lewaſof was ſent with four thouſand more men to join them, and on their arrival, the inhabitants admitted them into the city; the general immediately added ſeveral outworks to ſtrengthen the place, and we remained in full poſſeſſion

of

of the province, without the leaſt diſturbance from the uſurper. BOOK VIII.

1722.

General Lewaſof at his ſetting out, had orders to call at Baku, and leave a garriſon there of two thouſand men; but he came too late, for the citizens being diſappointed of the ſupport they hoped for from our army, when we were at Derbent, were obliged to ſubmit themſelves to the obedience of Myr-Maghmut, and they refuſed to admit our troops.

It may be proper to obſerve here, that the jealouſy which the march of our army into thoſe parts, had excited in the Turks, and the umbrage they had taken at it, was afterward adjuſted by our ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, where it was mutually agreed that the Turks ſhould keep Shamachie; that Armenia, Melitener, and Georgia, ſhould remain under their protection; and that the emperor, if he choſe it, might ſubdue all the provinces bordering on the Caſpian ſea.

His majeſty being now determined to make all his conqueſts in future by ſea, without running the riſque of ruining an army with marching again by land, gave immediate orders to build a ſufficient number of ſhips of burthen, and finding our former gallies too ſmall for any diſtant expedition, gave likewiſe orders to build a number of double gallies of forty oars, to contain above three hundred men each; and having ſettled all his affairs at this place, he left General Matuſkin here to command the army in chief, and ordered the ſix battalions of his own body guards to attend his perſon to Moſcow. We left all our gallies here, and proceeded in open boats up the river Wolga, ſo that inſtead

BOOK VIII. 1722. of enjoying any reſt in this place, we were again put to intolerable hardſhips; and we who had the honour of being the body guards of this indefatigable monarch, underwent greater fatigues, harder duty, and ſeverer puniſhment for neglect of it, upon all occaſions, than any of the reſt of his army.

BOOK

BOOK IX.

Progreſs up the Wolga to Czaritza.—The ghoſt there.—A ſhort hiſtory of the Coſſacks.—Stephen Ratzin's rebellion.—Ordered to ſurvey the Caſpian ſea, on which he proceeds to Jaick and Yembo.—Iſland of Kula, and Turkiſtan Tartars.—Gulf of Iſkander.—River Oxus and the Uſbeck Tartars.—The gulf of Carabuga.—River Daria.—River Oſſa. Gulf of Aſtrabat.—Provinces of Terebat and Maſſenderan.—Gulf of Sinſili and city of Reſht.—Difficult path of the Pyles.—The rivers Ardeſchin and Linkeran, and the famous naphtha oil-pits.—The river Cyrus, or Kur.—The city of Baku.—City of Shamachie. City of Derbent.—The river Sulack.—Gulf of Agrechan, Iſland of Trentzeni and city of Terki.—General Deſcription of the Caſpian ſea.—Watch tower on John's iſland.—General Matuſkin's marriage to the widow in tears.—Conteſt among the Kalmucks, and expedition againſt them.—Deſcription of their kibbets.—A battle with the Kalmucks.—Some odd cuſtoms among them. The Baranetz, or Lambſkin.—Returns for Moſcow up the Wolga.—A narrow eſcape from the ice.—Proceed by land. A cruel robbery in the woods.—A remarkable diſcovery of a town, with an account of it.—A wild girl taken in the wood.—Arrival at Moſcow.

THE emperor ſet out from hence on the 5th of November; for the firſt three days ſome ſoldiers were put on ſhore to tow the boats againſt the ſtream, who were relieved every hour; the 8th, having a favourable wind from the ſouth, we went under ſail for four days. On the 11th, we met the ice in large ſheets floating down the river, and two of our battalions being then in the rear, I aſked, and obtained leave of brigadier Kartzmin, under whoſe command they were, to make the beſt of my way, and with much toil and labour reached Zornayar on the 16th, a fortified town with a numerous garriſon. The river being

BOOK IX.

1722. Progreſs up the Wolga to Czaritza.

BOOK IX. completely frozen over this night, I was obliged to draw my boat on ſhore, and had the good fortune to be the only officer of our diviſion frozen up at an inhabited place. His majeſty, with four battalions, was ſtopt forty werſts above us, and brigadier Kartzmin, with the other two, was ſtopt forty werſts below us, and could not reach Zornoyar by land till the 19th. His majeſty preceeded by land to Czaritza, and we remained at Zornayar, till the Kalmuck Tartars came over the river on the ice to take up their uſual winter-quarters in the deſart: they covered a road with earth over the ice for their cattle to paſs on, their horſes, for want of ſhoeing, as well as their other cattle, being equally unable to ſet their feet on the bare ice.

1722.

We now bought horſes of the Tartars at a very cheap rate, and ſet forward on the 17th of December through a barren deſart country, without meeting a ſingle houſe in all our way, being obliged to lay in our tents for four ſucceſſive nights in very cold weather, and in want of every neceſſary: we arrived at Czaritza on the 21ſt at night, which is five hundred werſts above Aſtrachan. When the emperor left this place ſome time before, with the other battalions, to make the beſt of his way to Moſcow, he left orders for our two (being thoſe of Ingermanland and Aſtrachan) to remain here for the winter; which orders we received with great pleaſure, as we found very good quarters, and notwithſtanding the numerous garriſon of foot and Coſſacks, we had every thing we could wiſh for in great plenty.

The ghoſt there.

One day when I was dining with the governor, he entertained us with a long ſtory about a ghoſt that was frequently ſeen walking the ſtreets at night, and had continued to do ſo for

for ſome years paſt, beſtowing a ſound beating on any perſon who offered to diſturb it, but did no other harm. I mentioned my ſurprize that no body had attempted to ſeize this ghoſt, as it could certainly be no other than ſome perſon who took pleaſure in frightening the people. The governor, who was a very credulous man, replied with ſome warmth, "It was very perceptible I was a foreigner, who "ſeldom believed any thing."—I told him, that he ought not to take offence at what I had ſaid, for if he would give me leave I would ſecure the ghoſt the firſt time it walked the ſtreets again, which he granted with a ſneer. When I came home to my lodging, I aſked one of my ſerjeants if he had heard any thing of a ghoſt in town; he told me he had ſeen it frequently, and if I was curious he believed I might ſee it that ſame night: on which I ordered him to pick out half a dozen ſtout fellows, and attend with them at my lodging, and ſend ſome others to look out and bring me word when it appeared. About eleven o'clock at night, information came that it was walking in the next ſtreet to that I was in; upon which I ſent the ſerjeant with three of the men to meet it, and ordered him by all means to ſeize it, and went myſelf with the other three to follow it in caſe it ſhould attempt to return back; but it met the ſerjeant without offering to return or eſcape; and upon being ſeized, threw two of the men under his feet, yet they held him faſt till I came up; when, preſenting a piſtol to his breaſt, he begged to ſave his life, and confeſſed himſelf to be one of the Coſſacks belonging to the garriſon. I carried him immediately to the governor, who was ſo much aſhamed for having allowed himſelf to be ſo long impoſed on, and ſo

BOOK IX. 1722.

enraged, that he threatened to hang the fellow; but as he had not been guilty of any other crime, except that of frightening people, he came off with a ſevere whipping, after he had ſtood ſome time with his white ſheet about him, as a ſhow to the people of the town.

A ſhort hiſtory of the Coſſacks.

Having had frequent occaſion to mention the Coſſacks, employed both in our armies and garriſons, I ſhall endeavour to give ſome ſhort account of their origin. They were at firſt no more than a band of free-booters, compoſed of a wild barbarous rabble, moſtly boors, from the provinces of Poliſh Ruſſia, Volhinia, and Podolia. Having left their native habitations, they ſettled themſelves on ſome iſlands in the river Boriſthenes, below Kiovia, where they ſubſiſted by robbery and plunder. They acquired the name of Coſſacks from their agility, the word *Coſſa* ſignifying as much in the Poliſh language: they were particularly remarkable for their dexterity in paſſing between the great number of ſmall iſlands, ſituated in the mouth of the Boriſthenes: their piracies early became terrible to the Turkiſh gallies on the Black-Sea, and they grew formidable to Natolia itſelf, when they not only plundered Trebiſond and Sinope, but even the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople did not eſcape them, and they returned in ſafety to their habitations with their priſoners and plunder.

The fame of their exploits againſt the Turks gained them ſuch reputation with the Poles, that Stephen Batori, prince of Tranſilvania and king of Poland, conſidering that theſe Coſſacks might be of great uſe to the crown of Poland, not only againſt the incurſions of the neighbouring Crim Tartars, but alſo might ſerve as a conſiderable addition to the ſtrength

ſtrength of the Poliſh army, which conſiſting for the moſt part of horſe, would be rendered more formidable when augmented by ſo conſiderable a number of foot, reſolved to put theſe vagabond ſoldiers into good order and diſcipline; which he effected by granting them very conſiderable privileges, and putting them under a general of their own, called by them hetman, who had the power of naming his own officers. Having thus reduced them into one body, he gave them the city of Techimerof, on the Boriſthenes, with all the territory belonging to it, which they made their capital magazine, and reſidence of their hetman; and by this means, all that tract of deſert country which extends itſelf along the Boriſthenes, from Bar, Braclaw, and Kiow, to the Black-Sea, became a populous country, filled with towns and cities, and is now called the Ukrain*. As this body has been of very great ſervice to the crown of Poland, by ſecuring its frontiers on that ſide againſt the incurſions of the Crim Tartars: ſo, after ſome time, it proved very dangerous, having ſeveral times taken arms againſt the republic, which was occaſioned by ſeveral Poliſh lords, whoſe boors (their vaſſals) could never be well ſecured as long as the Coſſacks enjoyed their privileges, repreſented them to the king as dangerous to the republic, by reaſon of the great numbers of peaſants that daily ran over to them. It was reſolved to build a fort at a place called Kudak, on a point of land formed by the influx of the river Swamer to the Boriſthenes, which was choſen from its ſituation, as a proper place to bridle the Coſſacks, being at no great diſtance from the place of their ordinary rendezvous. The Coſſacks, how-

BOOK IX. 1722.

* Ukrain, in the Poliſh language, ſignifies *frontier*.

BOOK XI. ever, penetrating the deſign of the Poles, were reſolved not to ſuffer the bridle to be put over their heads; and having defeated two hundred men who were left to ſee the fort perfected, under the command of a colonel, they aſſembled a conſiderable body of forces, to prevent the Poliſh general in his deſign; and from that time there were diviſions and perpetual wars between the Poles and the Coſſacks. During theſe troubles, great numbers of the Coſſacks retired, with their families to the river Don, or Tanais, and ſettled between the Don and the Wolga, where they ſubſiſted a long time by their piracies on the Wolga.

1722.

In the year 1653, being greatly oppreſſed by the Poles, they joined the Ruſſians, who, in the year following, with their aſſiſtance, took the cities of Smolinſko and Wilna; ſo that it was chiefly owing to the valour of the Coſſacks, that the provinces of Smolinſko and Severia with the palatinate of Kiovia, were annexed to the Ruſſian empire, and which were all confirmed to them by the treaty of peace in 1666, made at Oliva. About that period the Coſſacks in general put themſelves under the protection of Ruſſia, and are ſtill diſtinguiſhed by the Ukrain and Donſki Coſſacks, the former of which ſerve moſtly on foot, the latter all on horſeback. It was the Donſki Coſſacks who were employed on our expedition at this time, and were put in garriſon in all our frontier towns, and are in regular pay, and forage allowed them for their horſes. They have now left off robbing, except when they are ſent into an enemy's country, then all the booty they make is their own, as alſo the priſoners they take, whom they may ſell or retain as their ſlaves.

The Coſſacks in general are tall, ſtrong, well ſet, and remarkably active; they are liberal even to profuſion, placing no great value in riches, but are great lovers of their liberty, which they look upon as a thing ineſtimable: they are hardy, indefatigable, brave, but great drunkards and very treacherous. Their chief employment is hunting and fiſhing, yet they apply themſelves both to agriculture and arms; their language is a dialect of the Ruſſian and Poliſh tongues, but more ſmooth and agreeable than either; they profeſs the Greek religion in the ſame manner as it is eſtabliſhed in Ruſſia.

Stephen Ratzin's rebellion.

A very dangerous rebellion was raiſed in the year 1669, when Alexis (his preſent majeſty's father) was emperor, by one Stephen Ratzin, a Donſki Coſſack by birth; who, obſerving a certain diſpoſition in the Nagayan Tartars inhabiting the kingdom of Aſtrachan, occaſioned by the heavy oppreſſions they groaned under from the miſmanagement and avarice of the Ruſſian governors in thoſe parts, to ſhake off the Ruſſian yoke, he gathered a conſiderable party, and being aſſiſted by a great number of the Donſki Coſſacks, marched at their head againſt the city of Aſtrachan, which he beſieged and took, after a ſmall reſiſtance. From thence he marched toward Caſan, threatening not only that city, but the ſouthern Ruſſia with a moſt dreadful invaſion; and his army increaſed prodigiouſly by the vaſt number of Tartars that flocked to his aſſiſtance. But inſtead of improving this opportunity to his advantage, he abandoned himſelf to idleneſs and all manner of exceſs and debauchery, by which the Ruſſians had leiſure to aſſemble their forces and ſtop his career; in which they were ſo expeditious as to arrive at Caſan before he could lay ſiege to the

BOOK IX. the place, and having thus cut off all communication with the country thereabout, from whence Aſtrachan and the adjacent parts are ſupplied with corn, the rebellious army was ſoon reduced to ſuch great diſtreſs, by want of ſubſiſtence, that the Tartars being apprehenſive of their approaching danger, for the moſt part deſerted their leader; notwithſtanding which, the Coſſacks ſtood it out bravely, reſolving to maintain their ground againſt the Ruſſians; for which purpoſe they entrenched themſelves under the walls of Aſtrachan. The Ruſſians ſeeing the deſperate reſolution of the Coſſacks, thought it more adviſeable to reduce them, if poſſible, to obedience by fair means, and a promiſe of free pardon for all that was paſt, than by force of arms; which had the deſired effect; for Ratzin finding his Coſſacks wavering, and being flattered with hopes of forgiveneſs, by ſome of his friends in the emperor's court, ſurrendered himſelf to the mercy of czar Alexis Michaelovitz, the next year. His party being thus deprived of their head, readily embraced the offer of pardon; but Ratzin not long after found himſelf extremely miſtaken in his hopes, for he was carried into the great market-place, before the caſtle in Moſcow, and there, in the midſt of an infinite number of ſpectators, aſſembled to ſee the tragical exit of a man, whom not many months before they had conſidered as their moſt dreadful enemy, he had firſt his arms cut off, then his legs, and laſtly his head. Ever ſince that period, the Coſſacks have been kept in ſtrict order and diſcipline, being for the moſt part employed in garriſoning the frontier towns, in which they never exceed one third, and being all horſemen, they are employed out upon parties to keep the neighbouring

1722.

bouring Tartars in awe, the Ruſſian ſoldiers only doing duty in the garriſons. BOOK XI.

1723. Ordered to ſurvey the Caſpian Sea.

Early this ſpring, when we were in hopes of going to Moſcow, we received orders to return to Aſtrachan, there to remain in garriſon till the return of general Matuſkin, who had received his orders to proceed to Baku, with a force to reduce that city: accordingly we moved with our two battalions, on the 2d of April, from Czaritza down the Wolga, and arrived at Aſtrachan on the 8th, where we found the general embarking his troops to ſail on his expedition againſt Baku. At the ſame time I got very unexpected orders to go all round the Caſpian Sea, to ſurvey and ſound it, and to lay down, in a chart, all the iſlands, rivers, creeks, and bays, with the different ſoundings, and for this ſervice had one of the ſtrongeſt new built gallies, of forty oars, carrying two eighteen pounders in her prow, twenty four ſwivels, and three hundred men; attended with four boats, two of eight oars, one of ten, and another of twelve, each boat carrying one ſwivel gun; and two ſub-engineers were appointed for my aſſiſtants.

On which he proceeds

My firſt care was to guard againſt the misfortunes which was ſo fatal to the laſt galley I commanded in the Caſpian, by laying in a plentiful ſtock of proviſions, and my old friend, the Capuchin, ſent me a preſent of one caſk of very good red wine, one of white, a quarter caſk of brandy, and ſeveral kinds of preſerved ſweet-meats; ſo that the good man was never tired in ſhewing his gratitude, for the ſmall favour I had done him, in his paſſage down the river. The general with his army ſat out on the 15th, and we went down the river on the 18th of April, and got to the

BOOK XI. mouth of the Wolga next morning; from thence proceeding eaſtward, we paſt in very ſhallow water along the coaſt ſo overgrown with reed, that we were obliged to keep at five or ſix miles diſtance from the ſhore, in from ten to twelve feet water; and in all the way for eight days time, we could find no place to land even one of our ſmalleſt boats. We ſaw two little iſlands in our way, but we could not come at them for reed; but we killed a great number of ſea-fowl, that have their neſts in theſe iſlands, and had plenty of fiſh and fowl all the way. We ſailed or rowed as the wind permitted, but came to an anchor every night, that nothing might eſcape our obſervation.

1723.

to Jaick. On the 26th, we arrived in the river Jaick, the mouth of which is one hundred fathoms broad, and eighteen feet deep; we went to the town of Jaick, which ſtands about one mile up the river, is well fortified, has a ſtrong garriſon of Ruſſians and Coſſacks, to keep the Kalmuck and Nagayan Tartars in awe, and to prevent them from attacking each other, as they live in perpetual enmity. The Nagayans inhabit all the country from Aſtrachan to the Jaick, all along the ſea-coaſt, two hundred and fifty-five werſts in extent; and the Kalmucks poſſeſs that vaſt tract of land, from Saratof and the great deſert of Beriket, and that tract to the ſouth of the Jaick, all along the ſhore to the river Yembo, which is ninety-three werſts from this place. We ſtayed only one day at Jaick, and provided ourſelves with freſh meat and water. Being informed by the governor that there was a large gulf to the eaſtward of this place, to the river Yembo, but too ſhallow to admit our galley, I ſent one of the engineers with two of the boats, to go round and ſurvey it, and join

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1723.

us again on the oppoſite point, for which we proceeded immediately, and ſailing ſouth, we anchored on the 30th, between the iſland of Kulala, and the point of the main, in ſix fathom water, in view of the mountains of Karagan, and from hence we had a clean and deep ſhore. At this place begin the territories of Turkiſtan, or the Turkumanian Tartars. During our ſtay here, waiting thereturn of the engineer, we laid in plenty of wood and water, and diverted ourſelves with fowling and fiſhing: we caught here a beluga upwards of ſix yards long, and thick in proportion; from the roe of which we made excellent caviar, which laſted us above a month. Our engineer, with the boats, joined us again on the 10th of May, who reported that in the ſurvey of the bay, he found only from five to eight feet water; that the whole ſhore was ſo covered with reed, that they could only land at the mouth of the river Yembo, which was both broad and deep. Kulalu.

We left the iſland of Kulala on the 11th, on our way to the gulf of Iſkander, where we arrived the 20th. All along this coaſt there is a great depth of water, ſo that we could land with our galley on any part of it. A great number of ſmall rivers fall into the ſea from the mountains, but we could not learn their names, although I attempted to get information by ſending the twelve oared boat, with an officer and twenty-four men, and an interpreter to ſpeak with the people on ſhore: but they no ſooner came near enough, than the Tartars let fly a volly of arrows at our people, who returned the ſalute with a diſcharge of their muſketry, and we fired one of our great guns from the galley at them, which made them retire towards the mountains in great

BOOK IX. 1713.

haſte. They always appeared in great parties, on horſeback, well armed, and we ſaw ſeveral of their hords, or camps, at a diſtance, which they move at pleaſure, and wander from place to place, for thoſe Tartars have no ſettled abode: they continued to attend us every day in great parties, to watch our motions, out of the reach of our guns, and they diſappeared entirely on our arrival in the gulf of Iſkander, which is one hundred and eighty-four werſts from the Iſle of Kulala. In this gulf which is, from eaſt to weſt, thirty werſts in length, and eighteen broad, we found, near the ſhore, from five to ſix fathom water, with a clean ground, and exceeding good anchorage; it would be one of the fineſt harbours in the world, as both ſides of the entrance are extremely well calculated to erect forts upon, for its defence. It lies in 43 deg. 20 min. north; ſeveral ſmall rivers fall into it from the mountains.

Gulf of Iſkander.

We left the gulf of Iſkander on the 26th, and proceeding along ſhore two days in good depth of water; we arrived in the river Oxus, being ninety werſts from the gulf. This river is both large and rapid, and is about a muſket-ſhot broad at its entrance. Here we found a few unarmed Tartars, who ſold us ſome ſheep, and informed us that ſeveral hords of Turkumanian Tartars were encamped on the banks of the river, a little way above, and that the Uſbeck Tartars encamped on the other ſide, this river dividing the two nations. We had hitherto ſeen nothing but fine weather, intermixt with calms and light breezes; but this night we had a dreadful ſtorm of wind, attended with rain, thunder, and lightning, which obliged us to run the galley half a werſt up the river for ſhelter, where we anchored in the middle

River Oxus and Uſbeck Tartars.

middle of the ſtream, not daring to venture on either ſide for fear of the Tartars, having the Turkumanians on the north, and the Uſbecks on the ſouth, hovering at a diſtance. The ſtorm laſted till next day at noon, when we left the Oxus, and ſailing along-ſhore in deep water, with a clean bottom, attended by parties of the Uſbeck Tartars, who obſerved our motions at a diſtance from the ſides of the mountains. We paſſed by two ſmall iſlands covered with trees (called the Lebajee iſlands), where we took in wood, and killed a number of ſea-fowl. 1723.

The 2d of June, we arrived at the gulf of Carabuga, one hundred and five werſts from the river Oxus; the inlet of the gulf is about two werſts broad, and at one werſt within is an iſland, where we landed with our galley, and encamped the people to refreſh themſelves on ſhore, and get our veſſel cleaned: from hence I diſpatched the two aſſiſtants, in the largeſt boats, to ſurvey the gulf; directing them to proceed along the oppoſite ſides till they ſhould meet, and then return to the iſland: in the mean time, I ſounded all round the inlet, and had from five to ſix fathom water; but a few werſts within, we could not reach the bottom; I could obſerve no current here either in or out. The gulf, from north to ſouth, is ſeventy-five werſts, and fifty from eaſt to weſt, deep water, a clean bottom, and the ſhore ſteep, all round the gulf; it is ſurrounded with high mountains; two large rivers (the Morga and Herat) fall into it from the eaſt; the entrance is formed by two narrow necks of land, and might be eaſily ſecured and fortified; and this iſland, which is two miles in circumference, would ſerve for a protection to the ſhipping. As there The gulf of Carabuga.

BOOK IX. 1723. is no tide in the Caſpian, ſome people have alledged that the waters of the ſea find a paſſage by this gulf, which made me curious to examine it more particularly, but I could not find the leaſt reaſon for ſuch a conjecture.

Having enjoyed ourſelves very agreeably under the cooling ſhade of the trees in this hot climate, without the leaſt apprehenſion of any danger from the Tartars, we took our departure from Carabuga on the 22d, and coaſted along ſhore for ſix days, in very hot weather, without the ſmalleſt breeze of wind, which made it intolerable for the poor ſoldiers, who were obliged to row all the way, and anchoring every night, we had continual flaſhes of lightning, and theſe ſometimes accompanied with dreadful loud claps of thunder, which are very frequent in this country during the ſummer. We were every day attended along the ſhore by numerous parties of the Uſbeck Tartars, who ſeemed very jealous of our intentions, which obliged us, as often as we wanted to ſend aſhore for freſh water, to fire our great guns at them, which kept them at a diſtance, by which means we ſupplied ourſelves.

River Daria. One hundred and forty werſts ſouthward from Carabuga, we entered the mouth of the famous river Daria on the 28th; it lies in 39 deg. 15 min. north latitude. It is here where the gold ſand is waſhed down from the mines in the mountains, and here where the unfortunate prince Alexander Bekewitz, a few years ago, with an army of 3,000 men, were treacherouſly maſſacred by the Uſbeck Tartars, as I mentioned before. I now ſaw the place where the fort had been erected, on a narrow neck of land, oppoſite to the mouth of the river, and which forms a ſpacious harbour capable

capable of containing a number of ſhips of burthen, as there is from three to four fathom water cloſe to the ſhore, on a clean bottom with good anchorage; ſo that it was a great pity the prince ſuffered himſelf to be over-reached by theſe treacherous Tartars. If this poſt had been maintained, which might have been done without any manner of danger, it would, in proceſs of time, have been a moſt glorious acquiſition towards enriching the Ruſſian nation. I intended to have gone ſome way up this river; but as the Tartars had taken the alarm at our appearance here, and were already come from their camp in formidable bodies, I was obliged to lay aſide the deſign and leave the place; and paſſing two bays and three iſlands, called the Goat Iſlands, we came to an anchor at one of the iſlands for the night, where we landed, ſaw a number of goats, and killed five of them.

The next day, being the 29th, we arrived at Minkiſlack, on the north-ſide of the river Oſſa, or Orxantes, ſixty werſts from Daria. This river divides the Uſbeck Tartary from Perſia, is both large and deep, and ſhips may ride at anchor here in great ſafety. Here we were glad to find people dwelling in houſes, for we had not ſeen a houſe from the time we left Aſtrachan, except at Jaick. We found the people of Minkiſlack both civil and kind: they live after the Perſian manner, whoſe ſubjects they are, and we got all ſorts of refreſhments at a very cheap rate, and were afterwards no more honoured with an eſcort of Tartars. From Minkiſlack we proceeded along a clean ſhore, in deep water, where we could have landed with our galley on any part of the coaſt, and where abundance of ſmall rivulets fall in-

River Oſſa.

to

BOOK IX. to the ſea, and the country, abounding with villages, is overgrown with a great variety of fruit-trees.

1723. Gulf of Aſtrabat.

The 4th of July, we arrived at the inlet of the gulf of Aſtrabat, one hundred and fifty werſts from Minkiſlack: we entered and anchored within the gulph. The city of Aſtrabat ſtands on the river Naren, which falls into the gulf thirty werſts from the inlet; the gulf itſelf is forty-ſix werſts from eaſt to weſt, and has two and a half fathoms of water over all; Aſtrabat is fortified with high and thick walls, flanked with towers, and is a place of great trade. This makes the ſouthern extremity of the Caſpian ſea, and lies in 36 deg. 50 min. north lat. This province, with the neighbouring provinces of Terebat, Maſſanderan, and Gilan, produce abundance of raw ſilk, coffee, ſaffron, and cotton; their ſilk is eſteemed the beſt in all Perſia, and by it they carry on a great trade to different parts, eſpecially to Ruſſia, where a ſilk manufactory is eſtabliſhed at Moſcow. This country abounds with the moſt delicious fruits of all kinds, eſpecially their grapes, which are ſurpriſingly large. In coaſting the country from hence, we made very particular enquiries of the inhabitants concerning ſome whirlpools, laid down near this ſhore in ſome old maps, but we could neither hear or diſcover the leaſt appearance of any ſuch thing.

Provinces of Terebat and Maſſanderan.

In paſſing the provinces of Terebat and Maſſanderan, we ſaw a moſt delightful country, abounding with plantations of mulberry-trees, and watered by a great number of rivers, whoſe banks were full of houſes, and wherever we landed the people ſhewed us the utmoſt civility, furniſhing us moſt chearfully with whatever we wanted at an extraordinary cheap rate.

On

On the 18th, we arrived at the gulf of Sinſili, one hundred and ſeventy werſts from Aſtrabat; we went through this gulf in four fathom water, ſixteen werſts to the city of Reſht, the capital of the province of Gilan, which ſtands at the mouth of the river Kiſiloſein: the gulf extends eighteen werſts from eaſt to weſt; the city is ſquare, and fortified in the ſame manner as Aſtrabat, with ſtrong walls and towers. 1723. Gulf of Sinſili, and city of Reſht.

General Leewaſof was now governor, with a garriſon of 5,000 men: they were employed at this time in building a citadel of five baſtions to command both the town and harbour; but as their principal engineer, captain Sager, had, after a ſevere fit of ſickneſs, loſt the ſight of both his eyes, and they were in want of one to ſupply his place, the general deſired I would leave lieutenant Hartman, one of my aſſiſtants, to be engineer, which I agreed to at the lieutenant's own requeſt, as I had now not ſo much occaſion for him as formerly. They had loſt a conſiderable number of their men by ſickneſs, very common in hot climates. Proviſions were both ſcarce and dear here at preſent, as the rebels had plundered and laid waſte the whole country as far as Baku, and what they had, both for the ſupport of the inhabitants and garriſon, they were ſupplied with from Aſtrachan. The raw ſilk, of which the inhabitants had great quantities on their hands, for want of ſale during the troubles, they ſent to Aſtrachan in the tranſports which had brought the troops to Reſht, and they had proviſions in return for their ſilk.

Several werſts above the city there is a road hewn through high mountains into Perſia, called Pyles, in which only Difficult path of the Pyles.

one

BOOK IX. 1723.

one ſingle camel, or horſe, can go at a time, following each other. This road is made in ſteps cut all the way for the beaſts to travel in; every man leads his own horſe, holding the reins looſe in his hand for fear he ſhould make a falſe ſtep, by which it would fall down a high precipice into the river Kiſiloſein, which runs at the bottom with a rumbling noiſe; the other ſide of the road is over-hung with dreadful rocks, which appear as if they would tumble down upon the traveller, which renders it a very diſmal paſſage. If it ſhould happen by accident that travellers ſhould meet, it is impoſſible for either to make way, for which reaſon there is always one ſent before to prevent its happening.

The rivers Ardeſchim and Linkeran, and the famous naphtha oil-pits.

Having ſtopt two weeks at Reſht, we ſat out again on our way northward, coaſting a clean deep ſhore, and paſſing by the river Ardeſchin, we arrived at the river Linkeran, on the 4th of Auguſt. Not far from this river ſtands the famous mountain Barmach, remarkable for the oil called naphtha, which iſſues from it in thirty different pits, all within the compaſs of a muſket-ſhot of each other: the pits are ſome two, ſome three fathom deep, into which the people deſcend by ſteps; the oil is of two kinds, brown and white: the brown is of a ſtrong diſagreeable ſmell, and much the moſt plentiful, as it is found in twenty-ſeven of the pits; it is uſed for burning in lamps, in dreſſing of leather, and for ſeveral other purpoſes; the white, which is only found in three of the pits, has a pleaſant ſmell, is the moſt valuable, and is uſed as an infallible remedy in ſtrains and bruiſes; as the oil riſes from the mountain in the pits, it is heard as the bubbling of a boiling pot; it is carried from hence to a great diſtance. I bought ſeveral jars of each kind,

kind, and carried with me to Aſtrachan, where it proved to be a very deſirable commodity. At this place we had another violent ſtorm of wind, but taking ſhelter in the river, we lay very ſafe: we thought ourſelves fortunate in being at the mouth of a river in both ſtorms, as they are not eaſily weathered in this ſea, where the ſhort waves breaking in ſuch quick ſucceſſion upon the veſſel, require a ſtrong ſhip to withſtand them.

The river Cyrus, or Kur.

On the 18th, we arrived at the river Cyrus, or Kur, which is joined by the river Araxis, and is the moſt conſiderable river on the weſtern coaſt of the Caſpian, into which it falls through five different channels. We proceeded for the city of Baku, where we arrived the next day, juſt after General Matuſkin had got under way on his return to Aſtrachan. Baku had ſurrendered after a ſhort bombardment, and brigadier Knez Baratinſki was left governor of the city, with a garriſon of four thouſand men. Baku lies from Reſht two hundred and fifty-five werſts; it is very ſtrongly fortified with three walls within each other, each with towers, and which form three diſtinct diviſions of the city; the innermoſt ſtanding on the higheſt ground, by way of a citadel, commands the reſt: it is mounted with a number of braſs cannon. The governor with his garriſon, took poſſeſſion of this part; the outer wall is well ſupplied with iron cannon, the gates were ſtrongly guarded by detachments from the citadel. At ſmall diſtances from the city, ſtand three high watch-towers, built on eminences, from which they can diſcover the approach of any enemy, by ſea or land, at a great diſtance. At the ſouth end of the city, there is a large bay formed by a peninſula, which ſtretches fifteen

The City of Baku.

BOOK IX. 1723.

werſts to the ſouthward, and forms a very ſpacious commodious harbour, where ſhips can load and unload cloſe to the gates of the city, in four and a half fathom water, ſafe from all winds except the ſouth, and from that too they are ſecured by ſome ſmall iſlands, upon which they feed ſheep and goats; by which means this harbour is, without diſpute, one of the moſt commodious for trade, in all the Caſpian; eſpecially with Shamachie, which is reputed to be the largeſt and moſt populous city in thoſe parts, and is only three days journey from hence. At Shamachie there are factories from all the eaſtern nations, which occaſions that city to be much reſorted to from all parts.

City of Shamachie.

City of Derbent.

We ſtayed only three days at Baku, and proceeding along the coaſt in deep water, paſt by ſeveral iſlands and rivers, and came to an anchor before Derbent on the 26th at night; but as it blew a freſh gale at eaſt, and there is no ſafe landing-place near this town, I could not go aſhore. From Baku to Derbent is ninety Engliſh miles by land. We proceeded next morning along the coaſt, and arrived on the 2d of September, in the river Sulack; and I went the ſame evening, in the twelve-oared boat, fifteen werſts up the river, to the fortreſs of Swetago Kreſt, or Holy Croſs, where I found the fortifications ſurpriſingly advanced, and wooden houſes built on both ſides of the river in regular ſtreets, agreeable to the plan, and ſo numerous that the whole army were now lodged in them. The wooden bridge over the river was alſo finiſhed, with two draw bridges, one at each end, ſo that an eaſy communication was opened between the two ſides of the river. The troops here were in good health and high ſpirits, and kept up a weekly correſpond-

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ence with the garriſons of Derbent and Terki in Circaſſia; neither of which had been moleſted by the Dageſtan Tartars ſince we left them. A number of hands were now employed here in making bricks to face the works, and for building houſes. This fort promiſes fair to be an effectual check upon the irruptions of the Dageſtans into the Ruſſian territories, in which they uſed to do much miſchief, and carry off great numbers of the inhabitants into ſlavery. The multiplicity of the works going forward at this time, requiring another engineer, I left my other aſſiſtant, lieutenant Brackley, here; and having given ſome farther directions about the plan of the place to lieutenant colonel Brunie, who was chief engineer, I laid in plenty of proviſions in the galley, which was brought up to the town, to ſerve us on our way to Aſtrachan. I waited on general Waterang to receive his commands, and take my leave of him, and having likewiſe done ſo of all the reſt of my acquaintances, we dropped down the river Sulack to the ſea. 1723.

Gulf of Agrechan, iſland of Trenzeni, and city of Terki.

On the 16th, we coaſted along ſhore, in fine deep water, and reached, on the 17th, the extremity of the peninſula, which forms the gulf of Agrechan, and came to an anchor in the evening, between this point of high land and the iſland of Trentzeni, oppoſite to the city of Terki in Circaſſia, in ſix fathom water. This gulf is forty five Engliſh miles from north to ſouth, and twenty from eaſt to weſt.

The iſland of Trenzeni is the largeſt in the Caſpian ſea, and notwithſtanding its fine harbour, there are no inhabitants upon it; nor indeed are any of the other iſlands inhabited, excepting that there are a few fiſhermen's huts to

BOOK XI. 1723.

be ſeen on ſome of them on the weſt coaſt, but none on the eaſt; they are in general ſtocked with cattle, ſheep, and goats. And now as all the coaſt from hence to Aſtrachan had been ſounded on our former expedition, I judged it needleſs to coaſt it again, ſo that we took our departure, from Trentzeni on the 18th, and ſteering our courſe north for Aſtrachan, we arrived at the mouth of the river Wolga on the 24th of September, having been gone five months and ſix days on the ſervice: the diſtance from Trenzeni to this place is one hundred and ninety Engliſh miles.

General deſcription of the Caſpian ſea.

The Caſpian ſea, in its utmoſt length from Jaick, which is its northern extremity, and lies in 46 deg. 15 min. north latitude, to Aſtrabat, which is its ſouthern extremity, and lies in 36 deg. 50 min. is 9 deg. 25 min. which makes ſix hundred and forty-ſix Engliſh miles, at ſixty-nine miles to a degree. The breadth of the Caſpian is various; its greateſt breadth to the northward from eaſt to weſt, is between the gulf of Yembo and the mouth of the river Wolga, and is two hundred and ſixty-five Engliſh miles; the broadeſt part to the ſouthward is from the river Orxantes, on the eaſt ſide, to the river Linkeran on the weſt, and is two hundred and thirty-five Engliſh miles. Its whole circumference, including gulfs and bays, is three thouſand five hundred and twenty-five werſts. The coaſt of the Caſpian, from the point of land forming one ſide of the gulf of Agrechan, on the weſt, to the river Kulala in Turkumania, oppoſite to it on the eaſt, all round by the north, is low, flat, and marſhy, overgrown with reed, and the water ſhallow; the direct diſtance, from that gulf to Kulala, is one hundred and ſeventy Engliſh miles; on all the reſt of the coaſt from

Kulala

Kulala, by the ſouth, and back to the gulf of Agrechan, the country is mountainous, with a bold ſhore and deep water, as has generally been taken notice of in the courſe of the ſurvey.

Watch tower on John's Iſland.

Near the mouth of the Wolga, on the iſle of Ivan,) or John's iſland,) ſtands a tower, where a guard is conſtantly kept, who muſt obſerve every day whether any increaſe or decreaſe happens in the waters of the ſea, but they have not yet been able to diſcover the ſmalleſt difference; from which circumſtance it is certain that there is neither flux or reflux in the Caſpian; and what makes it the more ſurpriſing, is that in the ſpring, when all the ice and ſnow melts, and pours down from the mountains, and all the large rivers and innumerable leſſer ones are ſwelled to ſuch a degree that they overflow all their banks, and which all fall into this ſea like a deluge, yet nevertheleſs it even at thoſe times is not in the leaſt raiſed by it, ſo that it remains a great myſtery what becomes of all the water that perpetually falls into it from the clouds and rivers. The water is as ſalt as that of the ocean, except near the mouths of the rivers, where it is brackiſh by the mixture of ſo much freſh water from them.

I muſt acknowlege this was the moſt pleaſant jaunt I ever had in my whole life: we had always plenty of proviſions on board, beſides taking and killing ſuch abundance of fiſh and wild fowl of various kinds, that we could ſcarce make uſe of them all; and during the whole voyage, notwithſtanding the violent heat, we had only ſeven men ſick. I ſhould have found it ſtill more agreeable could we have converſed with the Turkumanian and Uſbeck Tartars, which would have enabled me to give ſome account of them; but

BOOK IX. but the Tartars in general, although they have no fixed habitations, are very jealous of admitting any ſtrangers into their country.

1723.

On the 25th of September, we got up to Aſtrachan, where I waited on General Matuſkin with a report of my proceeding, and preſented him with a draught of the Caſpian ſea, and gave another to governor Wolinſki, who had formerly been ambaſſador to China, and who was afterwards ſent ambaſſador to Perſia; on both which occaſions he deſired I might be permitted to go with him, but it was refuſed, although I earneſtly petitioned for leave. On his return from his laſt embaſſy, he was married to the princeſs Nareſkin, the emperor's firſt couſin, being the daughter of his mother's brother, and was at the ſame time made governor-general over the kingdom of Aſtrachan.

General Matuſkin's marriage to the widow in tears.

General Matuſkin, after the taking of Baku, was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general, and was at the ſame time major of the firſt regiment of guards, and in great eſteem with his majeſty. He was an old bachelor when he married a beautiful buxom young widow, whoſe firſt huſband, major general Glebof of the dragoons, had been concerned in the late troubles with the czarowitz, for which he was condemned, but died in priſon, and his eſtate being confiſcated, the widow was reduced to very low circumſtances. General Matuſkin, who was appointed judge on that trial, was ſolicited by the mournful widow, who implored him on her knees, bathed in tears, to commiſerate her unmerited ſufferings, being now reduced to the utmoſt miſery and want. In this ſupplicating poſture, ſhe ſo captivated the old bachelor, that he directly made her

an offer of himſelf, and all he had for her relief, which the widow joyfully accepted, on which the general applied to the empreſs to procure his majeſty's conſent. When the affair was mentioned to the emperor, he was much diſpleaſed at the general's ſeeking to match himſelf with the widow of a rebel, offering him at the ſame time any other lady he ſhould pitch upon; but the general told him that it was impoſſible for him to love any other woman, and humbly beſeeched his majeſty to grant his requeſt, otherwiſe he would loſe one of his moſt faithful ſervants: being ſeconded by the empreſs in his application, his majeſty became at laſt curious to ſee this widow, who had made ſuch an impreſſion on the heart of the old ſpark; and when ſhe was introduced to the emperor, he declared he was not at all ſurpriſed at the conqueſt ſhe had made, and not only gave his conſent, but honoured their marriage with his preſence, attended by the whole court. The lady ever afterwards went by the name of the Widow in Tears.

Conteſt among the Kalmucks, and expedition againſt them.

There happened at this time, a great confuſion among the Kalmuck Tartars, occaſioned by the death of the cham's eldeſt ſon, who left five ſons; the eldeſt of whom, with two others, were born of a concubine, and the two youngeſt of the beſt beloved wife: the eldeſt, whoſe name was Daſan, claimed the right of ſucceſſion, in conſequence of his ſeniority, which was a good title, notwithſtanding his mother was a concubine; the two youngeſt, born of the wife, and whoſe names were Dunduambu and Batu, claimed in right of the marriage, and were favoured by the old cham, their grandfather, and by his ſecond ſon, Shurundunduck, their uncle, who threatened prince Daſan with deſtruction to himſelf and his hord, or clan, which conſiſted

BOOK XI. 1723.

ſiſted of ſeven thouſand men, if he offered to diſpute the ſucceſſion with prince Dunduambu. They were at that time prevented by the old cham, but he dying, prince Shurundunduck told his nephew, Daſan, that he was determined Dunduambu ſhould ſucceed his grandfather in the ſovereignty, and if he would not ſubmit peaceably, he ſhould be compelled to do it. But finding their threats had no effect upon the prince, they began to aſſemble an army of twenty thouſand men, which obliged prince Daſan, with his two brothers, and his whole hord, to retire near to Aſtrachan, and he with his brothers came into the city, begging to be protected againſt the uſurpation of his younger brother, offering at the ſame time to ſubmit his claim to the deciſion of his imperial majeſty. Upon this the general and governor held a council, with the principal officers of both the army and garriſon, in which it was reſolved to ſend ſome troops for their protection; the governor intending to go himſelf to reconcile the contending parties, if poſſible.

This being the reſolution of the council, governor Wolinſki deſired me to go with him on this expedition, to which I anſwered that it was not my turn, but if he would procure an order from the general for my going, I would certainly go with great chearfulneſs; and accordingly, on the 20th of October, I received an order to embark with four hundred men of our two battalions, one hundred dragoons, and four field-pieces, to proceed up the river to the place appointed for the rendezvous by prince Daſan; the governor propoſing to follow immediately with ſome more troops, ſent me before to ſatisfy the impatience of the prince.

On

1723.

On the 22th, we arrived at the deſert of Beriket, ſixty werſts above Aſtrachan, where we pitched our tents, but it being intenſely cold, Daſan provided us with ſixty kibbets, which is the name of their tents, which are both warm and large, having a fire in the middle, and a hole at the top to let out the ſmoke; they are twenty-four feet diameter, and capable of being enlarged or contracted at pleaſure; they are all round, the ſides being made of a kind of checkered wicker-work, and the croſs ſticks neatly jointed for folding together or extending: when they erect a kibbet, they join as many of them together as will make a circle, of the dimenſion they chooſe, and having fixed the outſide, which is ſix feet high, they raiſe with their lances a round board, three feet diameter, with a hole in the middle of it, and ſmall holes all round the edge; the large hole ſerves for their chimney, the ſmall holes receive the ends of ſo many ſtrait rafters, and the other ends being fixed to the ſides, the roof is formed, which is both ingenious and pretty: having thus erected the frame of the kibbet, they cover it over with thick felt, more or leſs according as the ſeaſon is cold or warm, beginning at the bottom and proceeding to the top, where they place a krine, which they can turn at pleaſure againſt the wind, to prevent ſmoke. The kibbet is ſurpriſingly warm, and withſtands wind and rain better than a houſe, and they are erected with greater eaſe in and leſs time than we could ſet up an officer's tent. Prince Daſan, with his hord, was encamped at two werſts diſtance from us, and ſent us ſeveral cattle and ſheep for proviſions to our party: he ſent alſo a jar of ſpirits

Deſcription of their kibbets.

BOOK IX. diſtilled from mares milk, for the officers, which was as clear as water but ſtrong, and of an agreeable flavour.

1723. On the 23d, we were reinforced by a detachment of two hundred men from our battalions, and three hundred and fifty Coſſacks, which made us now a body of one thouſand and fifty ſtrong. By this opportunity I received a letter from the governor, telling me that he would join us himſelf in two or three days, but not a word of orders how we were to act, in caſe any exigence ſhould require it; being the ſenior officer I took the command of the whole till the governor ſhould arrive. On the arrival of this reinforcement, prince Daſan ſent more cattle for their proviſion, and a ſufficient number of kibbets for their accommodation. This evening we received intelligence that Shurundunduck, and his nephew, Dunduambu, were encamped with an army of twenty thouſand ſtrong, oppoſite to Zornayar, which being upwards of one hundred and fifty werſts from us, made us conjecture it would take ſome time before they could come up with us; but we ſoon found our miſtake, for we were alarmed very early in the morning of the 24th by the breaking up of prince Daſan's camp, and ſeeing his people coming towards us in the utmoſt confuſion. On this I drew up our men in all haſte, and ordered the dragoons and Coſſacks to mount and go to prince Daſan's aſſiſtance: we ſoon ſaw Shurundunduck's army advancing, which obliged Daſan and his people to take refuge in our rear, whom I perſuaded to diſmount ſuch of his horſemen as had fire-arms, and to bring as many of his men as had bows and arrows, to fight on foot as we did, and I ſent ſome officers

A battle with the Kalmucks.

and ſerjeants to draw them up in order: with theſe we formed a ſquare towards the river, and ſecured their baggage and cattle in our rear. The enemy being advanced in the form of a creſcent, and within gun-ſhot of us, made a halt to conſult the mode of their attack. Daſan was in the utmoſt perplexity, and begged me to keep them at a diſtance with our great guns and fire-arms, aſſuring me if we did not, they would ruſh in upon us with a very ſudden and furious attack, and throw us all into confuſion. BOOK IX. 1743.

On this emergency, I was very much at loſs how to act, having no orders, and adviſed with the reſt of the officers; when it was agreed to ſend an interpreter with a drum, to inform them of his majeſty's troops being there for the protection of prince Daſan, who had entirely ſubmitted the deciſion of his claim to his imperial majeſty, and that it was expected they would do the ſame, being equally ſubject to the emperor; and as the governor of Aſtrachan was hourly expected, who might fall upon ways and means to reconcile their differences, they ought to wait his arrival. The meſſenger was ſent, and brought back an anſwer: —That they knew very well Daſan had procured Ruſſian troops to protect him from their juſt reſentment; but as they were a free nation, they would do themſelves juſtice, without ſubmitting to the arbitration of any perſon whatever, and that they were determined to attack their brethren at all hazards, notwithſtanding our troops, and if we interpoſed in their behalf, and ſhould meet with any diſaſter, the blame would lay at our own doors.

Having returned this anſwer they began to advance in a ſemicircle, intending to ſurround us, on which I ordered the

BOOK IX. field-pieces to be fired among them, and then loaded with grape-ſhot: all this time they avoided coming near our troops, but bent their whole force againſt their own countrymen, which obliged me to form a front againſt them, both to the right and left, and then began to play on them with grape-ſhot and ſmall-arms, which made great havock amongſt them, and their horſes not being uſed to the thundering noiſe of fire-arms, became unmanageable, and threw their whole body into the utmoſt confuſion; on which our dragoons and Coſſacks, ſeconded by prince Daſan's men, attacked them with ſuch vigour, that they ſoon gave way on all ſides and fled, while we plied them with the field-pieces as long as they were within reach.

1723.

We had two dragoons killed in this action, and ſeven wounded, and five Coſſacks killed and ſeventeen wounded; five of our ſoldiers were wounded with barbed arrows; but of Daſan's men, there were three hundred and ſeventy-four killed, and upwards of five hundred wounded. Our dragoons and Coſſacks returned from the purſuit with ſixty-three priſoners, and Daſan's men took ſome hundreds; we could not aſcertain the loſs of the enemy in this ſhort action, but it muſt have been very conſiderable. In the evening, when all was over, governor Wolinſki arrived, and I acquainted him of the tranſactions of the day: he was much pleaſed with the meſſage that had been ſent to Dunduambu and Shurundunduck, and eſpecially that we were not the aggreſſors in the action, nor had fired upon them till we were actually attacked. He ſaid he would have come come up ſooner, but he did not imagine they would have made an attempt in defiance of our troops, but ſince they had

had done ſo, he would now conſider them as rebels, and make an example of them as ſuch. He then gave orders to hang all the priſoners, (who amounted to ſome hundreds), and Daſan's men executed the orders with great ſatisfaction. Among the priſoners was Dunduambu's greateſt favourite and principal counſellor, whom Daſan put to the moſt cruel torture imaginable, and he had no ſooner expired under the torment, than they divided his body in four, and ſtuck up the quarters on ſo many poſts, and his head on another.

1723.

The governor, judging from what had happened, that a reconciliation would now be impracticable, adviſed prince Daſan, with his two brothers, to retire with their people under the cannon of Kraſnayar, where they would be ſafe from any attempt of their enemies, as it was impoſſible that our troops could remain any longer in the field in that advanced cold ſeaſon, there being at this time a great fall of ſnow, which they immediately agreed to. We broke up our camp on the 25th, but we had ſcarce marched five werſts, when the enemy made their appearance in the ſame manner they had done the day before, and ſent a meſſenger to the governor, to let him know they were ſenſible he intended to carry their enemy out of their reach, which they were reſolved to prevent, let the conſequence be what it would; nevertheleſs, if the governor could prevail on Daſan to agree to a partition of the ſovereignty with Dunduambu, on reaſonable terms, they were willing to hold a conference with him on that head. It was directly agreed that five chief men from each party ſhould meet in the middle ſpace between the two armies, where they conferred together above three hours, without being able to come to an

BOOK IX. an agreement, and then they returned each to their own party. The enemy having obſerved that Daſan's party, during the conference, were tranſporting their wives, children, and cattle over a branch of the Wolga, now ſet upon Daſan's men with a moſt furious attack, and numbers were ſlain on each ſide before we could come up to prevent it, as the enemy ſtill avoided coming near as much as poſſible; but upon our horſe engaging them, and our firing with our cannon and ſmall arms briſkly upon them, they retired quite out of ſight. Our dragoons returning from the purſuit, brought back twenty-five priſoners, who aſſured us, that Shurundunduck was retired towards Zornayar; on which the governor ſet out for Aſtrachan, leaving orders with me to ſee prince Daſan, and his Kalmucks, all over the river, and ſafe under the cannon of Kraſnayar, where I arrived the 30th: but the prince finding his cattle could not ſubſiſt in ſo narrow a diſtrict, divided the hord, and diſtributed them among the numerous iſlands formed by the ſeveral branches of the Wolga, where they were to remain in full ſecurity till his majeſty's pleaſure was known. I ſet out on the 3d of November, having prince Daſan, and his two brothers, under my convoy, and arrived at Aſtrachan that evening, where we found every neceſſary accommodation provided for their reception.

1723.

Some odd cuſtoms among them.

On this expedition I obſerved ſome peculiar cuſtoms among the Kalmucks, which I cannot omit mentioning. As I attended the governor into Daſan's tent, we found the prince and his two brothers, with their principal men, ſeated in a circle round the fire, having a large iron pipe, filled with tobacco, which they handed about from one to another, each

each taking one pull, filled his mouth as full of ſmoke as it would hold, and keeping the ſmoke a conſiderable time in their mouths, they at length blew it out at their noſtrils; immediately after this they all parted without ſpeaking one word; this we underſtood to be the concluſion of a conſultation among them.

As they are great lovers of horſe-fleſh, which they prefer to every other kind, and obſerving we were no admirers of it, prince Daſan entertained us with the fleſh of a ſucking-foal, both roaſted and boiled, and I muſt confeſs I never eat any thing more delicious. In mentioning this Tartar nation before, I ſaid they paſt the winter in the deſert of Aſtrachan; but I was now informed that the greateſt part of them live in the deſert of Beriket, towards the rivers Jaik and Yembo, bordering on the Turkumanians.

The ſmall-pox is as much dreaded among the Kalmucks as the peſtilence amongſt us: when any of them are ſeized with it, they immediately break up their camp and fly, leaving the ſick perſon in one of their worſt kibbets with a killed ſheep, part of which is roaſted and part raw, and a jar of water and ſome wood for fire; if they recover they follow the hord, which ſeldom happens, for they almoſt all die for want of attendance.

They live but four months at moſt in the deſerts, and they inhabit a moſt pleaſant country all the reſt of the year; their way of life exactly reſembles that of the old patriarchs, their whole occupation conſiſting in the care of their flocks and herds, fiſhing, and hunting. When they go upon an expedition, every one takes a ſheep with him for his proviſion, and three horſes which he rides alternately; and

BOOK IX. 1723.

and when any of them fail, they kill it and divide the fleſh, putting pieces of it under their ſaddles, and after riding ſome time upon it, they eat it without any farther preparation; this, in their eſtimation, is the beſt way of dreſſing it; they generally return from their excurſions with only one horſe, having eat all the reſt.

Baranetz or lamb-ſkin.

I had both heard and read of an herb that grew about Aſtrachan, called baranetz, or lamb-ſkin, which was alledged to grow upon a ſingle ſtalk in the ſhape of a lamb, and which when ripe was covered over with hair, or wool, and that it conſumed all the graſs that grew near it, and that when taken off, it ſerved for fine fur for caps, or lining cloaths; but as there is no ſuch herb, I was at a loſs to conceive how ſuch a miſtake could ariſe: however, on enquiry, I was informed, that the baranetzs, or lambs, are cut out of the ſheep's bellies, a little before their lambing-time, their ſkins being then in their greateſt beauty, with the hair lying in ſhort, ſmooth, pretty curls, and of different colours, as dark and light greys, black and white; the dark grey are the moſt valuable, and are ſold as high as ten ſhillings ſterling a piece, and the black at five; the light grey and white at half a crown. This branch of trade is very profitable to the Nagayan Tartars, as the Indians, Perſians, and Ruſſians, buy all they can produce. I bought by commiſſion for count Bruce and general Le Fort, of the beſt kind, to the value of two hundred rubles.

Returns for Moſcow up the Wolga.

I had orders from general Matuſkin to go as ſoon as poſſible to Moſcow, to deliver my report of the Caſpian ſea to the emperor; but as there is no poſſibility of travelling by land to Saratof, I was obliged to wait till the river Wolga

was frozen. On the 8th of January, I ſet out from Aſtrachan in ſledges on the ice, in company with ſeveral others, for Moſcow, making in the whole a party of twenty men, all well provided with arms; but as it rained very hard, we went but ten werſts to Saliterdwor. The rain continuing the two following days, the ice became ſo weak, that ſome of the horſes fell in ſeveral times, and it was with much difficulty we ſaved them from being drowned; ſo that we could only travel eighty werſts in the two days, and were obliged to lodge both nights on the ice, in the middle of the river, as there was no poſſibility of getting aſhore for the water.

On the 11th, it being froſt, we went fifty werſts, but one of our horſes dropt through and was drowned: this night, however, we reſted in ſafety on ſhore. The next day proved rainy, and we could only go forty werſts, but paſt this night alſo on ſhore. On the 13th, although it was froſty, the ice was ſo much rent in ſeveral places, that it was with much difficulty we could get the horſes over the openings; one of them broke his leg, which obliged us to ſhoot him; and after travelling forty werſts, we were forced to ſtay all night on the ice. The next day it rained, and the ice became ſo full of rents, that we were often put to hard ſhifts to extricate ourſelves: two of our ſledges and horſes fell in, which we ſaved with great difficulty. At noon we went on ſhore to refreſh the horſes, and went to a fiſher's hut at a ſmall diſtance to get ſome fiſh: in this interval a party of fifty Kalmuck Tartars, all in armour, ſurrounded our ſledges, where we had left all our fire-arms excepting three; with thoſe we had, cocked in our hands, we ran in haſte to the ſledges, and ſecured the reſt of our

BOOK IX. 1724. arms, the Tartars looking at us with ſurprize. Their myrza, or commander, came up to me and offered me his hand, ſaying, in broken Ruſſian, that he knew me ſince the action with Shurundunduck: we gave him a dram, and he went away with his party. They are not to be truſted, for the Tartars will rob where they can do it with ſafety; this accident determined us to be no more without our arms on our journey. We travelled this day forty werſts, but would not venture on ſhore all night for fear of the Kalmucks, who were encamped thereabouts. On the 15th, we reached Zornayar, forty werſts, where we reſted on the 16th; and as our horſes had now brought us three hundred werſts, without relief, no other horſes being to be had all the way, the men taking proviſions and forage with them to ſerve them on the road, their hay being all twiſted for the eaſier conveyance, we returned them for Aſtrachan, with a certificate to the governor, at the deſire of our conductors, of the loſs of two of the horſes, as they belonged to government.

On the 17th, being provided with freſh horſes, and having procured ropes to pull out the horſes and ſledges in caſe they ſhould break through the ice again; the day proving rainy, ſeveral of our horſes fell in, but were ſaved, having a rope faſtened to each of them; and at night we reached Stupingar, ſixty werſts, and the next day, notwithſtanding it was hard froſt, ſeveral of our horſes fell in: we travelled ſeventy werſts, and reſted the night on ſhore. On the 19th, we went ſeventy werſts, and at night reached Czaritza, where our two battalions wintered laſt year. Here we got freſh horſes, and next day got to Dubofka, ſixty werſts,

in rainy weather; here we were again ſupplied with freſh horſes, and reached Belekli, ſeventy werſts. On the 21ſt, we found the ice ſo much weakened by the rainy weather, that we were in continual danger. We got to Kamuſinka, ſeventy werſts, on the 22d; and here getting freſh horſes, we could only travel eighty werſts the two following days under ſuch conſtant rain, that the water was now a foot deep over the ice, ſo that we paſt the dangerous rents with the utmoſt difficulty, and for the night of the 24th, we took up our quarters on a woody iſland, making a large fire to dry ourſelves. 1724.

A narrow eſcape from the ice.

On the 25th in the morning, we had got but a ſhort way from the iſland, before we found the ice ſo full of large rents, that it was impoſſible for us to proceed farther upon it, and in endeavouring to make the ſhore, ſeven of our ſledges fell in through the ice, and five of our horſes were drowned: the reſt we ſaved with extreme danger to ourſelves, as the ice was continually yielding and breaking under us, till at laſt after every effort with poles and ropes, we got all ſafe to the land; but our ſledges and baggage lay ſix hours in the water, and muſt have been loſt but for the lucky aſſiſtance of a party of men who were paſſing this way, by whoſe help we got them pulled out, and in about half an hour afterwards, the river broke up with a thundering noiſe, and nothing but water was to be ſeen; ſo that we had a very narrow and miraculous eſcape. We fortunately were near a wood, where we made large fires to warm and dry ourſelves, being near periſhed with wet and cold; and what augmented our miſery was the perpetual rains pouring day and night down upon us. Such a rainy ſea-

BOOK IX. 1724.

ſon in the time of winter, and the breaking up of the Wolga, had not been known in the memory of man. By the overturning of my ſledge, I loſt a whole ſuit of Tartarian armour, a blunderbuſs, a pair of braſs barrelled piſtols, a ſilver-hilted ſword, a little trunk in which was my paſs, and an order to ſupply us with horſes on our way, and ſome money for my travelling charges.

The three following days, we dragged our ſledges with much toil over the ſands, and having travelled two hundred and twenty werſts, we reached Saratof on the evening of the 28th: this place is one thouſand werſts up the Wolga, from Aſtrachan. We ſtaid here four days to dry our baggage, which had all been moſt thoroughly wet; I got my baranetz, or lambſkins, ſo carefully dried and dreſſed, that they looked as well as ever. The governor gave me another paſs, and an order for horſes, in place of that I had loſt; and as this is the firſt place from which we could travel by land, we left the river Wolga, and proceeded acroſs the country on a hard beaten road of ſnow, being now quite in another climate, where winter appeared in its full rigour. The governor informed us that the roads were peſtered with robbers, on account of the very bad crops laſt ſummer, and adviſed us to be on our guard.

A cruel robbery in the woods.

We left Saratof on the 2d of February, and travelling ſixty werſts, arrived in the evening at a ſingle houſe in a wood; and next day, after a journey of ſixty-three werſts, through one continued wood, we came again to a ſingle houſe, but when we were within three werſts of it, we ſaw ſeveral ſledges before us attacked by robbers, and carried off; we made all the haſte we could to go to their aſſiſtance, and

before we got up, the robbers had made off into the wood, with the horſes and ſledges loaded with merchandize: we found nine men ſtripped naked, and three ſoldiers who had been their eſcort, killed beſide them. We took both the living and the dead with us to this houſe, where we found only a boy, and enquiring of him for the people of the houſe, he ſaid they were gone to a fair ſixty werſts off, and were not to come home that night. As we conceived ourſelves to be in a very dangerous place, we barricaded the court-yard belonging to the houſe, and kept a very ſtrict watch, placing a centry at each corner; having our fire-arms in readineſs, we kept ourſelves very quiet. One of our company whoſe appointment it was to watch the motions of the boy, obſerved him at three o'clock in the morning, go to the back door and open it, but being cloſe behind him, found the boy talking to a man without, in a very low voice; two others of our company getting behind him, pulled the fellow into the houſe, and faſtened the door; the ſtripped travellers no ſooner ſaw him, than they unanimouſly agreed that this fellow was one of the gang who had robbed them; upon this we tied him neck and heels, and upon our looking out at the back door, we diſcovered a number of men at a ſmall diſtance, upon the ſnow, waiting as we imagined, for intelligence, but on our firing a few ſhot among them, they retired into the wood. We then proceeded to examine the fellow we had taken, who ſaid he was the landlord of the houſe, and was well known to be an honeſt man, and had no connection with thieves or robbers, and threatened that he would make us repent the injury we had done him in his own houſe; but as all thoſe who

BOOK IX. who had been robbed averred that he was the chief of the gang, and had himſelf killed one of the ſoldiers, we determined to carry him and all that were in the houſe, with us; and accordingly ſet out.

1724.

On the 4th, travelling ſixty-four werſts, we came to Penſe, a fortified town, with a ſtrong garriſon, where we delivered up our priſoner to the governor, and the plundered merchants, on their examination, declared that he was actually the ringleader of the gang; upon which the governor ordered him to be put to the torture, to make him confeſs where the reſt of his companions were to be found; but he was ſo obſtinate, that he would not anſwer any of the queſtions that were put to him. On which two of the robbed merchants propoſed to go in ſearch of them, if the governor would ſend a ſufficient force to take them, if found, alledging they might be eaſily traced by the track they had made through the ſnow, in going into the wood: the governor readily conſented, and ordered fifty dragoons, and as many Coſſacks, to mount and attend them. The next day in the evening, they returned with twenty-three robbers, and the ſledges and horſes belonging to the merchants; they were found in hutts in a thicket of the wood, not above three miles from the before mentioned houſe. This wood runs eaſt and weſt ſeveral hundred werſts in length, and its narroweſt breadth, where we croſſed, is one hundred and ſixty werſts, without any inhabitants.

A remarkable diſcovery of a town, with an account of it.

I was here informed by the governor, that about ſix months ago, a large village, or town, had been diſcovered by its own inhabitants, who ſent a deputation to the emperor for that purpoſe. This town lies two hundred miles weſt from

from Penſe, and at the ſame diſtance from any other inhabited place; it is ſituated on the ſide of a lake in the middle of this great wood, and conſiſts of above two thouſand families; they gave the following account of themſelves.—In the very troubleſome times, after the death of czar Iwan Waſilewitz, the tyrant, to the reign of czar Michael Feodorewitz, (his preſent majeſty's grandfather), a great number of robbers had aſſociated themſelves and committed great ravages over all the country; their leader, or commander in chief, was a degraded colonel, and an experienced officer; their depredations were ſo audacious, that czar Michael Feodorewitz found it neceſſary to ſend large detachments of the military againſt them, but the robbers commonly attacked theſe parties by ſurprize and defeated them. The czar on this offered a very high reward for the heads of their leaders, and a free pardon to all the reſt. The chiefs being apprehenſive that they ſhould one day or other be betrayed by their followers, came to a reſolution to make a general plunder, once for all; which they did, and carried off large quantities of corn, horſes, cattle, all ſorts of labouring utenſils, and all the women they could meet with, and retired into thoſe inacceſſible woods, where they ſettled, cleared, and manured the ground, and lived ever ſince, governed by their own laws, without ever after moleſting, or having the ſmalleſt intercourſe with any of their remote neighbours.

I was alſo informed, that a wild girl, about eighteen years of age, had been lately taken in the neighbourhood of this town. A woman who lived here, alledged, ſhe was her child, ſaying, that about eighteen years ago ſhe was going through

BOOK IX. through the wood to ſee a ſick ſiſter of her's: being then big with child ſhe was ſeized with her labour-pains, and was delivered; and as ſhe was then in extreme agony, ſhe did not perceive by what means her child was conveyed from her; but hearing the common report that a wild girl was frequently ſeen in the wood, ſhe always ſaid it could be no other than the child ſhe had loſt.

1724

Many attempts had been made to catch her, but to no purpoſe, ſhe being ſo nimble-footed that none could overtake her. When the emperor heard of it, he ſent orders to the governor to raiſe the people of the country, and ſurround that part of the wood where ſhe had been obſerved to frequent, and ſet up their nets with which they uſed to catch the deer, and in this manner ſhe was taken without receiving any hurt; the girl was immediately ſent to Moſcow, under the care of her ſuppoſed mother, where I afterwards ſaw her. She was of a ſwarthy complexion, and I was told ſhe was much overgrown with hair; ſhe was very ſhy of being ſeen, and always ſitting in a dark corner, trembling with fear when any body approached her. It was generally ſuppoſed ſhe had been ſuckled by a bear, but how ſhe ſubſiſted all the time afterwards muſt remain a ſecret till ſhe learns to ſpeak and gives the account herſelf.

On the 7th of February, having obtained an eſcort of twenty Coſſacks to conduct me to Saranſki, ninety werſts, and my travelling companions intending to continue here ſome time, I left Penſe, travelling all the way through one continued wood, which made it very dangerous on account of the many robberies and murders committed on the road, and arrived at Saranſki on the evening of the 8th, without any

1724.

any moleſtation. All the way, however, we went, we met many real objects of compaſſion, wearing the viſible marks of hunger and famine in their countenances, occaſioned by the failure of the laſt year's crop, which drove many to ſeek relief by plunder. After this I travelled through a well inhabited country, without the leaſt danger, and came to Arſama, one hundred and twenty werſts; from thence to Murvin, one hundred and twenty; and from thence to Wolodimer, one hundred and twenty more; and from Wolodimer, one hundred and eighty werſts, to the city of Moſcow, where I arrived on the 22d of February. From Saratof to Moſcow it is eight hundred and fifty-ſix werſts by land; but following the courſe of the river, it is one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty.

Arrival at Moſcow.

At this time great preparations were making for the empreſs's coronation, at which ceremony all the great men and grandees of the empire had been ſummoned to appear. General Matuſkin, and governor Wolinſki, with the two battalions of guards I left at Aſtrachan, were ordered to repair to Moſcow with the utmoſt expedition, and arrived five weeks after me; which, if I had known, would have ſaved me a very troubleſome journey beſides a great expence.

The day after my arrival in Moſcow, I waited on prince Menzikof, who ordered me to attend him to his majeſty, and after waiting a quarter of an hour in the antichamber I was called in, and found there, his majeſty, attended by the duke of Holſtein, admiral Apraxin, chancellor Golofkin, and the princes Galitzin, Dolgoruki and Romadonofſki. The emperor examined the chart of the Caſpian ſea,

BOOK IX. with its gulfs, bays, and ſoundings, very narrowly; aſking me a great many queſtions, eſpecially concerning the river Daria, of which I preſented him with a draft at large, with which he ſeemed very much pleaſed, as the drawing exhibited the ſituation of that river, which appeared to be well calculated for a fort and ſafe harbour, ſecure from any attempts that could be made by the Uſbeck Tartars. His majeſty then gave the duke of Holſtein a ſhort account of prince Bekewitz's unfortunate expedition to that place; adding, that if he had had patience till he had been well fortified and ſettled, and not ſuffered himſelf to be over-reached by the treacherous inſinuations of the Tartars, by this time he might have been fully maſter of that valuable river, with all the gold mines; but as he was now in full poſſeſſion of the provinces on the oppoſite ſide of the Caſpian ſea, he ſtill intended to ſettle a colony at that place, and to erect forts along the banks of that river, toward the mines, for their protection; and the forts could be eaſily ſupplied with proviſions from the neighbouring provinces, without having any dependence on the Uſbeck Tartars for them. From all this diſcourſe, I apprehended I ſhould be again ſent to thoſe parts very much againſt my inclination. After I had given an account in what forwardneſs the fortifications of Swetego-Kreſt, on the river Sulack were, and of our expedition againſt the Kalmuck Tartars, I was diſmiſſed, being ordered by prince Menzikof to attend the duke of Holſtein's levee while he remained in Moſcow.

1724.

BOOK X.

The duke of Holſtein.—The fall of baron Shafirof.—The captain endeavours to get his diſcharge.—A dignified troop of chevaliers.—A deſcription of the cathedral.—Proceſſion to the coronation of the empreſs.—Coronation ceremony.—Proceſſion to the church of St. Michael.—Proceſſion to the church of the Reſurrection.—Dinner in the hall of ſolemnities.—New mode of promotion.—The captain obtains his furlough.—The captain leaves Moſcow.—A Swediſh colonel at Riga ſuſpected of having ſhot Charles the XIIth of Sweden.—The captain embarks for Scotland.—Puts into Erdholm, a Daniſh harbour and fort.—Deſcription of the harbour.—Departs for Elſingohr.—Driven into Marſtrand diſmaſted.—Quarrel between Carnegie and his mate.—He arrives in Scotland.

BOOK X.

1724. The duke of Holſtein.

HIS royal highneſs Charles duke of Holſtein, was the only ſon of the eldeſt ſiſter of Charles the XIIth, king of Sweden, whom that monarch intended for his ſucceſſor; he was now betrothed to the princeſs Anne, the emperor's eldeſt daughter; his highneſs was in the 25th year of his age, of the middling ſize, well proportioned; his lips were thick, and his tongue large, which occaſioned a defect in his ſpeech; in attending, when very young, his uncle, the king of Sweden, a winter's campaign in Poland, where the cold was very intenſe, and ſeeing the king endure it with ſo much indifference, the prince was aſhamed to complain, till at laſt his toes were ſo ſeverely froſt-bitten, that they began to mortify, and he was obliged to have ſome of them cut off; the prince was very affable, and of a chearful diſpoſition, fond of all kinds of diverſions. He was now lodged in the Inoiſemſka Slaboda, (or quarter of foreigners),

BOOK X. ers): all manner of diverſions were here practiſed for his amuſement; he was much pleaſed with the Engliſh country-dances, and as I was pretty well acquainted with them, I was always next to his highneſs at thoſe entertainments.

1724.

I had the good fortune to be ſo much in his favour, that he aſked if I wiſhed to enter into his ſervice. I replied, that I would accept the honor with great pleaſure if I could obtain my diſcharge from the emperor's: his highneſs ſaid he would ſpeak to prince Menzikof about it, which he did next day, and the prince told him that his majeſty would grant it at his deſire, notwithſtanding his intention to ſend me on an expedition over the Caſpian ſea, to fortify and ſecure the harbour at the mouth of the river Daria; which information put a ſtop to all my hopes. This diſappointment made me reſolve to get out of this ſtate of ſlavery at any rate, from which it was impoſſible for any one that was ſerviceable to extricate himſelf with honour.

The fall of baron Shafirof.

On my return to Moſcow, I had the mortification to hear the diſagreeable account of the fall and diſgrace of my former benefactor, baron Shafirof, the vice-chancellor, in whoſe ſuite I was a year at Conſtantinople, where he was an hoſtage, and afterwards ambaſſador; he was without diſpute one of the ableſt miniſters in the whole empire, very high in the eſteem of the emperor, who always employed him in negotiations of the greateſt importance. The baron's misfortune was occaſioned by his endeavouring the ruin of prince Menzikof, which at laſt ended in his own. When his majeſty ſet out on his expedition to Perſia, he appointed prince Menzikof regent of the empire in his abſence: by the aſſiſtance of baron Oſterman, the prince diſcovered that

the vice-chancellor had embezzled large ſums out of the public revenue, and that he had concealed two hundred thouſand ducats in ſpecie, beſides jewels to the value of ſeventy thouſand ducats, the property of the late Knez Gagarin, whoſe daughter was married to baron Shafirof's ſon. When prince Gagarin was executed, it was made death to any perſon who ſhould conceal his effects, and the baron himſelf publiſhed the decree; the baron alſo ſtood charged with ſeveral other crimes, for all which he was condemned to be beheaded, and was ſo near ſuffering the ſentence, that his neck was on the block, when the ſentence was mitigated to perpetual baniſhment into Siberia. Oſterman ſucceeded the baron in the office of vice-chancellor; baron Shafirof had raiſed him from a low degree, and was afterwards rewarded with ingratitude; he was by birth a German, from a ſmall town belonging to the duke of Mecklenburgh, of mean parents, and the baron paſſing through that country, engaged him as a ſervant; in this ſervice he ſo ingratiated himſelf with his maſter, that he raiſed him by degrees to the office of ſecretary in chancery, and as ſuch he was ſent as ſecretary to count Bruce to the congreſs at Aland; where he conducted himſelf with ſuch addreſs, that he was appointed the count's colleague, in which ſituation he behaved with much haughtineſs: yet, after betraying his maſter and benefactor, he ſucceeded him as vice-chancellor, and after the death of count Golofkin, he was promoted to the office of high-chancellor: but when the empreſs Elizabeth aſcended the throne of Ruſſia, Oſterman was baniſhed to Siberia, there to bewail his former ingratitude, meeting with the reward due to all ungrateful perſons.

In

BOOK X.

1724. The captain endeavours to get his diſcharge.

In the beginning of March, I preſented a petition to the college of war, in which I repreſented my ſervices for thirteen years in their army; that the ſituation of my own private affairs in Scotland, where I had not been for twenty years, now required my perſonal preſence to regulate them; and deſired my diſcharge from this ſervice for that purpoſe. Prince Menzikof and the other generals ſeemed ſurpriſed at my requeſt, telling me that his majeſty had ſignified his pleaſure to give me one of the regiments that were then under the command of general Waterang, at Swetego-Kreſt on the river Sulack; from this I ſaw plainly that it was determined to ſend me once more over the Caſpian to the river Daria, to lead a ſad life among the Uſbeck Tartars: I told them it was impoſſible for me then to accept the honour his majeſty meant to beſtow on me, as the ſituation of my affairs would not ſuffer me to remain longer in their ſervice; and the board then abſolutely refuſed to grant my diſcharge. I now urged to them the privilege promiſed by his majeſty to all foreigners, that they were not to be detained in the ſervice againſt their own inclination; to this they replied, that they did not look on me as a foreigner, but as one of themſelves; to this compliment I only anſwered by a low bow, and retired.

As I had received a promiſe from his majeſty before we ſet out on this expedition into Perſia, that upon our return he would give me leave to go and ſee my friends, I now laid my caſe before the duke of Holſtein, who adviſed me to preſent a memorial to the emperor the next day, at eleven o'clock, when he would be with him; which I accordingly did, and had for anſwer, that my diſcharge could not be granted, but that I ſhould get a furlough

lough for one year, to go and ſee my friends, and ſettle my affairs; at the expiration of which it was expected I ſhould return. Upon my accepting theſe conditions, I received his majeſty's order to prince Menzikof, to grant me a furlough: upon my producing the order to the war office, they demanded that count Bruce and general Le Fort ſhould become ſureties for my return, which I refuſed, telling them that the furlough his majeſty had granted me was ſufficient, which I inſiſted upon; on this the office forced me to give an obligation under my hand, to return at the end of the year, which they conceived in the ſtrongeſt terms they could expreſs, and gave me the alternative, to ſign it, or remain where I was: the matter being ſo far ſettled, they told me that as ſoon as the empreſs's coronation was over I ſhould receive my diſpatches. 1724.

The city of Moſcow was now vaſtly crowded with foreigners as well as natives, where all people of rank, belonging to this great empire, were obliged to attend, every one endeavouring to out-do another in grand equipages, ſo that nothing now was minded but aſſemblies, balls, maſquerades, and grand entertainments, ſuch as had never before been known in this part of the world. Yet every body was much ſurpriſed that neither the grand duke, nor his ſiſter the grand-ducheſs, the children of the late czarowitz, were to be preſent at this ſolemnity, but were left unnoticed at Peterſburgh.

To aggrandize the coronation, a troop of chevaliers, or horſe-guards, were raiſed, mounted on fine horſes; lieutenant-general laguſinſki commanded them as captain; major-general Mamonof, as lieutenant; brigadier-general Lewentof, A dignified troop of chevaliers.

BOOK X. wentof, was cornet; the quartermaſters were colonels, the corporals lieutenant-colonels, and the ſixty troopers were all captains. Their coats were green cloth, the waiſtcoats ſcarlet richly laced with gold; on their breaſts and backs the emperor's arms in embroidery; their cartouch caſes were of crimſon velvet, with cyphers embroidered in gold; their grenade-pouches and belts of crimſon velvet and gold; their ſword hilts gilt, and white cockades in their hats; their holſters and piſtol-caſes ornamented with cyphers in gold, laced and fringed with the ſame; the bitts of the bridles, breaſt and crupper-leathers, were covered with maſſive gold, and their kettle drums and trumpets were ſilver, with the emperors arms in emboſſed work of gold and ſilver.

1724.

Deſcription of the cathedral.

The cathedral in which the ceremony of coronation was to be performed, was richly adorned and illuminated with a number of branches in form of crowns, and a very large one in the middle of fine ſilver of exquiſite workmanſhip; they were all full of wax candles gilt. The ſteps to the altar, and the pavement of the church to the throne, were covered with rich tapeſtry wrought with gold; in the middle of the church was a canopy of crimſon velvet, adorned with the arms of Ruſſia, viz. an eagle, ſable, with an eſcutcheon on its breaſt, of St. George killing the dragon, and all round it was the ribbon of the order of St. Andrew, and on the two ſides were the arms of the kingdoms of Caſan, Aſtrachan, Siberia, &c. the canopy was embroidered with gold raiſed-work, with rich fringes, ribbons, tufts, gold lace, &c. it was ſupported at the four corners with pillars covered with red and gold ſilk. Under this canopy was the throne; the ſteps and pavement of which were covered with

with crimſon velvet, on which were placed two elbow chairs for their imperial majeſties, which glittered with precious ſtones, and a long table covered with cloth of gold, which hung down to the ground: their uſual ſeats in the church were covered inſide and out with cloth of gold, and the bottom was covered with red velvet trimmed with gold; a place was made near the throne, for the royal princeſſes, adorned with tapeſtry and cloth of gold, with an eagle of gold embroidery ſparkling with jewels.

Her imperial majeſty prepared herſelf for her coronation, by three days faſting and prayer, and the people had notice given them by the ſecretary of the chancery, preceded by an officer, with kettle-drums and trumpets.

Proceſſion to the coronation of the empreſs.

The 7th of May, the day appointed for the grand coronation, eight battalions and four companies of grenadiers of the guards were, early in the morning, drawn up in the kremelin, or fort of the palace; our grenadiers lined the road from the palace to the cathedral, oppoſite to which was St. Michael's church, the burying-place of his majeſty's anceſtors; the road between them was lined by two battalions, and the road from the cathedral to the gate of the kremelin was lined by the other ſix battalions; and from the gate to the monaſtery of the Reſurrection, the burying place of the princeſſes of the czarian family, was lined by the regiments of Le Fort and Buterſki, who ſupplied the place of four battalions of our diviſion then at Peterſburgh.

At nine o'clock in the morning, the clergy met in the church, and read prayers for the proſperity of their imperial

BOOK X. majeſties, and then went in their pontificals, and joined the proceſſion, which began at ten in the following order.

1724.

1. One half of the horſe-guards.

2. The empreſs's pages, and their governor.

3. The deputy-maſter of the ceremonies, Williaminof, with his mace.

4. The deputies of the provinces.

5. The brigadier-generals,
6. The major-generals, } in pairs by ſeniority.
7. The lieutenant-generals,

8. The two great heralds at arms of the empire, Pleſhof and count Souffe, both in habits of crimſon, and gold embroidery, with the imperial eagle wrought upon them, with their ſtaves in their hands.

9. The grand-maſter of the ceremonies, Shubarof, with his mace.

10. Knez Demetri Galitzin and baron Oſterman, privy-counſellors, carrying, on two cuſhions, the imperial mantle, which was of cloth of gold lined with ermine; the claſps were ſet with many large brilliants; and on the mantle was embroidered, in relievo, the imperial eagle.

11. Knez Dolgoruki, a privy-counſellor, carrying on a cuſhion the globe, which was of fine gold, with a croſs on the top of it ſet with diamonds, rubies, ſapphires, and emeralds: this globe was much admired, as being the workmanſhip of ancient Rome.

12. Count Puſhkin, a privy-counſellor, carrying on a cuſhion, the ſcepter, enamelled and adorned with diamonds and rubies, with the imperial eagle at the top; the ſame

that was uſed at the coronation of the ancient emperors of Ruſſia.

13. Count Bruce, a privy-counſellor and maſter of the ordnance, carrying the crown, which was immenſely rich with brilliants, ſeveral of which were very large, beſides fine oriental pearls of an extraordinary ſize and an even water; among the other precious ſtones, of various colours, in this crown, there was a true oriental ruby of uncommon luſtre as large as a pigeon's egg, and ſuppoſed to be the richeſt that has yet been known; this ſupplied the place of a globe on the top of the crown, and the croſs was all covered over with brilliants.

14. Count Tolſtoi, grand-marſhal, with his ſtaff in his hand, on the top of which was an imperial eagle of maſſive gold, and an emerald as big as a hen's egg.

15. His imperial majeſty, Peter the Great, ſupported by prince Menzikof and knez Repnin.

16. Her imperial majeſty, Catherine, led by his royal highneſs the duke of Holſtein, and attended by the high admiral count Apraxin, and the high chancellor count Golofhin; her train was borne by the princeſs of Menzikof, the ducheſs of Trubetzkoi, the counteſs of Golofkin, the counteſs of Bruce, and general Butterlin's lady; they were followed by twelve married, and twelve unmarried ladies, clad in robes, and walking in pairs.

17. The married ladies were, four lieutenant-generals ladies, viz. Jaguzinſki, Matuſkin, Dolgoruki, and Kurakin; eight major-general's ladies, viz. Gunther, Zerniſhof, Balk, Le-Fort, Trubetzkoy, Uſhakoff, Romanzof, and Cirkaſki;

BOOK X. kaſki; theſe were followed by twelve young ladies of the firſt quality, in pairs.

1724.

18. The colonels, and other military officers, and thoſe of the national nobility ſummoned to attend, all walking in pairs.

19. The other half of the horſe-guards cloſed the proceſſion; during which, all the bells in Moſcow rang, which was accompanied with the muſic of the drums and trumpets.

Coronation ceremony.

The proceſſion having entered the cathedral, the regalia were placed on a long table ſet there for that purpoſe; and the duke of Holſtein having led the empreſs to the throne, retired to his place, and the emperor led her to her ſeat, attended by prince Menzikoff and knez Repnin, and the counts Apraxin and Golofkin, and the ladies who bore the train; their majeſties being ſeated, the archbiſhops and other prelates alſo ſat down, but the gentlemen and ladies ſtood during the whole courſe of the ceremony: when the anthem was ſung, the emperor ſtood up, and taking the ſceptre from the table, ordered the great-marſhal to call the archbiſhops and prelates, enjoining them to proceed to coronation. The archbiſhop of Novogorod then addreſſed the empreſs thus: "Orthodox and great empreſs, moſt gracious "lady, may it pleaſe your majeſty to repeat the creed Atha-"naſian of orthodox faith, in the preſence of your loyal "ſubjects."—The empreſs having repeated this creed, kneeled down on a cuſhion, and received the archbiſhop's benediction, and after prayers were ſaid, her majeſty ſtood up, and two archbiſhops took the coronation mantle, and preſented it to the emperor, who put it on the empreſs, with-

without laying the ſceptre out of his hand; their majeſty's then kneeling down, the archbiſhop ſaid prayers, at the concluſion of which their majeſties roſe up, and the emperor, taking the crown, placed it upon her head, but ſtill held the ſcepter himſelf; the archbiſhops then pronounced their benediction in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, and put the imperial globe into her majeſty's hand. This being done, their majeſties took their ſeats and received the compliments both of the clergy and laity, while the choir ſung their uſual anthem for their proſperous reign; at the concluſion of which there was a general ſalvo from all the artillery, and the bells of the whole city were rung.

This done, their majeſties being conducted from the throne with the ſame ceremonies with which they aſcended, they proceeded to the foot of the altar, and from thence to their uſual ſeats; and during the liturgy her majeſty took off her crown, which was committed to the charge of the ſecretary of the cabinet; and after the prayers for the communion ſervice were ſung, the emperor led her majeſty, who was dreſſed in the crown and imperial mantle, along a walk of ſcarlet velvet, doubled, and tapeſtry wrought with gold, to the ſanctuary, where ſhe kneeled on a cuſhion embroidered with gold, where two biſhops attended with the holy oil in ſeparate veſſels, and an archbiſhop anointed her on the forehead, breaſt, and hands, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt; other archbiſhops wiped off the oil with cotton, and the archdeacon attending with the holy ſacrament, ſaid aloud, "Approach with piety and faith."—Upon which ſhe received the conſecrated bread from the archbiſhop, with a little warm wine; two arch-prieſts of the

BOOK X. 1724.

the cathedral carried a gold baſon, and an abbot held a gold ewer full of water to waſh, and two other abbots held the napkin for her majeſty to wipe her hands. This done, their majeſties retired to their ſeats, and there was a ſecond ſalvo from the guns, and ringing of the bells in the city. At the cloſe of the ſervice, the archbiſhop of Pleſkow made an harangue, in which he mentioned the rare virtues of the empreſs, and ſhewed how well ſhe deſerved that crown which ſhe had now received from God and her huſband; and concluded with a congratulation to their majeſties in the name of the ſtates of the empire.

Proceſſion to the church of St. Michael.

When this office was over, the duke of Holſtein went to attend the empreſs to the church of St. Michael, to which ſhe walked much in the ſame order as ſhe came from the palace, but with her crown and mantle on, and under a rich canopy, ſupported by ſix major-generals on poles of maſſive ſilver, on each of which were eight eagles of ſilver gilt, with crowns, &c. and tufts of ſolid gold, hung to gold twiſt; the ſcepter and globe were carried before her, and her train borne up as before; prince Menzikof walked behind the empreſs, ſupported by Printzenſtein, chancellor of the exchequer, and Pleſkof, preſident of the chamber of finances, each carrying a purſe of ſcarlet velvet embroidered with gold, in which were medals of gold and ſilver, which the prince threw away among the populace in the way to church; when her majeſty arrived at the door, an archbiſhop met and walked before her with a crucifix; while the litanies were ſinging, the empreſs went and paid her devotions at the tombs of the emperor's glorious anceſtors; at her leaving this church, there was a third ſalvo of the guns

and

and bells, with kettle-drums and trumpets; and the joyful ſhouts of the people rent the ſkies.

1724. Proceſſion to the church of the Reſurrection.

From hence her majeſty went in a coach drawn by eight horſes to the monaſtery of Woſneſinki, or the Reſurrection, the place of interment for the ladies of the imperial blood: ſhe was attended

1. By one half of the horſe-guards, and their officers.

2. Twenty-four valets on foot, marching four a-breaſt; their coats were green faced with ſcarlet; their waiſtcoats ſcarlet ſpread over with gold and ſilver lace; their hats laced with gold, and the hilts of their ſwords gilt.

3. Twelve pages in green liveries, the facing and veſt of cloth of gold, ſcarlet ſilk ſtockings with gold clocks, and their ſword-hilts ſilver gilt.

4. The empreſs in a moſt magnificent coach, drawn by eight horſes, with four running footman before, richly dreſt, and twelve chamberlains and other officers of the court magnificently dreſt, marching on both ſides of the coach.

5. Twelve heydukes alſo on both ſides of the coach, at a proper diſtance from the chamberlains, clad in green coats and ſcarlet waiſtcoats richly embroidered with gold, with the emperor's arms and cyphers, the ſleeves fringed with gold, and turned up with ſcarlet velvet; their ſcarlet velvet caps were edged with green velvet and gold twiſt, with a ſtar of gold embroidery, with a tuft of an apple of ſilver; on the ſides were two ſilver eagles, and two herons of ſilver, with a plume of red and white feathers behind; inſtead of a belt they wore two ſilver chains, faſtened to a ſtripe of ſcarlet velvet with gold twiſt; the hilts of their ſabres were large and gilt; their boots, which were of Morocco leather,

were

BOOK X. were adorned with buttons, and other ornaments, the work of the goldſmith.

1724.

6. Lieutenant-general Lacey rode behind the coach, with two heralds at arms, and threw gold and ſilver medals among the populace, which were carried for that purpoſe in purſes by the proper officers.

7. Six negroes dreſt in black velvet edged with gold, inſtead of ſcarves and bracelets, they had ornaments of red and white feathers, and they had plumes of the ſame in their turbans, which were faced with muſlin; their collars were of ſilver marked with their majeſties cypher.

8. His royal highneſs the duke of Holſtein in a coach and ſix, with rich blue liveries.

9. The counts Apraxin and Golofkin, in one coach and ſix, with their ſervants in rich liveries.

10. Two coaches and ſix, with the ladies of the firſt rank.

11. The other half of the horſe-guards cloſed the proceſſion, and in their paſſing by were ſaluted with the points of our ſpontoons, and colours pointed to the ground, the muſic playing and drums beating till they were paſt.

At the monaſtery, the empreſs was handed out of the coach by the duke of Holſtein; her train was borne as before; and having performed her devotion at the tombs of the ladies of the imperial family, in that monaſtery, ſhe returned to the palace, and was handed by the duke of Holſtein to her apartments where the emperor expected her, and where they paſt ſome time while the ſervice was getting ready in the hall of ſolemnities.

Dinner in the hall of ſolemnities.

This hall, for its largeneſs and ornaments, is one of the fineſt in Europe, and the windows being proportionably large makes

makes it very light; the roof reſts on one ſingle pillar in the middle, the cornices and pedeſtals are of fine work in plaiſter of Paris; all the wainſcotting is of curious workmanſhip, and three feet in height; all round was hung with crimſon velvet and rich cloth of gold; the floor was covered with Perſian carpets of extraordinary ſize and beauty. Round the pillars a table was ſet, with veſſels of gold and ſilver, adorned with precious ſtones and pearls; the table where their majeſties were to eat was ſet upon a raiſed floor, covered with ſcarlet velvet, laced with gold, under a canopy of the ſame, bordered round with deep gold fringe; the table, where the duke of Holſtein was to eat alone, was at a little diſtance from the other in the middle of the hall; and at ſome little diſtance below that was a table for the ladies, alſo in the middle of the hall; and on each ſide were long tables, one for perſons of the firſt quality, particularly thoſe who had aſſiſted at the coronation; another for the prelates and principal clergy who had officiated on the ſame occaſion; at the lower end of the hall was a theatre for the muſic. Their majeſties, and the duke of Holſtein, were ſerved in gold plate, the other three tables in ſilver.

When every thing was ready, the company moved for the hall, and entered in the following order:

1. The maſter of the ceremonies.

2. The two cup-bearers, and count Apraxin, who officiated as carver during the feaſt.

3. The great ſteward, followed by the grand marſhal.

4. The emperor, and his two ſupporters.

5. The empreſs, led by the duke of Holſtein, and ſupported as in the former proceſſion; the train of the impe-

BOOK X. rial mantle being borne by the five ladies beforementioned.

1724.

6. The principal ladies of quality, both of the court and empire, with her majeſty's maids of honour.

7. The other perſons of diſtinction both ſexes, clergy and laity.

When their majeſties were under the canopy, an archbiſhop ſaid grace, and then the whole company placed themſelves according to their rank. At every courſe the grand marſhal gave orders to the maſter of ceremonies to go with the officers and order it: all the officers in waiting ſtood at the hall door, from the firſt to the laſt, to receive the diſhes, which they carried up to the table in the following order:

1. The grand marſhal.

2. The great ſteward.

3. The chief carver.

4. The officers who carried the ſervices, who were all colonels; each diſh was guarded by two gentleman of the horſe-guards, with their carbines.

5. The maſter of the ceremonies.

The great ſteward ranged the diſhes, and took them off, every time bending the knee, and all the others who waited on their majeſties with plates or glaſſes, ſerved them on the knee: they eat and drank out of gold, and the pyramids of ſweetmeats were ſerved up to the royal tables in gold plate; the duke of Holſtein was alſo ſerved in gold, by officers of the firſt rank.

There were at the ſame time before the hall, oxen and all manner of fowls roaſted for the populace, and on a

ſtage erected there, were fountains of red and white wines running for them to drink.

1724. Before the court roſe from table, prince Menzikof diſtributed to every perſon of rank and diſtinction, who had aſſiſted at the ceremony, a large medal of gold repreſenting it; and then their majeſties returned to their apartments in the ſame order they had entered, and the officers in waiting, with thoſe of the horſe and foot guards, filled the tables, and when the repaſt was over, we returned to our reſpective quarters. The whole night was ſpent in great rejoicings, by fire-works, illuminations, bonfires, drums, muſic, and ringing of bells; the ſtreets ſwarmed all night long with crowds of people. The three following days, the empreſs received the congratulations of all the foreign miniſters, and the deputies of the provinces.

On the fourth day, her majeſty gave a very grand entertainment, and in the evening was exhibited a magnificent fire-work, repreſenting the emperor placing the crown on her head, with this motto, "From God and the Emperor;" the city was again completely illuminated, and univerſal joy diſplayed itſelf in every form.

A new mode of promotion. The whole concluded by a general promotion at court, and in the army and navy, in the Venetian manner, by ballotting, and this was the mode; a white iron box was made with three apertures, and a round opening before, to admit a man's hand; the three apertures were painted white, red, and black; the white for advancement, the red was againſt it, and the black denoted incapacity. The box was covered with ſcarlet cloth, and every perſon qualified to ballot, had a little ball of white leather given him, which

BOOK X. he could put into either of the apertures without its being obſerved. Brigadier Knez Uſupof, a major in the guards, was to ſtand the ballot for a major-general, and all the officers of the guards, being eighty-four in number, were ſummoned to give their ſuffrages; but when the boxes were examined, there was found thirty-two to twenty-three againſt him, and twenty-nine, declared him incapable. His majeſty was very much ſurpriſed at this, as knez Uſupof was well known to be a very brave officer, and one who had always obſerved ſtrict diſcipline, which was thought the real cauſe of his having ſo many enemies; on this the ballotting was entirely laid ſide, and promotions went on according to the uſual form.

1724.

The captain obtains his furlough.

I had now once more an offer of preferment made me, but as I conceived it intended to detain me in the ſervice, I begged to be excuſed accepting any till after my return from Britain; but finding prince Menzikoff, at the inſtigation of count Bruce, very much bent for my ſtaying, I laid my caſe in ſuch ſtrong terms before the count, that he at laſt conſented and ſpoke of it to the prince, who at length granted my much wiſhed furlough on the 27th of May. I received the pay and forage money due to me from the regiment, but could not get the two years pay that was due to me as engineer, and which amounted to twelve hundred rubles, but was told the money appropriated for the payment of that ſervice was at Peterſburgh, and I muſt go there to receive it; which if I had done, would have effectually put a ſtop to my journey. I empowered major-general Le Fort to receive my pay, and ſell my houſe and furniture in Peterſburgh, and to remit me the money to Scotland; but

but a ſtop was put to it till my return, and at the expiration of my furlough, every thing I had left there was ſeized, ſo that I had no reaſon to boaſt of any advantage I reaped in Ruſſia, after thirteen years ſervice.

The captain leaves Moſcow.

Their majeſties left Moſcow on the 27th of May, on their journey to Peterſburgh, and I ſet out the 28th. I arrived at Novogorod the 7th of June, from thence croſſing the lake Ilmen, fifty miles, to the river Solon, and twenty miles up that river to Sultza by land, from thence by Pleſkow and Petzora, two ſtrong fortified towns, I got to to Wenden in Livonia, on the 15th. This place had formerly been a place of ſtrength, but its fortifications now lay in ruins; and on the 17th, I arrived at Riga, which is one thouſand thirty-ſix werſts from Moſcow. Field marſhal Knez Repnin, governor of this city, arrived two days after me. I immediately waited on the governor, and ſhewed him my paſs, and notwithſtanding our former difference, on my having refuſed the offer he made me of being his aide-de-camp, he behaved very civilly to me, and offered me his table while I ſtaid in that city. I lodged with colonel Berens of the artillery, who married a niece of the counteſs of Bruce.

The colonel took me to the cathedral, and pointing out a mark on the wall, four feet and a half from the ground, told me that the waters of the Dwina, at the breaking up of the ice laſt year, had riſen to that mark, and overflowed the whole city; and that there happened to be a wedding celebrating in a wooden houſe without the town, near the river, which was quite full of people, and by the ſudden riſing

BOOK X.

riſing of the water, the houſe was overturned in the height of their merriment, and every perſon drowned.

1724. A Swediſh colonel at Riga ſuſpected of having ſhot Charles the XIIth of Sweden.

As I was dining at an ordinary one day, with ſeveral of my acquaintances, there happened to be at the table a Swediſh colonel and a lieutenant-colonel, who was born dumb, and had been a great favourite with the late king of Sweden. While we were at dinner, the governor's aid-de-camp came in, and addreſſing himſelf to the Swediſh colonel, ordered him in the emperor's name to leave Riga immediately, otherwiſe he would be proceeded againſt as a traitor. The Swede immediately getting up from the table, quitted the room, pale and trembling. On our enquiring into the reaſon of this ſudden order to the colonel, we were informed that he was ſuſpected of having ſhot the late king of Sweden, in the trenches before Frederickſhal. It ſeems that ſome of the company had by ſigns, made the dumb lieutenant-colonel underſtand the affair, on which he ran after him with his ſword drawn, and, but for the interpoſition of the aid-de-camp and ſome others with him, he would certainly have killed the colonel, who was ſafely conducted over the river Dwina, which divides Livonia from Courland, and was followed by his ſervants and baggage. It was obſerved that while he reſided in Riga, large remittances had come to him from Stockholm, which made it generally ſuſpected that he had been highly bribed to commit the regicide. The colonel made haſte to get into Poland, intending to paſs through that kingdom into Turkey, where he was well acquainted, having attended the king of Sweden all the time that prince reſided in Bender; but as he

he was no more heard of, it was generally thought he had been murdered in Poland.

1724. The captain embarks for Scotland.

I had propoſed travelling by the way of Berlin, but now finding the ſhip Iſabella, bound for Montroſe, John Carnegie, maſter, I took my paſſage with him, who undertook to lay in a ſtock of freſh proviſions. The ſhip went down the river the 28th of June, and I followed the next day, attended by many of my acquaintances to fort Dunamand, where I went on board, and that evening we dropt down to the mouth of the river. We ſailed on the 30th of June, with a fair wind, and paſt the iſlands of Runen and Oeſel, but the wind turning againſt us toward night, I began to enquire into the ſtate of our proviſions, which conſiſted of ſalt beef, peas, barley, biſcuit, and bad beer. The maſter pretended that in the hurry he had forgot to lay in freſh meat, which was a great diſappointment to me, as I never could eat ſalt meat, but for the kind concern of colonel Berens's lady, who, without my knowlege, had ſent plenty of all ſorts of proviſions on board, which ſufficiently made up the maſter's deficiency. The wind continuing foul we bore away for the iſle of Gothland, and on the 2d of July, we paſſed the town of Wiſby: in paſſing along the coaſt of this iſland, I obſerved a number of churches with ſteeples, not above a mile diſtant from each other. We endeavoured to make the iſle of Oeland, but could not fetch it, and after beating three days to little purpoſe, I perſuaded the maſter to come to an anchor at the Iunfer Sheren, near the coaſt of Sweden, where I went aſhore with four men in the boat, at ſome fiſhing huts, but finding no body in them, and paſſing a little way into a wood, we came to a number of people

BOOK X. 1724.

people of both ſexes, burning limeſtone, and an old man ſhewed us the way through part of the wood, to a village, where I bought two ſheep, ſome fowls, eggs, and butter, and returning to the veſſel, we got under way again; but the wind continuing unfavourable, we made little progreſs. On the 8th, after a hard gale of wind, with the ſea breaking over us all day long, and meeting a Dutchman, who had loſt his main-maſt in a gale, we got ſight of Oeland. On the 9th, the wind turned in our favour, which laſted till ten o'clock next morning, being then near the iſland of Bornholm; but the wind ſuddenly changing, we were forced back again, which obliged us to run into the harbour of Erdholm. On a ſignal, a pilot came on board, who more through deſign than ignorance, run the veſſel on a rock at the entrance of the harbour, ſo cloſe to the ſhore, that the military who ſtood there, ſaw diſtinctly all our motions on deck, and although they knew our diſtreſs, and boats were in plenty by them on the ſhore, not one of them offered to advance one ſtep to our aſſiſtance. When our warp anchor was putting out, the governor obſerving that I was better at directing than working, concluded from thence that I was a paſſenger, although I was clad in ſeaman's cloaths, ſent his adjutant off in a boat, offering to bring me on ſhore with my effects, which I readily accepted, and coming up to the governor, we knew each other, being formerly acquainted both in Flanders, and at Copenhagen when the Ruſſian army was there; but before I would enter into any converſation, I pleaded ſo effectually with him for aſſiſtance to get the veſſel off the rock, that he ſent boats ſufficient to take in as much of the cargo as lightened her enough

Puts into Erdholm, a Daniſh harbour and fort.

enough to get off, ſo that ſhe did not ſuſtain the leaſt damage: ſhe had ſcarce got into the harbour, before ſuch a heavy gale came on, as would have beat her to pieces had ſhe remained a quarter of an hour longer on the rock; ſo that the ſaving of this ſhip and cargo was entirely owing to my acquaintance with the governor.

A deſcription of the harbour.

This harbour belongs to Denmark, and is one of the beſt in Europe; it has an entrance from the ſouth and one from the north, both commanded by forts; they are juſt broad enough to let one ſhip at a time paſs with eaſe. It is of a round form, and large enough to contain two hundred ſail of ſhips; and ſo deep, that they can lay cloſe to the ſhore. It is of great convenience to the king of Denmark for his ſhips in war time, as they can enter in at one ſide and go out at the other. The iſland itſelf is an entire rock, without either earth or ſand; yet the governor and officers in garriſon, have tranſported earth enough from the iſland of Bornholm, four German leagues, to make gardens for themſelves.

Colonel Hirſhnach was the preſent governor, and had his own regiment in garriſon here: they are in a manner ſecluded from the world, as no ſhips ever come in here but through ſtreſs of weather or foul winds. There were at this time in the harbour, thirteen ſhips, Dutch and Engliſh, but they are ſometimes a year or two, without ſeeing a ſhip; in ſummer they frequently viſit, and are viſited by their neighbours in Bornholm, ſeveral of whom were now here; and dancing and card-playing, the only diverſions the place afforded, went forward: ſometimes in a fine day they went in boats to the rocks, (which are in great numbers about

BOOK X. the iſland), to gather feathers or down from the neſts of the wild ducks, of which the governor makes about four hundred dollars a year.

1724.

As the Danes at this time were apprehenſive the Ruſſians intended an attempt on Holſtein, in favour of its duke, the governor would not ſuffer me to go near either of the forts, ſeeing from my paſs that I was only on furlough; but when I had ſatisfied him that I did not intend to return to the Ruſſian ſervice, he conducted me to both himſelf, when I readily admitted an apology for his prudence from the defenceleſs ſtate in which I found them; he told me he had often, in vain, ſollicited for an engineer to put them in a reſpectable condition, and now aſked my opinion on what was neceſſary to be done for their better defence, and ſaid he had often ſolicited for an engineer to be ſent from Copenhagen, in vain. As they were much out of repair, I told him it would require the attendance of an engineer for ſome time, to put them in a ſtate of defence. The governor then propoſed my entering into the Daniſh ſervice, aſſuring me I would be very acceptable as an engineer, as they were ſo ill provided, and aſſured me that he could eaſily procure me a company in his own regiment, with a pretty girl into the bargain. This I found afterwards to have been concerted with captain Fiſher, a ſuperannuated gentleman of the regiment, and his ſpouſe, who was to reſign his company in my favour if I married his daughter, a genteel pretty girl at the age of eighteen: as they knew the ſhip was to ſail with the firſt fair wind they propoſed my ſuffering the veſſel to depart without me, with aſſurance that I could not be long without another opportunity, if their propoſal did

did not meet my approbation; but as I did not incline to be buried alive in ſuch an out-of-the-way place, I excuſed myſelf in the beſt manner I could.

Depart for Elſingohr.

The 21ſt of July in the afternoon, all the wind-bound ſhips ſailed out of the harbour with a fair wind; our boat being left to carry me on board; the governor and the reſt of his company conveyed me to the fort, where taking leave of them, I went on board, where I found good ſtore of freſh proviſions laid in by the governor and Mrs. Fiſher. Having no guns on board, I ſaluted them with ſeven muſkets, which was returned by five guns from the fort. In paſſing Bornholm, a Daniſh man of war ſpoke to us, and enquired if we knew or had heard of a Ruſſian fleet at ſea; from repeated enquiries of this kind, it was evident they expected an invaſion of Holſtein, as the emperor had demanded the reſtitution of that dukedom, in very ſtrong terms, for his lawful prince. Paſſing the iſland of Muin the 22d, and anchoring next day before Copenhagen, we arrived on the 24th, at Elſinghor. Here the maſter went aſhore to clear out at the cuſtom-houſe, where I accompanied him, and was brought before the governor to ſhew my paſs, to whom I delivered a letter from governor Hirſhnach; the governor detained me to ſupper, when he aſked me a multitude of queſtions relating to Ruſſia; and underſtanding by the letter I brought him, that I was not to return again to that ſervice, he urged me much to follow that gentleman's advice, and engage myſelf in the king of Denmark's, which he obſerved would be eaſier obtained, as I had then ſeveral relations of rank in that ſervice: to which I anſwered that he might ſee from my paſs that I

BOOK X. was not diſengaged from the Ruſſian ſervice; and as there was an appearance of a rupture between the two nations,

1724. ſuch a ſtep might prove of the moſt dangerous conſequence to me, which he could not refuſe to admit, if the rupture ſhould take place. It is to be obſerved that the Daniſh army is chiefly compoſed of foreigners, and the Danes and Norwegians are employed in their navy. Here I met with Mr. Pritzbaur, a captain of horſe, with whom I had been intimately acquainted in Mecklenburgh; he informed me two of my relations were then at Copenhagen, viz. general Dewitz and colonel Arenſdorf, a firſt couſin of my father's, and endeavoured much to perſuade me to go with him to ſee them, as I could daily get an opportunity of another veſſel: but as I very much longed to ſee my friends in Scotland, I would not conſent. However, Mr. Pritzbaur inſiſted on my making his houſe my home, the four days I ſtayed at Elſinghor.

Driven into Marſtrand diſmaſted.

We departed from hence on the 28th, and on the 30th were overtaken by a violent ſtorm, which carried away our main-maſt, with ſails, and rigging, and in this diſtreſs, with much difficulty, we reached Marſtrand, a town and fort in Sweden; here again I met ſeveral acquaintances, officers who had been priſoners at Moſcow, who now treated me with much civility; ſeveral Ruſſian ſoldiers who had been made priſoners by the Swedes, and afterward entered into their ſervice, now earneſtly ſolicited me to intercede with the governor, to let them return to their native country; but he ſaid it was not in his power to diſcharge them, as they had voluntarily enliſted. It was eight days before we were in a condition to put to ſea again, and we departed on the

7th

7th of Auguſt; in two days after we were forced by a contrary wind to run into Hamer ſound, a place pleaſantly ſituated near a large wood; the days we were detained here, we paſſed in fowling or gathering nuts. Here the maſter and his mate quarrelled, and went each with a broad ſword into the wood to fight. A lad called Carnegie, the maſter's nephew, acquainted me with their deſign. I followed them with my fowling piece, the youth directing me the way they had gone; we came up with them when they were going to begin the combat, to which I put a ſtop to by preſenting my piece at them, threatning to fire on the firſt aggreſſor; and coming cloſe to them, I reaſoned them out of their folly, and returned with them on board, to fight it out over a bowl of punch, by which means they were fully reconciled again.

1724. A quarrel between Carnegie and his mate.

On the 14th, we weighed, with a fair wind at eaſt, and paſſed by Chriſtianſand, and the Neus or Naze, and before night had loſt ſight of Norway, and the 17th came in ſight of land, which the Captain took to be at the entrance of the Firth of Forth, and ſtretching to the northward, intending to fetch Montroſe, he paſſed it in very foggy weather, and falling in with a fiſhing boat, we were informed we were oppoſite Aberdeen. Here I left the Iſabella, and arrived at Aberdeen in the fiſhing boat, after a tedious voyage of fifty days. I ſet out next morning for Fife; and had the pleaſure to find my mother, brother, and ſiſter, well at Coupar on the 20th, after an abſence of twenty years.

The captain arrives in Scotland.

I got poſſeſſion of a ſmall eſtate left me by a grand uncle, upon which I ſettled, and after marrying I turned farmer, in which occupation I remained ſixteen years, till the war

was

BOOK X. was proclaimed with Spain, when the government wanted engineers. I was on this recommended by his grace the duke of Argyll, to his grace the duke of Montagu, maſter general of the ordnance, who employed me as chief engineer, at twenty ſhillings per day; and was ſent to fortify Providence, one of the Bahama iſlands: ſo that I once more launched out into a new world for the ſake of my family, who were by this time become pretty numerous.

1724.

BOOK XI.

The captain ſent engineer to fortify Providence, and goes out in the Roſe man of war.—Arrives at the iſland of Madeira.—Waits on the Portugueſe governor.—Deſcription of the iſland.—A hard paſſage to Carolina.—Miſſes a fine prize.—A violent ſtorm.—The fortifications at Charleſtown.—Arrive at Providence.—The ruinous condition of fort Naſſau—Short hiſtory of the Bahama Iſlands.—The oppreſſive practices of governor Fitz-William.—Governor Tinker ſucceeds him.—Short account of that gentleman.—The captain prevails on the inhabitants to carry materials for building fort Montagu.—Nature of the ſtone—and maſtich wood.—Deſcription of fort Montagu.—The governor's letter about it.—A quarrel with lieutenant Stewart.—The captain confined,—and ſet at liberty.

THE firſt of July, 1740, I was appointed chief engineer to fortify the Bahama Iſlands, at twenty ſhillings per day. I ſat out from Scotland the 8th of Auguſt, and arrived in London on the 16th; and having received my inſtructions from the board, I was ordered to go out with John Tinker, eſq; who was appointed governor of the Bahama Iſlands, and the Roſe man of war, commanded by Thomas Frankland, eſq. was appointed to carry us there. We embarked the 6th of November, and ſailed the next day from Spithead, where we lay at anchor till the 9th, and then endeavoured to ſail through the Needles, but were obliged, by a contrary wind, to return again to Cowes, where we lay till the 12th; when we ſailed through the Needles, having ſeven veſſels under our convoy, one of which carried ſtores and recruits for the Bahama Iſlands;

1740. The captain ſent engineer to fortify Providence, and goes out in the Roſe man of war.

BOOK XI. 1723.

Iſlands; but the wind proving contrary, we were forced on the 15th to go into Torbay, and as we were going in we obſerved a Spaniſh privateer boarding a merchant-man; we immediately put about, chaſed, and came up with her at 3 p. m. having fired five chace-guns at her, when ſhe ſtruck; as we were then under all our ſails, with a briſk gale, they let us paſs by them without attempting to come on board, and getting under our ſtern, they endeavoured to get away again; on this the captain ordered to fire with ſmall-arms at her, and the fellow that was hoiſting the ſails being ſhot, they put out their boat and came on board. She had only a captain and twenty men on board, and two Engliſh maſters of veſſels, whom they had taken the day before; having ſent her lieutenant and twelve of her hands with her prizes for Spain. They ſeem to have been ill provided with cloaths when they ſet out, for we ſaw none they had but what they had plundered from the Engliſh; they had ſixty-four pounds in money, were well-armed, with plenty of ammunition and proviſions; the Engliſh maſters told us, ſhe was a prime ſailor, had ſixteen oars, and only for the cowardly ſpirit of the crew, it would not have been in our power to come up with her; for they were ſo intimidated, that at every gun we fired, they ſtopt their oars to ſay their *Ave Maria*. Governor Tinker had a narrow eſcape here, for one of his piſtols going off by accident, the ball went through his cloaths.

We got into Torbay the next day, where we found the Argyle, of fifty guns, captain Lingen, bound for Ireland, and the Portmahon, of twenty guns, captain Paulet, for Gibraltar; the next day we burnt our prize, and ſent the

captain on board the Argyle; he was a Genoeſe by birth, had formerly been in our Eaſt India company's ſervice, and as he was well acquainted with our coaſts, we thought it beſt to ſend him to Ireland; at firſt he pretended not to underſtand Engliſh, but as he happened to be known by the maſter of the Roſe, who had ſailed with him to India, he could no longer pretend ignorance of the language. On board the Argyle he endeavoured to bribe the guard to let him eſcape, which was no ſooner diſcovered than he was clapped in irons; the reſt of the priſoners were ſent on ſhore. BOOK XI. 1740.

We left Torbay the 23d of November, and next day had a gale of wind and a heavy ſea, which broke over the ſhip and occaſioned a great rolling: I had then the lieutenant's cabin, where the ſkuttle was forced in, and the water came in and wetted all my cloaths and bedding, which obliged me to ſet up all night: next day we had a violent ſtorm, which made us take in our ſails, lower our top-maſts, and drive before the wind. On the 26th, we entered the bay of Biſcay, and were toſſed about by foul winds in that heavy ſea for ſeveral days, and loſt ſight of all our convoy; at the ſame time a moſt violent epidemic diſtemper raged in our ſhip, by which we loſt a number of the men, ſo that at laſt we were forced to bear away for England again, and arrived at Falmouth the 5th of December.

Here we found the Argyle and Port-Mahon windbound, but none of the ſhips that had been under our convoy were heard of. During our ſtay here, we ſent our ſurgeon and ſeveral of the people aſhore ſick, and got another ſurgeon and nine ſeamen out of a merchantman; and our

BOOK XI. yawl, in going aſhore for water, was ſtaved to pieces, and one of the ſailors dangerouſly hurt, and four of our people deſerted: we paſſed our time agreeably enough on ſhore at this place, having frequent balls and aſſemblies till the 17th, that we put out to ſea again, and had very boiſterous weather for nineteen days ſucceſſively, which increaſed the diſtemper among the people.

1741.

Arrives at the iſland of Madeira.

On the 5th of January we made the iſland of Madeira; but as no body on board had ever been there, except the maſter, he inſiſted it was the iſland of Porto Sancto, which lies fifty-one eaſt from Madeira; and depending on his judgment, we ſtood away to the weſtward, and ſailed two days without diſcovering land, but finding our miſtake, were obliged to return, and arrived at Madeira on the 9th, towards night. The next day we were carried aſhore by the Portugueſe in their boats, none of our own people durſt venture on the great ſurf, which is almoſt continually on the landing-place here even in calm weather. This is a conſiderable advantage to the Portugueſe, who carry every thing on board and aſhore at Madeira. The method they take in landing is this, they keep themſelves very dexterouſly with their oars on the top of a high wave, which carries them a great way on ſhore, where a number of men ſtand ready and pull the boat out of the reach of any ſucceeding wave. In going on board they put the paſſengers and goods into the boat on dry land, and the boatmen ſeat themſelves ready with their oars in their hands, and a ſufficient number of men run with the boat and puſh her upon the top of a wave, and ſo go off without the leaſt difficulty. I could

6 not

not but be ſurpriſed to ſee with how much dexterity this was performed †.

1741. Wait on the Portugueſe governor.

When we came aſhore, I accompanied governor Tinker to wait on the governor of the place; who was ſaluted by a numerous guard, and afterwards conducted by two gentlemen towards the Portugueſe governor, who received us on the top of a high outer ſtair, and carried us into a large hall; Mr. Tinker, with his retinue, being ſeated on one ſide of the room, and the Portugueſe gentlemen on the oppoſite, the Madeira governor took his ſeat directly facing Mr. Tinker, and after exchanging a few words in a very ceremonious manner, we went away, eſcorted with the ſame formalities as we had at entering. We dined with Mr. Baker, the Britiſh conſul, where the Portugueſe governor came after dinner to return governor Tinker's viſit, which was as ſhort and as ceremonious as the former; and here ended all the intercourſe between the two governors. We went next to ſee their churches and monaſteries, conducted by an Iriſh prieſt; next day, we dined with Meſſieurs Scott, merchants, and afterward walked up the ſouth-ſide of the hill, where we ſaw a number of pleaſure-houſes, but particularly that belonging to the providore, where there were three artificial flats below each other in front, with water-works and flower-pots, prettily laid out, although ſmall. All the ſouth-ſide of this iſland is an entire mountain, covered with vines, interſperſed with houſes, and orange, lemon, and other kinds of fruit-trees; the north-ſide of

Deſcription of the iſlands.

† The ſame method is practiſed at Deal, in Kent, when the ſurf is heavy on the beach, which often happens.

BOOK XI

1724.

the mountain is not inhabited, but reſerved for paſturage for their cattle; the inhabitants dwell all along the ſouth-ſhore, and the bay is commanded by two forts, well ſupplied with cannon. The laſt day of our ſtop here, we dined with Mr. Chambers, and ſpent the evening with Mr. Gordon, both merchants; from the latter I bought ſeveral pipes of wine, at eleven pounds five ſhillings the pipe, which I ſent in a ſnow to South Carolina; they put an anchor of brandy into every pipe that goes abroad, both to ſtrengthen and preſerve it.

A hard paſſage to Carolina.

On the 13th of January we went on board, and ſailed in the night, when the captain's French cook jumped overboard and ſwam on ſhore; we had now loſt nineteen men in all ſince we left Spithead; the next day we had a violent ſtorm, and ſuch a heavy ſea, that the waves broke over the quarter-deck in ſuch a manner that the people could not ſtand to their duty, and every bed and hammock in the ſhip were ſoaked with water. The diſtemper began to rage more and more among us; the governor, captain, and moſt of the officers were ſick in bed. All this occaſioned a lowneſs of ſpirit over the ſhip; the ſtorm continued all the 15th, during which we were in a moſt diſagreeable ſituation in our wet clothes. On the 16th, the ſtorm abated, but the ſickneſs increaſed, very few who were ſeiſed eſcaping with life, ſo that the corpſe of ſome one or other was every day committed to the deep. The 17th, we paſt near Teneriffe, and the iſland of Palma; and the 18th, we got into the trade-wind, when we ſteered due weſt; as by this means the ſhip's crew were relieved from their toilſome labour: the ſick were all brought upon deck, the ſhip was tho-

thoroughly cleanſed, by which the ſickneſs very much abated, and the men were encouraged in all ſorts of diverſions, thereby to keep them in perpetual motion. We chaſed ſeveral ſail, but when we got up with them they proved to be either Engliſh or Dutch. On the 31ſt, we were becalmed in lat. 24. 51. north, and ſaw a great number of tropic birds; and this day five more of our people, and a negroe belonging to the captain, died.

Miſs a fine prize.

February the 3d, we had a ſtrong gale, with ſuch a tumbling ſea as made the ſhip roll away her fore-top and top-gallant maſts, which came down upon deck with all their furniture; after this we had tolerably good weather. On the 16th, in the morning, in lat. 30. 46. we chaced a ſhip and got up with her at ten o'clock; ſhe hoiſted Dutch colours and ſtruck on our firing; on coming cloſe up to her, the captain ordered the maſter of her to come on board, but they pretended not to underſtand him; our lieutenant, with twelve men in the ſhaloup, were ſent on board to examine her papers, who reported, that ſhe was a Dutch ſhip from Curacoa for Amſterdam, loaded with dollars and tobacco, and had four French gentlemen paſſengers: we were unanimouſly, however, (except governor Tinker) of opinion, that if ſhe were ſtrictly examined ſhe would prove a lawful prize, and the captain ſeemed determined to ſecure her; Mr. Tinker endeavoured to diſſuade him, by inſinuating the trouble and expence ſeveral captains had brought themſelves into by carrying Dutch ſhips out of their courſe; captain Frankland aſked my opinion: I told him, that if it was my caſe, I would not carry her out of her courſe, but would go along with her till I had narrowly exa-

BOOK XI. examined her: and as I underſtood both the French and Dutch languages, I offered my aſſiſtance; but the governor ſo intimidated the captain, who was but young, and this his firſt voyage as a commanding officer, that he let her paſs without farther enquiry, to the diſſatisfaction of the whole ſhip's company, as we had afterwards certain information of her ſafe arrival at Cadiz, with one hundred and thirty thouſand pounds ſterling on board.

1741.

A violent ſtorm.

On the 18th, at ſix in the morning, in latitude 31 deg. 13 min. we met with a terrible hurricane, attended with heavy rain, thunder, and lightning; it carried away our fore-maſt ſails and all over board, after that our main-top-maſt, and at eight o'clock our mizen-maſt; and as their maſts had got under the ſhip, they were faſtened to her bottom by the wet ſails being thereby in great danger of foundering; at the return of every heavy ſea the ends of our broken maſts and yards ſtruck her bottom with ſuch violence that it was a miracle they did not make their way through. All hands were ſet to work to clear away the rigging, which, when performed, a high wave at laſt relieved us from that incumbrance; and in this pitiful ſituation we were toſſed up and down the remainder of the day, and all the following night. The next day the weather being a little ſettled, we hoiſted our main-ſail and ſet up jury-maſts; we went under theſe till the 26th, when we ſaw a ſhip not far from us, ſtranded on a ſand-bank, and a ſmall ſchooner ſailing along the coaſt; on our firing a gun to bring the ſchooner to, the maſter came on board, and informed us we were at Cape Roman, to the northward of Charleſtown, Carolina; he piloted us to Charleſtown bar, where

1741.

where a pilot from the town came on board. I went in the ſchooner to Charleſtown, where I found this city in a deplorable ſituation, the one half of which had been laid in aſhes by a dreadful fire, and the ruins were ſtill ſmoaking: a vaſt quantity of merchandize, to a very conſiderable amount, was quite conſumed. Our ſhip lying without an opportunity to get over the bar, was driven out to ſea by a land-breeze, which carried away her jury-maſt; two veſſels were ſent out to her aſſiſtance, but it was the 2d of March before ſhe got over the bar: in the time they were driven out to ſea, both the maſter and gunner died. We found here the Phœnix, captain Fanſhaw, and the Tartar, the honourable captain George Townſend, both twenty-gun ſhips, ſtationed at this place, and our ſtore-ſhip, who had puſhed through the bay of Biſcay, made a good voyage to Providence, where ſhe landed her recruits and ſtores, was returned here. The ſnow alſo arriving from Madeira with our wine, I ſold the half of mine, by which I had the other half free.

The gentlemen of the council and aſſembly, and others of Charleſtown, ſhewed us a great deal of civility during our ſtay here, with daily entertainments and balls. The 23d we ſaw their militia reviewed, which conſiſted of ſix companies of one hundred men each; the officers appeared all in uniforms, and the men performed their exerciſe ſurpriſingly well; the review concluded with an elegant entertainment and a ball at night. The next day I went with governor Tinker, and the captains Townſend and Frankland, by invitation, to colonel Vander Duſſen's plantation, where we ſpent ſome days very agreeably; after

our

BOOK XI.

1741. The fortifications at Charleſtown.

our return to town, we went to view Johnſon's fort, which ſtands two miles from the town, and commands the paſſage into the harbour. At our arrival the governor was ſaluted with eleven eighteen-pounders. This fort is a triangle, badly executed, mounted with twelve ſix-pounders; below it is the ſea battery mounted with thirty guns, nine, twelve, and eighteen-pounders: on our departure we were ſaluted with eleven nine-pounders. Upon a point of land at the ſouth end of the town, ſtand Broughton's battery, which commands both Cooper and Aſhley rivers, and is mounted with forty-five guns, nine, twelve, and eighteen-pounders; and betwixt Grenville and Craven baſtions, upon the curtain along the bay fronting Cooper river, there are one hundred and thirty guns of different ſizes, the carriages of ſeveral of which were burnt in the late fire. There was but one braſs mortar of eleven inches, and eight cohorns, all the reſt having been ſent to general Oglethorpe, on his expedition againſt St. Auguſtine.

Governor Tinker finding it would be yet a conſiderable time before the Roſe man of war could be fit to go to ſea, deſired Commodore Fanſhaw to ſend the Tartar to carry us to Providence; which he complied with, and we went on board on the 10th of April. We ſtruck ſeveral times going over the bar, but received no injury from it; we had a pleaſant paſſage till the 19th, in the evening, when ſitting after ſupper, and all very chearful, we were alarmed by the call of breakers, by one of the people; captain Townſend immediately ran upon deck, and ordered the helm a lee, which was inſtantly done, and the ſails were ſhifted with great regularity and expedition, not a

voice

voice was heard but the captain's; and when the ſhip was about, one might eaſily have thrown a ſtone from the ſtern upon the rocks of Abbaco: it happened very luckily to be fine moon light. Mr. Buckle, the lieutenant, who was then in bed preparing himſelf for the night watch, upon comparing his reckoning with the pilot's, apprehended we were twenty leagues to the weſtward of the iſland of Abbaco; but the ſtrong currents that run here occaſioned the miſtake. Next day captain Townſend loſt a very fine black boy, who coming up with a kettle of boiling water, fell with it, and ſcalded himſelf in ſuch a manner, that he died ſoon after, to the great regret of his maſter.

Arrive at Providence.

On the 21ſt of April, juſt as we had got over the bar at Providence, a ſudden ſtorm of loud thunder and lightning, with a prodigious heavy rain, burſt upon us, with ſuch a terrible noiſe, that we could not hear the ſalute of the cannon of the fort, although we were oppoſite to it, which ſome people conſidered as very ominous. On our landing we were met on the ſhore by great numbers of the inhabitants, convened to congratulate their new governor on his ſafe arrival on the iſland, expecting, as they expreſſed themſelves, to live under a milder government than they had experienced under the arbitrary power of their late governor.

Captain Laws, who commanded a ſloop of war ſtationed at this place, and who had loſt his rank by accepting the command of the ſloop, expecting our arrival, and to ſhun his being under the command of a junior officer, went a few days before our arrival to Jamaica, and left his ready-furniſhed houſe (one of the beſt in the town) for

BOOK XI. my uſe, having paid his year's rent (at twenty pounds ſterling per annum), of which there was nine months to come, for which I was certainly much obliged to him; it had alſo a garden with a large grove of orange trees.

1741.

There was an independent company at this place, conſiſting of one hundred and fifty men, of which the governor is captain; with three lieutenants, the oldeſt of whom was John Howel. Mr. Howel was now preſident of the Bahama iſlands; he had formerly been a ſurgeon to the pirates, and upon an act of grace, he purchaſed the lieutenancy, and was alſo ſurgeon to the company, and colonel of the militia for the ſake of the title. The ſecond lieutenant was William Stuart, who was major of the militia; this gentleman acted in a double capacity, having purchaſed the ſurgency from the former; but the governor made him part with the ſurgency to James Irving, who came with us from Charleſtown. The third was William Moone, who came from London in the ſtoreſhip with the recruits; Mr. Moone had no commiſſion, but acted under the governor's warrant a conſiderable time, in expectation of one; of which he was at laſt diſappointed by the arrival of Patrick Dromgole, a nephew of the former governor's, with a commiſſion for third lieutenant, which was a very great hardſhip to Mr. Moone. The only people of note here, were chief juſtice Rowland; James Scott, ſecretary and clerk of the admiralty; John Keowin, provoſt marſhal; Chaloner Jackſon, collector; and Mr. Smith, the parſon.

The ruinous condition of Fort Naſſau.

Upon viewing fort Naſſau, I found it in a very ruinous condition; the barracks, which were built of wood, were ready to tumble down, and there was no other building within

within the fort; the powder magazine was a houſe which ſtood at ſome diſtance from it, expoſed in ſuch a manner that any body might ſet fire to it. I found no more than ſixteen guns, mounted upon very bad carriages; the reſt were all ſcattered up and down, and ſome buried within high water mark in the ſand, ſome of which were ſpiked up, others rammed full of ſtones and ſand; the carriages trucks and ſhot were alſo diſperſed, ſo that with much difficulty I collected them together: the inhabitants had made uſe of great part of them for ballaſt in their veſſels. Having got them all collected in one place, I drilled thoſe that had been nailed up, cleaned the whole from ruſt, and proved them by firing, I had now fifty-four guns of ſix, nine, twelve, and eighteen-pounders, fit for ſervice, and mounted them on the new carriages which came out of the ſtore-ſhip from England. My greateſt difficulty was the want of maſons, of whom there was not one in the place, which obliged me to commiſſion ſome from the northern colonies; but all I could get were two bricklayers from Philadelphia, who knew nothing of maſonry. So that I had the trouble of teaching them and ſome of the ſoldiers, to form, cut, and lay ſtones; and as no labourers were to be got without finding them in proviſions, which were not to be procured here, as the inhabitants themſelves lived principally on tortoiſe and fiſh, (any kind of fleſh-meat being a great rarity,) I was obliged to ſend to New York for proviſions. The former governor, as well as the preſent, had provided a quantity of lime; ſo that my next concern was to provide ſtone for a new fort. The harbour is formed by Hog Iſland, which is three miles in

BOOK XI. 1741.

length; and as the enemy in attempting to deſtroy this ſettlement, had commonly landed at the eaſt end of the harbour, within three miles of Naſſau, I reſolved to build my new fort at this place, as the moſt eſſential to prevent ſuch inſults in future, where, as the entrance is not a gun-ſhot broad, the harbour would be ſufficiently ſecured. The iſland of Providence is twenty-ſeven miles long, and eleven broad, and is ſo entirely ſurrounded by innumerable ſunken rocks, that it is impoſſible for any ſhips to land, except in the harbour; and if an enemy were to land in boats, it would be impoſſible for them to get through the underwoods, without cutting a road through them. There are no inhabitants on any of the other iſlands, excepting Eluthera and Harbour-Iſlands.

The departure of the honourable captain George Townſend, on his return to Carolina, on the 16th of May, left this place very lonely; the officers and ſeamen being commonly on ſhore, had greatly enlivened it while they remained. In the mean time, that I was providing materials for building the fort, I made it my buſineſs to enquire into the firſt ſettlement, and the nature of thoſe iſlands; and the following particulars are what I collected.

Short hiſtory of the Bahama Iſlands.

The Bahama Iſlands are ſome hundreds in number, but the far greateſt part are very inconſiderable; they are ſituated between the 22d and 23d deg. north lat. they were originally diſcovered by the Spaniards, and St. Salvadore, now called Cat-Iſland, was the firſt land Columbus ſet his foot on this new world, which was in the year 1493, and where are ſtill to be ſeen the ruins and foundations of their chapels and other buildings; for their firſt ſettlements were here, till

the natives, who wore plates of gold upon their lips, being aſked by ſigns whence it came, pointed towards the ſouth-weſt; and theſe iſlands came to be deſerted for the mines of Mexico and Peru. The cruelty exerciſed by the Spaniards over theſe poor people, both during their ſtay amongſt them, and afterwards from Cuba, exceeds all imagination, they having trained up dogs to hunt thoſe unhappy people as their proper game; and this cruel ſport they followed till they had entirely deſtroyed all the inhabitants.

About the year 1607, theſe iſlands were again diſcovered by captain William Sayle (afterwards governor of Carolina), and granted by king Charles II. to ſix of the proprietors of Carolina, viz. the duke of Albemarle, lord Craven, ſir John Carteret, lord Berkeley, lord Aſhley, and ſir Peter Coleton; but as people are more deſirous to obtain grants of land than careful to improve them, they have been very much neglected ever ſince. Several lawleſs people at that time had taken poſſeſſion of Providence, which lies in 25 deg. north latitude, to which they were encouraged by its very commodious harbour; and being joined by ſeveral pirates, they ſubſiſted by their depredations on the coaſts of Cuba which they called *buccaneering*: beſides this they enriched themſelves by the frequent wrecks happening upon the Bahama banks. Theſe practices naturally exaſperated the Spaniards to the reſolution of deſtroying thoſe buccaneers, and the proprietors in all that time took no notice of their iſlands, but let them live as they pleaſed, till the year 1670, that they appointed Mr. Collingworth to be governor; but, after his arrival, in endeavouring to reform them, they

ſeized

BOOK XI. ſeized and ſhipped him off for Jamaica, not being willing to ſubject themſelves to any government.

1741. In 1677, the proprietors appointed Mr. Clarke to be their governor, but he fared infinitely worſe than his predeceſſor; for the Spaniards, jealous of every Engliſh colony, landed in Providence, where they ſeized the governor, burnt all the houſes, deſtroyed the ſtock, and took all the inhabitants they could catch, the reſt hiding themſelves in the woods; they carried off Mr. Clark in chains, and afterwards tortured him to death, and then roaſted him.

When Mr. Lilburn was governor, in the year 1684, the Spaniards again ſurpriſed the place, deſtroyed all their improvements, carried away a number of the inhabitants with the ſame barbarity as before, and left thoſe that eſcaped in a miſerable condition, diſperſed in holes and in the woods, without any manner of government till 1687. They reaſſembled and renewed their ſettlements, and choſe Mr. Bridges, a preſbyterian miniſter, for their governor, under whom they lived three years. The lords proprietors ſent out Mr. Jones to be their governor in 1690, who oppreſſed and tyranniſed over the inhabitants with a very high hand, in which he reckoned himſelf perfectly ſecure by the aſſiſtance of Avery the pirate, who commanded a ſhip of forty-ſix guns, and one hundred and twenty ſtout ſeamen; but, in his abſence, the inhabitants put the governor in priſon, and choſe Mr. Aſhley for their preſident, till Mr. Jones could be brought to his trial: but upon the return of the pirates from a cruize he was by them ſet again at liberty: after which he behaved much worſe than before, and impriſoned all

thoſe he ſuſpected; deſiring the pirates to carry them off the iſland and make away with them.

1741.

Theſe proceedings coming to the ears of the proprietors, they ſent Mr. Trot as their governor, to ſupercede Jones, in 1694, and immediately releaſed the impriſoned inhabitants; he alſo allowed Jones to go off the iſland without a legal trial, to the no ſmall grief and vexation of the inhabitants: he likewiſe ſuffered Avery the pirate, who changed his name to Bridgeman, to ſhelter himſelf and his crew at Providence: their ſhip, called the Fancy, was voluntarily loſt, and the effects which they had pirated from the great mogul, were landed and ſhared, with which they ſettled upon the iſland, till a proclamation againſt pirates obliged the governor to ſummons them before ſuch a court of juſtice as he had in Providence: but, for want of power, and the pirates being now joined with the inhabitants, he durſt not try them, for fear of being himſelf murdered, for he had often mutinies during his government. The inhabitants, after this joined, and built a ſmall fort, and planted it with twenty-two cannon, to protect themſelves againſt the frequent invaſions of the Spaniards, and alſo built a town of one hundred and ſixty houſes, which they called Naſſau.

In 1697, Mr. Jones was ſucceeded by Mr. Webb, as governor, who continued in it two years, and in that ſhort time found means to render himſelf ſo obnoxious to the people, that he found himſelf obliged to ſhip off his effects and go to Penſylvania; from whence, without the knowledge of the proprietors, he deputed one Elding, a mulatto, to ſucceed him, in 1699; by virtue of which deputation, he had the aſſurance to act as governor, notwithſtanding he

was

BOOK XI. was a perſon of a moſt infamous character: but by keeping up a correſpondence with a new ſet of pirates, who frequented the Bahamas, he, by their aſſiſtance, maintained himſelf in this government two years, till

1741.

1701, the lords proprietors appointed Mr. Haſket, governor; who, on his arrival, proſecuted and confined Elding, with ſeveral others, under pretence of enforcing the laws againſt pirates and their abettors. In this the inhabitants thought Mr. Haſket acted with too great ſeverity, and too much regard to his own intereſt, and not having ſtrength to ſupport his authority, they, in open rebellion, in about five weeks after his arrival on the iſland, ſeiſed and confined him in irons a cloſe priſoner ſix weeks; but being prevailed upon to ſpare his life, they put him on board a ketch in the harbour, with ſtrict orders to the commander to carry Mr. Haſket to England, from whence he came; and choſe one Lichtwood, who was one of their accomplices, for their preſident and deputy-governor in his room. Lichtwood continued in his office about two years, till the French and Spaniards, in 1703, when they were at open war with England, ſurpriſed the iſland ſo completely, that they found the inhabitants feaſting with their preſident, and their neglected fort without any garriſon. The enemy deſtroyed the fort, ſpiked the guns, burnt the town and church, plundered the inhabitants, ſome of whom, and ſome negroes, hid themſelves in the woods, and carried their deputy-governor, with many others, priſoners to the Havannah. Shortly after this, thoſe formidable enemies returned again, and carried away all the inhabitants and negroes they could find,

find, the few who eſcaped fled to Carolina and Virginia, leaving the iſland entirely deſolate. BOOK XI.

1741.

It was afterwards for ſome years the reſort of pirates only, who made it their general rendezvous: they dug holes in the ground in the woods, and hid their ill-gotten treaſures there, where they remained, as many of them were killed or died at ſea; and ſome part of their depoſits are now and then occaſionally diſcovered to this day.

Soon after this deſolation, the proprietors appointed Mr. Birch to ſucceed Mr. Harket, as governor; but on Mr. Birch's arrival at Providence, and finding the iſland quite deſerted of inhabitants he returned. From this time the lord's proprietors have not concerned themſeves in thoſe iſlands, but gave up their right in them to the crown, having met with nothing but expence and trouble while under their direction.

The king was ſolicited by the merchants of London and Briſtol to fortify thoſe iſlands, as a ſecurity to their trade; and, in compliance with their requeſt, his majeſty (George I.) appointed Mr. Wood Rogers, their governor, and ſent him out with an independent company of one hundred men, with a large quantity of all kind of ſtores to fortify the place. On Mr. Rogers's arrival, in 1717, the pirates voluntarily ſurrendered themſelves to him, and accepted the benefit of an act of indemnity which had been paſt, and have ever ſince been the principal inhabitants of the iſland. Under the moderate governments of Mr. Rogers, and his ſucceſſor, Mr. Finney, the people found themſelves happy, and many families came and ſettled here, beſides many Palatines, who, by their induſtry and improvements upon

BOOK XI. their plantations, furniſhed the markets with all ſorts of proviſions.

1741. The oppreſſive practices of governor Fitz William.

After Mr. Finney's death, Richard Fitz William, eſq. was appointed governor, in 1733, who brought an addition of fifty men to the independent company, with a large quantity of all ſorts of ſtores, and an engineer (Mr. Thomas More), to fortify the place; but his ſudden death prevented him from making any great progreſs in the work. The governor exerted ſo arbitrary and tyrannical a power, that the beſt of the inhabitants, and all the Palatines, withdrew from the iſland, forſaking their fine improvements, to ſhelter themſelves in other parts, where they were ſure to meet with better uſage. The governor's agents for putting thoſe oppreſſive ſchemes in execution were, lieutenant Stuart, one of the council; James Scott, judge of the admiralty; and one Archibald, his ſervant, who uſed to knock down any one who dared to refuſe to enter into the governor's meaſures: on which three of the moſt conſiderable inhabitants found means to get to London, where they entered a complaint againſt the governor before the king and council. They were Mr. Colburgh, collector Jackſon, and Mr. White; their petition, too long to be here inſerted, contained many charges of a very extraordinary nature againſt the governor.

Governor Tinker ſucceeds him.

In conſequence of which, Mr. Fitz William was ſome time after ordered to return, to make his defence; and, after a tedious and expenſive trial, he loſt his government, and was ſucceeded by John Tinker, eſq. who, upon his ſetting out, was determined to make the people eaſy and happy under his government; and to turn out all Mr. Fitz William's favourites, eſpecially thoſe who had adviſed and aſſiſted him

in

in his oppreſſions; of which he made a beginning at Charles-town with his ſecond lieutenant, William Stuart, who was there at our arrival, whom he obliged to diſpoſe of his ſurgency to James Irving, lately arrived from Guinea in a ſhip with ſlaves; and when Mr. Tinker arrived at Providence, he turned out the two lieutenants, Howel and Stuart, the one from being lieutenant-colonel, the other major, in the militia, and appointed two of the chief inhabitants in their room. James Scott was diſplaced from being chief judge, and Mr. Rowland was re-inſtated; with many other changes, to the great joy and ſatisfaction of all the inhabitants, who now expected to enjoy their own in ſafety.

John Tinker, eſq. had formerly been factor to the South-Sea-Company at Panama, and afterwards appointed, by the African Company, governor of Cape Coaſt, in Guinea.

The council at Providence, at this time, conſiſted only of three; the lieutenants Howel and Stuart, and John Snow, the governor's ſecretary: the uſual number is ſix. To ſupply this deficiency, the governor propoſed to captain Frankland and me to be of his council, which we both declined; but we both accepted to be choſen members of the aſſembly, which conſiſted of twenty in number, and of which James Scott was the ſpeaker; ſo that collector Boothby, and Mr. Thomſon, one of the inhabitants, were appointed to be of the council.

The captain prevails on the inhabitants to carry the materials for building Fort Montagu.

In the mean time I was employing myſelf in providing materials for erecting fort Montagu, on the eaſt point of the harbour, three miles from Naſſau. As the lime which the two governors had provided was at too great a diſtance, I made lime upon the ſpot. I found great inconvenience in providing ſtone,

BOOK XI. 1741.

which was to be carried from the woods on the heads of the negroes; and as they could not carry a ſtone of any ſize, it would have proved an endleſs work, there being no ſuch thing as a wheel carriage in the iſland. Mr. Bullock, one of the inhabitants, arrived here on the 8th of June, from the Havannah, where he had been ſome time a priſoner, who aſſured us that the Spaniards were fitting out two men of war, of 80 guns each, and three large gallies, full of men, to make a deſcent on Providence. Upon this I took the opportunity to lay the defenceleſs ſtate of the iſland before the aſſembly; aſſuring them, that if they would ſupply me with materials, I would, in a ſhort time, put the eaſt ſide of the harbour in a poſture of defence, as that was the place where we had the moſt to fear, having always been the enemy's landing place: to this requeſt they unanimouſly agreed, and ordered all their veſſels and boats to bring me a ſufficient quantity of ſtones of proper ſizes for erecting the fort, and alſo a number of maſtich trees, for palliſades. This very ſoon enabled me to employ all my own hands upon the building, which I carried on with the utmoſt diſpatch and diligence.

Upon the 10th of June the governor laid the foundation ſtone, in the preſence of the principal inhabitants, and named the fort Montagu, and the ſea battery Bladen's Battery.

Nature of the ſtone.

All the ſtone on this and the adjacent iſlands is of ſo ſoft a nature, when raiſed from the quarries, that we could cut and ſhape them into any form with very little labour; and after they have been ſome time expoſed in the open air, they turn hard as flint, with this excellent property, that in firing into the walls, the ball lodges as in a mud wall, without

making the leaſt breach; this I proved by ſeveral ſhot from an eighteen-pounder. I found no ſmall difficulty in getting freſh water for the mortar; I was at firſt ſupplied by a ſmall pool of rain water, but when that was dried up, I had recourſe to digging a well through this ſoft rock; and getting as low as the level of the ſea, we found water very freſh, by the ſea water having filtered through the ſtone, and left its ſaline particles behind. We found afterwards that the farther we dug from the ſea, the water proved to be ſo much the freſher. The maſters of veſſels provided themſelves with filtering ſtones, which contained ſeveral gallons, to rectify their ſpoiled water on board. The maſtich wood, which the inhabitants delivered for paliſades, was as hard and heavy as iron; I was obliged to form them while the wood was green, for when they are fully dry, there is no poſſibility of working them. The inhabitants affirmed to me that they would laſt above a century: they are ſo hard that a muſket-ball makes no impreſſion on them; they aſſured me they were proof againſt ſwivel ſhot, but this I did not think proper to try.

And maſtich wood.

Fort Montagu and Bladen's Battery were finiſhed the latter end of July, 1742, and mounted eight 18, three 9, and ſix 6 pounders. Within the fort is a terraſſed ciſtern, containing thirty tons of rain water, and ſo contrived as to receive all that falls within the fort, with a drain to carry off the ſuperfluous water; there are barracks for officers and ſoldiers, a guard room, and a powder magazine, bomb proof, to contain ninety-five barrels of powder; two of its ſides are cloſe upon the ſea, and the two land ſides are well ſecured by maſtich palliſades.

A deſcription of Fort Montagu.

When

BOOK XI. 1742.

When the fort was finiſhed, I invited the governor and principal inhabitants to it, and then delivered his excellency the keys thereof, under a diſcharge of all the cannon. The the governor and the inhabitants were now extremely well pleaſed to conſider themſelves in a condition to repel the invaſion of an enemy, as the back door through which the place had often been ſurpriſed, was now ſhut up; and in this good humour the governor wrote the following letter to the duke of Montagu.

New Providence, Aug. 28, 1742.

"My Lord,

The governor's letter about it.

"I ſhould have preſented my duty to your grace much "ſooner, but waited till captain Bruce had finiſhed the fort, "which I have taken the liberty of calling by your grace's "illuſtrious name, as a mark of reſpect and veneration due "to your grace's perſon and merit. It is ſituated ſo as to "guard the eaſtern part of this iſland very ſecurely, and is "as ſtrong as any thing of its ſize can be: and I muſt do "the gentleman who has the direction of thoſe works, the "juſtice to ſay, I believe the public money was never more "frugally or more juſtly adminiſtered; which is a proof of "your grace's excellent judgment in the choice of men. He "is now engaged about the other works, at fort Naſſau; "and as he propoſes to lay before your grace, and the board "of ordnance, the abſolute neceſſity there will be of erect-"ing a ſtrong redoubt, in order to complete the well-forti-"fying of this iſland, a farther ſum of money will be want-"ing than the ſixteen hundred pounds already allowed;

" which will be ſoon laid out in raiſing the old fort from
" the ruinous condition it lies in now. I think, by the
" neareſt eſtimate we can make, there will be ſtill wanting
" two thouſand five hundred pounds; which, when your
" grace is pleaſed to compare with the mighty ſum that Mr.
" Moore's plan would have taken to put in execution, I hope
" this will be thought a trifle; eſpecially when the ill conſe-
" quence of ſuch a place falling into an enemy's hands, is
" taken into conſideration. We may ſet them at defiance
" if theſe works are all completed in the manner propoſed;
" becauſe I am perſuaded this will then be the ſtrongeſt poſ-
" ſeſſion in Britiſh America: always ſuppoſing a proper
" garriſon will be eſtabliſhed, which cannot be leſs than three
" hundred men. Fort Montagu requires an officer and fifty
" men for its ordinary guard; your grace will ſee the im-
" poſſibility of doing the common duty with only one in-
" dependent company, our whole force at preſent.

" I have preſented a memorial to the board, praying for
" a ſupply of powder and ſmall arms, which, I hope, will
" not be thought unreaſonable, when it ſhall appear fifty
" barrels were ſent to general Oglethorpe before he went to
" St. Auguſtine, and two mortars, which have never been
" returned, and now I believe he has uſe enough for them.

" I have alſo intelligence, that if the Spaniards ſucceed at
" Georgia, they will fall upon us next. I humbly aſk par-
" don for this freedom, and only beg your grace will be
" pleaſed to take the Bahama Iſlands and their governor
" under your protection.

" (Signed) JOHN TINKER."

BOOK XI.

1742.

A quarrel with lieutenant Stuart.

At the delivery of the before mentioned materials by the inhabitants, it was hinted to me, by way of friendly advice, to ſtate the ſame to the government's account, as that could not be looked on as a breach of truſt; but as I was determined not to enter into any unlawful ſchemes, I rejected the propoſal. A club had been inſtituted to meet once a week at a tavern, and at our third meeting, which happened ſoon after this friendly propoſal, a diſpute aroſe between me and lieutenant Stuart; and when his excellency ſaw the diſpute beginning to grow warm, he abſented himſelf; on which, averſe to any farther altercation, I went home. Next morning, at day break, looking out at my window, I ſaw Stuart riding paſt, armed with ſword and piſtols; I aſked him where he had been ſo early in the morning, accoutred in that manner; he replied I had certainly forgot that I had given him a challenge the night before; I told him I could remember no ſuch thing; but ſince that was the caſe, as he ſaid, I would immediately put on my cloaths, and attend him wherever he pleaſed; obſerving to him my ſurprize how he came to paſs and repaſs under my windows, knowing I was aſleep in bed, without either calling or ſending to acquaint me with his deſign: he then replied, ſince I did not remember my giving him a challenge, he had nothing to ſay, as he did not intend to have any quarrel with me; that it was great folly for people to involve themſelves in needleſs dangers; and wiſhing me a good morning, he went home.

The captain confined.

About three hours after, as I was walking along the bay, in my morning dreſs, with half of a ſtick in my hand, ſplit down the middle, and had got oppoſite the governor's windows,

dows, Stuart came up with me, and knocked me down; upon recovering myſelf, I hit him with the edge of my half ſtick ſuch a blow, that it laid his cheek open from his ear to his mouth; on which judge Rowland, and ſeveral of the inhabitants, who had been witneſſes to Stuart's treacherous inſult, came and parted us; and, upon my ſervant's bringing me my ſword and piſtols, we were both ſecured by the guard, and had ſentries placed at our doors: there I remained a priſoner for a fortnight, without the governor's enquiring into the merits of the caſe, or offering to give me the leaſt ſatisfaction for the inſult I had met with in his view; but he was every day with Stuart, who ſeemed to me to be only detained a priſoner by way of a blind.

And ſet at liberty.

As the workmen could do nothing without I ſhewed them daily how to proceed, it in courſe put a ſtop to the works, which occaſioned a very loud clamour among the inhabitants, who had contributed ſo much towards getting theſe works expeditiouſly carried on; on which the governor ſent for me, and propoſed an accommodation between Stuart and me; who, he ſaid, had offered to acknowledge his fault, and aſk my pardon in public, and in as ample a manner as I ſhould think fit: but I told the governor that as I had been in a manner aſſaſſinated in his own ſight, I could not but have expected to have been redreſſed by him; inſtead of which I had been puniſhed by two weeks confinement; and as I was ſatisfied there was no ſafety for my perſon, I ſhould be obliged either to leave the iſland, or put a ſtop to the works till farther orders from England. Upon this the governor propoſed, that ſince he had certain intelligence of the determination of the Spaniards to invade this iſland, I ſhould

BOOK XI. 1724.

proceed to put the place in a poſture of deſence; and he would engage his word and honour, ſince nothing elſe would ſatisfy me, that as ſoon as fort Naſſau was finiſhed, he would order Stuart to any place, out of the iſland, I pleaſed for my ſatisfaction, upon condition I ſhould make no attempt againſt him till then; to which conditions I agreed, and proceeded with the works again with the utmoſt diligence; but never without my ſword and piſtols, thereby to prevent my being attacked again in ſuch a villainous manner.

BOOK XII.

The treatment of two privateers and their owners.—Letter from lieutenant Moone.—Letter from a friend.—Letter from lieutenant Dromgole.—Diviſion of the quick-ſilver.—The captain applies again to the aſſembly to bring the materials.—The aſſembly withdraw the governor's ſalary.—Letter from lieutenant Moone.—Another from Charleſtown.—Letter from governor Glen.—Produce of the Bahama iſlands, and the adjacent ſea.—Obſervations on St. Salvador and the Bimini iſlands.—The inhabitants of Providence.—Deſcription of fort Naſſau—Coſt of both forts.—The captain leaves Providence.—Arrives at Charleſtown.—His report of the ſtrength of Charleſtown.—A viſit from a Cherokee king.—Captain Frankland's rich prize.—A ſhort deſcription of Carolina.—The captain ſails for England.—Arrives at London.

1742. Treatment of two privateers and their owners.

IN the month of September a rich Spaniſh regiſter ſhip and ſettee were brought in by John Sibbald, of the George ſchooner, and William Dowall, of the Joſeph and Mary ſloop, both privateers from Philadelphia; the captains of the privateers were recommended to Mr. Tinker's protection by governor Thomas, of Philadelphia, and ſeveral conſiderable merchants of that place, their owners. A few days after the prizes were brought in, a flag of truce arrived from the Havannah, ſent by the governor and royal company there, to redeem the regiſter ſhip, whoſe cargo amounted to one hundred and fifty thouſand pieces of eight, prime coſt at Cadiz, beſides ſome valuable private trade, not belonging to the royal company, computed at thirty thouſand pieces of eight; the ſettee was loaded with quick-ſilver, wine, and

BOOK XII. other goods. As governor Tinker was empowered by the owners to bargain for the prizes for their account, he agreed with don Pedro de Leſtrado, who came from the Havannah for that purpoſe, to deliver him the regiſter ſhip and her cargo for ninety thouſand pieces of eight; and the private trade, and the ſettee were reſerved for the owners of the privateers, don Pedro having only orders to redeem the royal company's effects. So the Spaniards gained ſixty thouſand pieces of eight by the cargo, beſides the value of the ſhip, which was a fine new one, built in the river Thames, and taken by the Spaniards in her firſt voyage. As the money for the purchaſe was to be procured at the Havannah, don Pedro returned in the flag of truce for that purpoſe, accompanied by John Snow, the governor's ſecretary, and ſeveral Spaniſh priſoners, captured by captain Frankland.

1742.

In the mean time, the privateers' men were encouraged on ſhore with rioting and drinking, thereby to run them in debt; and as none of them would go on board to do the work, the captains and officers of the privateers were obliged to do all the neceſſary duty on board the veſſels, themſelves. The captains applied to the governor to order the people on board to their duty, but all in vain; inſtead of that, they were encouraged to inſult and affront them on all occaſions. At length don Pedro Feron arrived from the Havannah, with thirty cheſts of pieces of eight, each cheſt containing three thouſand; which he delivered in full payment for the ſhip and cargo, and got poſſeſſion of her, after all the private trade was taken out. With don Pedro Feron came another don, with plenty of money, to purchaſe the private trade, and the privateers were to eſcort the regiſter ſhip to

the Havannah; but the captains could perſuade very few of the men to go on board, which obliged them to hire ſeamen at very extravagant wages, their people on ſhore being encouraged to ſpend liberally, that they might take none of their prize money away with them, and they departed for the Havannah on the 8th of February, 1743.

On the return of the privateers, the captains were determined not to enter this harbour again, and came to an anchor at a place called Salt Keys; they came both on ſhore to demand their money, which was in the governor's cuſtody, and likewiſe the ſettee, and private trade; but his excellency told them he would oblige them to ſhare here, as their people owed conſiderable ſums to the inhabitants of Providence; which debts the captains offered to pay, and ſaid when that ſhould be done, they hoped to have liberty to depart for their proper port. But a party of drunken fellows, inſtigated by ſome intereſted perſons, took a pilot and his boat, and went on board the two veſſels, and brought them into the harbour, upon a pretence that the captains had a deſign to deprive them of their prize money, which they ought now to prevent, aſſuring them, at the ſame time, they would come to no harm thereby, as they were to be ſupported by the leading men of the iſland. On this they went on board, confined their officers, brought in the veſſels, and threatened to cut the officers in pieces if they did not ſhare the prizes immediately.

On this the captains went to the governor, and repreſented their caſe to him, and begged his protection againſt ſuch a dangerous mutiny of the people; and that he would order them on board to do their duty, not doubting but as

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BOOK XII. ſoon as they got ſober, they would behave as they ought. The governor then told them he had been petitioned by Mr. Ellis, to whom they were in debt, and the whole body of the inhabitants, to have every thing ſhared here, which, in juſtice to them, he could not refuſe. Upon this the captains ſhewed the governor the articles ſigned by all the men, of both veſſels, obliging themſelves to ſhare no where but at Philadelphia; and aſſured him that moſt of them had families there, who had been ſupplied by the owners upon the faith of theſe prizes; and that many of them were indentured ſervants, whoſe half ſhares belonged to their maſters, ſo that it was impoſſible for them to conſent to the diſtribution here, not knowing what debts they owed at home; but they were willing and ready to pay what debts the people owed in this place, although they underſtood they were very conſiderable.

1743.

The governor told them, ſince they would not give their conſent to the ſharing, he would order it to be done; on this the people were adviſed to conſtitute James Irving their agent, with an allowance of 5 per cent. and, when that was ſettled, his excellency ſent twenty cheſts of dollars, being ſixty thouſand pieces of eight, to Mr. Irving's houſe, to be divided amongſt the people; which the agent did in ſuch an arbitrary manner, that the officers, if they offered to make the leaſt remonſtrance, were treated with the utmoſt indignity; of which they frequently complained to the governor, who as often replied, that "he would not concern himſelf with their private quarrels;" his uſual reply to all complaints on ſimilar occaſions.

Mr.

Mr. John Snow, the ſecretary, now returned from the Havannah with ſeveral Engliſh priſoners in exchange for the Spaniards he carried there, and twelve more, whoſe diſcharge don Pedro Feron complimented me with, in return for ſome little civilities I ſhewed him while he reſided here; of the twelve, ten were maſters of ſhips, and one a ſurgeon. Mr. Snow brought with him four cheſts of dollars (or twelve thouſand pieces of eight), as it was reported, for the governor, and a purſe with one thouſand quadruple piſtoles, a gold hilted ſword, a gold-headed cane, gold buckles and buttons, beſides many other valuable preſents; and as the cheſts with the money could not be brought privately on ſhore, it was given out that the governor had ſent rials in exchange for the dollars; but every body ſaw through this thin pretext, for it was very well known there were not ſo many rials on the whole iſland; beſides, there was at this time above one hundred thouſand dollars in the place, as the Spaniards had brought plenty with them to purchaſe the private trade and naval ſtores.

When the officers of the privateers, who had ventured their lives for this prize, found they could obtain no juſtice, they petitioned his excellency, that now, ſince the money was ſhared, he would be pleaſed to let them depart with the ſettee and her cargo, with the private trade, which he promiſed to do upon his word and honour; but they were detained from time to time, under various pretences, till the people had ſpent all their ſhares, which were four hundred and fifty dollars a man; and which they did in a very ſhort time, by gaming and throwing it away as faſt as they got it. They were again encouraged by their agents to petition the

BOOK XII. the governor, that the quick-ſilver, and other goods on board the ſettee, and the private trade, might be ſhared alſo; which was accordingly ordered to be done.

1743.

The captains finding there was no end of theſe ſingular proceedings, got the ten cheſts of money reſerved for the owners, as their one third ſhare of what was divided before, hired the Engliſh ſailors, which came from the Havannah, to man their veſſels, and ſailed from hence, leaving all the reſt of the property behind. Captain Dowall ſpringing his main-maſt, was obliged to return here to get it repaired, and thought it prudent to take whatever ſhare they pleaſed to give him, rather than run the riſque of loſing all. The poor ſailors, when their money was all gone, curſed and damned this government; but they ſoon found to their coſt, now all their money was ſpent, that inſtead of being courted as formerly, they were thrown into jail, and very exorbitant fees exacted from them. Some were relieved by the humanity of their ſhipmates, who had a little money left; and two of them, who were bricklayers, I redeemed, by paying their debts, and employed them on the works, where they continued till they were finiſhed. Some of the ſoldiers having got money on this occaſion, it was hinted to them, that whoever could pay one hundred dollars, might have his diſcharge; on which ſeveral did purchaſe it at that price.

Dr. Irving now began to build a fine new houſe, and, thinking every thing he did was lawful, went to the fort and ordered ſeveral of the labourers to go to his houſe to dig a cellar. The overſeer would not allow any of the people to leave the works, without an order from the engineer;

Irving

Irving took the tools out of the men's hands, and ordered them to be carried to his houſe. The overſeer, in endeavouring to prevent it, was miſerably beaten, and had his head cut in ſeveral places; he came to me, all covered over with blood, to complain of the hard uſage he had met with; I ſent him, in that pickle, to judge Rowland, to enter his complaint againſt the aggreſſor; but he was no ſooner before the judge, than Irving followed, who beat the overſeer again, before the judge's face. As ſoon as I heard how the poor man had been abuſed, in a place where he ought to have found protection and redreſs, I went directly to the governor to ſeek redreſs, but was anſwered with his uſual cant, "that he would not concern himſelf with private quar-"rels:" however he ſent for Irving, who was no ſooner in his preſence than he threatened death and deſtruction to any one that durſt preſume to enter a complaint againſt him; which ſo nettled the governor, that he ſent him priſoner to the fort; telling him, at the ſame time, that it was not for the complaint laid againſt him, but for the want of that reſpect due to his perſon; upon which explanation I left him; but, upon an application from Scott and Stuart, Irving was ſet at liberty.

In the evening, as I was ſitting in company with the parſon, the collector, lieutenant Dromgole, and ſeveral others, my ſervant came and told me, before the company, that Dr. Irving, and one Cuthbert, were ſwearing death and revenge againſt me and my overſeer; and that they were waiting for me with loaded piſtols before their door, which was next to mine, and by which I muſt neceſſarily paſs in my way home. This alarmed the company; ſome adviſed me to ſend for

BOOK XII. the guard; others, that I ſhould ſtay where I was all night: but, finding me determined to go home, they offered to eſcort me, for which I thanked them kindly, and told them, that as I well knew all bullies to be cowards, I would make my way, attended by my overſeer alone; but, as it was clear moon light, and they could ſee as far as I went, they might ſtand at the door till I paſſed thoſe bravos, that they might bear witneſs of what might happen. We proceeded with cocked piſtols in our hands, and coming to Irving's door, he thought proper to ſculk behind it; I ſtood ſome time there, and finding all quiet, I went very peaceably home to bed. This being told the next day, with all its circumſtances, to the governor, he only replied in his uſual ſtyle, that "he had nothing to do with private quarrels;" for if one was killed, he would hang the other.

1743.

About this time, a ſcene of confuſion and diſſenſion began to take place in the iſland; and the ſudden death of Mr. Hodges, the chaplain of the garriſon, gave riſe to a variety of ſpeculations.

Two days after which, I received a letter from lieutenant Moone, of which the following is an extract.

"Fort Montague, July 7, 1743.

"Sir,

"In a conference I had with governor Tinker, the 3d "inſtant, wherein part of the diſcourſe rolled upon ſome "quarrels and diviſions which happened lately amongſt ſome "gentlemen in Naſſau, the governor intimated, that they "were to be thrown into the public ſcale, as if he was to

"be

" be anſwerable for them; which he ſeemed much exaſpe-
" rated at, and occaſioned the following declaration: that
" he would not, for the future, interpoſe in any of their
" quarrels, for if one was killed, the other ſhould be hanged;
" and then he would be quit of two troubleſome perſons.
" I give you this hint by way of caution, which ſeems to be
" levelled at one of us. The ſudden and unexpected death
" of our miniſter, Mr. Hodges, on the 5th inſtant, though
" his caſe was not dangerous, is matter of great ſpeculation
" amongſt the inhabitants of this iſland. That the great
" God may bleſs, protect, and keep all honeſt men out of
" the hands of their enemies, is the ſincere wiſh of

(Signed) W. MOONE."

The little cordiality that had for ſome time ſubſiſted between the governor and me, and the tickliſh ſituation in which I found myſelf, began to make me entertain very ſerious thoughts of quitting the iſland; and the invitations which I had repeatedly received from ſeveral of the colonies on the continent, made it neceſſary for me to give an intimation of my deſign to his excellency; at the ſame time taking occaſion to acquaint him, that I was far from conſidering myſelf in a ſtate of abſolute ſafety, and that if any accident happened to me, I had the greateſt reaſon to believe that a very ſtrict enquiry would be made into the authors of it. That there was ſome foundation for this apprehenſion, will appear from the following letter, which was ſent to me by a very particular friend.

BOOK XII.

" Fort Naſſau, Auguſt 10, 1743.

1743. Letter from a friend.

" Laſt week I had ſome diſcourſe with governor Tinker " concerning your intention to leave this government, as ſoon " as the money allowed by his majeſty for fortifications, " ſhould be expended; upon which the governor replied, " that the engineer, nor nobody elſe, ſhould leave this iſland " without leave; and that he would order his officers to " ſtop you, if you attempted it. However I told the go- " vernor I did not apprehend how that could be put in ex- " ecution, conſidering that you were independent of this " government, and anſwerable to the board of ordnance " only. The governor then replied with great warmth and " earneſtnefs, that he was king in this government; and if " he gave orders to kill any man whatſoever, his officers " were to obey him, without enquiring into the cauſe " thereof. This I hint to you by way of precaution, that " you may be upon your guard; I have likewiſe acquainted " Mr. Moone with the purport of the letter, ſince I find " he intends to leave this government by the ſame oppor- " tunity."

One of the complaints againſt the late governor, was his forcing the inhabitants, by way of puniſhment, to make three lime kilns; Mr. Scott, his agent, now wanted me to buy this lime of him at a very exorbitant price; I told him I was willing to take it by meaſure, but not otherwiſe, and that I would pay him the price I gave governor Tinker for his, which was ſix pence per buſhel, which he could not refuſe; but being nettled becauſe I would not give him the

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ſum he demanded for the whole, without meaſure, he acquainted Mr. Fitz William thereof; Mr. Fitz William wrote to Mr. Tinker about it, who ſhewed me the letter, in which he threatened and abuſed me in a very injurious manner, for not giving the price he demanded. Upon my declaring I would reſent it, his nephew, lieutenant Dromgole, begged me not to write, as he was certain the matter had been wrong repreſented by Scott, and that he would write and explain the matter to his uncle; of which letter the following is a copy.

1743.

" Providence, Dec. 11.

Letter from lieutenant Dromgole.

" The 9th inſtant captain Bruce, our engineer, paid Mr. " Scott for your lime, at ſix pence per buſhel, according to " Scott's agreement with him, which is the ſame price was " allowed to governor Tinker for his; you have both been " greatly impoſed upon in the making of it, becauſe the en- " gineer made all the lime for building fort Montagu at leſs " than half a rial per buſhel, and charged the government " no more. Mr. Scott, upon receiving your letter, and ſee- " ing what you had wrote to the governor on that head, re- " fuſed, for ſome time, to take the money from the engineer; " but as I wrote you before in a former letter, that by the " careleſſneſs of your good attorney, the half of your lime " was ſtole and waſhed away by the great rains, which I " heard governor Tinker and Mr. Scott ſay from their own " mouths, before ever the engineer touched it, otherwiſe it " would have turned out very much to your advantage; " and I beg leave to tell you that I am extremely ſorry that " governor Tinker ſhewed him your letter, becauſe you " have threatened to make captain Bruce ſmart if he did

" not

BOOK XII. 1743. " not comply with your demands; beſides, you have treated " him with ſo much indignity and contempt, that he has " conceived a juſt reſentment againſt you for it, which " makes me dread the conſequence. Perhaps you may ima- " gine he was ſome little theoriſt, ſent out by the board of " ordnance; if ſo, you are greatly miſtaken, for he is one " of the beſt engineers in his majeſty's ſervice, and a gen- " tleman of long experience in the army; has weathered " eighteen campaigns, and, I believe, has built more forts " than all the reſt of the engineers on the Britiſh eſtabliſh- " ment, and is a man of the ſtricteſt honour and integrity; " but will not pocket an affront of any man, by what name " or title ſoever dignified or diſtinguiſhed. Captain Bruce " has been one of the beſt friends I met with ſince my arrival " in Providence; therefore a difference of this ſort muſt " give me no ſmall concern, and hope you will write to " captain Bruce to apologize for it."

PAT. DROMGOLE."

Diviſion of the quick-ſilver.

As the quick-ſilver was to be divided among the people in ſhares, I had bought twenty-eight ſhares from the officers and ſome few of the men, who went home in the privateers, who left me a power to receive them from Mr. Irving, their agent; each ſhare was a cag and a half, and each cag weighed one hundred weight; ſo that I had forty-two cags to receive. When the time for the diviſion came round, I applied for theſe ſhares, but could only get eight cags out of the forty-two I had a right to receive; and the agent ſent me word that the reſt had run out in the cellar by the burſting of the bags in the cags; but if I would ſend empty bottles

bottles to put it in, he would weigh up as much as amounted to my ſhare; when the bottles were ſent, he told my ſervant to come for it the next day. Mr. Keowin, the provoſt marſhal, then attended, at my deſire, to receive it, and was told by Mr. Irving that as he had not received it by weight, he would not deliver it on thoſe terms, and ſince it had made its way into the cellar, he might go and gather it up himſelf. Upon Mr. Keowin's going into the cellar to look for it, there was none to be found. Mr. Irving had previouſly taken care to gather it up in jars, and convey it by negroes to his own houſe in the night time, which all the people in the neighbourhood offered to prove. When a complaint was made to the governor, he ſaid that as the quick-ſilver had burſt the bags, and was run into the cellar, he could not in juſtice deſire Mr. Irving to deliver it, as it might have made its way to the Antipodes for ought he knew. At the ſame time, I had ſeveral cags run out into my own cellar, taken up without loſing an ounce. This abſurd and barefaced injuſtice in the governor, was a matter of great ſurprize to all the inhabitants.

The captain applies again to the aſſembly to bring materials.

The money allowed by government for fortifying this place being all expended, I intimated it to the governor, and told him I intended to go to Charleſtown till a freſh ſupply of money could be obtained from England, to finiſh what was begun; but he replied, that as a war had been proclaimed againſt France, I could not leave the iſland till fort Naſſau was finiſhed; for which he would advance his own money, and be anſwerable for ſo doing to the board of ordnance. I told him I would not accept his money, without an order from England; but if he would take upon him

BOOK XII. 1743. him to pay the tradeſmen and labourers himſelf, I would direct the work till it was completed. This he agreed to, and I forwarded the works with the utmoſt diligence. As the aſſembly was ſitting at this time, I had recourſe to them again for their aſſiſtance, thereby to put it the ſooner out of the enemies power to annoy them; to which the aſſembly unanimouſly conſented, and aſſeſſed every taxable in the iſland to furniſh his quota of the neceſſary ſtone and timber for finiſhing the work; yet notwithſtanding this went much againſt the grain with the triumvirate, they could not well, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, refuſe their aſſent, ſo that it was affirmed by the council.

The aſſembly withdraw the governor's ſalary.

The agreeable proſpect the inhabitants had formed to themſelves of living happily under Mr. Tinker's government, and which they had built upon the fair beginning he made, in turning out his predeceſſor's evil counſellors, by whom they had been ſo grievouſly oppreſſed, induced the aſſembly, on the governor's arrival, to appoint him a yearly ſalary of two hundred pounds ſterling; but now finding their expectations ſo effectually diſappointed, the aſſembly declared that they were unable to continue the governor's ſalary any longer; and finding themſelves oppoſed in this affair by Mr. Scott, their ſpeaker, they voted him out of the chair, and choſe Mr. Florentine Cox in his place; on which the governor diſſolved the Houſe of Aſſembly; and that he might mortify them more effectually, he appointed James Scott one of his council, and made him chief-juſtice, treaſurer, naval officer, ſtorekeeper, &c. thereby to enable him to revenge himſelf upon the inhabitants.

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The three domineering gentlemen now joined, and for their own account built a new ſloop, and had the vanity to call her after their own uſual diſtinguiſhing title, the Triumvirate.

The bad uſage I had hitherto met with, made the governor ſuſpect me of being inſtrumental in his loſing his ſalary, as alſo that I ſent complaints againſt him to England; but I declared I neither did the one nor the other; at firſt indeed I did my beſt to perſuade the aſſembly to ſettle that ſalary upon him, but as ſoon as I learned they were determined to with-hold his ſalary, I withdrew myſelf from the aſſembly, and went no more near them; ſo that I acted neither pro nor con in that affair. Upon this Mr. Moone wrote me the following letter, dated Fort Montagu, December 30.

Letter from lieutenant Moone.

" The 27th inſtant I waited on governor Tinker, to know " his commands. As ſoon as I was ſeated he told me he was " ſurpriſed that I did not dine oftener at his houſe, and that " I kept company with perſons diſaffected to his govern- " ment; which could be pointed at none but you, Mr. " Cox, and captain Petty, becauſe of our being frequently " in company when I go to town. I told his excellency I " did not know what he meant by diſaffected perſons, un- " leſs he would include every body who ſhewed a juſt re- " ſentment for injuries received from their neighbours, in " deſiring a redreſs of grievances. All the anſwer the go- " vernor made me was that he hoped it would be in his " power to hang up two or three of them very ſoon.—As " a farther confirmation of the truth of this aſſertion, Mr. " John Thompſon, one of the council for theſe iſlands, aſ-

BOOK XII. 1744. " ſured me, before his brother Richard Thompſon, and ſe-
" veral of the inhabitants, that governor Tinker had ex-
" preſſed himſelf lately in the ſame manner, in council, in
" threatning that he would hang up ſome of the inhabit-
" ants; and confirmed the ſame with an oath. It is there-
" fore incumbent upon us to be upon our guard, leſt we
" ſhould be among the number of the proſcribed. His diſ-
" ſolving the houſe of aſſembly at this time, becauſe they
" would not continue his ſalary, is a ſignal inſtance that he
" prefers his own private intereſt to the public good.

(Signed) W. MOONE."

An opportunity ſoon after offered itſelf for his excellency's gratification in hanging people: a ſoldier was condemned and executed for ſtabbing his ſerjeant; and two negroes belonging to captain Laws, of the navy, formerly ſtationed here, who were at work for their maſter in the woods, cutting brazilletta, and being ill uſed by an overſeer appointed by Mr. Scott, one of them fired a fowling-piece at the overſeer, and lodged ſome ſhot in his ſhoulder; for which he was hanged, and his innocent companion was alſo hanged, to bear him company.

At the time of theſe tranſactions I received the following letter from lieutenant-governor Bull, of South Carolina, dated Charleſtown, June 22.

" As it has been determined by the government here, that
" a new magazine, capable of holding 500 barrels of pow-
" der, ſhould be built in Charleſtown; and as his majeſty
" has no engineer in this province, upon the Britiſh eſtab-
" liſhment, conſequently none with whom I can adviſe, or

" who

" who can be aſſiſtant to me in the erecting ſuch a work; I, " by the aſſembly of the province, am deſired to apply to " you for a plan thereof, in brick building, and which I " requeſt you will favour me with, together with ſuch other " directions as you ſhall judge proper. I doubt not but " this favour will be gratefully acknowledged by the go- " vernment here.

(Signed) W. BULL."

In compliance with this requeſt I ſent a plan and profile, and ſuch directions as I thought neceſſary, in two weeks after the receipt of that letter, by a ſloop that ſailed from hence for Charleſtown; but not hearing of its being delivered, I deſired lieutenant Moone, who left this the beginning of September for Carolina, in his way to London, to enquire if the plan had been delivered, who wrote me the following letter.

" Charleſtown, September 14, 1744.

Another from Charleſtown.

" Thanks to the Supreme Being, I am now out of the " power of the governor of Providence, and his triumvi- " rate. I have enquired about the plan of the powder ma- " gazine, which was received and laid before the council; " the reaſon why the receipt was not acknowledged, I find " to be occaſioned by the governor's arrival, and the lieu- " tenant-governor's retiring into the country about the time " it was ſent. They all wiſh for you on account of their for- " tifications, and have wrote to you ſome time paſt on that " head, which, I preſume, you have received advice of.

BOOK XII. 1744. " I preſume the triumvirate go on as uſual, Jehu " like.

(Signed) W. MOONE.

I never received the letter Mr. Moone alludes to, nor two others written by the new governor, which Mr. Tinker took care I ſhould not; but I received his third letter, as follows:

" Charleſtown, October 9.

Letter from governor Glen. " As there are ſome works to be carried on for the better " fortifying of Charleſtown, at the expence of this province, " and as there is, at preſent, no perſon here that is thought " properly qualified for giving advice and direction in that " matter, the aſſembly did recommend it to me to write to " you, to deſire the favour of your aſſiſtance: I have al- " ready written twice upon that ſubject, and hope by this " time you are embarking for this province, where I ſhall " endeavour that you ſhall meet with a kind reception. The " aſſembly have agreed to give you three hundred pounds, " money of this country, as the expence of your paſſage, " and have likewiſe come to a reſolution to make you a " handſome preſent for your trouble, provided you arrive " here within a month after the date of this letter.

(Signed) JAMES GLEN."

It is worthy of obſervation, that Mr. Tinker, at his firſt arrival in Providence, behaved ſo ſmoothly and civilly to all ſtrangers, that it was ſoon ſpread over all America how happy the people now lived under his mild government; which report enticed ſeveral people of ſubſtance to come, at dif-

different times, from the Continent, Bermudas, and the Leeward Iſlands, with an intention of ſettling here, being drawn hither by its fertility and wholeſome air; but upon finding how the inhabitants were oppreſſed, they returned from whence they came, and ſpreading the report wherever they went, deterred others from coming to this place; beſides, all our privateers intended to have made this place their general rendezvous; but the treatment Sibbald and Dowall met with, prevented any from coming near us. And even captain Frankland, who was ſtationed here, would not venture to bring his prizes into this harbour, but ſent them to Charleſtown, to be condemned and diſpoſed of; which very much mortified our governor, who now found by his endeavours to graſp all, he loſt all. It is very much to be lamented that thoſe fertile and valuable iſlands ſhould lie uncultivated for want of people, which are capable of maintaining many thouſand families with eaſe; but it will ever be the caſe, while the governors are ſuffered to tyrannize over the inhabitants, as nobody that can do better, will ever come to ſettle here, and, of conſequence, they muſt remain uninhabited.

1744.

To convey ſome idea of the value of thoſe iſlands, I ſhall endeavour to give the following account of them from my certain knowlege.

Produce of the Bahama iſlands and adjacent ſea.

The Bahama iſlands enjoy the moſt ſerene and the moſt temperate air in all America, the heat of the ſun being greatly allayed by refreſhing breezes from the eaſt; and the earth and air are cooled by conſtant dews which fall in the night, and by gentle ſhowers which fall in their proper ſeaſons; ſo that as they are free from the ſultry heats of our

other

BOOK XII. other ſettlements; they are as little affected with froſt, ſnow, hail, or the north-weſt winds, which prove ſo fatal both to men and plants in our other colonies; it is therefore no wonder the ſick and afflicted inhabitants of thoſe climates fly hither for relief, being ſure to find a cure here. The ſame cauſes which conduce ſo much to the health of man, contribute greatly to the quick growth of plants and vegetables; which here is ſurpriſing, for the ſeeds of limes flung careleſsly into the ground without any culture, become, in two or three years, ſhrubs or little trees in full bearing.

1744.

All the iſlands vary in their extent; while ſome exceed a hundred miles in length, others are very inconſiderable; the principal are the Bahamas, Lucayos (or Abaco), Harbour-Iſland, Eluthera, St. Salvador (or Cat-Iſland), Exuma, Yumeta (or Long-Iſland), Andros, the Bimines, and Providence, which lies near the centre of the whole, in lat. 25 degrees north, with a fine harbour, which has fifteen feet on its bar at low water, and is formed by Hog-Iſland, which is three miles long, and now fort Naſſau commands the weſt entrance, and Montagu the eaſt.

All theſe iſlands are covered over with wood, as indeed is all America, but with this eſſential difference, that here the trees themſelves ſufficiently pay the labour of cutting them down, excluſive of the benefit which reſults from clearing a fertile ſoil; for not to mention the maſtich tree and other timber ſo uſeful in building houſes, mills, &c. here are Madeira, mahogany, and cedar, all uſed in ſhip building; beſides vaſt quantities of curious woods, as prince-wood, yellow-wood, box, naked-wood (moſt beautifully veined

and marbled), lignum vitæ, black and red iron-wood, ebony, manchinelle, black ſeney, dog-wood, pines, palmettos; and many dying woods, as log-wood, brazilletta, green and yellow fuſtick; they have likewiſe trees of valuable bark, which are no where elſe in ſuch quantity and perfection; among which are the cortex eluthera, or wild cinnamon, growing in ſuch abundance that they exported annually between ſixty and ſeventy tons to Curaſoe, and the other Dutch ſettlements, where it is made uſe of in diſtilling cinnamon waters; the cortex Winterania, a ſweet-ſcented bark, which is alſo carried to the Dutch, and by them tranſported to the Levant, where the Turks burn it for perfume and incenſe. The wild vines are in great plenty in the woods, and when cultivated, are as good as any I ever ſaw; here is alſo the myrtle, from which the green wax candles are made.

They have tamarinds equal to any in the world; the Lucca olive, as well as the wild kind; oranges (ſweet, ſour, and bitter), lemons, limes, citrons, pomgranates, plums, ſugar apples, pine apples, figs, papues, ſapodylles, bananas, ſowerſops, water and muſk melons, yams, potatoes, gourds, cucumbers, cod and bird pepper, guavas, caſava, plantains, prickly pears, oil of caſtor, ſugar, ginger, coffee, indigo, cotton preferable to that in the Levant, and tobacco; Indian wheat, Guinea-corn, and peas: beſides theſe all the roots of Europe grow wonderfully quick, and to a ſurpriſing ſize. The flowering ſhrubs and other plants are ſo aromatic, that they perfume the air to a great diſtance.

Their wild fowl and birds are, the flamingo, ſometimes to be met with in flocks of two or three hundred; it is a tall bird, ſix feet high, of a moſt beautiful plumage, being red

all

BOOK XII. 1744.

all over the body, with black wings; they are excellent eating; wild geeſe, ducks, pigeons, and green parrots in great plenty; beſides whiſtling ducks, Muſketo hawks, tobacco doves, crab-catchers, galdings, droſſels, mocking birds, and humming birds.

The ſea hereabouts abounds with fiſh unknown to us in Europe; thoſe of prey are crocodiles, alligators, ſharks, dolphins, ſword-fiſh, ſea-devils, ſpermacæti-whales, grampuſes, porpoiſes, ſeals, nurſes, and ſnappers; thoſe for food are, the king-fiſh, jew-fiſh, hog-fiſh, pork-fiſh, mutton-fiſh, rock-fiſh, Margaret-fiſh, cuckold-fiſh, coney-fiſh, angle-fiſh, bill-fiſh, hound-fiſh, gar-fiſh, parrot-fiſh, blue-fiſh, ſucking-fiſh, tang-fiſh, trumpet-fiſh, porjes, grupers, jacks, hynes, old wives, grunts, ſkate, ſchoolmaſter, breams, ten-pounders, ſtingers, ryſpree, mullets, ſenets, baracuda, ſhip-jacks, albecores, rainbow, threſhers, mackrel, hedge-hogs, pilots, ſhads, pilchards, ſailor's choice, ſquirrels, and cavaly; many of theſe are excellent eating, but ſuch as feed on the copperas banks are poiſonous, affecting the joints of thoſe who eat them with itching pains, and the diſorder goes off by rubbing the parts; the method uſed to diſtinguiſh the fiſh is by putting a ſpoon, or piece of ſilver, into the water in which it is boiled, which turns black if the fiſh is poiſonous. They make plenty of oil from the nurſes, ſeals, &c. and a beneficial whale fiſhery might be eſtabliſhed here, as that fiſh comes in great numbers to wean their young among the iſlands, and ſeveral have been thrown aſhore, full of the ſpermacæti; there is likewiſe found in the ſhore much ambergriſe. Their ſhell-fiſh are conques, perriwinkles, coneys, ſogers, wilkes, cuckolds, craw-fiſh, lobſters, crabs; they have alſo the land-crab, and many

ſorts

ſorts of tortoiſes, of which the hawk-bill is the moſt valuable for its fine ſhell, and the green kind for eating; the greateſt number of which are taken at the Bimini iſlands. There is alſo ambergriſe found in conſiderable quantities on theſe ſhores.

There are no animals which can be ſaid to be peculiar to thoſe iſlands, excepting the guana, which is found in great numbers on Andros, which lies five leagues ſouth-weſt from Providence; it is a ſmall creature, with ſhort legs, and a ſhort tapering tail, ſomewhat reſembling the lizard or alligator, and is about two feet in length; it is eſteemed delicious eating, and is taken in great plenty by the people of Providence. On ſome of the other iſlands are numbers of wild hogs, ſheep, and goats, which are produced from a breed left there by the inhabitants; and from which they are now ſupplied with freſh meat when they go to cut dye woods, or rake ſalt at Exuma, of which they export yearly many ſhip loads to our northern colonies on the continent.

In ſhort, it is their own fault if the inhabitants want any of the neceſſaries of life: they have horſes, cows, ſheep, goats, hogs, and all ſorts of poultry, and have graſs all the year round; but they neither ſow nor plant more than is neceſſary for maintaining their own families; whereby one of the moſt fertile parts of our Weſt Indies is neglected for want of cultivation. They depend on their cargoes of ſalt, mahogany plank, dying wood, tortoiſes, fruit, &c. which they ſell to great advantage; and likewiſe upon the ſhipwrecks, which happen frequently upon thoſe extenſive banks; all which make them careleſs in improving the natural

BOOK XII. tural produce of that fertile country which, were it once well peopled, would ſoon be in a flouriſhing ſituation.

1744. The greateſt inconvenience they have here is from the

Inſects. plague of numerous vermin, or inſects, which torment them both night and day; as bugs, cock-roches, muſquetos, flies, ſand-flies, ants, and trigers: the laſt kind are no larger than a mite, and are very troubleſome to ſtrangers; they get through the ſoles of people's feet, and lodge between the ſkin and the fleſh, where they lay their eggs and breed, if not timely prevented, which is done by picking them out with the point of a needle, at which the negroes are very dexterous; and care muſt be taken to get out the bag (as they call it) with the eggs, and then they fill the wound with tobacco or ſnuff; but if they are ſuffered to remain, they cauſe moſt intolerable itching pains, and great ſwelling in the legs, which are often attended with danger to the life. The ants are alſo very troubleſome, by creeping into the houſes and beds, and require care and attention to keep them from the victuals, eſpecially ſugar, of which they will carry off a great quantity in a night's time. The muſquetos and ſand-flies come in great ſwarms in the evening from the woods, and people are obliged to drive them off with ſmoke round their houſes all night long: this inconvenience is chiefly occaſioned by their not clearing the ground from thoſe thickets of underwood; an inſtance of which we experienced at fort Montagu, where I cleared away all the wood within cannon ſhot, and there, by that means, was happily delivered from the inſects both by day and night. The governor took the example, and cleared to a conſider-

able

able diſtance from his own houſe, and ſeveral of the inhabitants were beginning to do the ſame.

1744.

Obſervations on St. Salvador and the Bimini iſlands.

The Bahama iſlands, in general, are more conveniently ſituated for annoying the Spaniards in time of war than any of all our other ſettlements, eſpecially two of them. The firſt is Salvador (or Cat-Iſland) the eaſtermoſt of the whole; it lies clear of the bank, and ſurrounded by the ocean; is moſt conveniently ſituated for intercepting the outward-bound trade of Old Spain; lies between the 24th and 25th degrees of north latitude; is 45 miles long by 7 broad, 28 miles from Eluthera, and 90 from Providence.

The next is the Biminis, 105 miles weſt from Providence, 120 north from the Havannah, and only 60 from the continent of Florida; by which it has the full command of the gulph, through which all the homeward-bound trade of the Spaniſh Weſt Indies muſt paſs: in war time this would be the moſt advantageous ſtation in all Britiſh America. The harbour is formed by two iſlands; the weſt, and principal entry is from the gulph, and only a quarter of a mile broad, where, and all within, it has only ten feet at low water, and eighteen at high water; it is ſecured by rocks on the north, but firſt-rate ſhips can ride cloſe to the weſtern ſhore, free from all winds; the eaſt entry is only for boats, and is dry at low water; theſe entries are only two miles diſtant from each other, but the harbour it ſix miles in length from north to ſouth, and could contain all the privateers of America. The Spaniſh homeward-bound ſhips generally take in their wood and water here; and here the people of Providence catch moſt of their tortoiſe, and are frequently taken, and carried priſoners to the Havannah. The iſland

BOOK XII. 1744. is twelve miles long and two broad. It was the general opinion if two or three ſloops of war had been ſtationed at this place when general Oglethorpe beſieged St. Auguſtine, they would effectually have prevented the Spaniards from ſending their gallies from the Havannah, with men and ammunition to their relief, and the place muſt have fallen into that general's hands, as the Spaniards were in great want of both at that time, and muſt have ſurrendered. This harbour might be eaſily ſecured by a ſmall fort with a ſea battery, as the entrance is ſo narrow: it lies in 25 degrees north latitude. The Bahama iſland lies 48 miles north, and Andros 60 ſouth, from this; but none of all theſe valuable iſlands are inhabited, excepting Providence, Harbour Iſland, and Eluthera.

The inhabitants of Providence.

The inhabitants of Providence, Harbour Iſland, and Eluthera, conſiſted at this time of Engliſh, Scotch, Iriſh, Bermudians, mulattos, free negroes, and ſlaves; their whole number were

Heads of families, - - - -	310
Women and children, - - -	689
Negro, male ſlaves, - - - -	426
Black women and children, - -	538
The independent company, officers included, -	100
Harbour Iſland and Eluthera in all, - -	240
Total inhabitants of the Bahamas,	2303

white and black men, women, and children; which might maintain more thouſands, than they have hundreds.

Fort

1744.

Fort Naſſau and Sea Battery were finiſhed the latter end of December, which I rebuilt almoſt from the foundation, as I found them in a very ſhattered ruinous condition: I found it neceſſary to add a new baſtion in place of an old ſquare tower, and built in it the powder magazine and gunner's ſtore, each of them to contain 300 barrels of powder; and under the eaſt curtain three large ſtores, or caſemates, and a gate, all bomb-proof; above the gate an arched apartment for the governor, with a view of the whole town and harbour; upon each point of the baſtions are ſentry boxes of ſtone; through the weſt curtain is a ſally port and caſemates, alſo bomb-proof, before which is the ſea battery; and the whole is ſurrounded with palliſades of maſtich wood, eight inches ſquare, and three inches diſtant from each other, eight feet above ground, and two feet ſunk in the rock, well ſecured above and below with rails and braces. As there were formerly no buildings within the fort, except barracks of wood entirely decayed, I built new barracks of ſtone to contain ſix hundred men, and a ſuitable ſet of apartments for officers; likewiſe a kitchen and bake-houſe, with two ovens, above which are apartments for the chaplain, ſurgeon, gunner, and armourer; within the fort is a well with freſh water, and one before each gate within the palliſades. The whole is mounted with fifty-four pieces of cannon, 6, 9, 12, and 18 pounders, all on new carriages, beſides twenty-ſix braſs mortars, two of which are of 7 inches, twelve of 5 ½ and twelve of 4 ½ inches, mounted on new beds.

Deſcription of fort Naſſau.

The finiſhing of both thoſe forts coſt government no more than four thouſand pounds, whereas a former eſti-

Coſt of both forts.

BOOK XII. 1744. mate, for the ſame thing, came to twelve thouſand, two hundred fifty-four pounds nine ſhillings and ten pence three farthings; but as I happened to come here at a time when war was declared, and we were threatened with an invaſion, and being then expoſed to the inſults of an enemy, the inhabitants very frankly provided materials for their own ſecurity, which, with the other frugal methods I took, ſaved the government ſeveral thouſand pounds; but I was ill rewarded for this my faithful and dangerous ſervice.

When all was finiſhed, the governor and I atteſted each other's accounts, and I gave him a bill on the board of ordnance for two thouſand and four hundred pounds he had laid out toward finiſhing thoſe works, and he gave me, at the ſame time, a certificate of my having performed and finiſhed all the works neceſſary to be done in the iſland of Providence, which I gave in to the board of ordnance on my arrival in London.

As Mr. Tinker was conſcious how far he deſerved complaints to be entered againſt him, he ſent his ſecretary, John Snow, by the way of Jamaica to London, to foreſtall any complaints that might be entered there againſt him; but he might have ſaved himſelf both the trouble and expence, for I neither mentioned, nor intended to mention, his name in London, knowing that a redreſs of grievances is not eaſily obtained.

While I was preparing for my departure for Carolina, captain Jelf, of the Swallow ſloop of war, with his officers, arrived here in a boat; he had been ſent from Charleſtown with two braſs mortars, and a quantity of bomb

ſhells, that had been lent to general Oglethorp in his expedition to St. Auguſtine, and his ſhip was caſt away on the rocks of Abaco: what ſurpriſed me was, his having the ſame pilot on board that came with us in the Tartar man of war, under whoſe conduct we very narrowly eſcaped being wrecked upon the very ſame rocks. Captain Jelf had intended to carry me with him to Carolina, but was now very glad to take his paſſage with me in a ſloop I had hired.

When every thing was ready for our departure, and as I was informed that Stuart's ſloop was to go to Abaco to bring what could be ſaved from the wreck of the Swallow, I ſent my overſeer with an open letter to him, demanding his attendance at Abaco, to give me ſatisfaction for the treacherous inſult I had received from him: he ſent me word that he would go to the governor and aſk his leave, and ſoon again returned me for anſwer that he could not obtain it; upon which I wrote to the governor, and reminded his excellency of the inſult I had received from Stuart, and the promiſe he gave me, upon his word of honour, to order him, as ſoon as the works were finiſhed, to attend me; and as his ſloop was going to the wreck, I hoped he would perform his engagement, as this gave us a proper opportunity to decide that affair; but Mr. Tinker gave me an abſolute refuſal, well knowing himſelf as much in fault as the other: on this, I wrote again to Stuart, telling him that I knew he had a law-ſuit depending at Charleſtown, which would ſoon require his preſence there, and that I would wait five or ſix months for him; to which he replied, he would attend me there. Theſe requiſitions I had determined to make in as public a manner as I could, and tranſacted them before

BOOK XII.

1744.

fore captain Jelf, and his officers, collector Boothby, and captain Cox, that he might not have an opportunity to deny facts; yet, notwithſtanding Stuart's friends and attornies at Charleſtown repreſented the neceſſity of his perſonal appearance there, as the whole ſucceſs of his lawſuit depended on it, and his own repeated aſſertions that he was juſt coming over, he never made his appearance all the five months I ſtayed there, and thereby loſt his cauſe, which was matter of diverſion at Charleſtown, where captain Jelf and his officers had made the reaſon of his not appearing as well known as it was at Providence, and was afterwards revived by Boothby and Cox.

1745. The captain leaves Providence.

On the 5th of January I went on board the Pelham ſloop, a new veſſel built of mahogany, by Florentine Cox, who alſo commanded her, and we ſailed the ſame day, with captain Jelf and his officers, and arrived next day at Abaco, where the wreck lay. We were detained ſeveral days in collecting the crew of the Swallow, who were diſperſed over the iſland; and with the addition of their number (120) we were ſufficiently crowded in the Pelham. Stuart's ſloop recovered the mortars and ſhells, and the guns, anchors, ſails and rigging belonging to the Swallow, which were all ſold at Providence; and, as I was credibly informed by letter, were afterwards ſold to the Spaniards. We had fine weather and a pleaſant paſſage in the Pelham, attended daily by a number of ſharks. Captain Cox, a native of Bermudas, who are eſteemed the moſt dexterous fiſhers in the world, caught upwards of a ſcore of them in a day: his method was by hanging out a rope, with a nooſe at the end of it, through which he hung a piece of beef; when the

the ſhark approached the beef, it was pulled forward through the nooſe, ſo that the ſhark in purſuit of it was ſlung by the tail, which is large and broad, and in that manner was pulled on board. Some of the ſharks were ſo large, that when their tail was even with the gunnel, the half of their bodies were under water; we cut theſe over-grown ones through the middle, and let them drop into the water again, where they were ſoon torn to pieces by their voracious companions, which afforded us diverting amuſement; but as the young are good eating, we brought them on deck, and cut them up for the people, who were thereby plentifully ſupplied with freſh proviſions, which was a fortunate circumſtance, as we had not proviſions for ſuch a number; but it is a common ſaying, that a Bermudian will never die for want at ſea, if he is provided with fiſhing tackle.

Arrive at Charleſtown.

In the evening of the 21ſt of January we arrived before Charleſtown bar, and as it was then growing dark, low water, and blowing hard, we did not think it prudent to venture over the bar; but two of the Engliſh ſeamen belonging to the Swallow informing captain Jelf that the Iriſh ſailors on board, who were the greater number, had entered into a combination to ſecure us, and carry the veſſel to Auguſtine, made us attempt to get over the bar. We were no ſooner on the bar than ſhe ſtruck, and thumped eighteen times with ſuch violence that every ſhock lifted us from our feet; but as the tide was then beginning to flow, it was with no ſmall difficulty we got her about again, and put out to ſea, but ſo leaky that it required our utmoſt efforts to keep the veſſel from going down. We fired frequent guns of diſtreſs, which prevented the mutineers from

BOOK XII. attempting at that time to enter upon the execution of their project. Captain Jelf, in the midſt of our confuſion, and under favour of the darkneſs, had ſent off his officers in the boat to the commodore to inform him of our danger; and by day-break next morning two long boats were diſpatched full of men, well armed, to our aſſiſtance; and a twenty gun ſhip was ſent down to the bar to be ready to follow us in caſe of need. This armament quite confounded the mutineers, and we were no ſooner within the bar, than they were all ſecured in irons on board the man of war, and we got at laſt ſafe to Charleſtown on the 22d, chiefly owing to the ſtrength of our veſſel, otherwiſe we muſt have periſhed; but ſhe was very much ſhattered by the many ſhocks ſhe got on the bar. The diſtance of Providence to this place is 7 degrees, or 420 geographical miles.

1745.

Here I met a kind reception from the governor, council, and aſſembly, who deſired that I would, without loſs of time, proceed to ſurvey the place, and give my opinion touching what I thought was farther neceſſary to be done for their greater ſecurity and defence. After I had taken a full ſurvey of the place, and had examined the nature of the moraſs that lies before the town, and ſounded Hog Iſland Creek, I gave in the following report.

Report of the ſtrength of Charleſtown.

"As this town is built on a point of land, and ſurrounded "on the eaſt, ſouth, and weſt ſides by Cooper and Aſhley, "two large navigable rivers, which render thoſe three ſides "ſtrong by nature, yet I obſerve that all that has hitherto "been done toward fortifying this place is all toward thoſe "rivers; whereas the north ſide of the town, toward the main

" land, is neglected and left open, expoſed to the inſults of " an enemy, who, by the nearneſs of the woods, might at " any time ſurprize the town. This place is ſubject to " the ſame danger by ſea; for although the bar is a great " ſecurity, and fort Johnſon commands the uſual paſſage " to the town, yet as there is another paſſage at Hog Iſland " Creek, of greater depth of water than is upon the bar it- " ſelf, and an enemy may paſs that way without being ex- " poſed to the guns of fort Johnſon, or to thoſe upon the " curtain-line next the river, they may by that means get " behind the town, where it is altogether defenceleſs, and " make themſelves maſters of it.

" I am therefore of opinion that a canal ought to be " cut at the free-ſchool, ſix or eight fathoms wide, and " eight or ten feet deep, from the one marſh to the other, " it being only 120 fathoms in length; this would prevent " a ſurprize by land. In the next place, to prevent a ſur- " prize by ſea, a faſcine battery ought to be erected at " Rahte's point, being the only proper landing place, and " another battery at Anſon's houſe, each of ſix or eight guns " of the largeſt ſize, to command the paſſage through Hog " Iſland Creek, ſhould an enemy attempt to paſs it; beſides, " Rahte's point might be flanked by the guns of Craven's " baſtion, as well as by thoſe at Anſon's houſe; and after " that paſſage is thus ſecured, it would be neceſſary to erect " a large battery upon the marſh oppoſite to the town, " part of which is ſolid and firm, and what is not may be " made ſo by driving piles; this battery ſhould be in form " of a horſe-ſhoe, mounted with thirty pieces of cannon " of the largeſt ſize, which would not only command Re-

BOOK XII. 1745.

" bellion-road, but alſo both channels (that of Johnſon's " Fort and Hog Iſland) by which the keeping up of John- " ſon's Fort will become needleſs, more eſpecially if the bat- " tery begun at the point near Granvill's baſtion was finiſh- " ed, and that will alſo render Broughton's battery need- " leſs.

" In the next place I am of opinion that it would be very " neceſſary to erect a regular fort, with four baſtions, upon " the neck of land between the workhouſe and free-ſchool, " which would not only cover the town, but command both " rivers; and it would be a conſiderable addition to the " ſtrength of ſuch fort if it were ſurrounded with palliſades, " which, in caſe of an attack, might be lined with negroes " either from the town or country: no danger could ariſe " to the inhabitants from their being entruſted with fire " arms, ſince they would be immediately under the eye of " their maſters, and they would have no acceſs to the fort, " or any communication with the works, but within the " palliſades alone, where they would prove a great annoy- " ance to an enemy.

" The more I conſider the ſituation and circumſtances of " the place, the more I am confirmed in opinion of the " utility and neceſſity of a fort or citadel, as the town is " quite open on that ſide to the incurſions of the Indians; " two hundred of whom, by approaching in ſmall parties " through the woods, might do great miſchief in one " night. Your country negroes are quiet at preſent, but " they have not always been ſo; and their late attempts at " Antigua, New York, and Jamaica, may be ſufficient warn- " ing to any country, where they are ſo numerous, to pro-

" vide

1745.

" vide againſt accidents, and conſider of a force that may
" be turned againſt them; the town negroes alſo will be
" more faithful when they know it is impoſſible for them
" to eſcape if they ſhould miſbehave. I could mention
" many more advantages that would ariſe from fortifying
" this important paſs, for there is no doubt but there are
" people in all towns, who, on the approach of an enemy,
" would wiſh to be as far removed from the danger as poſ-
" ſible, who, knowing there is no eſcaping, will do their
" duty; beſides, it will greatly encourage every man to
" exert himſelf when his wife, children, and moſt valuable
" effects are in a place of ſecurity. I might likewiſe take
" notice that within this fort there might be houſes for the
" governor, the council, and aſſembly; and barracks for
" officers and ſoldiers, beſides work-houſes, priſons, maga-
" zines, arſenals, ſtore-houſes, &c. It is therefore my opi-
" nion that no enemy we may expect in this part of the
" world would venture to attempt this town, knowing of
" ſuch a ſtrength, till they had made themſelves maſters of
" this fort; and as that could not be attacked but on the
" land ſide, two or three hundred men would defend it,
" unleſs in the event of a general aſſault.

" I have prepared two plans of a fort, which I herewith
" lay before you; the one of four regular baſtions, the other
" of two baſtions, with a raveline before the curtain, to-
" ward the continent, and two demi-baſtions next the town.
" My not laying before you an eſtimate of the charges of
" ſuch works, is owing to my being an entire ſtranger to
" the prices of materials and labour; but it may be eaſily
" computed by gentlemen converſant in building, as I

" have

BOOK XII. 1745. " have annexed both the quantity and quality of the ſeveral " works that are neceſſary to be done. But in caſe this " government ſhould find the expence of erecting ſuch a " fort to exceed their expectation, and be thereby deterred " from putting it in execution; then my next propo- " ſal is to cut a moat, or ditch, with a curtain line from " Craven's Baſtion to the work-houſe, ſtrengthened in the " middle by a baſtion, and a demi-baſtion next to Aſhley " River, by which means the town will be incloſed on the " land ſide from one river to the other, and this may be done " with ſods."

A committee of ſome of the members of the council and aſſembly were appointed to make an eſtimate of thoſe works: and as an entire want of ſtone in this country obliges them to build their works of ſtrength with brick, and they have no lime but what they make of oyſter and other ſea ſhells, together with the very high price of labour, they found the execution of thoſe plans would amount to a conſiderable ſum; and as their treaſury, at this time, was not in a condition to ſupport the charge, they were of opinion that they ſhould endeavour to negotiate a loan from England at three per cent. or obtain an act of parliament to enable them to raiſe one hundred thouſand pounds of their own currency, by iſſuing paper notes, and to petition that an able engineer might be ſent from London to execute thoſe plans, as they did not chooſe to truſt the execution of them to colonel Baile, their preſent engineer, alledging he had already run them into great expence in erecting works of no ſignification. They preſſed me very earneſtly to ſtay with them by offering to double my pay, and to ſhew me other favours.

vours. I obſerved if they had applied to me when I came out to Providence, I could have carried on their works at the ſame time; but as that opportunity was now paſt, it was at preſent out of my power to comply with their requeſt, without an order from the board of ordnance. Beſides, as thoſe gentlemen were very dilatory in their determinations, and in a bad underſtanding with their governor, I ſhould have met with great difficulty to pleaſe both parties. However, as they ſeemed moſt pleaſed with my laſt plan, as the eaſieſt and cheapeſt, at the deſire of governor Glen, I gave full inſtructions to colonel Baile how it was to be performed, and recommended him to the committee for the execution of it, with aſſurances that they might ſafely truſt him. The two batteries at Rahte's Point, and Anſon's Houſe, for the ſecurity of the paſſage through Hog Iſland Creek, were begun. The gentlemen of Charleſtown made me a preſent of fifty guineas, alledging that as I was only on my way to England, and not come there with any intention to ſtay and ſerve them, they could not make me the return they intended to have done, if I had come with a deſign of being ſerviceable to them in putting my plans in execution.

Viſit from a Cherokee king.

We had a viſit at this time from a war captain, or Indian king as they called him, with about one hundred Cherokee Indians in his retinue, under pretence of renewing his alliance with king George; but the real object, I believe, was to receive the cuſtomary preſents. They come all naked on thoſe occaſions, and return well clad; they are well ſhaped, generally of an olive colour, with their faces painted in many different ways, according to their different ideas of conveying ter-

BOOK XII

1745.

terror to their enemies. Some have one ſide black, and the other red; others with four different colours; their heads were adorned with all ſorts of feathers, intermixed with down, by way of powder; they cover their nakedneſs with a ſmall piece of ſkin, or leather; they are exceſſively fond of ſpirits, which they will drink till they are quite drunk. Their camp was a mile from the town, to which they returned every night, and after a week's ſtay, being all new clad, and receiving the cuſtomary preſents, they decamped, and returned home. I omitted to mention that their king, or chief, with two of his principal officers and three women, were new clothed before they made their public entry into the town; then the chief with his two nobles were brought in ſtate in a coach drawn by ſix horſes, to the council chamber, where they made their ſpeech, which conſiſted in a very few words, aſſuring us of their ſteady attachment to the crown of Britain: after the ceremonial part of their viſit was ended, they ſhook hands with every one in the room, took their leave, and were conducted back to their camp, in the coach that brought them; they were neither painted nor adorned with feathers, as the reſt, but were decently clad in blue cloth, and each a gold laced hat, with which they ſeemed very well pleaſed.

Captain Frankland's rich prize.

Captain Thomas Frankland brought in here a very rich French prize, whoſe principal loading conſiſted in piſtoles, a few cheſts of dollars, and a great deal of wrought gold and ſilver; the quantity was ſo great, that the ſhares were delivered by weight, to ſave the trouble of counting it; ſo that piſtoles were now ſeen in Charleſtown in greater plenty than the dollars had been in Providence, which could not but

but be very mortifying to governor Tinker, who was thereby deprived of the profits accruing from her condemnation, conſidering captain Frankland was ſtationed there; but he met with this mortification in general, as no privateer would ever enter with their prizes into the harbour of Providence after the treatment that Sibbald and Dowall had met with. After all the cargo was taken out of this prize, and the veſſel was to be put up to ſale, the French captain told captain Frankland that if he would engage to reward him handſomely, he would diſcover a hidden treaſure to him, which no one knew of but himſelf. Captain Frankland engaged to reward him very generouſly, and he did diſcover thirty thouſand piſtoles in a place, where no one could have thought of finding any thing. The French captain afterwards told governor Glen, that captain Frankland's generoſity conſiſted only in one thouſand piſtoles; a poor reward, he ſaid, for ſo great a diſcovery. Captain Frankland made another very accidental diſcovery: he had taken into his own ſervice a briſk little French boy, who had belonged to the French captain, who, having a walking ſtick of no value, one of the ſailors had taken it from him: the boy lamented his loſs ſo much, that captain Frankland ordered ſearch to be made for it, to return it to the boy: the ſtick was brought to the captain, who ſeeing it of no value, aſked the boy how he could make ſo much ado about ſuch a trifle. The boy replied briſkly, he could not walk like a gentleman, and ſhow his airs without a ſtick in his hand; upon the captain's going to return him the ſtick, he gave him a tap on the ſhoulder with it, and finding ſomething rattle in the inſide of it, withdrew to a room by himſelf,

BOOK XII. 1745.

ſelf, and taking off the head of it, he found jewels (according to the French captain's report) worth twenty thouſand piſtoles; who had given the ſtick to the boy when he ſurrendered, in hopes of ſaving it, as no body would take notice of ſuch a trifle in a boy's hand. Upon the whole, ſhe was a conſiderable prize to captain Frankland.

About the ſame time, captain Joſeph Hamer, of the Flamborough man of war, brought in here a Spaniſh prize, with ſuch a quantity of dollars on board that he ſhared twelve thouſand for himſelf.

A ſhort deſcription of Carolina.

Carolina is now ſo well known, that I need not give a deſcription of it; yet I cannot omit mentioning that it is, in general, very low and flat, the ſoil being, for the moſt part, ſand interſperſed with ſwamps and marſhes, which yield great plenty of rice, with which they have carried on a conſiderable trade; but as the demand for it was leſſened by the war, the inhabitants turned their thoughts to the culture of indigo, and have brought that article to conſiderable perfection. They have abundance and variety of fruits; but their oranges and vines are frequently blaſted by the north winds; mulberry trees grow here in plenty to great perfection, ſo that they might eaſily breed a number of ſilk worms, which would add a very beneficial branch to their trade. The face of the country is covered with wood; their live oak, which is an evergreen, is, in my opinion, preferable to Engliſh oak for ſhip-building; their pines grow to a prodigious ſize, fit for any maſts. Their woods abound with all kinds of veniſon and wild fowl, eſpecially turkeys and ſummer ducks; the latter came from the interior parts of the country, ſince the planting of rice; they are ex-

extremely beautiful, and are kept about gentlemen's houſes as a rarity. Whilſtling birds are here in great variety, of which the mocking bird is the moſt entertaining; they come in numbers out of the woods, and are ſo very tame and familiar that they perch on the houſe tops, and on the trees before the windows, eſpecially when they either hear muſic or ſinging, to which they liſten with great attention, and afterwards repeat the notes. I took ſeveral of them and the ſummer ducks to bring with me to Britain, but in ſpite of all my care they died at ſea.

The captain fails for England.

The Roſe and Flamborough men of war having got their orders in the latter end of May to ſail for England, and take ſuch merchant men as were ready to ſail under their convoy, I took my paſſage with captain Hamer in the Flamborough. I put a quantity of quick-ſilver, mahogany plank, dyeing-wood, and cotton, on board two of the merchant ſhips for London, in equal proportion, not being able to get thoſe goods inſured here. The one was afterwards taken in the Engliſh Channel, and carried into St. Malos; the other arrived ſafe at Cowes in the Iſle of Wight. We ſailed from Charleſtown on the 1ſt of June, with five merchant men under our convoy; and after two days ſail in fine weather, with a fair wind, we left the five ſhips under our convoy in the night, and made the beſt of our way homewards, with very pleaſant weather. We paſt to the northward of the Azores, or Weſtern Iſlands, and one evening we diſcovered three ſail to windward, bearing down upon us. In the morning one of them, which was a prime ſailor, having left the others at a very conſiderable diſtance, came pretty near up with us, and perceiving her to be a ſhip of

BOOK XII. war, captain Frankland made the ſignal to put about and meet her; which ſhe perceiving, immediately made back to her conſorts, and we proceeded on our courſe again, and ſaw no more of them; nor did we ſee any more ſhips till we got into the Channel, where we met a large man of war and a frigate, under Dutch colours. On hailing them, they told us they were from Helvoetſluys, bound for the Mediterranean, to cruize againſt the Algerines, and at parting they ſaluted us with nine guns, which we returned by the ſame number. In the evening we got into Plymouth harbour, followed by two merchantmen, a Dane and a Dutchman, who both informed us that the ſhips we had hailed were French; that the man of war was the Elizabeth, who had a little before had an engagement with the Lion, and that the frigate in company had the Pretender's eldeſt ſon on board, which our captains would not believe, but regarded as a mere fable; but the event afterwards evinced the truth of it. After one day's ſtay in the Sound we ſailed for the Downs, and arrived off Dover the 25th of July, when, according to our ſhip's reckoning from Carolina, we had ſailed five thouſand two hundred miles. I went aſhore at Dover, and got to London on the 27th.

1745.

Arrive at London.

On my arrival I found every body in the utmoſt conſternation upon the news of the Pretender's ſon being landed in the north of Scotland, at a time when both the king and army were abroad, which afterwards brought the nation to no ſmall trouble and expence. After I had delivered my report and accounts to the board of ordnance, and ſettled my own affairs, I was ordered to repair to Hull, where the magiſtrates had petitioned the board to ſend them

an engineer to direct them how to carry on their fortifications, which they were at this time repairing at their own charge. I arrived at Hull on the 8th of October, where I found people of all ranks induſtriouſly employed in deepening and clearing out their moats and forming their parapets; next day I attended lieutenant-general Jones, deputy-governor, the mayor and aldermen, round the ramparts; I was ſurpriſed to ſee the great progreſs they had made in ſo ſhort a time, and to as good purpoſe as if they had been directed by an able engineer. At their deſire I left them further directions how to proceed for the better defence of the place; and having received a great many civilities from them, I proceeded, in obedience to my orders, to join the army under marſhal Wade. 1745.

On the 15th I arrived at Doncaſter, where the Dutch troops had joined us; on the 18th the marſhal reviewed the army, and broke up the camp on the 21ſt to proceed northward; the Dutch behaved on the march as if they had been in an enemy's country, robbing, plundering, and abuſing the country people; the particulars of their behaviour are too ſhocking to relate. On the 31ſt we arrived at Newcaſtle, where we encamped in very cold, bad weather; and here receiving intelligence that the rebels had beſieged Carliſle, we broke up to march to its relief, leaving near one-fourth of our army ſick in the hoſpital.

On the 18th of November we got to Hexham in Northumberland, in extreme cold weather, which march, with the ſudden tranſition from a warm to a cold climate, entirely ruined my health, being ſeized with a rupture and an aſthma, which diſabled me from ſtanding the hard fatigues

BOOK IXI. tigues of a winter campaign. We were informed here that Carliſle had ſurrendered to the rebels, on which we marched back to Newcaſtle, where we arrived the 22d. The weather was now become ſo intenſely cold, that the army could not pitch their tents, ſo they were quartered in the town and adjacent villages. In this ſituation we received intelligence that the rebels had marched for Wales, which made us leave our warm quarters, and march ſouthward. On the 6th of December we reached Ferrybridge, from whence we ſent our ſick to Doncaſter, and our horſe and dragoons to join his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, and we arrived at Leeds on the 11th, where we were informed the rebels had returned back for the North, on which our army marched back again.

1745.

FINIS.

FINIS.



