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TRAVELS

INTO

POLAND, RUSSIA, SWEDEN,

AND

DENMARK.

INTERSPERSED WITH HISTORICAL RELATIONS AND POLITICAL INQUIRIES.

ILLUSTRATED WITH CHARTS AND ENGRAVINGS.

BY WILLIAM COXE, A.M. F.R.S.

FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE; AND CHAPLAIN TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

K. K. LYCEAL BIBLIOTHEK ZU LAIBACH

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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UNIWERSYTECKA

TO THE

Right Honourable Lord HERBERT.

MY LORD,

AS the advantages which I enjoyed from accompanying your Lordſhip upon your travels enabled me to collect the materials for the following work, it cannot be inſcribed to any other perſon with ſo much propriety as to your Lordſhip. You, I flatter myſelf, will recollect with pleaſure the reſult of thoſe inquiries to which you were particularly attentive; and I am happy in this publick opportunity of expreſſing the grateful ſenſe which I entertain of being honoured with your Lordſhip's friendſhip; and of declaring the ſincere regard and attachment with which I am,

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt faithful

And obedient ſervant,

WILLIAM COXE.

King's College, Cambridge,
April 2, 1784.

PREFACE.

THE following pages contain the reſult of that intelligence which I collected, and thoſe obſervations which occurred, during my travels through the Northern kingdoms of Europe; and it is neceſſary to apprize the reader upon what foundation the principal facts are ſupported.

In regard to Poland, I was honoured with information from perſons of the higheſt rank and authority; and fortunately obtained poſſeſſion of ſome original letters written from Warſaw, before and during the Partition, which have enabled me to throw a conſiderable light over that intereſting period. I preſume, therefore, that the account of Poland comprehends many particulars which have not been hitherto preſented to the publick.

With reſpect to Ruſſia, as the Empreſs herſelf deigned to anſwer ſome queries relative to the ſtate of the publick priſons *; this gracious condeſcenſion in ſo great a ſovereign could not but facilitate my further inquiries.

To this I muſt add, that the late celebrated hiſtorian †, Mr. Muller, favoured me with various communications on ſome of the moſt important and intricate parts of the Ruſſian annals, and pointed out to me the moſt approved writers on this empire.

The nature of the Swediſh government rendered the ſources of information eaſy of acceſs; and, ſince my return to England, ſeveral

* See Vol. II. p. 76.

† Mr. Muller died in the latter end of 1783. The Empreſs, who, in conſideration of his great merit, had honoured him with the order of St. Vladimir, has, in reſpect to his memory, conferred a penſion on his widow, and ennobled his ſon.

Swediſh gentlemen, well verſed in the conſtitution of their country, have ſupplied much additional intelligence.

As the materials which I acquired in Denmark were leſs extenſive than thoſe collected in the other parts, the account of that kingdom is confined to thoſe circumſtances which I was able to aſcertain, it having been my invariable reſolution never to adopt uncertain accounts, but to adhere ſolely to thoſe facts which appeared to me to be derived from the moſt unqueſtionable authorities.

In the hiſtorical relations I have had recourſe to many Engliſh and foreign authors, and particularly ſeveral German writers of unimpeached veracity, who were reſident for a conſiderable time in ſome of the Northern kingdoms, and from whom I have drawn many anecdotes not known to the Engliſh reader.

Throughout this work I have ſcrupulouſly cited the authors whom I have conſulted, and have ſubjoined in the Appendix to the firſt volume a liſt of the principal books employed on this occaſion, with an explanation of the references by which they are diſtinguiſhed.

I cannot cloſe this preface without expreſſing my obligations to Mr. Wraxall, Mr. Pennant, and Dr. Pulteney, for their reſpective aſſiſtance, acknowledged in the courſe of the work. Colonel Floyd alſo claims my ſincereſt thanks for communicating his accurate Journal of our Tour, to whoſe obſervations and deſcriptions, beſide the extracts in the following pages, I gratefully confeſs myſelf indebted for many intereſting particulars.

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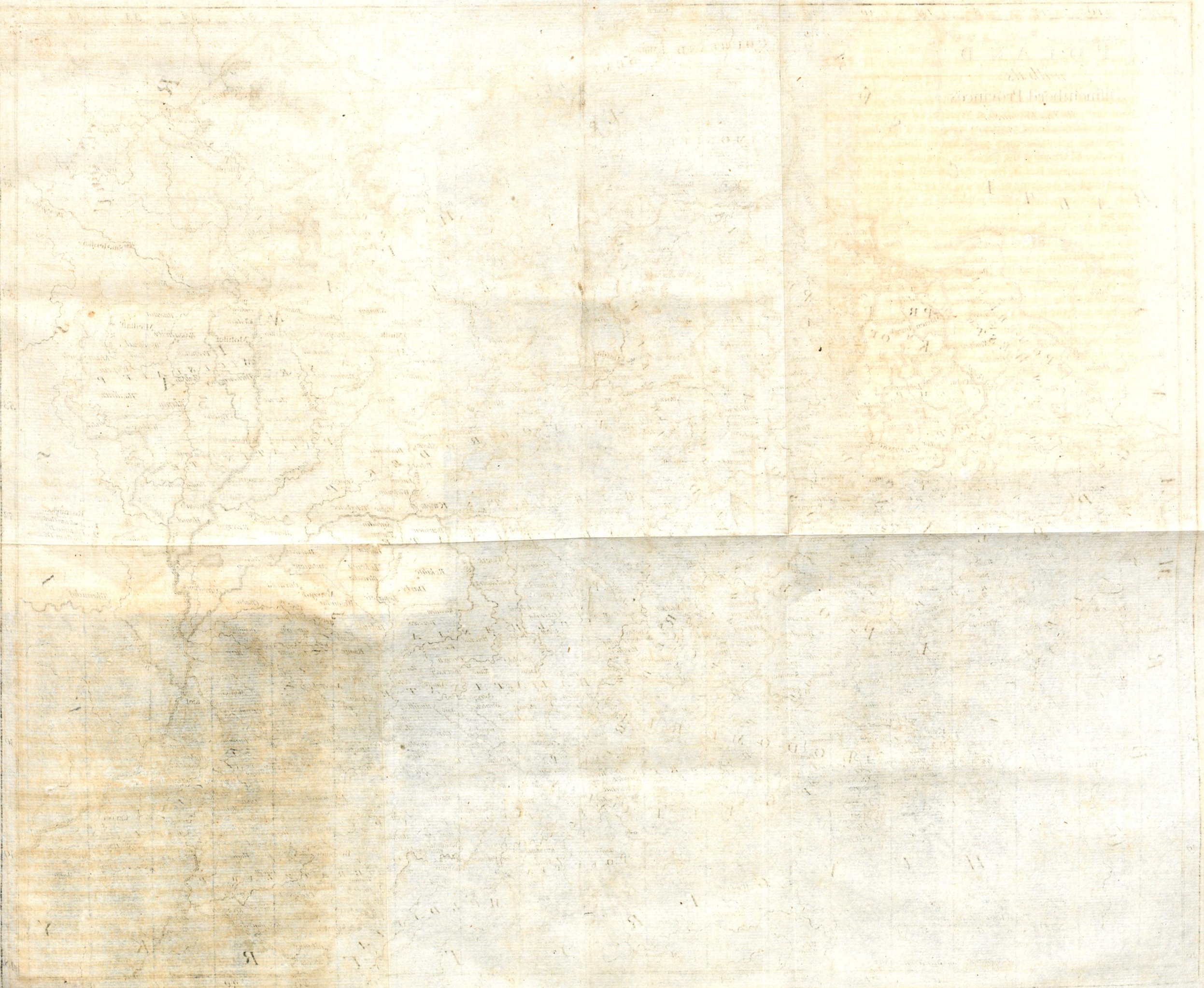

POLAND
with its Dismembered Provinces.

By Thos Kitchin Senr
Hydrographer to his MAJESTY.

Remarks.
1. Austrian Partition
2. Prussian Dº
3. Russian Dº

English Miles 69½ to a Degree.
5 to 20 40 60 80 100

Polish Miles 20 to a Degree
1 2 3 4 5 10 15 20 25 30

Longitude E. from Greenwich

Published March 26th 1784 according to Act of Parliament by T. Cadell in the Strand.

TRAVELS

INTO

POLAND.

HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT OF POLAND.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Reſearches into the origin and progreſs of the Poliſh *government.—An inquiry into the cauſes of the gradual diminution of royal prerogative, and eſtabliſhment of a monarchy wholly elective.—Licentious power and conduct of the nobles.—Bad effects of ariſtocratical authority.*

CHAP. I.

IT is a matter of extreme difficulty to inveſtigate in any country the origin and progreſs of its conſtitution; as well becauſe the beginning of all hiſtories is involved in obſcurity and fable; as becauſe that body of laws and uſages, which forms the eſſence of every government, is not created at once, in any particular period, or by a ſingle event, but generally reſults from a ſeries of circumſtances, many of them ſcarce ſeparately diſcernible.

BOOK I.

diſcernible. In Poland, however, the political obſerver has this ſingular advantage, that a ſucceſſion of accurate hiſtorians* (ſome of whom flouriſhed ſoon after the æra when the moſt important branches of the Poliſh conſtitution were aſcertained) have developed with uncommon preciſion and care the various occurrences and inſtitutions, from which the extraordinary form of government, at preſent ſubſiſting in that kingdom, was gradually derived. By means of their authentic narratives we are enabled to trace, in what manner, and from what concurrence of circumſtances, a monarchy nearly abſolute, ſunk in the courſe of a few centuries, without any depoſition of the prince or violent convulſion, into a ſtate of almoſt total ariſtocracy.

A brief inquiry into the principal incidents which produced this remarkable conſtitution, accompanied by ſuch political reflexions as the progreſs of the detail ſuggeſts, will not, I flatter myſelf, prove unintereſting; and will properly introduce a view of Poland in its preſent ſtate.

The ſovereigns of Poland are uſually ranged into four claſſes. I. Of the houſe of Leſko. II. Of Piaſt. III. Of Jaghellon. IV. Of different families. Theſe claſſes divide the hiſtory of Poland into four correſponding periods.

I. The firſt† period is allowed by the beſt Poliſh hiſtorians to be entirely fabulous; they therefore generally commence their narratives at the ſecond æra.

II. The earlieſt part even of this ſecond epoch has an air of

* Dlugoſſius, the father of Poliſh hiſtory, was born in 1415, only 45 years after the demiſe of Caſimir the Great, from whoſe reign Poland dates her written laws. He begins his hiſtory from the earlieſt period of the Poliſh annals, and carries it down to the year 1480.

† Quæ de Lecho ejuſque ſucceſſoribus ad Piaſtum uſque et ultra memorantur, ſunt obſcura, fabuloſa, et falſa, quare ſilentio tranſmittimur, ne variis narrationibus immoremur; are the words of Lengnich, Hiſt. Polon. p. 2. The fabulous ſtory of Leſko is as follows: Upon the death of Leſko I. duke of Poland, a race was appointed on horſeback, and the victor was to be nominated ſovereign. Leſzec, one of the candidates, in order to ſecure the victory, ſtrewed part of the courſe with nails, leaving a clear paſſage for his own horſe. This ſtratagem was diſcovered by another of the candidates, and made known to the people; the latter roſe, maſſacred Leſzec, and proclaimed the other duke, who aſſumed the name of Leſko II. The æra in which this Leſko reigned is ſo uncertain, that ſome hiſtorians refer it to the 6th, others the 7th, and even the 8th century.

romance;

romance; and the account of Piaſt, who gave his name to a line of kings, and from whom all the natives of Poland who have aſcended the throne are to this day called Piaſt, is little elſe than a ſeries of fictions. By ſome he is ſaid to have been a wheelwright, by others a common peaſant, and by all to have gained the crown through the viſible interpoſition of two angels. Nor indeed can we expect any faithful accounts of a people buried in barbariſm, wholly without letters, and immerſed in Pagan ſuperſtition. We cannot therefore date the authenticity of the Poliſh annals earlier than the acceſſion of Miciſlaus II. the fourth ſovereign of the line of Piaſt: from his reign Poland began to be connected with Germany, the hiſtorians of which country, as well as thoſe of Sweden and Denmark, throw a conſiderable light upon Poliſh affairs prior to the exiſtence of native hiſtorians. CHAP. I. A. D. 964.

Some writers have obſerved, that during the whole of the ſecond period the monarchy was always elective, and the ſovereign limited in his power; others, on the contrary, have affirmed, that the crown was hereditary, and its authority abſolute: but this controverſy may be eaſily reconciled; the crown ſeemed hereditary from its continuance in the ſame family, and had at the ſame time an elective appearance, becauſe, upon the death of the king, his ſucceſſor was formally * nominated and recognized in an aſſembly of the nobility and clergy of the realm. With reſpect to the extent of the king's authority, his power, as in the generality of feudal governments when exerciſed by an able and enterpriſing prince, triumphed over all controul; but, in the hands of an incapable ſovereign, was eaſily depreſſed by the privileges of a licentious and warlike nobility.

* Memorati ergo principes, non per ejuſmodi electionem, qualis hodie celebratur, ad regnum pervenerunt, ſed electio quam paſſim nominant ſcriptores, revera erat declaratio procerum & nobilium, quæ præcedebat, antequam regimen novi principes ingrederentur. Lengnich, Jus Publicum Regni Poloniæ, v. I. p. 58.

BOOK I.

Towards the close of this second period, Casimir the Great retrenched the turbulent and oppressive authority of the principal barons; and granted certain immunities to the nobles and gentry. This great monarch was aware, that no other expedient could introduce order into this kingdom, except a limitation of the vast influence possessed by the * Palatines or principal nobility: if he had been succeeded by a line of hereditary monarchs, it is probable that the barons would never have recovered their former ascendancy; and that the feudal system would have been gradually annihilated in Poland as in other parts of Europe.

1347.

But his nephew Louis, king of Hungary, who succeeded him, being a foreigner, was obliged, in order to ensure the possession of the throne, to subscribe certain conditions, which infringed the power of the sovereign, and gave fresh vigour to that of the barons and inferior nobles. The principal concessions made by Louis were, not to impose any additional taxes by his mere regal authority without the consent of the nation; and that in case of his demise without male heirs, the privilege of appointing a sovereign should revert to the nobles at large †. In consequence of this agreement, Louis was allowed to ascend the throne without opposition; and having no sons, he, with a view of insuring the succession to his son-in-law the Emperor Sigismund married to his eldest daughter Maria, promised, in addition to all the former grants, to diminish the taxes, to repair the fortresses at his own expence, and to confer no dignities or offices upon foreigners ‡.

1382.

III. The third period begins upon the death of Louis, when the Poles very politically set aside Sigismund, who would have been formidable to their newly acquired immunities; and elected for their king Ladislaus Jaghellon duke of Lithuania,

* Palatinorum et judicum infinita potestas coercita est, &c. Sarnicius, p. 1141.

† Dlugossius. Lib. IX. p. 1102, &c.

‡ See Lengnich, Pac. Con. Aug. III. Pref. p. 5.

in

in conſequence of his fully confirming all the ſtipulations of Louis, and eſpouſing Hedwige youngeſt daughter of the deceaſed monarch. CHAP. I.

As, by the renunciation of Louis, the kings of Poland were diveſted of the right to impoſe taxes without conſent of the nation, Ladiſlaus aſſembled the nobles * in their reſpective provinces in order to obtain an additional tribute. Theſe provincial aſſemblies gave birth to the dietines; which, however, no longer retain the power of raiſing money in their ſeveral diſtricts, but only elect the nuntios or repreſentatives for the general diet.

Ladiſlaus III. ſon of Ladiſlaus Jaghellon purchaſed his nomination to the ſucceſſion, during the life of his father, by a confirmation of all the privileges above enumerated, which he ſolemnly ratified at his acceſſion.

Under Caſimir III. † brother and ſucceſſor to Ladiſlaus III. ſeveral further innovations were introduced into the original conſtitution, all unfavourable to regal prerogative. One of the principal changes which took place in this reign, and which laid the foundation of ſtill more important revolutions in the Poliſh government, was the convention of a national diet inveſted with the ſole power of granting ſupplies. Each Palatinate or province was permitted to ſend to this general diet, beſide the Palatines and other principal barons, a certain number of nuntios or repreſentatives, choſen by the nobles and burghers ‡. This reign is therefore conſidered by the popular party as the æra, at which the freedom of the conſtitution was permanently eſtabliſhed. Caſimir was engaged in ſeveral unſucceſsful wars, which exhauſted the royal treaſures; and as he could not impoſe any taxes without the conſent of the nation, he was under the neceſſity of applying repeatedly to the

* Prelatorum, Baronum et Militarium. Lengnich, Jus Pub. vol. II. p. 35.

† Sometimes called Caſimir IV.

‡ See Chap. VIII. for proof that the burghers were permitted to ſend repreſentatives.

BOOK I.

diet for ſubſidies: almoſt every ſupply was accompanied with a liſt of grievances, and produced a diminution of prerogative. In Poland, as in all feudal governments, the barons, at the head of their vaſſals, are bound to fight in defence of the kingdom: before the reign of Caſimir III. the king could require ſuch military, or, as they were called, feudal ſervices; but this monarch, in compenſation for ſome pecuniary aid, gave up that privilege, and renounced * the power of ſummoning the nobles to his ſtandard; he likewiſe agreed not to enact any laws without the concurrence of the national diet.

John Albert, ſecond ſon of Caſimir, being elected in preference to his elder brother Ladiſlaus, king of Hungary and Bohemia, aſſented without heſitation, as the price of this partiality, to all the immunities extorted from his predeceſſors; and ſwore to their obſervance in a general † diet held at Petrikau, 1469.

Alexander, brother and ſucceſſor of John Albert, declared, in 1505, the following limitations of ſovereign authority to be fundamental laws of the kingdom. 1. The king cannot impoſe taxes. 2. He cannot require the feudal ſervices; 3. nor alienate the royal domains; 4. nor enact laws; 5. nor coin money; 6. nor alter the proceſs in the courts of juſtice.

Sigiſmond I. ſucceeded Alexander: one ‡ of the Poliſh hiſtorians, ſpeaking of his reign, exclaims with much indignation, "The king is almoſt wholly deſtitute of power; he can-"not procure any ſubſidy on the moſt preſſing emergency, for "carrying on war, or for the portion of his daughters, with-"out increaſing the privileges of the nobility." Notwithſtanding, however, this exclamation, we cannot forbear to remark, that the power of levying taxes at diſcretion is the moſt

* Quod nullas conſtitutiones faceret, neque terrigenas ad bellum moveri mandaret, abſque conventione communi in ſingulis terris inſtituendâ.
Conſt. Pol. v. I. p. 186.

† Præclarorum Baronum ac nuntiorum de ſingulis terris hic congreſſorum univerſorum conſilio ac voluntate, &c. Conſt. Pol. v. I. p. 294.

‡ Orichovius.

dangerous

dangerous prerogative that can be lodged in the hands of a ſovereign, and the moſt formidable engine of deſpotic authority: the acquiſition of it by the monarchs of France finally ſubverted the liberties of that kingdom; and it was made the firſt object of reſiſtance by the aſſertors of freedom in our own country. If indeed we were inclined to point out any particular period, at which the Poliſh conſtitution attained its moſt perfect ſtate, we ſhould perhaps fix on the reign of Sigiſmond I. when the perſon and property of the ſubject were ſecured by ample proviſions; and the crown ſtill retained conſiderable influence. But the time was arrived, when an inordinate paſſion for liberty led the nobles to render the throne wholly elective; and at each election to continue their encroachments upon the regal authority, until the king was reduced to a mere pageant. The firſt public attempt towards eſtabliſhing this favourite object of the Poles, a free election of the king, was brought forward in the reign of Sigiſmond Auguſtus, ſon and ſucceſſor of Sigiſmond I. who was conſtrained in 1550 to agree, that no future monarch ſhould ſucceed to the throne, unleſs he was freely elected by the nation.

The death of Sigiſmond Auguſtus without iſſue gave efficacy to this conceſſion, which might otherwiſe have been counteracted by the popularity and influence attendant on a claimant by hereditary ſucceſſion. For it may not be improper to remark, that, during the Jaghellon line, the ſovereigns upon their acceſſion, or election, although formally raiſed to the throne by the conſent of the nation, ſtill reſted their pretenſions upon hereditary right, as well as upon this conſent; always ſtyling themſelves *heirs* of the kingdom of Poland. Sigiſmond Auguſtus, in whom the male line of the Jaghellon family became extinct, was the laſt who bore that title *.

IV. The fourth period begins upon the demiſe of Sigiſmond

* Lengnich, Jus Pub. v. I. p. 59.

Auguſtus,

BOOK I.

Auguſtus, in 1572, when all title to the crown from hereditary right was formally abrogated, and the moſt abſolute freedom of election eſtabliſhed upon the moſt permanent baſis. At this æra a charter of immunities was drawn up at a general diet, a ratification of which it was determined to exact from the new ſovereign, prior to his election. The ground-work of this charter, termed in the Poliſh law *Pacta Conventa*, was the whole body of privileges obtained from Louis and his ſucceſſors, with the following additions: 1. That the king ſhould be elective, and that his ſucceſſor ſhould never be appointed during his life. 2. That the diets, the holding of which depended ſolely upon the will of the kings, ſhould be aſſembled every two years. 3. That every * noble or gentleman in the whole realm ſhould have a vote in the diet of election. 4. That, in caſe the king ſhould infringe the laws and privileges of the nation, his ſubjects ſhould be abſolved from their oaths of allegiance. From this period the *Pacta Conventa*, occaſionally enlarged, have been confirmed by every ſovereign at his coronation.

Henry of Valois, duke of Anjou and brother of Charles IX. King of France, was the firſt ſovereign who aſcended the throne after the conſtitution had been thus new-modelled. He ſecured his election, as well by private bribes to the nobles, as by a ſtipulation to pay an annual penſion to the Republic from the revenues of France. His example has been neceſſarily followed by each ſucceeding ſovereign, who, beſide an unconditional ratification of the *Pacta Conventa*, has been always conſtrained to purchaſe the crown by a public largeſs and by private corruption; circumſtances which endear to the Poles an elective monarchy.

Under Stephen Bathori, the regal power was ſtill further abridged by the appointment of ſixteen reſident ſenators,

* See the Definition of a Noble, Ch. VIII.

choſen

choſen at each diet, to attend the king, and to give their opinion in all matters of importance, ſo that he could not iſſue any decree without their conſent *. Another fatal blow was alſo given to his prerogative in 1578, by taking from him the ſupreme juriſdiction, or the power of judging in the laſt reſort the cauſes of the nobles, excepting ſuch as ariſe within a ſmall diſtance † of the ſovereign's place of reſidence: it was enacted, that without the concurrence of the king each palatinate or province ſhould elect in their dietines their own judges, who ſhould form ſupreme courts of juſtice, called *Tribunalia Regni* ‡; and that in theſe courts the cauſes of the nobles ſhould be decided finally and without appeal; a mode of judicature which prevails to this day.

The turbulent reign of John Caſimir was marked by the introduction of the *Liberum Veto* ||, or the power which each nuntio claims and exerciſes of interpoſing a negative, and in conſequence of that interpoſition of breaking up the diet; a privilege which the ſovereign himſelf does not poſſeſs, and which has contributed more than any other innovation to deſtroy the due balance of the Poliſh conſtitution.

But the king was ſtill the fountain of honour: he conferred the principal dignities and great offices of the republic; and beſtowed the Staroſties, or Royal fiefs, which are held during the life-time of the poſſeſſor. Hence he ſtill maintained great influence in the councils of the nation; but this laſt ſolitary branch of royal prerogative was wreſted from his preſent Majeſty at the eſtabliſhment of the Permanent Council §.

* This appointment was made, in 1573, under Henry, but did not abſolutely take place till the reign of Stephen. Lengnich, Jus Pub. v. I. p. 344. II. 44.

† The courts exerciſing juſtice in the king's name within the diſtrict are called Aſſeſſoria Regni. Until the death of John Sobieſki, the kings judged frequently in perſon, but this ceaſed to be the cuſtom from the time of Auguſtus II. and the Great Chancellor now exerciſes, in his Majeſty's name, that branch of royal prerogative.

‡ Lengnich, Jus Pub. v. II. p. 536.

|| For an account of the Liberum Veto, ſee Chap. VI.

§ A delineation of the Permanent Council, in the words of the edict which eſtabliſhed it, is given in Chapter V.

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Thus it appears, that, from the time of Louis to the preſent period, the nobles have continued without interruption to diminiſh the regal authority, and to augment their own privileges. Many of the conceſſions which they obtained from the ſovereigns of the Jaghellon line, were juſt and reaſonable, and aimed only at an equitable degree of freedom. When, however, an abſolute right to diſpoſe of ſo tempting an object as the crown gave them repeated opportunities of preſcribing unconditional terms to every candidate for the throne, they were no longer content with that equal diſtribution of power, which is the excellence of a limited monarchy; but aſpired to and nearly attained a direct ariſtocracy under a regal title and form.

From this general review of the revolutions in the conſtitution of Poland, we may eaſily infer, that, notwithſtanding their ſo much boaſted liberty, the Poles are by no means equally free. Indeed their hiſtorians, however they may differ in other points, unanimouſly agree in reprobating their affectation of liberty, the ſhadow rather than the reality of freedom; which is in fact merely a turbulent ſyſtem of Ariſtocratic licentiouſneſs, where a few members of the community are above the controul of law, while the majority are excluded from its protection. We ſhould ſuppoſe, that, if in any inſtance they were free, it would be in the election of a king, one of their moſt vaunted privileges; and yet Sarniſki addreſſes the Poles with great truth in the following words: "Turn over your annals, and you will ſcarcely find a ſingle "example of a free election *." Another Poliſh hiſtorian of great note, the celebrated Staniſlaus Lubienſki biſhop of Plotſko, juſtly contends that the Poles, free as they pretend to be, are abſolutely in a ſtate of ſlavery, to which they have been

* Revolvite annales veſtros, vix ullum exemplum liberæ electionis invenietis.

reduced by an inconſiderate paſſion for liberty *. In a word, it is evident beyond the poſſibility of doubt, from the hiſtory of this country, that the Poles were more free at home, and more independent and flouriſhing abroad, when the ſovereign had more authority, when the nobles aſſiſted at the diets without the privilege of diſſolving them; and when they ſubmitted themſelves and their peaſants to the juriſdiction of the king. The proof of this aſſertion is founded on the following facts. CHAP. I.

1. The preſent wretched ſtate of the towns compared with their former flouriſhing condition, during the reigns of the Jaghellon family, when the burghers even poſſeſſed a right of ſending nuntios to the diets †, forms a ſtrong contraſt to their former proſperity; and atteſts the melancholy effects of ariſtocratical deſpotiſm. 2. The wretched condition and poverty of the peaſants, whoſe increaſe of oppreſſion has kept pace in an equal proportion with the increaſe of the power of the nobles; for when the king loſt his weight in the conſtitution, this moſt numerous and uſeful order of ſociety loſt a patron and protector. 3. A total confuſion introduced into the adminiſtration of public affairs; and a ſtate of anarchy, which prevents deliberation, and delays the adoption of neceſſary meaſures even in times of the moſt preſſing emergency. 4. The declenſion of the importance, and contraction of the territories of the republic. During the reigns of the kings of the Jaghellon family, before the nobles had acquired a decided preponderancy in the ſtate, the kingdom of Poland was far more powerful and extenſive than it is at preſent: ſince the changes in the conſtitution, and the introduction of anarchy,

* Expendamus paululum ſtatum reipublicæ: inconſultus libertatis amor dum iidem leges ferunt, qui pœnis obnoxii ſunt, et impunitatis deſiderio, juris, quo tot ſæculis patria ſtetit, convellunt fundamenta, nos eo redegit *ut liberi peſſimo cuique ſerviamus.* Nulla legum reverentia, nulla poteſtatis verecundia: tantum quiſque audet, quantum habet virium. Dudum jam agricolas miſeros aſpero ſervitutis jugo preſſimus, &c. p. 194.

† See Chap. VIII.

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falſely called liberty, the Poles have not only made no conqueſt except what they have been forced to relinquiſh; but have ſeen even their original territories gradually mouldering away, and at laſt conſiderably reduced by the late partition. A kingdom with more than twelve millions of inhabitants, if well regulated, would never have fallen ſo eaſy a prey to the ambition of its neighbours: its internal ſtrength, aſſiſted by its natural alliances, would have been ſufficient to have protracted, if not prevented, its diſmemberment. Nor are the fatal effects of the evils inherent in the conſtitution yet fully exhauſted: the ſame incapacity of reſiſting the encroachments of neighbouring powers, which made the Poles ſo tamely accede to the late diviſion, will render them equally ſubmiſſive, whenever any future claims ſhall be urged by a combination of the neighbouring ſtates; and compel them to acquieſce under any pretenſions, however chimerical, or however unjuſt.

Anarchy, in ſhort, and confuſion are not only tolerated, but are even ſuppoſed by the nobles, who reap the benefit of thoſe evils, to be abſolutely neceſſary for the ſupport of the conſtitution; ſo that there is a proverb, which implies that Poland ſubſiſts by anarchy. In oppoſition to this abſurd idea, an hiſtorian, whom I have before mentioned, adviſes his countrymen no longer to ſuffer the republic to be governed by chance, or to ſubmit to the caſt of the die the adminiſtration of affairs, on which their very exiſtence as a nation depends *.

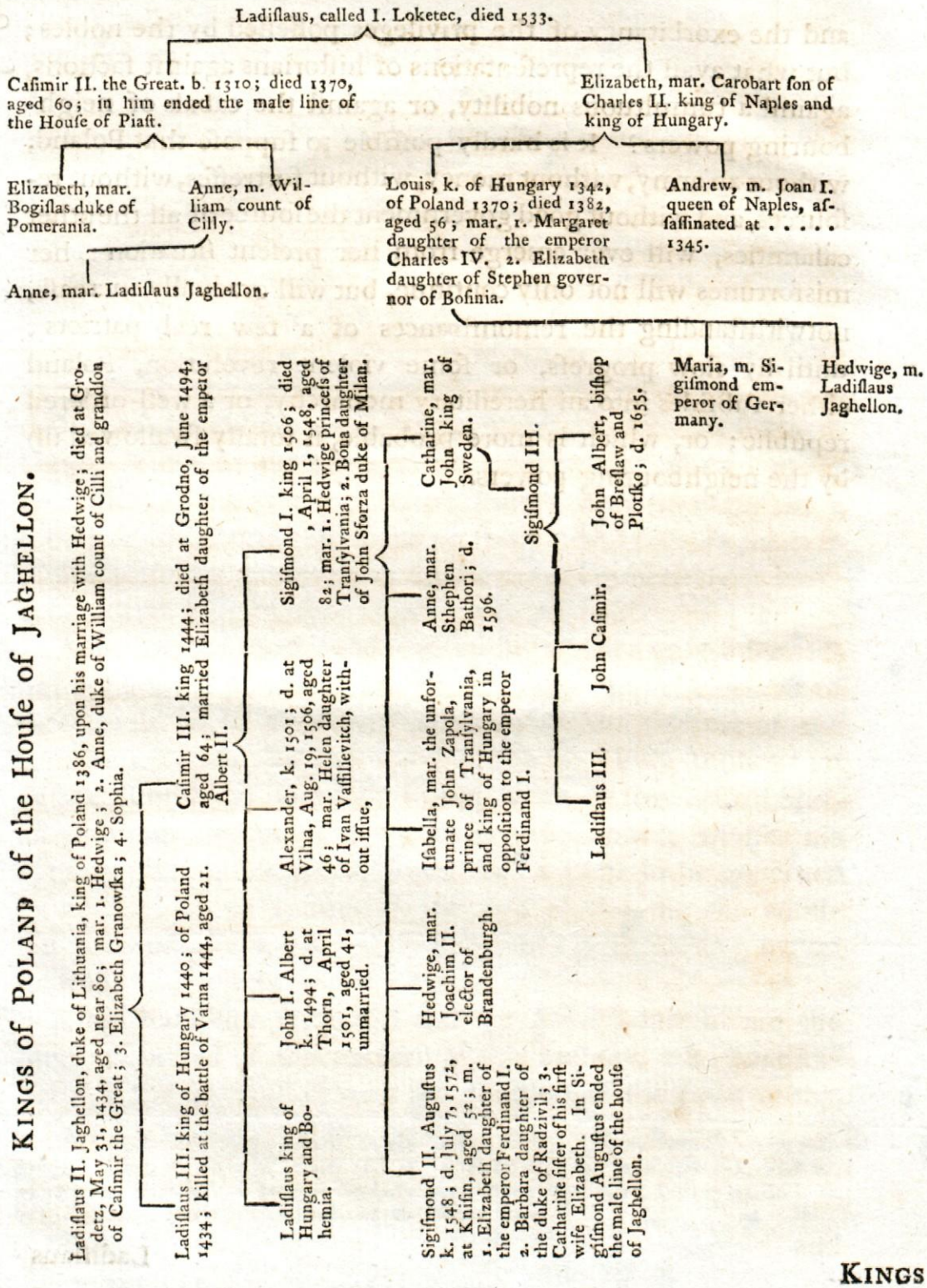
King Staniſlaus Letzinſki and the Abbé Konarſki are the moſt celebrated of the modern Poliſh authors, who have expoſed in the ſtrongeſt colours the diſorders of the government,

* Non condemnetis (ſays Sarniſki, in the ſtriking paſſage to which I allude, and of which it was impoſſible to preſerve the ſpirit in a tranſlation) quæſo prudentiſſimorum virorum conſilia; nec ſinatis amplius *caſu* rempublicam regi, nec permittatis *dubiæ aleæ* res, in quibus vita et mors, ſalus et interitus, ad limen ſedent.

and

and the exorbitancy of the privileges poſſeſſed by the nobles; but what avail the repreſentations of hiſtorians againſt factions, againſt a tumultuous nobility, or againſt the cabals of neighbouring powers? It is hardly poſſible to ſuppoſe that Poland, without an army, without money, without fortreſſes, without reſources, and without good government the ſource of all the other calamities, will ever emerge from her preſent ſituation: her misfortunes will not only continue, but will gradually increaſe, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of a few real patriots; until by ſlow progreſs, or ſome violent revolution, Poland either ſubſides into an hereditary monarchy, or a well-ordered republic; or, which is more probable, is totally ſwallowed up by the neighbouring powers.

Ladiſlaus



KINGS of POLAND of the House of JAGHELLON.

Ladislaus II. Jaghellon, duke of Lithuania, king of Poland 1386, upon his marriage with Hedwige; died at Grodetz, May 31, 1434 aged near 80; mar. 1. Hedwige; 2. Anne, duke of William count of Cilli and grandson of Casimir the Great; 3. Elizabeth Granowska; 4. Sophia.

Ladislaus III. king of Hungary 1440; of Poland 1434; killed at the battle of Varna 1444, aged 21.

Casimir III. king 1444; died at Grodno, June 1494, aged 64; married Elizabeth daughter of the emperor Albert II.

Ladislaus king of Hungary and Bohemia.

John I. Albert k. 1494; d. at Thorn, April 1501, aged 41, unmarried.

Alexander, k. 1501; d. at Vilna, Aug. 19, 1506, aged 46; mar. Helen daughter of Ivan Vassilievitch, without issue,

Sigismond I. king 1506; died , April 1, 1548, aged 82; mar. 1. Hedwige princess of Transylvania; 2. Bona daughter of John Sforza duke of Milan.

Sigismond II. Augustus k. 1548; d. July 7, 1572, at Knisin, aged 52; m. 1. Elizabeth daughter of the emperor Ferdinand I. 2. Barbara daughter of the duke of Radzivil; 3. Catharine sister of his first wife Elizabeth. In Sigismond Augustus ended the male line of the house of Jaghellon.

Hedwige, mar. Joachim II. elector of Brandenburgh.

Isabella, mar. the unfortunate John Zapola, prince of Transylvania, and king of Hungary in opposition to the emperor Ferdinand I.

Anne, mar. Stephen Bathori; d. 1596.

Catharine, mar. John king of Sweden.

Sigismond III.

Ladislaus III.

John Casimir.

John Albert, bishop of Breslaw and Plotsko; d. 1655.

KINGS

KINGS of POLAND of different Families.

Henry of Valois duke of Anjou, afterwards king of France, king of Poland, May 1573, abdicated June 1574.	Stephen Bathori, king of Poland Dec. 14, 1575, upon his marriage with Anne Jaghellon; d. at Grodno Dec. 12, 1586, aged 54.	Sigiſmond III. k. Aug. 1587; died at Warſaw April 30, 1632, aged 66. See the former table. Marr. 1. Anne daught. of Charles archduke of Auſtria; 2. Conſtantia ſiſter of Anne.	Ladiſlaus IV. ſon of Sigiſmond III. k. Nov. 1632; d. at Meretz, May 20, 1648, aged 52; m. 1. Cecilia daugh. of the emperor Ferdinand II. 2. Louiſa Maria princeſs of Nevers.	John II. Caſimir, k. Nov. 20, 1648; abdicated Sept. 16, 1668; d. at Nevers in France, Dec 16, 1672, aged 64; m. Louiſa his brother's widow.	Michael Koribut Wieſnoviſki, k. June 19, 1668; d. at Leopold, Nov. 10, 1673, aged 35; m. Eleonora daughter of the emperor Ferdinand III.	John III. Sobieſki, k. May 21, 1674; d. at Villanow, June 17, 1696, aged 66; m. Marie de la Grange d'Arquien.	Auguſtus II. elector of Saxony, k. June 1697; died at Warſaw, Jan. 1733, aged 63; mar. Chriſtina daughter of Chriſtian margrave of Brandenburgh Bareith. Staniſlaus Letzinſki, choſen in oppoſition to Auguſtus II. July 12, 1704; driven from Poland; again elected by a party upon the death of Auguſtus II. again obliged to retire; retained the title of king; d. at Luneville, Feb. 23, 1766. His daughter Marie mar. Louis XV.	Auguſtus III. elector of Saxony, k. Oct. 5, 1733; died at Dreſden, Oct. 1763; mar. Maria Joſephina daughter of the emperor Joſeph I.	Staniſlaus Auguſtus, k. Sept. 1764.

CHAP. II.

Election of Staniſlaus Auguſtus.—*His excellent regulations oppoſed by the neighbouring powers.—Hiſtory of the Diſſidents—their privileges aboliſhed by the diet of* 1766.—*Confederacies in their favour ſupported by the Empreſs of* Ruſſia.—*Reſtored to their rights by the diet of* 1768.—*Proceedings of that diet.—Riſe of the civil commotions.*

BOOK I. UPON the demiſe of Auguſtus II. Staniſlaus Auguſtus, ſon of Count Poniatowſki the friend and companion of Charles XII. was ſupported in his pretenſions to the crown by the Empreſs of Ruſſia, and the King of Pruſſia; their aſſiſtance, joined to that of a ſtrong party among the nobles who had declared in his favour, and aided by his great perſonal accompliſhments, raiſed him to the throne of Poland. Five thouſand Ruſſian troops ſtationed at a ſmall diſtance from the plain of Vola, wherein the diet of election was aſſembled, ſecured good order, and overawed the violence of the oppoſite party. The practice of cantoning a body of ſoldiers near the plain where the Poliſh kings are elected, has been adopted by different foreign powers for near a century; a mode of proceeding, which, however galling it may appear to the licentious nobility, prevents the effuſion of blood that formerly deluged theſe popular aſſemblies.

Staniſlaus was in the 32d year of his age when he aſcended the throne in 1764, and ſeemed calculated by his virtues and abilities to raiſe Poland from its deplorable ſtate; if the defects of the conſtitution had not fettered his exertions for the public good. The faireſt hopes were conceived of his future reign; but theſe flattering preſages at firſt realized, were ſoon diſappointed by the factions of a turbulent people, fomented by the

intrigues of the neighbouring powers: thus the reign of the moſt amiable among the Poliſh ſovereigns was doomed to experience the dreadful effects of that exceſſive liberty, which is almoſt inconſiſtent with the exiſtence of government. The firſt acts of his Majeſty's reign were highly adapted to introduce order and regularity into the interior adminiſtration, and to reſcue his country from her dependence upon foreign powers. The tendency of theſe excellent regulations to increaſe the power and conſequence of Poland gave umbrage to the adjacent ſtates; and were likewiſe vigorouſly oppoſed by a ſtrong party within the kingdom: at this criſis too, religious diſputes blending themſelves with political cabals, the flame of civil diſcord burſt forth with a violence which had not hitherto raged even in Poland.

The body of Poliſh religioniſts, termed Diſſidents, make a principal figure in the ſubſequent commotions; their concerns being the real or pretended object of attention in every material tranſaction. The hiſtory of this party is thus ſketched by the Poliſh hiſtorians.

The reformation made its way into Poland under Sigiſmond I. who perſecuted its followers: their number however gaining ground, his ſon Sigiſmond Auguſtus * not only indulged them in the moſt liberal exerciſe of their worſhip; but admitted them together with the Greeks, and all other ſects then ſubſiſting in Poland, to a ſeat in the diet, and to all the honours and privileges before excluſively confined to the catholics. Theſe maxims of unlimited toleration were ſo generally adopted by the nation at large, that the members of the diet, which aſſembled upon the deceaſe of Sigiſmond Auguſtus, being of different perſuaſions, determined on a reciprocal indulgence of their reſpective tenets. In order to avoid any hate-

* Sigiſmond Auguſtus gave ſuch evident marks of favour to the proteſtant confeſſion, that he was even ſuſpected of being inclined to change his religion, "ut etiam de ipſo "rumor eſſet ac ſi avita ſacra renuntiare "vellet." Lengnich, Jus Publ. II. p. 554.

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ful diſtinctions, they called themſelves indiſcriminately "diſ-"ſidents in religion *," a phraſe intimating, not, according to our notions, ſeparatiſts from an eſtabliſhed church, but ſimply perſons holding a diverſity of opinions in religious matters. It was at the ſame time enacted, that this difference of religious ſentiments ſhould create no difference in civil rights; and accordingly in the *Pacta Conventa* formed by the diet, the following clauſe was inſerted as part of the coronation oath to be tendered to the new ſovereign. "I will keep peace among "the diſſidents †." This clauſe Henry of Anjou ſwore to obſerve, before he was permitted to aſcend the throne.

In proceſs of time, however, the Roman catholics, having, under the protection and influence of ſucceſſive ſovereigns, acquired a conſiderable aſcendency, ventured to appropriate the expreſſion of diſſidents to all thoſe who diſſented from the catholic religion. This alteration in the uſe of the title was attended at firſt with no incroachments on the privileges of the other ſects; and the term diſſidents, though now conveying the idea of a ſeparation from the eſtabliſhed worſhip, was not

* This remarkable decree is as follows: "Et quoniam, aiunt ordines, in noſtrâ Re-"publ. non parum eſt diſſidium in cauſâ Re-"ligionis Chriſtianæ, occurrendo ne ex hâc "cauſâ inter homines damnoſa quædam ſedi-"tio oriatur, uti in aliis Regnis clare vide-"mus, ſpondemus hoc nobis invicem, pro "nobis & ſucceſſoribus noſtris in perpe-"tuum, ſub vinculo juramenti, fide, honore "& conſcientiis noſtris, quod, *qui ſumus* "*diſſidentes de religione*, pacem inter nos "conſervare, & propter diverſam fidem, & "mutationes in eccleſiis, ſanguinem non ef-"fundere, neque multare pecuniâ, infamiâ, "carceribus & exilio, & ſuperioritati alicui "aut officio ad ejuſmodi proceſſum nullo mo-"do auxilium dare: quin imo, ſi quis ſan-"guinem effundere voluerit, ex iſtâ cauſſa "opponere nos omnes erimus obſtricti, licet "etiam id alioquin ſub prætextu decreti, aut "alicujus proceſſus judiciarii facere voluerit "a Pacta Conventa Auguſti III." p. 20.

We need not be ſurprized at this general ſenſe of the diet, ſo contrary to the general principles of the catholics, when we conſider that the catholic nuntios were inferior in number to thoſe of the other perſuaſions, ſo that the former were well ſatisfied to obtain an equality with the others. The proteſtant party in the nation was at this period ſo ſtrong, that it was even taken into conſideration to elect for their king a Poliſh nobleman, who had embraced the reformed religion. "Cum in ſenatu ſi non majorem, parem ta-"men catholicis partem efficerent, inter "equites autem prævalerent." Lengnich, Jus Pub. v. II. p. 555. See alſo Lind's Letters on the State of Poland, p. 82.

† "Pacem inter diſſidentes ſervabo." Henry, who objected to this univerſal toleration, tried to withhold his conſent; upon which one of the Poliſh envoys cried out, "Unleſs your Majeſty confirms this article, "you cannot be king of Poland," niſi eam conditionem approbaveris, Rex Poloniæ non eris. Pac. Con. Aug. III. p. 19.

yet

yet regarded in an obnoxious light. The diſſidents indeed ſtill continued in ſuch unqueſtioned poſſeſſion of all rights civil and religious, that, when it was agreed by both catholics and proteſtants to perſecute the arians, it was thought neceſſary, prior to their perſecution, to expel them from the body of diſſidents. In conſequence of this excluſion, the arians, in the reign of John Caſimir, were firſt rendered incapable of being elected nuntios, afterwards deprived of their places of worſhip, and finally baniſhed from Poland *.

This perſecution of the arians, inadvertently aſſented to by the proteſtants and Greeks, was only a prelude to that which they in their turn ſuffered from the catholics: for, as the catholic party became the moſt powerful, the term diſſidents, now confined only to perſons profeſſing the proteſtant † and Greek religions, began to grow of a leſs inoffenſive import, and to convey an idea of non-conformity. The ſectaries diſtinguiſhed by that appellation, perceiving the intention of the catholics to undermine their privileges, ſtipulated and obtained, that they ſhould not be blended with the arians, or fall under the penal laws enacted againſt that ſect. But theſe promiſes were inſenſibly eluded, their privileges were gradually diminiſhed; in the courſe of a few years they were ſubjected to a variety of diſqualifications, and at length, in 1733, formally incapacitated from ſitting in the diet ‡. An old law of Ladiſlaus II.

* The following quotations from Lengnich prove the truth of theſe facts:

"Credebant ariani ſe ad diſſidentes perti-
"nere, verum neque diſſidentes illos in eorum
"numero eſſe voluerunt.

"Poſt mortem Uladiſlai IV. catholici de-
"clarabant, non eſſe diſſidentes niſi qui tri-
"unum Deum colerent.

"In comitiis 1658, rex nuntium, quia ſectæ
"arianorum erat, ad manûs oſculum admit-
"tere nolebat; et nuntii inter ſe conſtitue-
"bant, ne ipſorum conclavi arianis locus
"eſſet." Jus Pub. II. 567 & ſeq.

For the extirpation of the arian ſect, John Caſimir was dignified by the pope with the title of orthodox, as if orthodoxy conſiſted in perſecution.

Tantænæ animis cæleſtibus iræ!

† Namely, the Lutherans and Calviniſts; all other proteſtant ſects, the Memnonites, anabaptiſts, and quakers, being not included among the diſſidents: and the perſecuting laws enacted againſt the arians are in full force againſt them. Pac. Con. Aug. III. p. 28, 29.

‡ Lengnich, Hiſt. Pol. p. 376.

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againſt hereticks, as well as the penalties levelled againſt the arians, were revived, and occaſionally put in force againſt the diſſidents.

Theſe continued perſecutions greatly diminiſhed their number, and rendered of courſe their remonſtrances ineffectual. The catholics, who now took the lead in the diet, went ſo far as to declare it high treaſon in the diſſidents to ſeek the reſtoration of their immunities by the interceſſion of foreign powers; although many of theſe foreign powers were guarantees to the treaty of Oliva, in which it was ſtipulated, that the rights of the diſſidents ſhould be maintained in their full latitude *.

Such was the ſituation of the diſſidents at the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty; who, though himſelf ſtrongly inclined to toleration, was yet obliged to concur with the general ſenſe of the diet; and to confirm in their full extent all the laws which had been promulgated againſt them. The diſſidents applied to the courts of London, Peterſburg, Berlin, and Copenhagen, as the mediating powers in the treaty of Oliva; who warmly ſupported their cauſe, and preſented memorials to the enſuing diet, demanding a reſtoration not only of their religious eſtabliſhments, but alſo of all their ancient privileges ſecured to them by the abovementioned treaty. The diet of 1766, however, was not of a temper to accede to theſe propoſals.

The enemies of toleration contended, that the privileges alluded to were become obſolete, having been repeatedly aboliſhed in various diets; and that the diſſidents had no well-founded claim either to the reſtitution of their civil immunities, or to the toleration of their worſhip: the biſhop of Cracow, the moſt bigotted of the catholics, even propoſed a law againſt all who ſhould abet the oppoſite party. Violent alter-

* For the account of the diſſidents, ſee Lengnich, Pac. Con. Aug. III. 16—30. and Jus Publ. ſparſim.

cations aroſe in the aſſembly, when the Pruſſian and Ruſſian memorials were read; and as an immediate tumult was apprehended, the king retired from the diet without proroguing it, as uſual, to the following day. The primate likewiſe refuſed to continue the ſitting, and the members ſeparated in great diſorder. On the ſubſequent day the ſpirit of intolerance was in no degree abated; the moderate party was over-ruled, and the acts againſt the diſſidents were confirmed without reſerve. But, in order to conciliate the mediating powers, the bench of biſhops, by command of the diet, drew up nine articles in favour of the diſſidents, relative to the free exerciſe of their worſhip. Theſe conceſſions not being thought ſufficiently favourable, while the exceptionable laws remained unrepealed, the Empreſs of Ruſſia remonſtrated againſt the proceedings of the diet; and the diſſidents began to form confederacies in different parts of the kingdom. They were joined by many diſcontented catholics, and aſſiſted by a large body of Ruſſian troops, who entered Thorn, where the firſt and principal confederacy took its riſe. All the mediating powers, Great-Britain, Denmark, Pruſſia, and Sweden, teſtified their approbation of theſe confederacies. The diſputes ſoon began to embrace other objects beſide religion; political grievances were likewiſe brought forward; and ſeveral confederacies ſtarted up in different parts of the kingdom among the catholic nobles; all of whom affected to be advocates for toleration, and declared their intentions of ſupporting the cauſe of the diſſidents. Prince Radzivil, who had ſignalized himſelf in oppoſing the king's election, was appointed marſhal to all the catholic confederacies, united in one formidable aſſociation under the appellation of malecontents. The coalition of this catholic confederacy, with that of the diſſidents, ſoon after took place in the palace of prince Radzivil at Warſaw. Mean while the king convoked an extraordinary diet, as the only probable means to

prevent

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prevent a civil war, and to appeaſe the Empreſs of Ruſſia, whoſe troops were advanced within a ſmall diſtance of Warſaw. The diet, however, which was ſummoned for the purpoſe of reconciling the oppoſite parties, failed in producing the intended effect: the biſhop of Cracow and his partiſans inveighed with ſuch bitterneſs againſt the pretenſions of the diſſidents and againſt the interference of foreign powers; that he, together with the biſhop of Kiof and a few others, the moſt violent of their party, were arreſted in the night by a corps of Ruſſian troops, and ſent, without further trial, to Ruſſia, where they experienced a rigorous impriſonment *.

* The biſhop of Cracow and his aſſociates were arreſted on the 15th of October, 1767; they were detained in priſon above five years, not being releaſed before the beginning of 1773. They were firſt confined at Smolenſko, and afterwards at Kaluga. The following extracts from ſome manuſcript letters in my poſſeſſion give ſome account of their impriſonment, and of the biſhop's return:

"At firſt their confinement was very ri-
" gorous, and particularly in their journey to
" Smolenſko; for although they were con-
" ducted together, and then impriſoned at
" the ſame place, yet they were never per-
" mitted to ſee each other during the firſt
" ſix months. Afterwards they were leſs ri-
" gorouſly treated. They were removed
" from Smolenſko on ſuſpicion of a corre-
" ſpondence between the biſhop of Cracow
" and his partiſans in Lithuania; and al-
" though this ſuſpicion was not founded, yet
" it occaſioned the reſolution adopted by the
" court of Peterſburg to tranſport them to
" Kaluga." Warſaw, 15 February, 1773.
" The biſhop of Cracow is already arrived:
" he had diſpatched an expreſs from Minſk to
" the Great Chancellor of the crown to an-
" nounce his return on the 14th. The ex-
" preſs came on Thurſday afternoon, and
" was followed by another the next day with
" the news, that the biſhop himſelf was on his
" route; and in effect he arrived at five in
" the afternoon. In the ſuburbs of Praga,
" being met by the pope's nuntio, together
" with the biſhops of Cujavia and Poſnania,
" he quitted his own carriage, and got into
" that of the biſhop of Poſnania, into whoſe
" palace he alighted at Warſaw. He was ac-
" companied by perſons of the firſt diſtinction,
" and followed by a crowd of people, huzza-
" ing as he paſſed the ſtreets; ſome out of
" affection, others from imitation, or excited
" by ſecret emiſſaries. The doors of the pa-
" lace being open to all who choſe to enter,
" the apartments were immediately filled
" with perſons of all ranks, biſhops, ſenators,
" miniſters and officers of ſtate, nobles, prieſts,
" citizens, together with the loweſt of the
" populace, and even beggars, all huddled to-
" gether pell-mell, eager to behold, liſten to,
" and applaud the biſhop, who had ſo unex-
" pectedly made his appearance. He ſpoke
" for a conſiderable time, and related the
" hiſtory of his impriſonment, which he aſ-
" ſured them had not made any alteration in
" his ſentiments of religion and liberty. 'I
" have been twice,' added he, 'arreſted by
" the Ruſſians, the firſt time with the primate
" Potoſki, the ſecond at my late confinement,
" and perhaps I may yet be caſt into priſon a
" third time.'

" He propoſes to retire in a ſhort time to
" his dioceſe, and it is reported that he in-
" tends to forbid the prieſts from wearing
" wigs and ruffles: he himſelf wears neither.
" His hair is grown grey ſince his confine-
" ment, and he looks conſiderably older; he
" covers his head with a red cap which he
" made himſelf.

" Yeſterday he had an audience of the
" king,

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The diet, intimidated by the fate of their leading members, and being no longer inflamed by their eloquence, appointed, though not without ſome altercation and tumult, a grand committee to adjuſt the affairs of the diſſidents in conjunction with the mediating powers, and then broke up. This grand committee expreſſed the moſt favourable diſpoſition towards the diſſidents, and propoſed that all the laws enacted againſt them ſhould be repealed, and their antient privileges reſtored. Theſe reſolutions being laid before the extraordinary diet, which was convened the beginning of the following year, 1768, were ratified almoſt without oppoſition. This ready and unanimous acquieſcence of the diet in regulations, totally repugnant to the ſentiments of the majority, can only be accounted for by the dread of the Ruſſian troops quartered in Warſaw, and the influence of bribes judiciouſly diſtributed by the Ruſſian miniſter. The operation of the ſame cauſes rendered the diet equally compliant in other particulars: and induced them to eſtabliſh ſeveral * civil regulations, tending to perpetuate the defects of the conſtitution, and which had no

" king, with whom he remained a full hour, " namely, from eleven to twelve. He ad- " dreſſed his majeſty with great decency and " reſpect; and, among other things, begged " pardon, if, before his arreſt, he had ex- " preſſed himſelf either in a manner or in " terms which were diſpleaſing, aſſuring him " at the ſame time of his attachment, fide- " lity, and zeal for the ſervice of his king, " and the good of his country. After the " audience, he attended maſs, and preſented " his majeſty with the New Teſtament, ac- " quitting himſelf of that ceremony with " propriety and decorum.

" The biſhop of Kiof, having ſeparated " from the biſhop of Cracow on the other " ſide of Minſk, will not be here for ſome " time. The palatine of Cracow and his ſon " continue between Smolenſko and Kaluga, " the place of their confinement, in order to " attend upon Colonel Bachmatou, their con- " ductor, who was taken ill upon their jour- " ney. The palatine, willing to repay with " gratitude and humanity the attention " which he received from the colonel during " his confinement, could not be prevailed " upon to quit him in his illneſs; and as he " has ſome knowledge of phyſic, he is in " hopes of completing his cure."

* Theſe regulations, which reſpect chiefly the eſtabliſhing in perpetuity of the elective monarchy, of the Liberum Veto, and of unanimity in all matters of ſtate, are all detailed in the articles of the diet of 1768, publiſhed at Warſaw: the principal clauſes are the ſame as are mentioned in the fourth chapter of this book relative to the changes made in the conſtitution in 1775; the reader will find them amply mentioned and accompanied with ſome judicious remarks, in Lind's Preſent State of Poland, Letter III.

other

BOOK I. other recommendation except their ſubſerviency to the Ruſſian deſigns upon Poland.

The nation at large ſeemed at this juncture to have caught the ſubmiſſive ſpirit of the diet; and received the new edicts with every ſymptom of cordiality. Poland ſeemed to enjoy for a moment an univerſal tranquillity; but it was that ſullen tranquillity which precedes a tempeſt, and announces to the intelligent obſerver the moſt violent commotions.

During theſe tranſactions, the king, without influence, and conſequently without a ſhadow of authority, was one while hurried down the popular current; and the next moment forced by the mediating powers to accede to all the conditions which they laid before him: a wretched ſituation for a prince of his ſpirit and magnanimity, and below which it is ſcarcely poſſible for any ſovereign to be reduced. But more grievous ſcenes yet awaited the unfortunate monarch; he was doomed to behold his country torn to pieces by the moſt dreadful of all calamities, a religious war; to be frequently deprived almoſt of common neceſſaries; and to be indebted for his very ſubſiſtence to the voluntary contributions of his friends: to be little better than a ſtate priſoner in his capital; to be carried off and nearly aſſaſſinated: to ſee his faireſt provinces wreſted from him; and, finally, to depend, for his own ſecurity and that of his ſubjects, upon the protection of thoſe very powers, who had diſmembered his empire.

The Poliſh malecontents could certainly alledge ſome very plauſible cauſes of diſſatisfaction. The laws paſſed at the laſt diet bore a greater reſemblance to the abſolute mandates of a Ruſſian viceroy, than to the reſolutions of a free aſſembly. The outrage committed upon the biſhop of Cracow and his adherents entirely ſubverted all liberty of debate; while the authoritative manner, in which the mediating powers of Berlin and Peterſburg ſtill continued to interfere in the affairs of Poland,

Poland, threatened a more grievous ſubjection. Theſe ſpecious grounds of diſguſt, joined to an ill-timed ſpirit of diſcontent which had gone forth throughout the nation againſt the king, occaſioned the inteſtine commotions that ſoon reduced Poland to the moſt dreadful ſtate of deſolation.

The diet had not long been diſſolved, before the indulgences granted to the diſſidents firſt excited a general diſcontent among the Roman catholic party: ſeveral confederacies made their appearance towards the frontiers of the Turkiſh empire in defence of the ſacred catholic faith; they carried ſtandards before them highly calculated to inflame the zeal of the populace; upon ſome of theſe ſtandards images of the Virgin Mary and the infant Jeſus were delineated; upon others the ſpread eagle of Poland, with the mottos "Conqueſt or Death," "For religion and liberty *." Some banners bore as a device a red croſs, under which was inſcribed "the ſymbol of victory." The private ſoldiers of the confederacy, like the cruſaders of old, wore a croſs interwoven in their clothes. One party of theſe inſurgents ſeized upon the fortreſs of Bar in Podolia, and another got poſſeſſion of Cracow. The royal troops, who were ſent againſt them, were either routed or prevailed upon to join them. In this dreadful criſis of affairs the ſenate petitioned the embaſſador from the court of Peterſburg not to withdraw the Ruſſian troops from the kingdom, as they afforded the only ſecurity againſt the confederates: the requeſt was readily complied with, and Poland became a ſcene of bloodſhed and devaſtation. In the various conflicts between the two parties, the ſuperiority of Ruſſian diſcipline generally prevailed. The confederates, however, at firſt ſecretly encouraged by the houſe of Auſtria, aſſiſted by the Turks, and ſupplied with money and officers by the French, were able to protract hoſtilities from the diſſolution of the diet in 1768,

* Aut vincere aut mori.—Pro religione et libertate.

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to the diviſion of Poland in 1772. To enter into a detail of military operations falls not within the deſign of this work. From the various acts of cruelty and revenge which diſtinguiſh and diſgrace this part of the Poliſh hiſtory, I ſhall ſelect only one event too remarkable to be omitted; the attempt made by the confederates to aſſaſſinate the king.

The following circumſtantial account of this ſingular occurrence was communicated to me by my ingenious friend Nathaniel Wraxall, Eſq; whoſe name is well known in the literary world; and who, during his reſidence at Warſaw, obtained the moſt authentic information upon ſo intereſting a tranſaction: as he has obligingly permitted me to enrich my work with this narration, I am happy to lay it before the reader in his own words.

CHAP. III.

Attempt to aſſaſſinate the king of Poland.—*His majeſty attacked by the conſpirators in the ſtreets of* Warſaw, *wounded, and carried off.—His adventures and miraculous eſcape.—Return to* Warſaw.—*Account and fate of the principal conſpirators.*

"IN the midſt of theſe turbulent and diſaſtrous ſcenes, the "confederates (who ever conſidered the king as unlaw-"fully elected, and who imputed to his fatal elevation and "direction, or approbation, all the various ills under which the "kingdom groaned from the Ruſſian oppreſſion) planned and "executed one of the moſt daring enterprizes of which mo-"dern hiſtory makes mention. I mean the attempt to aſſaſ-"ſinate the king. It is ſomewhat remarkable, that in an age

"ſo

" ſo humaniſed, ſo free from the enormous and flagitious " crimes common in barbarous centuries, ſo enlightened as is " the preſent, this is the third attempt on a crowned head in " my remembrance. Louis XV. Joſeph I. of Portugal, and " Staniſlaus Auguſtus, all narrowly eſcaped aſſaſſination. As " the attempt on his Poliſh majeſty was perhaps the moſt atro- " cious, and his eſcape certainly the moſt extraordinary and " incredible of the three, I ſhall be as minute as poſſible in " the enumeration of all the principal circumſtances which led " to, and which attended this remarkable event.

" A Poliſh nobleman, named Pulaſki, a general in the army " of the confederates, was the perſon who planned the atroci- " ous enterprize; and the conſpirators who carried it into ex- " ecution were about forty in number, and were headed by " three chiefs, named Lukawſki, Strawenſki, and Koſinſki. " Theſe three chiefs had been engaged and hired to that pur- " poſe by Pulaſki, who in the town of Czetſchokow in Great " Poland obliged them to ſwear in the moſt ſolemn manner, " by placing their hands between his, either to deliver the king " alive into his hands, or, in caſe that was impoſſible, to put " him to death. The three chiefs choſe thirty-ſeven perſons " to accompany them. On the 2d of November, about a " month after they had quitted Czetſchokow, they obtained ad- " miſſion into Warſaw unſuſpected or undiſcovered by the " following ſtratagem. They diſguiſed themſelves as peaſants " who came to ſell hay, and artfully concealed their ſaddles, " arms, and cloaths under the loads of hay which they brought " in waggons, the more effectually to eſcape detection.

" On Sunday night, the 3d of September, 1771, a few of " theſe conſpirators remained in the ſkirts of the town; and " the others repaired to the place of rendezvous, the ſtreet of " the Capuchins, where his majeſty was expected to paſs by " about his uſual hour of returning to the palace. The king

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" had been to viſit his uncle prince Zartoriſki, grand chancel-
" lor of Lithuania, and was on his return from thence to the
" palace between nine and ten o'clock. He was in a coach,
" accompanied by at leaſt fifteen or ſixteen attendants, beſide
" an aid-de-camp in the carriage: ſcarce was he at the diſ-
" tance of two hundred paces from prince Czartoriſki's palace,
" when he was attacked by the conſpirators, who commanded
" the coachman to ſtop on pain of inſtant death. They fired
" ſeveral ſhot into the carriage, one of which paſſed through
" the body of a heyduc, who endeavoured to defend his maſter
" from the violence of the aſſaſſins. Almoſt all the other per-
" ſons * who preceded and accompanied his majeſty were diſ-
" perſed; the aid-de-camp abandoned him, and attempted to
" conceal himſelf by flight. Mean while the king had opened
" the door of his carriage with the deſign of effecting his
" eſcape under ſhelter of the night, which was extremely dark.
" He had even alighted, when the aſſaſſins ſeized him by the
" hair, exclaiming in Poliſh with horrible execrations, 'We
" have thee now; thy hour is come.' One of them diſcharged
" a piſtol at him ſo very near, that he felt the heat of the
" flaſh; while another cut him acroſs the head with his ſabre,
" which penetrated to the bone. They then laid hold of his
" majeſty by the collar, and, mounting on horſeback, dragged
" him along the ground between their horſes at full gallop for
" near five hundred paces through the ſtreets of Warſaw †.

" All

* " It is incredible that ſuch a number of " perſons as were with his Poliſh majeſty on " that memorable night, ſhould all ſo baſely " abandon him, except the ſingle heyduc " who was killed, and who ſo bravely de- " fended his maſter. This man was a pro- " teſtant; he was not killed on the ſpot, but " expired next morning of his wounds. The " king allows a penſion to his widow and " children."

† " It is aſtoniſhing, that, in the number " of balls which paſſed through the carriage, " not one ſhould hurt or wound the king. " Several went through his *peliſſe*, or fur " great-coat. I have ſeen this cloak, and " the holes made in it by the piſtol bullets. " Every part of the cloaths which his majeſty " wore on that night are carefully preſerved. " It is no leſs wonderful, that when the aſ- " ſaſſins had ſeized on the king, they ſhould " carry him through ſuch a number of ſtreets " without being ſtopped. A Ruſſian centinel

" did

" All was confuſion and diſorder during this time at the " palace, where the attendants who had deſerted their maſter " had ſpread the alarm. The foot-guards ran immediately to " the ſpot from whence the king had been conveyed, but they " found only his hat all bloody, and his bag: this increaſed " their apprehenſions for his life. The whole city was in an " uproar. The aſſaſſins profited of the univerſal confuſion, " terror and conſternation, to bear away their prize. Finding, " however, that he was incapable of following them on foot, " and that he had already almoſt loſt his reſpiration from the " violence with which they had dragged him, they ſet him " on horſeback; and then redoubled their ſpeed for fear of " being overtaken. When they came to the ditch which " ſurrounds Warſaw, they obliged him to leap his horſe over. " In the attempt the horſe fell twice, and at the ſecond fall " broke its leg. They then mounted his majeſty upon an- " other, all covered as he was with dirt.

" The conſpirators had no ſooner croſſed the ditch, than " they began to rifle the king, tearing off the order * of the " Black Eagle of Pruſſia which he wore round his neck, and " the diamond croſs hanging to it. He requeſted them to " leave his handkerchief, which they conſented to: his tablets " eſcaped their rapacity. A great number of the aſſaſſins re- " tired after having thus plundered him, probably with intent " to notify to their reſpective leaders the ſucceſs of their en- " terpriſe; and the king's arrival as a priſoner. Only ſeven

" did hail them; but, as they anſwered in " Ruſſian, he allowed them to paſs, imagining " them to be a patrole of his nation. This " happened at ſome diſtance from the place " where they had carried off the king. The " night was beſides exceedingly dark, and " Warſaw has no lamps. All theſe circum- " ſtances contribute to account for this ex- " traordinary event."

* " It was Lukawſki, one of the three " chiefs of the band, who tore off the rib- " bon of the Black Eagle, which his Pruſſian " majeſty had conferred on the king when " he was Count Poniatowſki. One of his " motives for doing this, was by ſhewing the " order of the Black Eagle to Pulaſki and " the confederates, to prove to them incon- " teſtibly that the king was in their hands, " and on his way. Lukawſki was afterwards " executed."

" remained

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" remained with him, of whom Koſinſki was the chief. The " night was exceedingly dark; they were abſolutely ignorant " of the way; and, as the horſes could not keep their legs, " they obliged his majeſty to follow them on foot, with only " one ſhoe, the other being loſt in the dirt.

" They continued to wander through the open meadows, " without following any certain path, and without getting to " any diſtance from Warſaw. They again mounted the king " on horſeback, two of them holding him on each ſide by the " hand, and a third leading his horſe by the bridle. In this " manner they were proceeding, when his majeſty, finding " they had taken the road which led to a village called Bura- " kow, warned them not to enter it, becauſe there were ſome " Ruſſians ſtationed in that place who might probably attempt " to reſcue him *. Finding himſelf, however, incapable of " accompanying the aſſaſſins in the painful poſture in which " they held him kept down on the ſaddle, he requeſted them, " ſince they were determined to oblige him to proceed, at leaſt " to give him another horſe and a boot †. This requeſt they " complied with; and continuing their progreſs through al- " moſt impaſſable lands, without any road, and ignorant of " their way, they at length found themſelves in the wood of " Bielany, only a league diſtant from Warſaw. From the

* " This intimation, which the king gave " to his aſſaſſins, may at firſt ſight appear " extraordinary and unaccountable, but was " really dictated by the greateſt addreſs and " judgment. He apprehended with reaſon " that, on the ſight of a Ruſſian guard, they " would inſtantly put him to death with their " ſabres, and fly; whereas by informing " them of the danger they incurred, he in " ſome meaſure gained their confidence: in " effect, this behaviour of the king ſeemed to " ſoften them a little, and made them believe " he did not mean to eſcape from them."

† The king in his ſpeech to the diet on the trial of the conſpirators, interceded ſtrongly for Koſinſki, or John Kutſma, to whom he gratefully expreſſes himſelf indebted for theſe favours in the following words:

" As I was in the hands of the aſſaſſins, I " heard them repeatedly aſk John Kutſma, if " they ſhould not aſſaſſinate me, but he al- " ways prevented them. He was the firſt who " perſuaded them to behave to me with greater " gentleneſs; and obliged them to confer " upon me ſome ſervices which I then greatly " wanted; namely, one to give me a cap, " and a ſecond a boot, which at that time " were no trifling preſents: for the cold air " greatly affected the wound in my head; and " my foot, which was covered with blood, " gave me inexpreſſible torture, which conti- " nued every moment increaſing."

" time

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" time they had paſſed the ditch they repeatedly demanded of " Koſinſki their chief, if it was not yet time to put the king " to death; and theſe demands were reiterated in proportion " to the obſtacles and difficulties they encountered.

" Meanwhile the confuſion and conſternation increaſed at " Warſaw. The guards were afraid to purſue the conſpira- " tors, leſt terror of being overtaken ſhould prompt them in " the darkneſs to maſſacre the king; and on the other hand, " by not purſuing they might give them time to eſcape with " their prize, beyond the poſſibility of aſſiſtance. Several of " the firſt nobility at length mounted on horſeback, and fol- " lowing the track of the aſſaſſins, arrived at the place where " his majeſty had paſſed the ditch. There they found his " *peliſſe*, which he had loſt in the precipitation with which he " was hurried away: it was bloody, and pierced with holes " made by the balls or ſabres. This convinced them that he " was no more.

" The king was ſtill in the hands of the ſeven remaining " aſſaſſins, who advanced with him into the wood of Bielany, " when they were ſuddenly alarmed by a Ruſſian patrole or " detachment. Inſtantly holding council, four of them diſ- " appeared, leaving him with the other three, who compelled " him to walk on. Scarce a quarter of an hour after, a ſecond " Ruſſian guard challenged them anew. Two of the aſſaſ- " ſins then fled, and the king remained alone with Koſinſki " the chief, both on foot. His majeſty, exhauſted with all " the fatigue which he had undergone, implored his conductor " to ſtop, and ſuffer him to take a moment's repoſe. Koſinſki " refuſed it, menacing him with his naked ſabre; and at the " ſame time informed him, that beyond the wood they ſhould " find a carriage. They continued their walk, till they came " to the door of the convent of Bielany. Koſinſki appeared " loſt in thought, and ſo much agitated by his reflections, that

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" the king perceiving his diſorder, and obſerving that he wan-
" dered without knowing the road, ſaid to him, ' I ſee you are
" at a loſs which way to proceed. Let me enter the convent
" of Bielany, and do you provide for your own ſafety.' ' No,'
" replied Koſinſki, ' I have ſworn.'

" They proceeded till they came to Mariemont, a ſmall pa-
" lace belonging to the houſe of Saxony, not above half a
" league from Warſaw: here Koſinſki betrayed ſome ſatis-
" faction at finding where he was, and the king ſtill demand-
" ing an inſtant's repoſe, he conſented at length. They ſat
" down together on the ground, and the king employed theſe
" moments in endeavouring to ſoften his conductor, and in-
" duce him to favour or permit his eſcape. His majeſty re-
" preſented the atrocity of the crime he had committed in at-
" tempting to murder his ſovereign, and the invalidity of an
" oath taken to perpetrate ſo heinous an action: Koſinſki lent
" attention to this diſcourſe, and began to betray ſome marks of
" remorſe. ' But,' ſaid he, ' if I ſhould conſent and reconduct
" you to Warſaw, what will be the conſequence?—I ſhall be
" taken and executed!'

" This reflection plunged him into new uncertainty and
" embarraſsment. ' I give you my word,' anſwered his ma-
" jeſty, ' that you ſhall ſuffer no harm; but if you doubt my
" promiſe, eſcape while there is yet time. I can find my way
" to ſome place of ſecurity; and I will certainly direct your
" purſuers to take the contrary road to that which you have
" choſen.' Koſinſki could not any longer contain himſelf,
" but, throwing himſelf at the king's feet, implored forgive-
" neſs for the crime he had committed; and ſwore to protect
" him againſt every enemy, relying totally on his generoſity
" for pardon and preſervation. His majeſty reiterated to him
" his aſſurances of ſafety. Judging, however, that it was pru-
" dent to gain ſome aſylum without delay, and recollecting that

" there

" there was a mill at ſome conſiderable diſtance, he immedi-
" ately made towards it. Koſinſki knocked, but in vain; no
" anſwer was given: he then broke a pane of glaſs in the
" window, and intreated for ſhelter to a nobleman who had
" been plundered by robbers. The miller refuſed, ſuppoſing
" them to be banditti, and continued for more than half an
" hour to perſiſt in his denial. At length the king approached,
" and ſpeaking through the broken pane, endeavoured to per-
" ſuade him to admit them under his roof, adding, 'If we
" were robbers, as you ſuppoſe, it would be very eaſy for us to
" break the whole window, inſtead of one pane of glaſs.' This
" argument prevailed. They at length opened the door, and
" admitted his majeſty. He immediately wrote a note to
" General Coccei, colonel of the foot-guards. It was literally
" as follows: 'Par une eſpece de miracle je ſuis ſauvé des
" mains des aſſaſſins. Je ſuis ici au petit moulin de Marie-
" mont. Venez au plutôt me tirer d'ici. Je ſuis bleſſé,
" mais pas fort *.' It was with the greateſt difficulty, how-
" ever, that the king could perſuade any one to carry this
" note to Warſaw, as the people of the mill, imagining that
" he was a nobleman who had juſt been plundered by rob-
" bers, were afraid of falling in with the troop. Koſinſki
" then offered to reſtore every thing he had taken; but his
" majeſty left him all, except the blue ribbon of the White
" Eagle.

" When the meſſenger arrived with the note, the aſtoniſh-
" ment and joy was incredible. Coccei inſtantly rode to the
" mill, followed by a detachment of the guards. He met Ko-
" ſinſki at the door with his ſabre drawn, who admitted him
" as ſoon as he knew him. The king had ſunk into a ſleep,

* " By a kind of miracle I am eſcaped " from the hands of aſſaſſins. I am now at " the mill of Mariemont. Come as ſoon as " poſſible, and take me from hence. I am " wounded, but not dangerouſly."

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" cauſed by his fatigue; and was ſtretched on the ground, " covered with the miller's cloak. Coccei immediately threw " himſelf at his majeſty's feet, calling him his ſovereign, and " kiſſing his hand. It is not eaſy to paint or deſcribe the " aſtoniſhment of the miller and his family, who inſtantly " imitated Coccei's example, by throwing themſelves on " their knees *. The king returned to Warſaw in General " Coccei's carriage, and reached the palace about five in the " morning. His wound was found not to be dangerous; and " he ſoon recovered the bruiſes and injuries, which he had " ſuffered during this memorable night.

" So extraordinary an eſcape is ſcarce to be paralleled in " hiſtory, and affords ample matter of wonder and ſurpriſe. " Scarce could the nobility or people at Warſaw credit the " evidence of their ſenſes, when they ſaw him return. Cer- " tainly neither the eſcape of the king of France from Damien, " or of the king of Portugal from the conſpiracy of the Duke " d'Aveiro, were equally amazing or improbable, as that of " the king of Poland. I have related it very minutely, and " from authorities the higheſt and moſt inconteſtible.

" It is natural to inquire what is become of Koſinſki, the " man who ſaved his majeſty's life, and the other conſpirators. " He was born in the palatinate of Cracow, and of mean ex- " traction: having aſſumed the name of Koſinſki †, which is " that of a noble family, to give himſelf credit. He had been " created an officer in the troops of the confederates under " Pulaſki. It would ſeem as if Koſinſki began to entertain the " idea of preſerving the king's life from the time when Lu- " kawſki and Strawenſki abandoned him; yet he had great " ſtruggles with himſelf before he could reſolve on this con-

* " I have been at this mill, rendered " memorable by ſo ſingular an event. It is " a wretched Poliſh hovel, at a diſtance from " any houſe. The king has rewarded the " miller to the extent of his wiſhes in build- " ing him a mill upon the Viſtula, and allow- " ing him a ſmall penſion."

† His real name was John Kutſma.

" duct,

" duct, after the ſolemn engagements into which he had en-
" tered. Even after he had conducted the king back to War-
" ſaw, he expreſſed more than once his doubts of the propriety
" of what he had done, and ſome remorſe for having deceived
" his employers.

" Lukawſki and Strawenſki were both taken, and ſeveral
" of the other aſſaſſins. At his majeſty's peculiar requeſt and
" intreaty, the diet remitted the capital puniſhment of the in-
" ferior conſpirators, and condemned them to work for life on
" the fortifications of Kaminiec, where they now are. By his
" his interceſſion likewiſe with the diet, the horrible puniſh-
" ment and various modes of torture, which the laws of Po-
" land decree and inflict on regicides, were mitigated; and
" both Lukawſki and Strawenſki were only ſimply beheaded.
" Koſinſki was detained under a very ſtrict confinement, and
" obliged to give evidence againſt his two companions. A
" perſon of diſtinction, who ſaw them both die, has aſſured
" me, that nothing could be more noble and manly than all
" Lukawſki's conduct previous to his death. When he was
" carried to the place of execution, although his body was al-
" moſt extenuated by the ſeverity of his confinement, diet,
" and treatment, his ſpirit unſubdued raiſed him above the
" terrors of an infamous and public execution. He had not
" been permitted to ſhave his beard while in priſon, and his
" dreſs was ſqualid to the greateſt degree; yet none of theſe
" humiliations could depreſs his mind. With a grandeur of
" ſoul worthy of a better cauſe, but which it was impoſſible
" not to admire, he refuſed to ſee or embrace the traitor Ko-
" ſinſki. When conducted to the ſcene of execution, which
" was about a mile from Warſaw, he betrayed no emotions of
" terror or unmanly fear. He made a ſhort harangue to the
" multitude aſſembled upon the occaſion, in which he by no
" means expreſſed any ſorrow for his paſt conduct, or contri-

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" tion for his attempt on the king, which he probably regarded " as meritorious and patriotic. His head was ſevered from his " body.

" Strawenſki was beheaded at the ſame time, but he neither " harangued the people, nor ſhewed any ſigns of contrition. " Pulaſki, who commanded one of the many corps of confede- " rate Poles then in arms, and who was the great agent and " promoter of the aſſaſſination, is ſtill alive *, though an out- " law and an exile. He is ſaid, even by the Ruſſians his ene- " mies, to poſſeſs military talents of a very ſuperior nature; " nor were they ever able to take him priſoner during the ci- " vil war.

" To return to Koſinſki, the man who ſaved the king's life. " About a week after Lukawſki and Strawenſki's execution, " he was ſent by his majeſty out of Poland. He now reſides " at Semigallia in the papal territories, where he enjoys an an- " nual penſion from the king.

" A circumſtance almoſt incredible, and which ſeems to " breathe all the ſanguinary bigotry of the 16th century, I " cannot omit. It is that the papal nuntio in Poland, inſpired " with a furious zeal againſt the diſſidents, whom he believed " to be protected by the king, not only approved the ſcheme " for aſſaſſinating his majeſty, but bleſſed the weapons of the " conſpirators at Czetſchokow, previous to their ſetting out " on their expedition. This is a trait indiſputably true, and " ſcarcely to be exceeded by any thing under the reign of " Charles IX. of France, and of his mother Catharine of " Medicis."

In addition to Mr. Wraxall's account I am enabled to add the following circumſtances:

Upon General Coccei's arrival at the mill, the firſt queſtion

* After the concluſion of theſe troubles, Pulaſki eſcaped from Poland, and repaired to America: he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the American ſervice, and was killed in the attempt to force the Britiſh Lines at the ſiege of Savannah in 1779.

which his majeſty aſked was, whether any of his attendants had ſuffered from the aſſaſſins; and upon being informed that one of the heyducs was killed upon the ſpot, and another dangerouſly wounded, his mind, naturally feeling, now rendered more ſuſceptible by his late danger, was greatly affected; and his joy at his own eſcape was conſiderably diminiſhed.

Upon his return to Warſaw, the ſtreets through which he paſſed were illuminated with torches, and crouded by an immenſe concourſe of people, who followed him to the palace, crying out inceſſantly "The king is alive." Upon his entering the palace, the doors were flung open, and perſons of all ranks were admitted to approach his perſon, and to felicitate him upon his eſcape. The ſcene, as I have been informed by ſeveral of the nobility who were preſent, was affecting beyond deſcription. Every one ſtruggled to get near him, to kiſs his hand, or even to touch his cloaths: all were ſo tranſported with joy, that they even loaded Koſinſki with careſſes, and called him the ſaviour of their king. His majeſty was ſo affected with theſe ſigns of zeal and affection, that he expreſſed in the moſt feeling manner his ſtong ſenſe of theſe proofs of their attachment, and declared it was the happieſt hour of his whole life. In this moment of rapture he forgot the dangers he had avoided, and the wounds he had received; and as every one ſeemed anxious to learn the circumſtances of his eſcape, he would not ſuffer his wounds to be inſpected and dreſſed before he had himſelf ſatisfied their impatience, by relating the difficulties and dangers he had undergone. During the recital, a perſon unacquainted with the language might have diſcovered the various events of the ſtory from the changes of expreſſion in the countenances of the byſtanders, which diſplayed the moſt ſudden alterations from terror to compaſſion, from compaſſion to aſtoniſhment, and from aſtoniſhment to rapture; while the univerſal ſilence was only broken by ſighs and tears of joy.

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The king having finiſhed the account, again repeated his aſſurances of gratitude and affection for the unfeigned proofs they had given of their love and attachment; and diſmiſſed them, by adding, that he hoped he had been thus miraculouſly preſerved by Divine Providence, for no other purpoſe than to purſue with additional zeal the good of his country, which had ever been the great object of his attention.

Being now left alone, his majeſty permitted the ſurgeons to examine the wound in his head. Upon cutting away the ſkin, it appeared that the bone was hurt, but not dangerouſly; from the quantity of clotted blood, the operation of dreſſing was tedious and painful, and was ſubmitted to by the king with great patience and magnanimity. The ſurgeons propoſed at firſt to bleed him in the foot; but they laid aſide this intention upon finding both his feet ſwollen conſiderably, and covered with bliſters and bruiſes.

The family of the heyduc, who had ſaved the king's life by the loſs of his own, was amply provided for: his body was buried with great pomp; and his majeſty erected an handſome monument to his memory, with an elegant inſcription expreſſive of the man's fidelity and of his own gratitude.

I ſaw the monument: it is a pyramid ſtanding upon a ſarcophagus, with a Latin and Poliſh inſcription; the former I copied, and it is as follows.

" Hic jacet Georgius Henricus Butzau, qui regem Staniſlaum " Auguſtum nefariis parricidarum telis impetitum, die III Nov. " 1771, proprii pectoris clypeo defendens, geminatis ictibus " confoſſus, glorioſè occubuit. Fidelis ſubditi necem lugens, Rex " poſuit hocce monumentum illius in laudem, aliis exemplo *."

* " Here lies George Henry Butzau, who, " on the 3d of November, 1771, oppoſing " his own breaſt to ſhield Staniſlaus Auguſtus " from the weapons of nefarious parricides, " was pierced with repeated wounds, and " glorioufly expired. The king, lamenting " the death of a faithful ſubject, erected this " monument, as a tribute to him, and an " incentive to others."

CHAP. IV.

Account of the plan and progreſs of the partition of Poland.—*Projected by the king of* Pruſſia.—*Adopted by the emperor of* Germany, *and finally acceded to by the empreſs of* Ruſſia.—*The conſent of the king and diet of* Poland *extorted after great oppoſition.*—*Changes in the government introduced by the partitioning powers.*—*Spirited, but fruitleſs, reſiſtance of the* Poliſh *delegates.*—*Fate of the diſſidents.*

WE are now arrived at that remarkable event of the preſent reign, the partition of Poland; which was planned with ſuch profound ſecrecy, that it was ſcarcely ſuſpected before it was carried into execution. Poland had long derived its principal ſecurity from its peculiar ſituation between three great powers, each equally intereſted to prevent the others from acquiring any increaſe of ſtrength, or addition of territory: the union of theſe rival potentates was conſidered as a circumſtance nearly impoſſible; and ſhould ſuch an unexpected union take place, it was thought incredible that the other princes of Europe would paſſively ſubmit to a material alteration in the balance of power. CHAP. IV.

Treaties upon treaties, and negotiations upon negotiations, had guarantied to Poland the poſſeſſion of her territory; and the very three powers who diſmembered her provinces, had, at the preſent king's acceſſion, ſolemnly renounced all right and title to any part of the Poliſh dominions. But treaties and guaranties are in general only adhered to until they can be broken with ſafety: the only effectual method for any ſtate to ſecure its dominions, is to make itſelf reſpectable by its ſtrength and unanimity, and to be prepared againſt any attacks. When

a

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a powerful people impute national diſaſters, which a proper vigour and foreſight might have prevented, to the perfidy of foreign ſtates, they only bear teſtimony, in more ſpecious terms, to their own indolence, negligence, or weakneſs of government. Nor is that ſyſtematical jealouſy, which modern nations profeſs to entertain for the balance of power, to be depended on as a more effectual ſafeguard to any particular ſtate, than the faith of treaties. This principle, though founded on the moſt obvious and judicious policy, and though at times productive of the moſt beneficial effects, is unluckily liable to be counteracted and defeated by an almoſt innumerable variety of contingencies. Where a combination of different powers is requiſite to give efficacy to this principle, thoſe powers may want unanimity and concert; where again the exertion of only a ſingle ſtate is ſufficient, that ſtate may, by the temporary ſituation of affairs, or the caſual intereſts of its governing party, be rendered incapable of acting with proper ſpirit. In a word, the anxiety of European ſtates for the preſervation of the balance of power is by no means an invariable pledge of protection to any ſingle nation. Venice was brought to the verge of ruin by a reliance on this principle; Poland received from it no ſubſtantial protection; nor did England, though ſtruggling ſingly againſt a hoſt of enemies, reap, in her late conteſt, the ſlighteſt benefit from its influence.

The natural ſtrength of Poland, if properly exerted, would have formed a more certain bulwark againſt the ambition of her neighbours, than the faith of treaties, or an attention, in the other European nations, to the balance of power. It is extremely worthy of remark, that of the three partitioning powers, Pruſſia * was formerly in a ſtate of vaſſalage to the republic;

* In the 13th century, all Pruſſia belonged to the knights of the Teutonic order. In 1454 that part, ſince denominated Poliſh or Weſtern Pruſſia, revolted to Caſimir IV. and was afterwards incorporated into the dominions of the republic; at the ſame time the knights

republic; Ruſſia * once ſaw its capital and throne poſſeſſed by the Poles; and Auſtria, ſcarce a century ago, was indebted to a ſovereign † of this country for the preſervation of its metropolis, and almoſt for its very exiſtence. CHAP. IV.

A kingdom, ſo lately the maſter or protector of its neighbours, would never have been ſo readily overwhelmed by them, without the moſt glaring imperfections in its government. Poland, in truth, formerly more powerful than any of the ſurrounding ſtates, has, from the defects of its conſtitution, declined in the midſt of general improvements; and, after giving law to the north, is become an eaſy prey to every invader.

The Partition of Poland was firſt projected by the king of Pruſſia. Poliſh or Weſtern Pruſſia had long been an object of his ambition: excluſive of its fertility, commerce, and population, its local ſituation rendered it highly valuable to that monarch; it lay between his German dominions and Eaſtern Pruſſia, and while poſſeſſed by the Poles, cut off, at their will, all communication between them. During the courſe of the laſt general war, he experienced the moſt fatal effects from this diſjointed ſtate of his territories. By the acquiſition of

knights were conſtrained to hold the remaining part, called Eaſtern Pruſſia, as a fief of the crown of Poland. In 1525 Eaſtern Pruſſia was erected into an hereditary duchy, and given to Albert of Brandenburg as a Poliſh fief. Upon his death it fell to his ſon Albert Frederick, who being impaired in his faculties, the adminiſtration was veſted firſt in Joachim Frederick elector of Brandenburg, and afterwards in Joachim's ſon John Sigiſmond, who had married Albert's daughter. Upon the demiſe of Albert without male heirs, John Sigiſmond, who ſucceeded to the duchy of Pruſſia, did homage for that duchy as a vaſſal of the republic. His grandſon Frederick William, the great Elector, was the firſt duke of Pruſſia releaſed from this badge of feudal dependence by John Caſimir; Eaſtern Pruſſia being declared a ſovereign, independent, and hereditary duchy.

Frederick, ſon of Frederick William the Great, aſſumed the title of King of Pruſſia, which however the Poles never acknowledged, until 1764, at the acceſſion of Staniſlaus Auguſtus. His preſent majeſty Frederick II. by the partition treaty now poſſeſſes both Weſtern and Eaſtern Pruſſia.

* Under Sigiſmond III. whoſe troops got poſſeſſion of Moſcow, and whoſe ſon Ladiſlaus was choſen great duke of Muſcovy by a party of the Ruſſian nobles.

† John Sobieſki, who compelled the Turks to raiſe the ſiege of Vienna, and delivered the houſe of Auſtria from the greateſt dangers it ever experienced.

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Weſtern Pruſſia, his dominions would be rendered compact, and his troops in time of war be able to march from Berlin to Koningſburgh without interruption. The period was now arrived, when the ſituation of Poland ſeemed to promiſe the attainment of this favourite object. He purſued it, however, with all the caution of an able politician. On the commencement of the troubles, he ſhewed no eagerneſs to interfere in the affairs of this country; and although he had concurred with the empreſs of Ruſſia in raiſing Staniſlaus Auguſtus to the throne of Poland; yet he declined taking any active part in his favour againſt the confederates. Afterwards, when the whole kingdom became convulſed throughout with civil com-
1769. motions, and deſolated likewiſe by the plague, he, under pretence of forming lines to prevent the ſpreading of the infection, advanced his troops into Poliſh Pruſſia, and occupied that whole diſtrict.

Though now completely maſter of the country, and by no means apprehenſive of any formidable reſiſtance from the diſunited and diſtracted Poles, yet, as he was well aware that the ſecurity of his new acquiſition depended upon the acquieſcence of Ruſſia and Auſtria, he planned the Partition of Poland. He communicated the project to the emperor, either upon their interview at Nieſs in Sileſia, in 1769, or in that of the following year, at Neuſtadt in Auſtria; from whom the overture met with a ready concurrence. Joſeph, who had before ſecretly encouraged the confederates, and even commenced a negociation with the Porte againſt Ruſſia, now ſuddenly altered his meaſures, and increaſed his army towards the Poliſh frontiers. The plague preſenting to him, as well as to the king of Pruſſia, a ſpecious motive for ſtationing troops in the dominions of the republic; he gradually extended his lines, and, in 1772, occupied the whole territory, which he has ſince diſmembered. But, notwithſtanding this change in his ſentiments,

ſentiments, his real views upon Poland were at firſt ſo effectually concealed, that the Poliſh rebels conceived that the Auſtrian army was advancing to act in their favour; not ſuppoſing it poſſible, that the rival courts of Vienna and Berlin could act in concert.

Nothing more remained towards completing the partition, than the acceſſion of the empreſs of Ruſſia. That great princeſs was too diſcerning a politician not to regard with a jealous eye the introduction of foreign powers into Poland. Poſſeſſing an uncontrouled aſcendancy over the whole country, ſhe could propoſe no material advantage from the formal acquiſition of a part; and muſt purchaſe a moderate addition to her territory by a conſiderable ſurrender of authority. The king of Pruſſia, well acquainted with the true intereſts of Ruſſia in regard to Poland, and with the capacity of the empreſs to diſcern thoſe intereſts, forbore (it is ſaid) opening any negotiation on the ſubject of the partition, until ſhe was involved in a Turkiſh war. At that criſis he diſpatched his brother Prince Henry to Peterſburg, who ſuggeſted to the empreſs that the houſe of Auſtria was forming an alliance with the Porte, which, if it took place, would create a moſt formidable combination againſt her; that, nevertheleſs, the friendſhip of that houſe was to be purchaſed by acceding to the partition; that upon this condition the emperor was willing to renounce his connection with the Grand Signior, and would ſuffer the Ruſſians to proſecute the war without interruption. Catharine, anxious to puſh her conqueſts againſt the Turks, and dreading the interpoſition of the emperor in that quarter; perceiving likewiſe, from the intimate union between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, that it would not be in her power, at the preſent juncture, to prevent the intended partition, cloſed with the propoſal, and ſelected no inconſiderable portion of the Poliſh territories for herſelf. The treaty was ſigned at Peterſburg in the beginning

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of February, 1772, by the Ruſſian, Auſtrian, and Pruſſian plenipotentiaries.

As the troops of the three courts were already in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of Poland, the confederates, hemmed in on all ſides, were ſoon routed and diſperſed; and Europe waited in anxious expectation what would be the iſſue of this unexpected union: yet ſuch was the profound ſecrecy with which the partitioning powers proceeded, that for ſome time after the ratification of the treaty, only vague conjectures were entertained even at Warſaw * concerning their real intentions; and the late lord Cathcart, the Engliſh miniſter at Peterſburg, was able to obtain no authentic information of its ſignature, until two months after the event.

The firſt formal notification of any pretenſions to the Poliſh territory was in the month of September, 1772, announced to the king and ſenate aſſembled at Warſaw, by the Imperial embaſſador; which was ſoon followed by the memorials of the Ruſſian and Pruſſian courts, ſpecifying their reſpective claims. It would be tedious to enter into a detail of the pleas urged by the three powers in favour of their ſeveral demands; it would be no leſs unintereſting to lay before the reader, the anſwers and remonſtrances of the king and ſenate, as well as the appeals to the other ſtates which had guarantied the poſſeſſions of Poland. The courts of London, Paris, Stockholm, and Copen-

* I have a collection of MS. letters written from Warſaw before and after the partition: the following paſſages from thoſe letters will ſhew the myſterious conduct of the three courts, and the uncertainty of the Poles concerning the diſmemberment.

"On cache à Vienne les vrais motifs et le "but de la prochaine entrée des troupes en "Pologne," &c. May 6, 1772.

All the letters ſpeak of the apprehenſions of diſmemberment; but the firſt which mentions it with any certainty is dated May 19, which relates, that one of the king of Pruſſia's officers, paſſing through Marienburgh, even ſaid, that the neighbourhood of that town had fallen to the king by the partition.

May 30. "On croit de plus et plus qu'on "nous partagera, tant d'avis qui s'accordent "là deſſus ne peuvent pas être ſur de vaines "imaginations et conjectures," &c.

Auguſt 13. "La bombe va crever, on "acheve le traitè de partage," &c.

Auguſt 24. "C'en eſt fait, le traitè ébauchè au mois de Fevrier vient de prendre "conſiſtence," &c.

hagen,

hagen, remonſtrated againſt the uſurpations; but remonſtrances without aſſiſtance could be of no effect. Poland ſubmitted to the diſmemberment, not without the moſt violent ſtruggles, and now, for the firſt time, felt and lamented the fatal effects of faction and diſcord.

A diet being demanded by the partitioning powers, in order to ratify the ceſſion of the provinces, was, after ſome delay, convoked by the king in the following ſummons: "Since "there are no hopes from any quarter, and any further delays "will only tend to draw down the moſt dreadful calamities "upon the remainder of the dominions which are left to the "republic; the diet is convened for the 19th of April, 1773, "according to the will of the three courts: nevertheleſs, in "order to avoid all cauſe of reproach, the king, with the ad-"vice of the ſenate, again appeals to the guaranties of the "treaty of Oliva."

The diet met at the appointed time; and ſuch was the ſpirit of the members, that, notwithſtanding the deplorable ſituation of their country, the threats and bribes of the three powers, the partition-treaty was not carried through without much difficulty. For ſome time the majority of the nuntios appeared determined to oppoſe the diſmemberment, and the king firmly perſiſted in the ſame reſolution. The embaſſadors of the three courts enforced their requiſitions by the moſt alarming menaces; and threatened the king with depoſition and impriſonment. They alſo gave out by their emiſſaries, that in caſe the diet continued refractory, Warſaw ſhould be pillaged. This report was induſtriouſly circulated, and made a ſenſible impreſſion upon the inhabitants. By menaces of this ſort, by corrupting the marſhal of the diet, who was accompanied with a Ruſſian guard; in a word, by bribes, promiſes, and threats, the members of the diet were at length prevailed on to ratify the diſmemberment. In the ſenate, however, or upper houſe, there

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there was a majority of only ſix; in the lower houſe, or aſſembly of the nuntios, of but one ſingle vote in favour of the meaſure *. An act was then paſſed to limit the ſeſſions of the diet to the term of a few days, and delegates were appointed, with full powers to adjuſt, in concert with the embaſſadors, all the terms of the diſmemberment. The commiſſioners, or delegates, on the breaking up of the diet in May, immediately entered upon their office; and, by the month of September, finally concluded the treaty of the partition in conformity to the dictates of the three courts. At this juncture, ſeveral nobles were bold enough to iſſue manifeſtoes and remonſtrances in various parts of the kingdom, againſt the ceſſion of the provinces, and to reprobate the conduct of the partitioning powers; but ſuch remonſtrances were totally diſregarded, and may be conſidered only as the laſt convulſions of an expiring nation.

Of the diſmembered countries †, the Ruſſian province is the largeſt, the Auſtrian the moſt populous, and the Pruſſian the moſt commercial. The population of the whole amounts to near 5,000,000 of ſouls; the firſt containing 1,500,000, the ſecond 2,500,000, and the third 860,000. Weſtern Pruſſia was the greateſt loſs to Poland, as by the diſmemberment of that province, the navigation of the Viſtula entirely depends upon the king of Pruſſia; by the loſs conſequently of this diſtrict a fatal blow was given to the trade of Poland; for his Pruſſian majeſty has laid ſuch heavy duties upon the merchandize paſſing to Dantzic, as greatly to diminiſh the commerce of that town, and to transfer a conſiderable portion of it to Memmel and Konigſburgh.

Although the limits of Poland were ſettled by the treaty of

* By 54 againſt 53.

† The reader, by conſulting the map of Poland (prefixed to this work), will ſee the ſituation and extent of the three diſmembered provinces. For an account of the Auſtrian province, ſee Book II. Chap. I.; of the Ruſſian, Book III. Chap. I.

Partition,

Partition, yet the Auſtrians and Pruſſians continually extended their frontiers: the emperor ſeized upon Caſimir, and even avowed an intention of taking poſſeſſion of Cracow and Kaminiec; while Frederick alleged theſe uſurpations as a juſtification for ſimilar incroachments on his part; urging, that he could not, conſiſtent with his own ſecurity, ſee the emperor increaſing his dominions without following his example, and aſſuming an equivalent.

Catharine was forced for a time to connive at theſe encroachments; but no ſooner was peace * eſtabliſhed with the Turks, and the rebellion of Pugatcheff cruſhed, than ſhe immediately turned her whole attention to Poland; and it is owing to her ſpirited remonſtrances, that both Auſtrians and Pruſſians have relinquiſhed their uſurpations, and confined themſelves to the limits marked by the treaty of partition.

The partitioning powers did leſs injury to the republic by diſmembering its faireſt provinces, than by perpetuating the principles of anarchy and confuſion, and eſtabliſhing on a permanent footing, that exorbitant liberty †, which is the parent of faction, and has proved the decline of the republic. Under pretence of amending the conſtitution, they have confirmed all its defects, and have taken effectual precautions to

* The peace between the Empreſs and the Turks was ſigned on the 21ſt of July, 1774, in Marſhal Romanzof's camp near Bulgaria; and in a letter from Warſaw, dated Auguſt 29, of the ſame year, it is ſaid, "The Emperor and King of Pruſſia continued encroaching upon the Poliſh territories, and enlarging their frontiers which were marked by the treaty of Peterſburg. But upon the concluſion of the peace, the Auſtrian and Pruſſian troops retired within their reſpective lines. Behold already the good effects of this glorious peace! What would have become of us, if the arms of the Ottoman empire had proſpered according to the wiſhes of many?"

And in another, dated Sept. 14, 1775, "The king of Pruſſia has written to the empreſs of Ruſſia a letter in a moſt enchanting ſtyle. After much praiſe, he adds, that notwithſtanding the juſtice of his claim upon thoſe parts which he has annexed to his former acquiſitions, he ſhall make no difficulty in ſacrificing them, as a proof of his readineſs to oblige her Imperial majeſty; provided the houſe of Auſtria will alſo reſtore what ſhe has taken."

† "Our liberty," ſaid a Pole, "is like a two-edged ſword in the hand of an infant, and for that very reaſon our neighbours are anxious to preſerve it entire."

render

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render this unhappy country incapable of emerging from its preſent deplorable ſtate.

The delegates, who ratified the treaty of partition, being alſo empowered by the diet to concert with the three courts any alterations in the conſtitution which might appear beneficial to the kingdom, continued ſitting from May 1773 to March 1775, during which period the convocation of the ordinary diet was poſtponed, until the members of the delegation had agreed to all the innovations propoſed by the embaſſadors; and until every part of the government was finally arranged. Notwithſtanding the wretched condition of Poland, and the reſiſtleſs power of the three courts, yet the king and the majority of the delegates long with-held their conſent to the propoſed alterations.

Some idea of their ſpirit may be formed from the following account of one of the meetings, when the propoſitions relating to the change of government were firſt produced in September, 1773. Prior to the appearance of the three embaſſadors in the aſſembly, much was ſaid, and with great vehemence, againſt the projected innovations; many reproaches were thrown out againſt the authors of that plan, for ſacrificing the public advantage to their private ambition, reſentment, and intereſts. At the entrance of the three embaſſadors, a dead ſilence took place for ſome minutes, until the ſecretary of the Ruſſian embaſſy began to read the plan for new-modelling the conſtitution; then a general murmur ſpread through the whole aſſembly, and, as he proceeded, increaſed to ſuch a degree as almoſt to drown his voice; nor was it without frequent interruptions, that he was permitted to finiſh its recital. He had ſcarcely concluded, when the whole body of delegates loudly demanded the treaties of partition and alliance: the embaſſadors anſwering, that many points could not be adjuſted without farther inſtructions from their reſpective

tive courts; it was replied, that in the mean time they might introduce the treaty of commerce, which they were authoriſed to conclude. At all events, it was urged, the propoſal concerning the change of government is premature; a revolution of ſuch extreme importance demands the moſt deliberate examination, and ought not to be hurried through, as if it was a circumſtance of no concern to the nation. One of the delegates, who was moſt violent in his oppoſition, delivered his ſentiments with a freedom which aſtoniſhed the aſſembly; and when the embaſſadors, who did not underſtand the Poliſh idiom, applied to a Caſtellan for an explanation of what was ſaid, the latter excuſed himſelf, under pretence of not being qualified for the office of interpreter, as having but an imperfect knowledge of the French language. When, at laſt, one of the Palatines, who was of the embaſſador's party, acquainted them with the contents of the ſpeech; the orator ventured to thank him for explaining the purport of his harangue in ſo able a manner; while the praiſes which, in a fine tone of irony, he affected to beſtow upon the Palatine for his readineſs to oblige, as well as for his independent ſpirit, occaſioned much mirth in the aſſembly. The undiſguiſed approbation given by the greateſt part of the members to this orator, convinced the embaſſadors that this was no time to obtrude their reſolutions upon the delegates: they accordingly broke up the meeting, and poſtponed the buſineſs to a future opportunity *. The next ſeſſion, however, was not more favourable to their wiſhes, nor did the patriotic zeal of the delegates ſeem to abate. Their oppoſition indeed to this meaſure continued ſo violent, that more than a year elapſed before the embaſſadors

* The following paſſage in one of my MS. letters, dated ſo late as Nov. 13, 1774, will ſhew the difficulty of ſettling with the delegates.

"The plan for the permanent council "continues to be read; it ſtill excites con- "tinual debates, and more will ariſe; but "all will be finiſhed according to the will of "the miniſters."

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were able, by the influence of threats, bribery, and promiſes, to obtain a majority; and before the delegates, terrified or ſeduced into compliance, formally acceded to the change of government. This important point being obtained, the delegation was diſſolved on the 13th of April, 1775, and all the articles were confirmed by the general diet.

The following note, delivered by the three embaſſadors to the delegates on the 13th of September, 1773, will give the beſt general idea of the changes made in the conſtitution. "The courts are ſo intereſted in the pacification of Poland, "that, while the treaties are getting ready to be ſigned and "ratified, the miniſters cannot loſe any of that valuable time, "ſo neceſſary for the re-eſtabliſhment of order, and the tran-"quillity of this kingdom. We now, therefore, deliver to "the delegation a part of thoſe cardinal laws, to the ratification "of which our courts will not ſuffer any contradiction.

I. "The crown of Poland ſhall be for ever elective, and "all order of ſucceſſion proſcribed: any perſon who ſhall "endeavour to break this law, ſhall be declared an enemy to "his country, and liable to be puniſhed accordingly.

II. "Foreign candidates to the throne being the frequent "cauſe of troubles and diviſion, ſhall be excluded; and it ſhall "be enacted, that, for the future, no perſon can be choſen "king of Poland, and great duke of Lithuania, excepting a "native Pole, of noble * origin, and poſſeſſing land within "the kingdom. The ſon, or grandſon, of a king of Poland, "cannot be elected immediately upon the death of their father "or grandfather; and are not eligible, excepting after an in-"terval of two reigns.

III. "The government of Poland ſhall be for ever free, "independent, and of a republican form.

IV. "The true principle of the ſaid government conſiſting

* That is, any gentleman.

"in

" in the ſtrict execution of its laws, and the equilibrium of " the three eſtates, namely, the king, the ſenate, and the " equeſtrian order, a Permanent Council ſhall be eſtabliſhed, " in which the executive power ſhall be veſted. In this coun- " cil the equeſtrian order, hitherto excluded from the admi- " niſtration of affairs in the intervals of the diets, ſhall be ad- " mitted, as ſhall be more clearly laid down in the future ar- " rangements."

Theſe arrangements having been carried into execution, I ſhall make a few remarks upon the ſeveral articles.

By the firſt, the houſe of Saxony, and all foreign princes, who might be likely to give weight to Poland by their hereditary dominions, are rendered incapable of filling the throne. By the ſecond, the excluſion of a king's ſon or grandſon, excepting after an interval of two reigns, removes the fainteſt proſpect of an hereditary ſovereignty, and entails upon the kingdom all the evils inſeparable from that moſt wretched form of government, an elective monarchy. By the third article, the *liberum veto*, and all the exorbitant privileges of the equeſtrian order, are confirmed in their utmoſt latitude; and by the laſt, the prerogatives of the crown, before too greatly reduced, are ſtill farther diminiſhed, as will be more minutely diſplayed in the enſuing chapter.

Before the concluſion of this chapter, it will be proper to mention the fate of the diſſidents. Their pretenſions were finally ſettled between the republic and the mediating powers, at the laſt meeting of the delegates. The catholic party oppoſed in ſo violent a manner the reſtoration of their antient privileges, that, by the conſent of the foreign courts, they continue excluded from the diet, the ſenate, and the permanent council. In return, however, the diſſidents enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion; are permitted to have churches without bells; ſchools and ſeminaries of their own; they are ca-

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pable of ſitting in the inferior courts of juſtice; and in the tribunal, appointed to receive appeals in matters of religion, three of their communion are admitted as aſſeſſors.

In conſequence of this toleration, the diſſidents have conſtructed churches in different parts of the kingdom; one built upon this occaſion by the Lutherans at Warſaw, has the following inſcription:

"Has ædes Deo J. O. ſacras
"Cœtus Varſovienſis in Auguſt. Confeſſ. ex conſenſu Sta-
"niſlai Auguſti Regis et Reipublicæ ſtruere cœpit.
"Aprilis 24, 1777."

CHAP. V.

Government of Poland.—*Legiſlative authority poſſeſſed by the diet.—Executive power veſted in the permanent council.—Act for the eſtabliſhment of that council.—Article I. Arrangement of the permanent council.—Conſtituent parts taken from the three eſtates, the king, ſenate, and equeſtrian order.—Election of the members.—Prerogatives of the king.—Limitations of his authority.—Primate.—Marſhal of the equeſtrian order.—Article II. Mode of proceeding.—Its five departments.—Foreign affairs.—Police.—War.—Juſtice.—The Treaſury.—Article III. Power and duties.—Article IV. Limits of its authority.—Detail of the five departments.*

THE government of Poland is with great propriety ſtyled a republic, becauſe the king is ſo exceedingly limited in his prerogative, that he reſembles more the chief of a commonwealth, than the ſovereign of a powerful monarchy.

The

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The ſupreme legiſlative authority of this republic reſides in the three eſtates of the realm, the king, ſenate, and equeſtrian order, aſſembled in a national diet *. The executive power, which was heretofore entruſted to the king and ſenate, is now, according to the new form of government, veſted in the permanent council.

The act for the eſtabliſhment of the permanent council, by the diet of 1775, is thus worded.

Since the former exiſtence of the council *ad latus noſtrum* in the republic is proved from the antient conſtitutions which mention it, and nominally from the ſixth article in the confirmation of king Stephen, as well as from the conſtitutions † of 1576, 1590, 1607, 1641, 1669, 1677, and of 1678: We therefore eſtabliſh a national council, *ad latus noſtrum*, compoſed of the three orders, namely, of us the king, the ſenate, and of the equeſtrian order, to act in the manner preſcribed as follows.

ARTICLE I. Arrangement of the Permanent Council.

I. This council ſhall bear the title of Supreme Permanent Council. It ſhall be compoſed of the three eſtates of the republic, namely, of the king, the ſenate, and the equeſtrian order, which ſhall be for ever inſeparable, excepting during an interregnum, or in the king's abſence, for which a proviſion is hereafter made.

The firſt eſtate, the king, as chief of the nation, is never changed; but the other two eſtates ſhall be elected, every two years, at the ordinary diet, by the majority of ſecret votes, in the following manner.

1. All ſenators and miniſters are candidates of courſe, but the members of the equeſtrian order ſhall addreſs themſelves

* For an account of the diet, ſee the next chapter.

† The laws of Poland are called conſtitutions, and are denominated conſtitutions of 1576, 1590, &c. as paſſed in the diets which aſſembled in thoſe years.

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to the marſhal of the laſt diet; and, in caſe of his death or abſence, to the firſt nuntio of the province from which the marſhal was taken, three days before the diet, either in perſon, or by memorials ſigned by themſelves, and ſealed with their own coats of arms. 2. The marſhal of the diet being elected, and all the ceremonies in the chamber of the nuntios being properly performed, after the junction of the two houſes according to the conſtitution of 1768, the liſts of the candidates ſhall be read; that of the ſenators and miniſters by one of the principal ſecretaries; and that of the candidates of the equeſtrian order by the ſecretary of the diet. No perſon ſhall be excluded from being a candidate, who can prove that he poſſeſſes the neceſſary conditions and qualifications, ſuch as are hereafter deſcribed. And if any perſon ſo qualified is omitted, the great ſecretaries ſhall be anſwerable to the ſame diet for the omiſſion of ſenators and miniſters, and the marſhal of the diet for that of the members of the equeſtrian order; and if they are convicted of having deſignedly been guilty of the omiſſion, they ſhall be deprived of their charges. 3. A printed liſt of the candidates ſhall, the ſame day, be given to each member of the diet, to be taken into conſideration. 4. The enſuing day each member of the diet ſhall ſecretly mark the names of as many perſons in the printed liſt as are neceſſary to fill the permanent council. This ceremony ſhall be performed in a corner of the ſenate-houſe. The ſenators invited by the great marſhals, or, in their abſence, by thoſe who perform the office of marſhals, and the nuntios ſummoned by the marſhal of the diet, ſhall receive from the ſecretaries the printed liſt of the candidates, ſtamped with the arms of the republic, ſimilar to that which was diſtributed the preceding day. With theſe liſts they ſhall repair in order, one after the other, to a ſmall table ſurrounded with curtains, upon which table they ſhall ſecretly draw a line under the names of the perſons

perſons whom they favour; and every one ſhall put his liſt into a vaſe ſtanding upon a table in the corner of the hall, which vaſe ſhall be previouſly opened in the ſenate-houſe by the marſhal who is firſt in rank, in order to ſhew that it is empty. The vaſe ſhall be provided with three different locks, the keys whereof ſhall be given, one to his majeſty, a ſecond to the great marſhal, or to him who ſtands in his place; and a third to the marſhal of the diet. At the ſame time nine deputies ſhall be choſen, three from the ſenate by the king, and ſix by the marſhal of the diet from the equeſtrian order. As ſoon as all the liſts have been delivered, theſe deputies, being ſworn, ſhall bring the vaſe into the middle of the ſenate-houſe, and having, in the face of the whole aſſembly, opened it with the three keys, ſhall compare the number of liſts with the members of the diet who are preſent, count the ſuffrages, and the firſt in rank among the deputies ſhall openly proclaim the names of thoſe who have the majority. 5. Each elector muſt underline in the printed liſt ſo many, and ſuch perſons as are required; that is, among the perſons elected ſhall be the third of the members in the late permanent council, to the number of twelve, namely, ſix from the ſenate and miniſtry, and as many from the equeſtrian order, equally choſen from each province. All the liſts, in which this rule is not obſerved, and in which there are more or leſs perſons nominated than the neceſſary number, ſhall be conſidered as null, and be rejected by the deputies. 6. Thoſe who have the plurality of ſuffrages ſhall be admitted into the council; and it is only in caſe of an equal number of votes for any candidate or candidates, that the king ſhall have the caſting voice.

The neceſſary qualifications, which entitle a member of the equeſtrian order to become a candidate for a ſeat in the council, are to have belonged to any of the four juriſdictions of the republic,

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public, (of the marſhal, of war, of the aſſeſſorium *, and of the treaſury), to have been deputy in any tribunal, nuntio of the diet, or miniſter to a foreign court. Thoſe who ſhall be elected during the diet, before they enter upon their office ſhall take the following oath.

" I do ſwear, in the name of the Almighty, that I will be " faithful to you Staniſlaus Auguſtus, my gracious maſter, and " to the republic of Poland; that, in the exerciſe of my office " as counſellor of the permanent council, I will execute with " zeal all which the laws relative to the permanent council " ordain; that I will not ſuffer myſelf to be ſurpriſed either " by preſents or menaces; that in giving my advice I will not " be biaſſed by any perſon, but will act in obedience to the " laws, and in conformity to juſtice will conſult the good of " my country; that if I ſee or know any thing which may " be either ſerviceable or detrimental to my country, I will " faithfully acquaint his majeſty, my moſt gracious maſter, " and his permanent council, and will give my ſuffrage in the " manner I think moſt likely to prevent the evil. I will not " reveal the ſecrets which may be entruſted to me by his ma- " jeſty and his council. And ſo help me God."

The council ſhall be compoſed of the following perſons:

1. The king as chief and preſident. 2. Three biſhops, among whom the primate of his own right, ſhall preſide during two years, but ſhall have no ſeat the two following years. 3. Nine lay-ſenators, two of whom may be elected either from the miniſters or ſenators. 4. Four from the miniſtry of the republic, namely, one from each department; of theſe eighteen members of the ſenate, ſix muſt be taken from each of the three † provinces. 5. The marſhal of the equeſtrian order, and, in caſe of his death or abſence, the firſt counſellor of the

* Court of Juſtice, having cognizance within a certain diſtance of the ſovereign's place of reſidence. See p. 9. note †.

† Great Poland, Little Poland, and Lithuania.

equeſtrian

equeſtrian order, according to the turn of the provinces. 6. Eighteen counſellors of the equeſtrian order, including the marſhal. 7. The ſecretary of the permanent council ſhall be elected from the Referendaries *, and national notaries, &c. CHAP. V.

OF THE PENSIONS.

The primate, biſhops, and miniſters, enjoying very conſiderable revenues derived from their charges, ſhall have no penſions. Lay-ſenators of the crown, and of Lithuania, ſhall annually receive each 14,000 florins †, = £388. 18*s.* The marſhal of the equeſtrian order, as member of the permanent council, 30,000 florins, = £833. 6*s.* 8*d.*; and, during his reſidence at Warſaw, ſhall be allowed a guard of fifteen men, with an officer, from the army of the crown. Each counſellor ſhall have 14,000 florins per annum, = £388. 18*s.* The ſecretary of the council ſhall receive the ſame ſum.

Explanation of the duties and prerogatives of the perſons who compoſe the Permanent Council.

His majeſty the king our moſt gracious maſter, as chief of the nation, and the firſt eſtate, repreſenting the majeſty of the republic, ſhall, according to uſual practice, convoke by circular letters, and at the time preſcribed by the laws, the ordinary diets; he muſt always conſult the permanent council upon the matters to be laid before thoſe aſſemblies, in the ſame manner as he before took the advice of the ſenate, which from henceforth ſhall no more be convened. His majeſty ſhall in like manner ſummon the extraordinary diets, either of his own accord, or at the inſtance of the permanent council, which the king cannot refuſe if the majority demand it. All the laws and conſtitutions of the diet, decrees, privileges, and public acts, ſhall be iſſued in the name of the king, as it has been hitherto

* "Referendaries are a kind of maſters of "Requeſts, whoſe office is to receive petitions made to the king, and to give his "majeſty's anſwer: they have a place in any "of the king's courts of juſtice." Connor's Poland, v. II. p. 77.

† 36 Poliſh florins = a pound ſterling.

 practiſed.

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practiſed. He ſhall ſign all the diſpatches paſſed by order of the council, not having it in his power to put a negative upon them, if they are carried by a majority. He ſhall give public audience to embaſſadors and foreign miniſters, to envoys or reſidents, ſhall treat with them, but cannot conclude without communicating the whole to the council, and following the advice of the majority.

The king, on his part, cedes the following royal prerogatives: 1. For the election of biſhops, palatines, caſtellans, and miniſters, the council ſhall nominate by ballot three candidates, one of whom the king ſhall appoint to the vacant office *. 2. The power of appointing to all other eccleſiaſtical and civil offices ſhall continue, without any diminution, veſted in the king, excepting the commiſſioners of war, of the treaſury, thoſe in the department of the marſhal, and in the aſſeſſorium regni: all theſe commiſſioners were before accuſtomed to be named by him in the intervals between the diets; but his majeſty now conſents, that from henceforth the council ſhall elect three candidates, to be preſented in the ſame manner as in the laſt mentioned article relative to the nomination of the ſenators and miniſters. 3. With reſpect to military ranks, his majeſty ſhall appoint the captains in the Poliſh companies, and the officers of the four companies, which are upon the Poliſh footing, and bear his name. Excepting theſe, all other military promotions ſhall be conferred according to ſeniority. Nevertheleſs, his majeſty may propoſe candidates for military promotion, choſen among the young officers in the national ſervice, to be ſecretly balloted for with that perſon who has the right of ſeniority; provided, at the ſame time, the great general delivers to his majeſty his recommendation in writing, with his reaſons for the ſaid recommendation. 4. His majeſty renounces the right to diſpoſe of the royal demeſnes and ſta-

* The king had before the ſole diſpoſal of theſe offices. See p. 9.

roſties, with this clauſe, that the proprietors of both ſexes be continued during their lives in poſſeſſion of the ſaid eſtates, which, from this preſent time, ſhall never be granted to any perſon whatſoever, under the appearance of recompence or any other pretext; but they ſhall be employed for the public good, to the great advantage of the country, and with the conſent of the king. 5. Four regiments of guards ſhall be reſtored to the command of the great general, as in the time of Auguſtus III. that is, while they preſerve the name and rank of guards, they do not bind themſelves by any new oath; and with this difference, that whereas formerly the great generals poſſeſſed alone the military power in their hands, at preſent they ſhare that power with the committee; which committee, as well as the great generals, depend, in virtue of the preſent law, upon the permanent council. In return, the king ſhall receive an annual ſum ſufficient to keep in pay two thouſand troops, who ſhall depend ſolely upon his majeſty; but this ſum ſhall not be included in the additional revenues granted to his majeſty, in compenſation for thoſe loſt by the diſmemberment of the provinces. 6. Reciprocally the republic ſtipulates on its part, once for all, that all the other royal prerogatives (thoſe excepted which the king has graciouſly pleaſed to renounce) ſhall remain in full force, and be for ever inviolate. CHAP. V.

The Primate.

The primate, during his office *, muſt attend the permanent council at leaſt ſix months in the year. The antient laws which ſecure the prerogatives of the primate during the interregnum remaining in force, he ſhall † preſide in the council, even ſhould it not be his turn for ſitting in the council. During the interregnum, the permanent council, keeping its

* That is, during the two years in which he ſits in the council.

† Namely, as viceroy during the interregnum.

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power and authority, ſhall maintain, in the uſual forms, the tribunals, and all the juriſdictions of the republic, according to the conſtitution of 1768, in all things not contradicted by this new arrangement. The primate, during the two years of his function, ſigns his name after the king to all the acts of the permanent council; and, in caſe of the king's abſence, or during an interregnum, he has two * votes, in order to decide in caſe of equality of ſuffrages. In the primate's abſence, the firſt ſenator in rank, who is member of the council, ſupplies his place.

The MARSHAL of the Equeſtrian Order.

The equeſtrian order ſhall have its marſhal in the permanent council, who is the firſt in rank among the members of that order. He ſhall be elected every two years at the ordinary diet by ſecret ſuffrages, always from each of the three provinces by rotation, according to the form preſcribed for the election of the counſellors. No ſenator or miniſter is capable of being elected marſhal unleſs he before-hand reſigns his charge.

He ſhall take the following oath before the ſame diet in the ſame manner as the other counſellors.

" I ſwear before Almighty God, that I will be faithful to " you Staniſlaus Auguſtus my gracious maſter, and to the re- " public of Poland; that in the exerciſe of my office of mar- " ſhal of the permanent council, I will execute with zeal all " which is ordained by the laws eſtabliſhed by the council; " that in giving my advice, and voting, I will take for the rule " of my conduct the written laws, and the good of my country, " from which I will never ſwerve, neither induced by intreaties, " promiſes, friendſhip or hatred, or any other ſpecies of cor- " ruption or perſonal attachment whatſoever; that I will never " divulge the ſecret deliberations of the council; that I will

* That is, I ſuppoſe, one vote as uſual, and the caſting vote in caſe of equality.

" caſt up the votes, and faithfully declare the majority of ſuf-
" frages. So help me God."

The marſhal of the equeſtrian order in the permanent council cannot be choſen marſhal or nuntio of the next diet, nor be re-elected marſhal of the permanent council, excepting after an interval of four years.

His office. He, as well as each of the counſellors, may remonſtrate againſt the ill-execution of the laws, and lay before the council thoſe matters of which it has the cognizance. It is the duty of the whole council to watch over the ſecurity and maintenance of the eſtabliſhed government, and the preſent conſtitution; and the marſhal, as well as each member, ought to have at heart the preſervation of the prerogatives of the three eſtates; but more particularly the chancellor, who is a member of the council, and the marſhal ſhall take care that the papers ſhall be kept in order, and the inſpector of the acts and archives of the permanent council ſhall depend upon the permanent council *in pleno*. The marſhal, as well as each counſellor, may preſent candidates for ſubaltern places in the permanent council, who ſhall be accepted, if the council is unanimous, and, in caſe of any oppoſition, ſhall be elected by the majority of ſuffrages. The marſhal and chancellor ſhall take care that the ſaid ſubalterns perform their duties, recommending to the permanent council to reward or puniſh them according to their deſerts. The marſhal diſtributes the votes to the members of the equeſtrian order, draws the balls or the billets from the vaſe, in preſence of two deputies from the ſenate and two from the equeſtrian order, choſen by the plurality of voices, counts the number of ſuffrages, and declares the majority. The ſeal of the permanent council, together with the arms of the two nations, ſhall remain in the poſſeſſion of the firſt among the chancellors who are members of the council. The marſhal ſhall ſign next to the king and primate,

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primate, or, in the latter's abſence, next to the ſenior ſenator, all the acts and reſolutions of the permanent council, and ſhall the ſame day diſpatch each act to its reſpective department. At the ordinary diet he ſhall take his ſeat at the left hand of the marſhal of the diet, and after his juſtification he ſhall depart from the aſſembly, together with all the members of the equeſtrian order in the late council. If he exceeds his power, the permanent council may cite him, as well as each counſellor, before the tribunal of the diet, according to the form preſcribed by law.

The SECRETARY of the Council.

He can only give his opinion, but has no vote in the council. He ſhall deliver gratis to the petitioners the reſolutions and anſwers of the permanent council, and ſhall counterſign all the diſpatches. He ſhall receive from the ſecretaries of the departments (who ſhall depend upon him as far as relates to reports which are to be delivered) the reports of all that paſſes in the ſittings of the different departments, and what is inſerted in the regiſters; he ſhall acquaint the permanent council with the contents, and ſhall form a regiſter of all the operations according to the deciſion of the diet. He ſhall be obliged to report to the permanent council every thing that comes to his knowledge, which may be either advantageous or detrimental to the republic. During his abſence, the permanent council ſhall elect, by a majority of ſuffrages, another perſon, who ſhall perform the duties of his office until he returns. The archiviſt ſhall be elected in the permanent council by the majority of ſuffrages, in the ſame manner as the above-mentioned ſubalterns, and he ſhall be informed of all by the ſecretary. The extracts, as well from the archives of the permanent council, as from the departments which appertain to the council, ſhall be delivered gratis.

The ſecretary ſhall take an oath, ſimilar to the foregoing one,

one, with the addition of the following clauſe: "I ſwear that "I will not entruſt, or give to any perſon, the papers which "are conſigned to me, without the permiſſion of the council." CHAP. V.

The inſtigators * of the two nations † (their ancient duties remaining in force) ſhall depend upon the permanent council, and ſhall not make their appearance in it without being ſummoned. They ſhall take the uſual oath, with the addition of the following clauſe: "We ſwear that we will not abandon any "perſon for prayers, threats, promiſes, or perſonal conſideration, "nor indict but at the inſtance of the permanent council."

The nomination of the ſecretaries for the departments, the keeper of the archives, and ſcribes (all of whom muſt be natives and nobles) as well as the appointment of their duties, ſhall depend upon the permanent council.

The INTERPRETERS.

There ſhall be two for the Eaſtern languages, and one for the Ruſſian tongue: they ſhall depend upon the permanent council, and particularly upon the department for foreign affairs.

The members of the permanent council ſhall not be exempted from appearing in the courts of juſtice, &c.

If, in criminal affairs, a counſellor incurs any puniſhment, he ſhall ſubmit to it according to the laws and the nature of the crime, without deriving any benefit from his office, &c.

ARTICLE II. Arrangement, diviſion, and mode of procedure in the Permanent Council.

The Permanent Council is divided into five departments.

1. For foreign affairs. 2. Police. 3. War. 4. Juſtice. 5. Treaſury.

In the department for foreign affairs there ſhall be only four members, and eight in each of the other departments, amounting in all to thirty-ſix perſons. The election of theſe mem-

* Officers of the crown who proſecute in caſes of high treaſon.

† Poland and Lithuania.

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bers ſhall be made by the permanent council aſſembled in a body, either unanimouſly, or by a majority of open ſuffrages. The preſence of three perſons in each department ſhall be deemed ſufficient to proceed upon buſineſs. The miniſters * (who are of the council) ſhall preſide in the departments belonging to their reſpective charges, and if any accuſation ſhall be brought againſt them, they ſhall retire from the permanent council, not having a vote in ſuch caſes.

The members of each department ſhall receive the memorials and reports which concern their reſpective departments: having examined and made extracts, they ſhall add their own opinion upon each matter, and ſhall then lay the whole before the permanent council for its final deciſion.

In the department, when there ſhall happen to be no miniſter, the ſenior ſenator ſhall preſide. Each preſident has, beſide his common vote, a caſting voice, in caſe of an equality of ſuffrages. In all the departments, as well as in the council *in pleno*, the loweſt member in rank ſhall give the firſt vote.

The council ſhall aſſemble *in pleno*, as often as neceſſity requires, in preſence of the king, when he is pleaſed to be preſent; and in his majeſty's abſence, the primate during his turn ſhall preſide; and in his abſence, the firſt ſenator.

The king ſhall firſt propoſe whatever he thinks proper, and the queſtion ſhall be decided, if not unanimouſly, by a plurality of voices. In all caſes, when the king is not preſent, the primate, or, in his abſence, the firſt in rank, ſhall have the power of propoſing. Afterwards, the marſhal of the equeſtrian order, and then each counſellor, ſhall ſucceſſively have the liberty of propoſing. Then the ſecretary of the council ſhall read the regiſters of the five departments, that the affairs which they treat may be finally decided by the

* Namely, one of the great treaſurers in the department of the treaſury; one of the great generals in that of war, &c.

permanent

permanent council *in pleno*, or returned to the department from which it was delivered for more exact information. When the king is not preſent in the council, the firſt ſenator and the marſhal of the equeſtrian order ſhall, in the name of the council, make reports of the affairs in agitation to the king. The king, having received them, ſhall, if he pleaſes, give his two votes in writing, which ſhall be as valid as if he had been preſent. If the king gives no vote before the next meeting, the queſtion ſhall be decided by the majority; and, in caſe of an equality, the firſt in rank who preſides in the council ſhall have the caſting voice. CHAP. V.

If the king is abſent from Warſaw with the permiſſion of the council, the council muſt repair to the place where he reſides; but if his majeſty quits Warſaw of his own accord, the election of the candidates, and the diſtribution of the charges, ſhall be ſuſpended two months; at the expiration of which term, one of the members of the department for foreign affairs ſhall attend his majeſty, to the end that a correſpondence be preſerved between the king and the council.

The memorials, in all public matters cognizable by the council, may be preſented to any member of the council, or even to the ſecretary: but in all private affairs equally cognizable by the council, the memorials muſt be preſented by thoſe perſons whom they concern. The member who preſents a memorial, having firſt ſigned it, ſhall ſend it to the ſecretary of the council, and the latter, having made extracts from it, ſhall read them to the council at the next meeting, bringing with him, however, the original to be examined in caſe of neceſſity. But if the counſellor, who ſends a memorial to the ſecretary, perceives it to be of ſuch great importance as to deſerve the inſpection of the council, he ſhall add after his name the following words, "This memorial admits no "delay." But ſhould a memorial be of ſuch a nature as to

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require ſecrecy, and to be laid before the council in the firſt reſort, then the counſellor, to whom it has been given, ſhall himſelf, without ſending it to the ſecretary, lay it before the council. In all queſtions, if the members of the council are not unanimous, the firſt in order, whoever he be, marſhal, miniſter, or member of the council, ſhall diſtribute, in the manner above-mentioned, the votes to the ſenators, and the marſhal of the equeſtrian order to the perſons of that order, and the majority ſhall be collected with the greateſt exactneſs. The majority may be aſcertained by two modes of deciſion; either by ſecret, or by open votes, when the perſon who aſſents, ſaying, "*I permit*," the ſuffrages ſhall be inſcribed in the regiſter by each voter. The *Turnus* can never be employed *in pleno*, excepting the members of the council are fifteen in number; and before the turnus is made uſe of, the perſon who lays any propoſition before the council ought to aſk the members if they conſent; the anſwer, that they conſent, or ſilence, announces unanimity; but if any member ſhould oppoſe and demand the turnus, then they ſhall proceed to open voting.

Each propoſition may be the ſubject of deliberation during three days; but if any one member objects to that delay, he may propoſe to determine, by ballot, whether the affair ſhall be taken into conſideration, or be immediately decided.

The turnus, once begun, ſhall be continued without interruption until the ſubject in agitation ſhall be finally decided, &c. In all queſtions, the deciſion by ballot may be inſiſted on by any one member, but it muſt be uſed in the following points. 1. In election of vacant offices reſerved to the council. 2 In extraordinary expences iſſued by the treaſury of the republic, not warranted by law. 3. In matters of high treaſon, ſtate crimes, diſturbance of the public tranquillity, and conventicles contrary to law. The votes by ballot ſhall be collected with

with the greateſt precaution and fidelity, and with every mark of neceſſary ſolemnity. For this purpoſe, a table ſhall ſtand in the middle of the apartment, ſurrounded with curtains about the height of a man, which may be drawn and undrawn to admit the counſellors; upon this table ſhall be placed a vaſe, having two openings with inſcriptions affirmative and negative, into which the balls ſhall be put; theſe openings ſhall be only big enough to admit the balls, and not to receive the whole hand. The vaſe ſhall be alſo cloſed with a lock, the key whereof ſhall be placed upon the council table until all the members have given their ſuffrages, and the balls are to be counted. The vaſe being opened, the marſhal miniſter, and the marſhal of the equeſtrian order, ſhall firſt hold it up and invert it to ſhew that it is empty; after which, it ſhall be ſealed by the two marſhals, and covered with the curtains. Next, the ſecretary ſhall diſtribute ivory balls to all who have a vote in the council; and every member, according to his rank, ſhall approach the table, and, firſt holding up his hand to ſhew that he has but one ball, ſhall put it into one of the openings, *permitting*, or *not permitting*, as he ſhall think proper, and according to his conſcience; and in this manner he cannot ſee how the others give their votes, nor be ſeen himſelf. If there are many candidates, the ſecretary ſhall diſtribute to each member billets, all written in the ſame hand, containing the names and ſurnames of the candidates; each member ſhall then put into the vaſe the billet containing the names and ſurnames of the candidates whom he favours, and ſhall burn the other billets, a candle being ready for that purpoſe. In caſe of equality of ſuffrages, the king has the caſting vote; and, to the end that each member may ſolicit the vacant charges in the gift of the permanent council, they may all propoſe themſelves, as well as recommend others, giving in their petition to that purpoſe in writing. The ſecret balloting being finiſhed, the

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marſhal of the equeſtrian order, and the marſhal miniſter, ſhall break each his ſeal and open the vaſe; and then, in conjunction with the two deputies from the ſenate and two from the equeſtrian order, ſhall declare the number of balls or billets. After which, the marſhal of the equeſtrian order ſhall read aloud the names of the candidates, and the number of votes in favour of each candidate, and ſhall declare for whom is the majority, which the ſecretary ſhall immediately regiſter.

The king has the privilege of convening an aſſembly of the permanent council; and, in his abſence, the firſt in rank; neither of whom can refuſe to ſummon a meeting upon the requeſt of any one member, repreſenting the neceſſity of diſcuſſing an affair of great importance. Each member of the council has the liberty of delivering his opinion in a decent manner; but whenever any affair, relative to any member, is in agitation, that member ſhall have no vote.

Two perſons of the ſame family, and even of the ſame ſurname, cannot be elected into the council, at the ſame time, as members of the ſame eſtate, namely, two ſenators, or two perſons of the equeſtrian order; but only one perſon for each eſtate.

All the decrees of the permanent council ſhall be iſſued in the name of the king, without any payment for the affixing of the ſeal, in the following manner: "We the king, with "the advice of the permanent council."

In order to prevent too frequent interruptions, no member of the council ſhall be abſent more than ſix months in the year, either at one or at different intervals, but with the conſent of the permanent council granted by the majority. The members who exceed their leave of abſence ſhall loſe a proportionate part of their ſalary; the ſame ſhall be underſtood of thoſe who, being at Warſaw, do not attend the ſittings of

the council; excepting, in both caſes, perſons employed in other public offices, or thoſe who produce proof of ſickneſs. The deduction of the ſalaries from the abſent members ſhall, at the end of the year, be divided among thoſe who have aſſiduouſly performed their duty.

The members of the permanent council cannot be ſent beyond the frontiers as miniſters to foreign courts: a perſon may decline being elected a member; but, when once admitted, he cannot reſign upon any pretext.

At each ordinary diet, when the council expires, a third of the members of the laſt permanent council, namely, ſix from the ſenators, and the ſame number from the equeſtrian order, ſhall be continued, by ballot, members for the following years; and this is done to the end that the council may always contain perſons experienced in buſineſs.

At the next ordinary diet, a particular place in the ſenate-houſe ſhall be aſſigned to the council, to anſwer any complaints which may be brought againſt it, and to receive a public teſtimony to be inſerted in the conſtitutions of the diet; either that the diet received no complaints againſt the permanent council; or that, having received them, they were proved upon examination to be ill-founded; or that, having acknowledged their validity, juſtice was accordingly inflicted. The ſenators and miniſters in the council ſhall have their uſual places in the ſenate. In the ordinary diets, the counſellors of the equeſtrian order ſhall ſit next to the miniſters. None of the counſellors, either ſenators, miniſters, or thoſe of the equeſtrian order, ſhall be preſent at the dietines, or at the opening of the tribunals. No counſellors ſhall accept any other public charges than thoſe which appertain to their office. No member of the council ſhall oppoſe the ſignature of privileges, reſolutions, or acts decided by the majority; and if either the king, the ſenior ſenator, or the marſhal, ſhould refuſe

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fuſe to ſign, in that caſe, each member ſhall ſubſcribe for himſelf, and the names of the majority ſhall render the act valid. In caſe of death, the vacancy ſhall be filled up within the ſpace of ten weeks by ballot, in the manner above-mentioned. If the deceaſed be a biſhop or lay-ſenator, his ſucceſſor ſhall be taken from the biſhops or lay-ſenators; if a miniſter, from the boards of the ſaid miniſter's office; if a perſon of the equeſtrian order, either from the candidates preſented at the laſt diet, or from thoſe propoſed upon this occaſion.

ARTICLE III.

Power, authority, and duties of the Permanent Council.

1. Without enjoying the leaſt authority, legiſlative or judicial, the council orders the execution of the laws; and, being the center of public affairs, as well foreign as domeſtic, is bound to determine according to the laws of its preſent eſtabliſhment. 2. It ſhall iſſue aſſignments for the payment of ſums reſerved to the public treaſury, and ſpecified in the general table of expences unprovided for in extraordinary circumſtances; and the members of the council cannot, during the holding of their office, partake of the ſaid aſſignments. 3. It ſhall receive all projects beneficial to the ſtate, decide upon the admiſſion of thoſe which are conſonant to law, and muſt lay thoſe which appear advantageous, but which have not the ſanction of law, before the firſt diet, for the determination of the ſtates. 4. It ſhall form plans for the reformation of the laws, and ſhall preſent them before the next diet: it ſhall frame a new code of laws, public, civil, and criminal, to be approved by the diet. 5. It ſhall ſend embaſſadors and miniſters to foreign courts from the perſons nominated by the king. The permanent council ſhall give them the neceſſary inſtructions, excepting in all caſes reſerved for the diet. 6. The permanent council ſhall appoint, by ballot, in the manner above-mentioned, three candidates for the vacant charges, ex-

cepting thoſe which are in the king's gift, or are choſen by the nobility in the Palatinates. 7. It ſhall take the moſt effectual methods to preſerve the alliances and treaties of the republic. CHAP. V.

ARTICLE IV. Limits of the Permanent Council's authority.

The council has no power in all matters reſerved to the ſtates aſſembled in diet, and can enact nothing contrary to any liberties and prerogatives juſtly conferred. It muſt not uſurp to itſelf the legiſlative or judicial authority, nor in any degree take into conſideration thoſe affairs whoſe deciſion is reſerved to the diet alone. If the council ſhould exceed its power, the members ſhall be liable to be cited and tried at the diet for high treaſon, and, if guilty, to be puniſhed according to the antient laws eſtabliſhed upon this article. The permanent council ſhall remain in full authority for two years without interruption, even ſhould one or more extraordinary diets interfere; and at the ordinary diet until a new council ſhall be elected in its place, according to the preſcribed form: then the antient council ſhall lay before the diet the ſituation of affairs, and give an account of its whole adminiſtration. The permanent council can only act according to the laws in being, or carry the ſaid laws into execution. In all caſes, not expreſsly mentioned by the laws, the permanent council cannot decide; but in all ſuch circumſtances it may prepare any propoſals for new laws, and publiſh them in the circular letters for the convocation of the diet.

DEPARTMENT I. Of foreign affairs in the Permanent Council.

The department of foreign affairs ſhall be compoſed of four members, amongſt whom ſhall be one from the duchy of Lithuania, one of the chancellors, and two counſellors of the equeſtrian order. To theſe ſhall be added one of the national ſecretaries, who ſhall have no vote: he ſhall inſpect and expedite all foreign affairs, and ſhall take the uſual oath, &c.

This department ſhall aſſemble as occaſion may require. When

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When the king is not preſent, a chancellor ſhall preſide; and, in the latter's abſence, the firſt ſenator. The national ſecretary ſhall make a report of all the letters directed to him, and, if required, ſhall lay them before the members of the ſaid department: he ſhall not ſend any anſwers without their approbation. He ſhall read at the meetings the letters and memorials to the department, which ſhall deliberate upon the anſwers: he ſhall write down the reſolutions, and ſhall expedite the diſpatches accordingly. In all caſes of public moment, ſuch as letters from the king to foreign courts, ſtate affairs which require any explanation, memorials and declarations, the department ſhall draw them up, and lay them before the council *in pleno*, for its determination. Whenever any information is to be given to the Poliſh miniſters at foreign courts in the ordinary courſe of affairs, the preſident of this department, having firſt heard the obſervations of each member, ſhall form the reſult. All inſtructions for foreign miniſters ſhall be firſt drawn up in this department, and then preſented to the permanent council for its deciſion. If any member of this department dies, the permanent council ſhall, without delay, elect one of its counſellors in his place. The ſecretary of this department ſhall be nominated by the king from the national ſecretaries, or notaries. He ſhall maintain the correſpondence with the foreign miniſters of the republic, and to him ſhall be addreſſed all letters and memorials. In the ſame manner as the ſecretary, the ſubalterns in this department ſhall be choſen by the king.

DEPARTMENT II. Committee of the marſhals of Poland and Lithuania.

1. The great marſhals ſhall act according to the conſtitution of 1768, reſtraining, however, the aſſociation of the aſſeſſors * in

* Before 1768, the great marſhals were ſole judges in all criminal cauſes cognizable by their tribunals: but in the diet of 1768 the following clauſe enacts, that "fix aſſeſſors

in the following caſes. In criminal affairs.—In all taxes * upon proviſions and merchandize only in the place of the king's reſidence, excepting corn, and the productions belonging to the nobility.—In all caſes of debt or borrowings, only *ex vi inſcripti fori*, when one of the parties appeals from the firſt inſtance, and the ſum exceeds 500 florins = £13. 17*s*. 9*d*. —All appeals from the firſt inſtance, relative to the non-payment of taxes, ſhall be brought before the tribunal of the marſhal with his aſſeſſors, in the preſence of the judge or the notary, neither of whom ſhall have a vote. In this and ſimilar caſes of appeal, the opinion ſhall be given openly, and then finally decided by ballot. 2. The committee of the marſhals ſhall be compoſed of the great and little marſhals (or of their colleagues the marſhals of the crown), of two ſenators, and four perſons of the equeſtrian order. Theſe ſix aſſeſſors ſhall be choſen at the ordinary diet, according to the form above preſcribed for the election of the members of the permanent council. 3. The marſhals ſhall be bound to ſix months reſidence near his majeſty, and each of the aſſeſſors to four months, to the end that there may always be the complete number of five perſons, including the marſhals, requiſite to form a ſitting. 4. No member of this committee can be elected a nuntio for the next diet; but the nuntios may be appointed members of this committee by ballot, and half of the antient aſſeſſors, both ſenators and nobles of the equeſtrian order, may be continued in their office for the two following years. 5. Solely in the caſes of *denegati judicii et corruptionis judicis*, *perjurii et oppreſſionis civis liberi*, complaints againſt the deciſions of this committee can be brought before the permanent council; and

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" ſors ſhall be added to the juriſdiction of the " great marſhal: they ſhall be elected in each " ordinary diet; they ſhall judge all cauſes " in conjunction with the great marſhal: " and ſhall decide by the majority."

* The great marſhal uſed before, of his own authority, to impoſe prices on merchants wares, who generally made him great preſents and bribes to augment their profit. Connor's Hiſtory of Poland, v. II. p. 69.

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cauſes of this nature ſhall be tried by the permanent council, in the manner preſcribed by the law concerning the *denegatum judicium, et corruptionem judicis et perjurium.* 6. Each month the great marſhal ſhall lay before the permanent council the report of his deciſions, made in conjunction with the aſſeſſors. 7. In caſe the marſhal ſhould diſobey the laws in any of theſe articles, the permanent council may remonſtrate; and if he perſiſts in infringing them, he ſhall be liable to be cited before the diet as guilty of high treaſon. 8. In all other points, not contrary to theſe articles, the antient prerogatives of the marſhals ſhall continue in force.

Department of the Police in the Permanent Council.

1. When the great marſhal ſhall be a member of the permanent council, he ſhall preſide in the department of the police; and in his abſence the firſt ſenior in rank, who is member of the ſaid department. 2. If any complaints ſhall be urged againſt the great or little marſhals, for non-performance of the duties ſpecified in the articles of the "committee "of marſhals and their dependence on the permanent coun-"cil," the plaintiffs, if members of the council, ſhall not be preſent at the reſolutions paſſed under ſuch circumſtances. 3. If this department ſhall have occaſion for the regiſter of the committee of marſhals, it ſhall be communicated.

DEPARTMENT III. The Great Generals of the Two Nations.

1. Beſide the troops, commanded by the marſhals of the two nations, and by the treaſurers, ſtationed at Warſaw, there may be quartered in that capital 3000 ſoldiers, namely, 2000 from the army of the crown, and 1000 from that of Lithuania. The diſcipline of the Lithuanian corps ſhall depend upon the great general of Lithuania; the chief command ſhall devolve upon the great general of the crown. If the king ſhall reſide in Lithuania, a proportionate number of troops from the army of the crown ſhall be ſtationed in that duchy,

in

in the ſame manner as the Lithuanian corps is quartered at Warſaw with the crown ſoldiers. The great generals ſhall be obliged to change the garriſon of Warſaw at the requeſt of the permanent council. 2. When the great generals ſhall find it expedient to raiſe new fortifications, they ſhall preſent the plan to the permanent council, and the latter to the diet. 3. The permanent council ſhall make known to the great general, when he ſhould order the abſentees to rejoin their regiments. 4. The permanent council, in concert with the great generals, ſhall regulate the number of ſoldiers to be furniſhed by the regiments for the purpoſe of making high roads, cleanſing rivers, and other public works, a repreſentation being previouſly made, and a plan preſcribed, by the commiſſioners of the treaſury: it ſhall in the ſame manner fix the pay of the ſaid ſoldiers, to be aſſigned from the public fund deſtined for extraordinary caſes, with this exception, that the troops ſhall be exempted from ſuch ſervices, during the months in which they are exerciſed or encamped. 5. In caſe the great generals ſhould act counter to theſe articles, the permanent council ſhall firſt remonſtrate, and if that ſhould have no effect, may accuſe them of high treaſon before the diet; if, during the intervals of the ordinary diet, it ſhould be thought neceſſary to call them to account, the permanent council ſhall aſſemble an extraordinary diet for that purpoſe. 6. The liſt of extraordinary expences ſhall be communicated, by the great generals, to the permanent council, before it is laid before the ordinary diet. 7. The diſcipline, ſubordination, exerciſe, and clothing of the troops, the appointment of the ſpots for the encampment of the diviſions, (with this proviſo, that never more than one diviſion ſhall encamp in the ſame place) in a word, the chief command of the troops ſhall be veſted in the great generals. 8. The nomination and creation of the officers and ſubalterns, belonging to the committee of war, ſhall

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reſide in the great generals. 9. In other points, the generals retain all their antient rights and privileges, not contradicted by theſe articles.

Explanation and changes of the Conſtitution of 1768, relative to the Committee of War of both nations.

1. The committee of war ſhall be compoſed of ſix commiſſioners, as enjoined by the diet of 1768, one half to be taken from perſons in the civil line, and the remainder from officers not employed. Among the three military commiſſioners ſhall be included of courſe the generals of the artillery, but without receiving the ſalary of commiſſioners. Three commiſſioners are ſufficient to make a board; and if only two ſhould meet, then the notaries of the committee of war of the crown ſhall aſſume the place of the abſent commiſſioner, and have a vote; but when there is a requiſite number, then the notaries ſhall only have a deliberative voice. 2. This committee of war ſhall keep in order, and have the direction of, the military archives. 3. Twice a year it ſhall receive the reports of the troops relative to the diſcharge of their pay, and ſhall ſend them to the permanent council. 4. Since the troops cannot ſubſiſt without pay, nor ſuffer the leaſt delay in that article, it is enacted, once for all, that the committee of the treaſury ſhall be obliged to employ, for the payment of the ſaid troops, the firſt money which it receives, and which ſhall be regularly delivered to the troops every year on the 1ſt of April and the 1ſt of October. If it happens that this payment ſhall not be made at theſe ſtipulated times, the great general and the council of war ſhall be bound to acquaint the permanent council with this delay; and the permanent council ſhall immediately authorize the great general and the council of war to procure the ſums deſtined for the pay of the troops. 5. The committee of war ſhall have the care of the military cheſt, and ſhall pay all the troops according to the eſtabliſhed calculation. The cheſt ſhall

be provided with three keys; one whereof ſhall be kept by the great general, or, in his abſence, by the preſident of the council of war; the ſecond by one of the commiſſioners of war; and the third by the caſhier. 6. The commiſſioners of war ſhall judge, as well all cauſes between ſoldiers according to the military articles, as all proceſſes brought by the citizens againſt a ſoldier in his military capacity: but in caſe a ſoldier in his military capacity ſhould aggrieve a citizen, then the plaintiff ſhall apply to the commander for redreſs; and if he obtains none, he may cite him before the court of juſtice of the place where the aſſault was committed, reſerving the appeal to the committee of war. 7. No member of the ſaid committee can be capable of being elected nuntio at the next diet; but the commiſſioners may be taken from the nuntios of the diet, or from other nobles, promiſcuouſly. A third part of the commiſſioners may be continued for the next two years, if they have the plurality of ballots in their favour. The ſame holds good in reſpect to the ſenators: and thoſe, who are thus confirmed in their ſeats for two more years, cannot be elected the third time for the two next years. 8. In other points, not contradictory to theſe articles, the committee of war of both nations are maintained in their antient rights. CHAP. V.

Eſtabliſhment of the Military Department in the Permanent Council.

1. The military department in the permanent council ſhall receive, twice a year, from the great general, the liſt of the army, to be examined and inſerted in the acts. 2. The great general, having a ſeat in the council, ſhall preſide in the military department, or, in his abſence, the ſenior of the ſaid department. 3. If any complaints ſhall be urged againſt the great or little generals for not fulfilling the articles preſcribed under the title of "The great generals of both nations," the accuſed, if members of the permanent council, ſhall not be preſent

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ſent at the diſcuſſion of the ſaid complaints.

DEPARTMENT IV. The Great Chancellors of both Nations.

1. Each great chancellor, or his colleague the vice-chancellor occupying his place, ſhall have a committee compoſed of two ſenators, and four perſons of the equeſtrian order, to be choſen during the ſitting of the diet by ballot, according to the form preſcribed in the permanent council, &c. 2. Each of thoſe miniſters ſhall be bound to at leaſt ſix months reſidence at Warſaw, upon the aſſignment of ſalaries, and each commiſſioner or aſſeſſor to at leaſt four months; that the requiſite number of three perſons, including the great chancellor, or vice-chancellor, may be preſent at each meeting. Theſe aſſeſſors ſhall receive each 6000 florins *per annum*, = £166. 13*s*. 4*d*. and theſe ſalaries ſhall be divided between the aſſeſſors who attend. 3. No member of the equeſtrian order in this committee can be elected nuntio of the next diet, &c. 4. Every month the chancellors ſhall ſend to the permanent council a liſt of all the privileges which have paſſed the ſeal. 5. The ſeals ſhall remain in the hands of the great and vice-chancellors. The chancellor and vice-chancellor of the crown ſhall ſeal, as before, the privileges reſerved to the king, and thoſe of Lithuania ſhall, in the ſame manner, ſeal the privileges of that duchy, &c. 6. The great chancellors and vice-chancellors, in caſe of non-compliance with any of theſe articles, ſhall be liable to be cited by the permanent council before the diet. 7. In all other points the chancellors are maintained in their antient privileges, not contradictory to theſe articles juſt enumerated.

DEPARTMENT V. Great Treaſurers of both Nations.

1. The department of the treaſury, compoſed of members of the permanent council, ſhall receive from the committee of the treaſury of the crown the liſts of the ordinary expences, &c. and ſhall take care that the receipts and expenditures are

authorized by the laws. 2. Every month the great treaſurer of the crown, and the great treaſurer of Lithuania, ſhall ſend a report of all the tranſactions of this department to the permanent council, &c. 3. Whenever one or both the great treaſurers are elected members of the permanent council, the firſt in rank ſhall preſide in this department, compoſed of the members of the permanent council. 4. The commiſſioners of the treaſury ſhall receive, and, upon proper deliberation, admit or reject all memorials and plans relative to commerce, the augmentation of the revenues, the eſtabliſhment of manufactures, cleanſing rivers, cutting canals, forming harbours, making bridges and high roads, erecting buildings, and all other public works, &c. always under the controul of the permanent council. 5. The commiſſioners of the two nations ſhall pay from the public funds, deſtined for that purpoſe, the extraordinary expences and gratifications, in compliance with the reſolutions of the permanent council *in pleno*, &c. 6. The clerks in the committees of the treaſury of both nations ſhall provide for themſelves proper ſecurities. The appointment of theſe clerks ſhall belong to the great treaſurer; but the examination of their qualifications, the approbation or rejection of their ſecurities, ſhall wholly reſt with the committee. The qualifications are,

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1. That they are gentlemen. 2. That they find proper ſecurities. 3. That their characters are not infamous. 4. That they are able to write. 5. That they are able to caſt accounts. In caſe theſe clerks ſhould diſcover any notorious incapacity, the committee ſhall have it in their power to deprive them of their charges. 7. All the writings, decrees, and circular letters, iſſued by the committee, ſhall be ſigned by the treaſurers alone; or, in their abſence, by the firſt in rank. In caſe the treaſurers refuſe to put the ſeal to any reſolutions paſſed by the committees, it ſhall be eſteemed valid, if ſigned by

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by the firſt in rank next to the treaſurer, even in the preſence of the latter; and complaints may be urged againſt the treaſurer, for refuſing to ſign ſuch reſolutions. 8. If the great treaſurers remove from the place where the committees aſſemble, they ſhall be accompanied in their route by fifteen of the treaſury troops, provided that no extraordinary expence on that account be incurred by the treaſury, and that no damage be ſuffered by the inhabitants. 9. The troops of the committee of the treaſury ſhall continue in the ſame obedience to the great treaſurer, and the committee, as enjoined by the diet of 1768; and if any of the officers, appointed by the king's patent, ſhall deſerve puniſhment, he ſhall be judged by a court martial, compoſed of the officers of the ſame corps, according to the military articles, and the ſentence ſhall be ſent to the committee of war. The number of this corps ſhall not exceed 500 men, and the ſum appropriated for their ſupport ſhall not ſurpaſs that which is ſettled by the conſtitution of 1768. 10. If the treaſurers diſobey any of theſe articles, the permanent council is bound to remonſtrate, and, in caſe of ſtill further diſobedience, to cite them before the diet as guilty of high treaſon. 11. In other points, the great treaſurers are maintained in their antient privileges.

Changes and Explanation of the Conſtitution of 1768, relative to the eſtabliſhment of the Committee of the Treaſury of both Nations.

1. The commiſſioners of the treaſury of the crown ſhall be compoſed of the great treaſurer of the crown, and of nine commiſſioners, three ſenators, and ſix from the equeſtrian order, &c. 2. The great treaſurers ſhall be bound to at leaſt four months reſidence, under pain of loſing their ſalaries proportionable to the time of their abſence, and theſe deductions ſhall not be divided among the commiſſioners who are preſent, but ſhall be left in the cheſt. The commiſſioners are equally bound

bound to four months reſidence, in order that there may be always preſent five commiſſioners (including one or both treaſurers), the requiſite number for holding a board. The deductions of the ſalaries for the abſent commiſſioners ſhall be divided amongſt thoſe who are preſent. 3. None of the commiſſioners of the equeſtrian order can be elected a nuntio for the next diet, &c. 4. From this time there ſhall be a regiſter apart for thoſe decrees of the committee, which relate to foreign affairs, commerce, and notes of exchange.

What cauſes ſhall be brought before the Committees of the Treaſury.

1. Thoſe relative to the unpacking of merchandize which occaſion any delays of tranſport. 2. Impoſts of all ſorts payable by the nobility, clergy, and towns. 3. Of contracts of merchants. 4. Of letters of exchange, which ſhall be further explained in a law apart. 5. Of debts of merchants and workmen. 6. Of weights and meaſures. 7. Of damages cauſed to the treaſury, or of thefts and negligences of the ſubalterns, &c. In all other points, the committees of both nations ſhall be maintained in all their antient privileges, not contradictory to theſe articles above-mentioned.

CHAP. VI.

Supreme authority reſides in the diet.—Origin of the diet.—Place and time of aſſembling.—Ordinary and extraordinary.—Convoked by the king.—Conſtituent parts.—King, ſenate, and nuntios.—Proceedings.—Liberum Veto.—Hiſtory and cauſes of its introduction.—Its dreadful effects.—How remedied.—

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died.—Diet of confederacy.—The plain of Vola *where the kings are elected.—Account of the diets of convocation and election.*

THE general diet of Poland enjoys, as I have before obſerved, the ſupreme authority: it declares war, makes peace, levies ſoldiers, enters into alliances, impoſes taxes, enacts laws, in a word, it exerciſes all the rights of abſolute ſovereignty.

Some hiſtorians place the earlieſt diet in the reign of Caſimir the Great; but it is very uncertain whether it was firſt convened in his time; and ſtill more doubtful, of what members it conſiſted. Thus much is unqueſtionable, that it was not until the reign of Caſimir III. that this national aſſembly was modelled into its preſent form *.

The place of holding the diets depended formerly upon the will of the kings; and Louis even ſummoned two in Hungary. In thoſe early times Petricau was the town in which they were moſt frequently aſſembled; but in 1569, at the union of Poland and Lithuania, Warſaw was appointed the place of meeting; and in 1673, it was enacted, that of three ſucceſſive diets, two ſhould be held in this capital, and one at Grodno † in Lithuania. This regulation has been generally followed, until the reign of his preſent majeſty, when the aſſemblies have been uniformly ſummoned to Warſaw ‡.

Diets are ordinary and extraordinary; the former are convened every two years, the latter as occaſion requires. In 1717 the uſual ſeaſon for the meeting of the ordinary diets was fixed for Michaelmas; but during the preſent reign it has been occaſionally changed to the month of October or November.

The king, with the advice of the permanent council, convokes the diet, by means of circular letters iſſued to all the Palatines in their reſpective provinces at leaſt ſix weeks before the time appointed for its meeting: theſe letters are accom-

* See p. 5. † Lengnich, Hiſt. Pol. p. 262. ‡ See Book II. Chap. VI. Art. Grodno.

panied

panied with a ſhort ſketch of the buſineſs to be agitated in the diet. CHAP. VI.

The conſtituent parts of the diet are the three eſtates of the realm, namely, the king, the ſenate, and the nobles or gentry, by their nuntios or repreſentatives.

1. The king, conſidered in his capacity of preſident, is only, as it were, the chief of the diet: he ſubſcribes all acts; ſigns all decrees agreed to by the aſſembly; iſſues out all ordinances in his own name, and that of the republic, without enjoying the right of a negative in any of thoſe particulars. In all queſtions he has no vote, excepting upon an equality of ſuffrages; but is at liberty to deliver his ſentiments upon any queſtion. His preſent majeſty is eſteemed one of the moſt eloquent among the Poliſh orators; he has an agreeable tone of voice, and much ſkill in ſuiting and varying his cadence to the ſubjects of his diſcourſe; he harangues with great energy of ſtyle and dignity of manner; and his ſpeeches always make a conſiderable impreſſion upon the members of the diet. When he is diſpoſed to ſpeak, he riſes from his ſeat, advances a few ſteps, and cries out, "I ſummon the mi-"niſters of ſtate to the throne." Then the great officers of the crown, who are ſitting at the lower end of the ſenate-houſe, come forward and ſtand near the king. The four great marſhals ſtrike the ground at the ſame time with their ſtaffs of office; and the firſt in rank ſays, "The king is going to "ſpeak;" after which his majeſty begins.

2. The ſecond eſtate, or the ſenate, is compoſed of ſpiritual and temporal ſenators.

1. The biſhops or ſenators ſpiritual have the precedence over the temporal ſenators. The archbiſhop of Gneſna is primate and chief of the ſenate, and is viceroy in caſe of an interregnum. 2. The temporal are Palatines, Caſtellans, and the great officers of ſtate. The palatines are the governors of the pro-

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vinces, who hold their offices for life. In time of war, when the army of the republic is ſummoned, the palatines levy and lead the force of their palatinates into the field, according to the tenure of feudal ſervices; in time of peace, they convoke the aſſemblies of the palatinates, preſide in the county courts of juſtice, and judge the Jews within their reſpective juriſdictions, &c. The Caſtellans are divided into Grand and Petty Caſtellans: their office, in time of peace, is merely nominal; but when the military or feudal ſervices are required, they are the lieutenants of the palatines, under whom they command the troops of the ſeveral diſtricts in the palatinates.

The great officers of the republic, who ſit in the ſenate, are ten in number, namely, the two great marſhals of Poland and Lithuania, the two great chancellors, the two vice-chancellors, the two great treaſurers, and the two ſub-marſhals.

All the ſenators were formerly appointed by the king; but by the late change of government, his majeſty's choice is reſtricted to one of three candidates preſented by the permanent council *. The ſenators, once nominated, cannot be deprived of their charges, excepting by the diet.

3. The third eſtate is formed by the nuntios or repreſentatives of the equeſtrian order. Theſe repreſentatives are choſen in the dietines or aſſemblies of each palatinate, in which every noble or gentleman, at the age of eighteen, has a vote, or is capable of being elected. There is no qualification in point of property required, either for the electors, or elected; it is only neceſſary that the nuntio ſhould be a noble, that is, a perſon not engaged in trade or commerce, poſſeſſing land himſelf, or the ſon of a perſon poſſeſſing land, or of an antient family which formerly poſſeſſed land †. Each nuntio muſt be twenty-three years of age.

* See p. 57.

† Eſt autem nobilis qui patre nobili natus in ſuis poſſeſſionibus vivens juribus nobilium utitur. Leng. J. P. v. II. p. 8. Les nobles qui ont des terres, leurs enfans males, leurs freres, et autres qui ſont reconnus pour avoir leurs poſſeſſions et être de race ancienne et noble. Loix et Conſ. de la Diete de 1768, p. 62.

The

The general proceedings of the diet are as follow: The king, ſenate, and nuntios, firſt meet altogether in the cathedral of Warſaw, and hear maſs and a ſermon. After ſervice, the members of the ſenate, or upper-houſe, repair to the ſenate-houſe; and the nuntios, or lower-houſe, to their chamber, when the latter chooſe, by a majority of voices, a marſhal, or ſpeaker of the equeſtrian order: in order to preclude unneceſſary delays, the election is required to take place within three days after their meeting *. Two days after the choice of their ſpeaker, the king, ſenate, and nuntios, aſſemble in the ſenate-houſe, which is called the junction of the two houſes. The nuntios then kiſs the king's hand, and the members of the diet take their places in the following order.

The king is ſeated, in regal ſtate, upon a raiſed throne, under a canopy at the upper end of the apartment. At the lower end, oppoſite the throne, ſit in armed chairs the ten officers of ſtate. The biſhops †, palatines, and Caſtellans, are ranged in three rows of armed chairs, extending from the throne on each ſide; and behind theſe are placed the nuntios upon benches covered with red cloth. The ſenators have the privilege of wearing their caps, but the nuntios remain uncovered.

* Formerly, it being ſtipulated that the election of the marſhal ſhould take place as ſoon as poſſible, in moſt diets much time elapſed before a marſhal was choſen; and as the ſitting of the national aſſembly is confined to ſix weeks, it ſometimes happened, that the nuntios could never agree in the choice; and ſeveral diets broke up without tranſacting any buſineſs. Connor, who viſited Poland in John Sobieſki's reign, ſays upon this head, "He that deſigns to be elected "marſhal, muſt treat the gentry all the "while, otherwiſe he would have no vote for "him; and commonly they prolong the "election, that they may live the longer at "the candidates charges." V. II. p. 92.

In order to remedy this inconvenience, it was enacted in 1690, that the marſhal muſt be choſen on the firſt day of the meeting; but in 1768, the time allowed for the election was extended to three days. See Leng. J. P. II. p. 322. and Loix et Conſt. de 1768, p. 52.

† Including the archbiſhops of Gneſna and Vilna, each at the head of his reſpective ſuffragans.

The reader will find a print which gives a faithful repreſentation of the diet in Connor's Hiſtory of Poland, v. II. p. 82. One trifling error muſt be corrected: the ſeats marked IIII are for the miniſters of ſtate, when not ſtanding near the throne.

All

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All the members being ſeated, the *Pacta Conventa* are read, when the ſpeaker of the equeſtrian order, as well as each nuntio, is empowered to interrupt the peruſal by remonſtrating againſt the infringement of any particular article, and demanding at the ſame time a redreſs of grievances. Then the great chancellor propoſes, in the king's name, the queſtions to be taken into conſideration; after which, his majeſty nominates three ſenators, and the ſpeaker ſix nuntios, to prepare the bills. The diet, by majority of voices, chuſes a committee to examine the accounts of the treaſury. The members * of the permanent council are elected in the manner mentioned in the preceding chapter.

Theſe preliminary tranſactions muſt be diſpatched in the ſpace of three weeks; at which period the two houſes ſeparate: the nuntios retire into their own chamber, and all the bills undergo a ſeparate diſcuſſion in both houſes. Thoſe which relate to the treaſury are approved or rejected by the ſentiments of the majority. But in all ſtate-matters † of the higheſt importance no reſolution of the diet is valid, unleſs ratified by the unanimous aſſent of every nuntio, each of whom is able to ſuſpend all proceedings by his exertion of the *Liberum Veto*.

The diet muſt not ſit longer than ſix weeks: on the firſt day, therefore, of the ſixth week the ſenate and nuntios meet again in the ſenate-houſe. The ſtate-bills (provided they are

* The equeſtrian members of the laſt permanent council are permitted to be preſent in this aſſembly, without having any vote, until the reſolutions of the council are approved by the diet. The ſenators, who have a ſeat in the council, are preſent of courſe.

† Matters of ſtate are thus defined by the conſtitution of 1768. 1. Increaſe or alteration of the taxes. 2. Augmentation of the army. 3. Treaties of alliance and peace with the neighbouring powers. 4. Declaration of war. 5. Naturalization and creation of nobility. 6. Reduction of the coin. 7. Augmentation or diminution in the charges of the tribunals, or in the authority of the miniſters of peace and war. 8. Creation of places. 9. Order of holding the diets or dietines. 10. Alterations in the tribunals. 11. Augmentation of the prerogatives of the ſenatus-conſulta. 12. Permiſſion to the king to purchaſe lands for his ſucceſſors. 13. Arrier-ban, or ſummoning the nobles to arms.

In all theſe caſes unanimity is requiſite. See Loix et Conſt. de la Diete de 1768, p. 46.

unanimouſly

unanimouſly agreed to by the nuntios, an event which ſeldom happens in a free diet) are paſſed into laws; but if that unanimity be wanting to them, they ſtand rejected; and the buſineſs relating to the treaſury, which has been carried by a majority, is read and regiſtered. CHAP. VI.

While the bills are debating in the lower-houſe, the king, ſenate, and eighteen nuntios, form a ſupreme court of judicature, by which all nobles accuſed of capital crimes are tried; and all appeals from inferior courts determined in the laſt reſort. The majority decides, and the king gives ſentence.

At the concluſion of the ſixth week the laws, which have paſſed, are ſigned by the ſpeaker and nuntios, and the diet is of courſe diſſolved.

The extraordinary diets are ſubject to the ſame regulations as the ordinary diets, with this difference, that they cannot, by the conſtitutions of 1768, continue longer than a fortnight. The ſame day in which the two houſes aſſemble in the ſenate-houſe, the queſtions are to be laid before them; and the nuntios return immediately to their own chamber. On the thirteenth day from their firſt meeting, the two houſes are again united; and on the fifteenth day, after the laws have been read and ſigned, the diet breaks up as uſual.

The moſt extraordinary characteriſtic in the conſtitution of Poland, and which ſeems peculiarly to diſtinguiſh this government from all others, both in ancient and modern times, is the *Liberum Veto*, or the power which each nuntio enjoys in a free diet *, not only like the tribunes of antient Rome, of putting a negative upon any law, but even of diſſolving the aſſembly. That every member of a numerous ſociety ſhould be inveſted with ſuch a dangerous privilege, in the midſt of the moſt important national tranſactions, is a circumſtance in

* A free diet, in which unanimity is requiſite, is diſtinguiſhed from a diet of confederacy, in which all buſineſs is carried by the majority.

itſelf

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itſelf ſo incredible, as to deſerve a minute enquiry into the cauſes which introduced a cuſtom ſo pregnant with anarchy, and ſo detrimental to public welfare.

The privilege in queſtion is not to be found in any period of the Poliſh hiſtory antecedent to the reign of John Caſimir. It was under his adminiſtration, that in the year 1652, when the diet of Warſaw was debating upon tranſactions of the utmoſt importance which required a ſpeedy determination, that Sicinſki, nuntio of Upita in Lithuania, cried out, "I ſtop the "proceedings *." Having uttered theſe words, he quitted the aſſembly, and, repairing immediately to the chancellor, proteſted; that as many acts had been propoſed and carried contrary to the conſtitution of the republic, if the diet continued to ſit, he ſhould conſider it as an infringement of the laws. The members were thunderſtruck at a proteſt of this nature, hitherto unknown. Warm debates took place about the propriety of continuing or diſſolving the diet: at length, however, the venal and diſcontented faction, who ſupported the proteſt, obtained the majority; and the aſſembly broke up in great confuſion.

This tranſaction changed entirely the conſtitution of Poland, and gave an unlimited ſcope to miſrule and faction. The cauſes which induced the Poles to acquieſce in eſtabliſhing the *Liberum Veto*, thus caſually introduced, were probably the following.

1. It was the intereſt of the great officers of ſtate, particularly the great general, the great treaſurer, and great marſhal, in whoſe hands were veſted the adminiſtration of the army, the finances, and the police, to abridge the ſitting of the diet. Theſe great officers of ſtate, being once nominated by the king, enjoyed their appointments for life, totally independent of his authority, and liable to no controul during the intervals of the

* Leng. Jus Pub. v. II. p. 215.

diets, to which alone they were reſponſible. This powerful body accordingly ſtrongly eſpouſed the *Liberum Veto*, conſcious they could eaſily, and at all times, ſecure a nuntio to proteſt; and by that means elude all enquiry into their adminiſtration. 2. By a fundamental law of the republic, all nobles accuſed of capital crimes can only be brought to trial before the diet; and as, at the period juſt mentioned, many perſons ſtood under that deſcription, all theſe and their adherents naturally favoured an expedient tending to diſſolve the only tribunal, by which they could be convicted and puniſhed. 3. The exigences of the ſtate, occaſioned by the continual wars in which Poland had been engaged, demanded, at this particular criſis, an impoſition of ſeveral heavy taxes: as the ſole power of levying all pecuniary aids reſided in the diet; all the nuntios, therefore, who oppoſed the raiſing of additional ſubſidies, ſeconded the propoſal for ſhortening the duration of that aſſembly. 4. But the principal reaſon, which carried through, and afterwards ſupported the power of diſſolving diets, is to be derived from the influence of ſome of the great neighbouring powers, intereſted to foment anarchy and confuſion in the Poliſh counſels. Before this period, if they wiſhed to form a cabal, and to carry any point in the national aſſembly, they were obliged to ſecure a majority of votes: under the new arrangement they were able to attain their end on much eaſier terms, and to put an end to any diet unfriendly to their views, by the corruption of a ſingle member. CHAP. VI.

The bad effects of the *Liberum Veto* were ſoon felt by the nation to ſuch an alarming degree, that all the members in the diet of 1670 bound themſelves by an oath not to exert it, and even paſſed a reſolution, declaring its exertion entirely void of effect in the courſe of that meeting. Notwithſtanding, however, theſe ſalutary precautions, one Zabokrziſki, nuntio from the palatinate of Bratlau, interpoſing his negative,

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brought this very diet to a premature diſſolution *.

This *Liberum Veto*, indeed, has been always conſidered by the moſt intelligent Poles as one of the principal cauſes, which has contributed to the decline of their country. From the æra of its eſtabliſhment public buſineſs has continually ſuffered the moſt fatal interruption; it abruptly broke up ſeven diets in the reign of John Caſimir; four under Michael; ſeven under John Sobieſki; and thirty during the reigns of the two Auguſti: ſo that, within the ſpace of 112 years, 48 diets have been precipitately diſſolved by its operation; during which period Poland has continued almoſt without laws, without juſtice, and, excepting the reign of John Sobieſki, with few ſymptoms of military vigour. Yet ſo ſtrongly did the motives above diſplayed attach the Poles to this pernicious privilege, that in the act of confederacy, framed in 1696 after the deceaſe of John Sobieſki, the *Liberum Veto* is called the deareſt and moſt invaluable palladium of Poliſh liberty †.

The Poles, however, having fatally experienced the diſorders ariſing from the *Liberum Veto*, would certainly have aboliſhed it, if they had not been prevented by the partitioning powers: and it ſtill exiſts in its full force ‡. I ought not to

* Zawodchi Hiſt. Arcana.

† Unicum et ſpecialiſſimum Jus Cardinale.

‡ It would appear, at firſt ſight, as if, by the following regulation, eſtabliſhed by the diet of 1768, the exertion of the *Liberum Veto* was in ſome inſtances reſtrained. "The abſence of a nuntio, who has interrupted the proceedings of the diet, ſhall be no hindrance to the tranſaction of treaſury matters." Loix et Conſt. de la Diete de Varſovie, 1768, p. 56. But this reſtriction of the *Liberum Veto*, in effect, is of no validity.

For among the cardinal laws eſtabliſhed by the ſame diet, it is enacted, "that matters of ſtate cannot be paſſed but by a free diet and unanimous conſent;" p. 18. And again, "that after the treaſury buſineſs, matters of ſtate ſhall be brought forward, when the oppoſition of a ſingle nuntio ſhall ſtop all proceedings;" p. 56. And in another place, it is decreed, "that in free diets, the *Liberum Veto* ſhall hold good in all matters of ſtate:" p. 44. When we recollect the definition of ſtate matters (p. 86, note †), we cannot but perceive, that the power of interpoſing a negative ſtill effectually exiſts. To abate its exertion in ſmall points, and to eſtabliſh it in the moſt important affairs, is no real prevention of the evil.

In fact, as a proof that it continues in its full force, we may obſerve, that ſince the year 1768, no free diet has been convened; I mean before I viſited Poland. An account of what has paſſed ſince I quitted the country, does not fall under my plan. I recollect indeed to have ſeen, in ſome foreign Gazette, that a free diet had been lately aſſembled, but that nothing material had been tranſacted in it.

omit

omit obſerving, that neither the king nor the ſenate, but only the nuntios, enjoy the power of interpoſing this negative upon the proceedings of the diet *.

It will naturally ſtrike the reader, that if every repreſentative poſſeſſes the *Liberum Veto*, how can any tranſaction be carried on? or how is it poſſible that any one bill ſhould paſs into a law? for no motion can be conceived which is not liable to be oppoſed by the intrigues of party, or the jealouſy of the neighbouring powers. In order, therefore, to avoid the anarchy attendant upon free diets through the operation of the *Liberum Veto*, the Poles have lately had recourſe to diets by confederacy; which, though compoſed of the ſame members, and held under the ſame exterior forms as free diets, differ from them in the eſſential circumſtance of allowing buſineſs to be determined by the plurality of votes. Theſe diets have long been known to the conſtitution, and have at times been uſed upon extraordinary emergencies; but within theſe ten years they have been regularly held at the ſtated time for ſummoning ordinary diets. Indeed, according to the true principles of the Poliſh government, no confederacy ought to be entered into excepting upon the following occaſions: in defence of the king's perſon, upon any foreign invaſion or domeſtic conſpiracy; and during an interregnum at the diets of convocation and election †. But as no other means have been found to prevent perpetual anarchy, the nation is obliged to ſubmit to an infrigement of the conſtitution, which operates for the general good ‡.

* Lengnich ſays, that the ſenators have the power of breaking up the diet; but he adds, that they never make uſe of this privilege; Jus Pub. II. p. 46. which amounts to the ſame as their not having it.

† It is decreed, however, by the code of 1768, that in every diet of convocation all ſtate matters muſt paſs unanimouſly, p. 58.

‡ But as it is enacted by the diet of 1768, that all matters of ſtate muſt be carried unanimouſly in free diets, I preſume that the diets by confederacy only tranſact the common buſineſs, without making any new laws, or repealing old ſtatutes.

BOOK I.

Diet of Election.

During my continuance at Warſaw I viſited the ſpot where the kings of Poland are choſen. I was ſo fortunate as to be accompanied by a nobleman of the ſenate, who obligingly explained all the forms and ceremonies of the election, and anſwered all the queſtions which my curioſity ſuggeſted to me upon the occaſion. Immediately upon my return to Warſaw, while my memory was yet warm, I noted down the following account of the place and mode of election: I was more circumſtantial than uſual, as well becauſe the ſubject is intereſting, as becauſe moſt of the deſcriptions which I have read of this ceremony abound with errors.

The ſpot, which is ſettled by the conſtitution for the place of election, is the plain of Vola, about three miles from the capital. In the midſt of this plain are two encloſures of ground, one for the ſenate, and the other for the nuntios. The former is of an oblong ſhape, ſurrounded by a kind of rampart or ditch; in the midſt of which is erected, at the time of election, a temporary building of wood, called *ſzopa*, covered at top and open at the ſides. Near it is the other encloſure for the nuntios, of a circular ſhape, from which it derives its name of *kola* or circle, within which there is no building erected, the nuntios aſſembling in the open air. When the two chambers are joined, they meet within the *kola*, the ſenators chairs and the benches for the nuntios being ranged in the ſame regular order as in the ſenate-houſe at Warſaw, while the ſeat of the primate is placed in the middle. The *ſzopa* is always pulled down at the concluſion of the election; ſo that I could only trace the ſite of the inclofures, the ramparts of earth remaining in the ſame ſtate. I had an opportunity, however, of ſeeing a painting repreſenting the *ſzopa* and whole ſcene of election, which, as I was informed, was perfectly accurate.

But

But before I deſcribe the election, it may be neceſſary to give a ſhort detail of the principal occurrences which precede that ceremony.

Upon the king's demiſe the interregnum commences: the regal authority is then veſted in the archbiſhop of Gneſna primate of Poland, as interrex or regent. He announces the death of the king by circular letters, convokes the dietines and diets of convocation; and, in a word, performs all the functions of royalty during the vacancy in the throne.

The diet, which is firſt convened upon the ſovereign's deceaſe, is called the diet of convocation, and is always held at Warſaw, previous to the diet of election, which aſſembles in the plain of Vola. The ſovereign authority reſides in this aſſembly, in the ſame manner as in thoſe which are ſummoned while the throne is filled. The primate preſides like the king, with this difference, that he does not place himſelf upon the throne, but ſits in an armed chair ſtationed in the middle of the ſenate-houſe. The diet iſſues out acts or ordinances, arranges or changes the form of government, ſettles the *Pacta Conventa*, and appoints the meeting of the diet of election. The interval between the death of the king and the nomination of his ſucceſſor is uncertain; its longer or ſhorter duration depending upon the intrigues and cabals of the candidates, or the pleaſure of thoſe foreign powers, who give law to Poland. It is always a ſtate of turbulence and licentiouſneſs; the kingdom is divided into parties and factions; juſtice is in a manner ſuſpended; and the nobles commit every diſorder with impunity.

Unanimity * being requiſite in all matters of ſtate, it is eaſy to conceive the delays and cabals, the influence and cor-

* This unanimity, in fact, does not exiſt; for the ſtrongeſt ſide forces the weaker to accede or to retire. Yet in the diet of 1768 it was enacted, that in the diets of convocation ſtate queſtions could only be carried unanimouſly. Several diets of convocation have been frequently aſſembled before all the affairs could be finally arranged.

BOOK I.

ruption, employed to gain the members in the diet of convocation. As ſoon as all the points are adjuſted, whether the acts have paſſed unanimouſly or otherwiſe, the members, previous to their ſeparation, enter into a general confederacy to ſupport and maintain the reſolutions of the diet.

At the appointed day the diet of election is aſſembled, during which Warſaw and its environs is a ſcene of confuſion, and frequently of bloodſhed. The chief nobility have large bodies of troops in their ſervice, and repair to the diet attended by their numerous vaſſals and a large retinue of domeſtics; while each petty baron, who can afford to maintain them, parades about with his retainers and ſlaves.

On the day in which the diet of election is opened, the primate, ſenate, and nobility, repair to the cathedral of Warſaw, to hear maſs and a ſermon; from whence they proceed in due order to the plain of Vola. The ſenators enter the *ſzopa*, and the nuntios take their places within the *kola*; while the other nobles are ſtationed in the plain. The ſenate and the nuntios, after having paſſed their reſpective reſolutions, as in the ordinary diets, aſſemble together in the *kola*, when the primate, ſeated in the middle, lays before them the objects to be taken into conſideration; the *Pacta Conventa*, ſettled at the diet of convocation, are read and approved, all neceſſary arrangements made, and the day of election appointed. The diet then gives audience to the foreign miniſters, who are permitted by recommendation to interfere in the choice of a king, and to the advocates of the ſeveral candidates. All theſe affairs take up ſeveral days; and would perhaps never be terminated, as unanimity is requiſite, if the aſſembly was not overawed by the foreign troops, who are always quartered near the plain of election.

Upon the day appointed for the election, the ſenate and nuntios aſſemble, as before, in the *kola*, while the nobles are ranged

ranged in the open field in ſeparate bodies, according to their ſeveral palatinates, with ſtandards borne before them, and the principal officers of each diſtrict on horſeback. The primate, having declared the names of the candidates, kneels down and chants a hymn; after which the ſenators and nuntios join the gentry of their reſpective palatinates: then the primate, on horſeback, or in a carriage, goes round the plain to the different bodies of the gentry as they are ſtationed according to their palatinates; and, having collected the votes, proclaims the ſucceſsful candidate. Each noble does not give his vote ſeparately, for that would be endleſs; but when the primate goes round, the collected body of each palatinate name the perſon they eſpouſe. At the concluſion of this ceremony the aſſembly breaks up.

On the following day the ſenate and nuntios return to the plain; when the ſucceſsful candidate is again proclaimed, and a deputy diſpatched to acquaint him of his election, as no candidate is allowed to be preſent. After the proclamation, the gentry retire; and the diet, having appointed the diet of coronation, is diſſolved.

All elections are conteſted: but for ſome time they have always been unanimous upon the ſpot, from the terror of a neighbouring army. In caſe of an oppoſition, the party who will not accede retire from the plain, and remonſtrate againſt the election; and, if they are ſufficiently ſtrong, a civil war enſues. If it were not for the interference of foreign troops, the confuſion, diſorder, and bloodſhed attending ſuch a popular election (as was formerly the caſe), would be better conceived than deſcribed: and thus the country draws ſome advantage from an evil, which is conſidered by the Poles as the diſgrace and ſcandal of every election.

CHAP. VII.

I. Finances and taxes of Poland.—*Revenue of the king.—II. Commerce.—General exports and imports.—Cauſes of the low ſtate of trade.—Failure of the plan of opening the navigation of the Dnieſter.—Navigation of the Notez.—III. Military eſtabliſhment.—Corps of Ulans.—State of the army.—Confederacies.*—Ruſſian *troops.*

I. FINANCES and TAXES of POLAND.

BOOK I.

THE following extract from the proceedings of the diet of 1768 will ſerve to ſhew the annual receipts and diſburſements of government before the diſmemberment: "The "annual revenues of the treaſury of the crown *, amount to "10,748,245 florins = £298,562. 7*s.* 2½*d.* The expences "to 17,050,000 = £473,611. 2*s.* 2½*d.* It would be neceſ- "ſary, therefore, to increaſe the revenues, ſo as to anſwer the "exceſs of the expences above the receipts, namely, 6,301,755 "florins = £175,048. 15*s.* but as a part of the antient reve- "nues muſt be aboliſhed, the new taxes muſt yield 10,236,737 "florins = £284,353. 13*s.* 4*d.*

"The treaſury of Lithuania produces the annual ſum of "3,646,628 = £101,295. 4*s.* 6*d.* the expences amount to "6,478,142 = £179,948. 7*s.* 6*d.* The revenues ought "therefore to be augmented 2,831,514 = £78,653. 3*s.* 4*d.* "But as ſome antient impoſts muſt be aboliſhed, the new "taxes muſt yield 4,250,481 = £118,068. 18*s.* 4*d.* †"

Poland, by the late diſmemberment, loſt nearly half of her annual income; namely, that part ariſing from the ſtaroſties now occupied by the partitioning powers, from the duties ‡

* Poland, excluſive of Lithuania.

† Loix et Conſt. de la Diete de 1768, p. 70.

‡ The greateſt part of theſe duties are now paid to the king of Pruſſia.

upon

upon merchandize ſent down the Viſtula to Dantzic, and particularly from the profits of the ſalt mines in Auſtrian Poland. Thoſe of Wielitſka* alone amounted to 3,500,000 Poliſh florins, or £97,222 ſterling, which was nearly equal to a fourth part of the government revenues before the partition. CHAP. VII.

In order to ſupply this deficiency, it became neceſſary to new-model and increaſe the taxes. Accordingly, in the diet of 1775, a few of the old taxes were aboliſhed, ſome were augmented, and others were added, ſo as to make the neat revenues as high as they were before the diſmemberment.

The principal taxes are as follow:

Poll tax of the Jews. Each Jew, both male and female, infants and adults, pays three Poliſh florins, or about 1*s.* 8*d.* *per annum*; this impoſition, which is of very old ſtanding, was augmented in 1775 a florin per head.

A fourth of the ſtaroſties. Theſe are the great fiefs of the crown, in the king's gift, holden by the poſſeſſors during life. The ſtaroſt enjoys, beſide large eſtates in land, territorial juriſdiction; the fourth of his revenues ariſing from the land is paid into the treaſury of the republic. By the late change of government theſe ſtaroſties, after the demiſe of the perſons now enjoying them, and of thoſe who have the reverſion, are to revert to the public, and their whole amount to be appropriated to the expences of government †.

Exciſe of beer, mead, and ſpirituous liquors diſtilled from corn. This article muſt not be inconſiderable, conſidering the quantity of corn grown in Poland, which, for want of external commerce, cannot be exported, and the propenſity of the people to ſpirituous liquours.

Monopoly of Tobacco. Different Duties upon Importation and Exportation. Formerly all the nobles were permitted to

* See Book II. Chapter II.

† See the account of the Permanent Council, p. 58.

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import and export foreign goods and merchandize free of duty, a privilege which effectually diminiſhed, and almoſt abſorbed, the profits of the tax in queſtion. In 1775 right was aboliſhed; and all imported and exported commodities now pay duty without any diſtinction. Conſidering the great quantity of foreign manufactures introduced into Poland, and chiefly for the uſe of the nobility, this alteration muſt make a conſiderable addition to the revenues of government.

Tax upon Chimnies. Before the partition, this tax exiſted only in Lithuania; in 1775 it was rendered general and conſiderably augmented; it is the moſt profitable of all the taxes, but lies very heavy upon the common people and peaſants. Each chimney is aſſeſſed in the following proportion. In palaces, or houſes of the chief nobility, at 16 Poliſh florins *per ann.* = about 8*s.* $2\frac{1}{2}$*d.*; houſes of the principal merchants in Warſaw at 15 = 7*s.* 7*d.*; other brick houſes from 10 to 14 = from 5*s.* $7\frac{1}{4}$*d.* to 7*s.* $3\frac{1}{4}$*d.*; wooden houſes from 6 to 8 = from 3*s.* 4*d.* to 4*s.* $6\frac{1}{2}$*d.*; beſt houſes in other large towns 12 = 6*s.* 8*d.*; in the ſmall towns and villages from 6 to 8 = 3*s.* 4*d.* to 4*s.* $6\frac{1}{2}$*d.*; peaſants cottages from 5 to 7 = 2*s.* $9\frac{3}{4}$*d.* to 4*s.* The peaſants pay no other tax to government; and indeed, conſidering their poverty, and the oppreſſion of their lords and great nobility, this addition is more than they can well ſupport.

All theſe ſeveral impoſts amount to 11,628,461 Poliſh florins, or £323,012 ſterling.

The king received before the partition a neat revenue of 7,000,000 Poliſh florins, or £194,500, which aroſe from the royal demeſnes and the profit of the ſalt-works. In order to imdemnify him for the loſs of the ſalt-works, and the royal eſtates ſituated in the diſmembered provinces, he draws from the public treaſury 2,666,666 florins, or £74,074 ſterling; which, in addition to the remaining royal demeſnes, and ſome ſtaroſties granted for his uſe, make his preſent income the ſame

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as before the diſmemberment. Out of this income he only pays his houſhold expences and menial ſervants; the ſalary of the great officers of ſtate, and the other general expences, being ſupplied from the public fund. The whole revenue of government, including the royal demeſnes and ſtaroſties lately granted to the king, amount to 15,961,795 florins, or £443,938; and by extracting the 7,000,000 florins appropriated to the king's privy purſe, there remains for the ſupport of the army, the ſalaries of the great officers of ſtate, and other general charges, only 8,961,795 florins, or £248,938. 1ſ. a ſum ſo ſmall, that it hardly ſeems in any wiſe equal to the purpoſes for which it is deſigned. And yet it is nearly adequate to the ordinary current expences: for the regular army is ſmall, the great officers of ſtate receive little or nothing from the public treaſury, being amply rewarded with the royal fiefs which are ſo numerous and profitable; each palatinate pays its own officers from its private treaſury; while the ſeveral judges, juſtices of the peace, and other civil officers who enjoy territorial juriſdiction, may enrich themſelves ſufficiently by extortions and oppreſſions without any ſalary.

II. Commerce of Poland.

Poland contains ſeveral navigable rivers, which flow through its dominions in all directions, and convey its exports to the havens of the Baltic. By means of the Viſtula and the rivers falling into it, the productions of the palatinates of Cracow, Lublin, and Maſovia, are ſent to Thorn, and from thence to Dantzic and Konigſburg. By the Niemen the commodities of Lithuania are tranſported to Memmel; and by the Duna thoſe of Eaſtern Lithuania and White Ruſſia to Riga. The chief exports of Poland are all ſpecies of grain, hemp, flax, cattle, maſts, planks, timber for ſhip-building, pitch and tar, honey, wax, tallow, pot-aſh, and leather: its imports are foreign

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wines, cloths, ſtuffs, manufactured ſilks and cotton, fine linen, hardware, tin, copper, ſilver and gold, glaſs ware, furs, &c.

From the various productions and great fertility of Poland, its trade might be carried to a conſiderable height; but the following cauſes tend to ſuppreſs the ſpirit of commerce.

1. The nobles are degraded if they engage in any kind of traffic. 2. The burghers of the large towns are not rich enough to eſtabliſh any manufactures; and either through want of induſtry, or through dread of exceſſive extortions from the principal nobility, leave almoſt all the retail-trade in the hands of foreigners and Jews. The inhabitants of the ſmall towns, who are expoſed to greater oppreſſions, are ſtill more diſqualified from purſuing any branch of commerce. 3. The peaſants being ſlaves, and the property of their maſter, cannot retire from the place of their nativity without his conſent. John Albert, obſerving that commerce could never flouriſh while this reſtriction ſubſiſted, enacted, that one peaſant in a family ſhould be permitted to quit his village, either for the purpoſe of trade or literature; but the clauſe, which ordered them to requeſt and obtain the conſent of the lord, fruſtrated the purpoſe of this excellent law, and rendered it abſolutely nugatory *.

As the Poles are obliged to draw from foreign countries the greateſt part of the manufactured goods neceſſary for their interior conſumption, the ſpecie which is exported exceeds the imported more than 20,000,000 Poliſh florins, or £555,555.

Poland has been called the granary of the North, an appellation which it ſeems to deſerve rather from its former than from its preſent fertility. For its lands not being ſufficiently cultivated, as well on accouut of the ſlavery of the peaſants, as the unequal diſtribution of property, the exportation of corn

* Stat. Reg. Pol. p. 169.

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is by no means anſwerable to the general nature of the ſoil, or the extent of its provinces, which, if properly improved, would be capable of ſupplying half Europe with grain. Several palatinates in Poland, and more particularly Podolia and Kiovia, are extremely adapted to the production of grain: though many parts of theſe provinces remain uncultivated, yet the portion which is in tillage yields a greater ſupply than is neceſſary for the conſumption of the inhabitants. The only method of employing the overplus is to extract from it a ſpirituous liquor. But an ingenious Poliſh author * has ſhown, that the provinces in queſtion might undoubtedly ſend their grain down the Dnieſter through Turkiſh Moldavia; and open an intercourſe with the ports of the Black Sea. This project was formerly in agitation.

During the reign of Sigiſmond Auguſtus, Cardinal Commandon, in travelling through Podolia, being much ſtruck with the fertility of that province, firſt ſuggeſted the meaſure; and Sigiſmond, having obtained the concurrence of the grand ſeignor, actually diſpatched ſome Poles down the Dnieſter, to explore the ſtate of the river. But the perſons employed on this occaſion, happening after a few days voyage to meet with ſome impediments from rocks and ſand banks, declared, without any further examination, that the Dnieſter was not navigable; and although Commandon repreſented to the king, that the obſtacles pointed out might, without any great difficulty, be ſurmounted; yet the project was poſtponed, and never again revived †.

The judicious author above-mentioned ‡, in touching upon this ſubject, laments the ignorance of his countrymen; and ridicules the precipitation with which they abandoned a plan

* Mr. de Wiebitſki, a Poliſh gentleman of great learning and information. The treatiſe alluded to in this and other places of this work, is written in the Poliſh language, and called Patriotic Letters, addreſſed to the Chancellor Zamoiſki.

† Vie de Commandon.

‡ Mr. de Wiebitſki.

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ſo favourable to the improvement of their commerce. He ſhows, that the inattention of the Poles to the natural advantages of their country has been exemplified in another inſtance of a ſimilar kind. By means of the Notez, a river of Great Poland, which falls into the Oder, the Poles might have conveyed grain into Sileſia, and from thence down the Oder into other parts of Germany. But they never attempted the navigation of the Notez, from an ill-founded perſuaſion of its not being practicable. No ſooner, however, had the king of Pruſſia acquired the country through which that river takes its courſe, than it was inſtantly, and without undergoing the leaſt alteration, covered with veſſels.

III. Military Establishment.

The king has a corps of 2000 troops in his own pay, and entirely dependent upon himſelf. Theſe troops conſiſt chiefly of Ulans or light horſe, who furniſh alternately the eſcort which accompanies his majeſty. We ſaw a ſmall party, about thirty, who were encamped near his villa, and had afterwards an opportunity of examining them more minutely. The Ulans are chiefly Tartars, many of them Mahometans, and are greatly to be relied on for their fidelity. The corps is compoſed of gentlemen and vaſſals: they all form in ſquadron together, but are differently armed; they both indiſcriminately carry ſabres and piſtols, but the gentlemen only bear lances of about ten feet long; inſtead of which, the others are armed with carabines. Their dreſs is a high fur cap, a green and red jacket, pantaloons of the ſame colour, which cover the boots as low as the ankle; and a petticoat of white cloth deſcending to the knee. Their heads are all ſhaved after the Poliſh manner *. Their lances, at the end of which is faſtened a long ſwallow-tailed flag of black and red cloth, are ſhorter and weaker than thoſe of the Auſtrian Croats; but they carry and

* See Book II. Chapter II.

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uſe them much in the ſame manner, and with no leſs dexterity. The men were of different ſizes, and ſeemed fine and well grown, but were greatly disfigured with their petticoats and pantaloons. The horſes on which they were mounted were about fourteen hands high, of remarkable ſpirit, with great ſtrength of ſhoulder. Poland is much eſteemed for its breed of horſes; and the king of Pruſſia procures his light cavalry from this country. The breed, however, has been almoſt ruined during the late civil wars, and the nobility are now chiefly ſupplied from Tartary.

The armies of Poland and Lithuania are independent of each other, being ſeparately commanded, and under the direction of the reſpective great generals. In time of war the king in perſon may lead the forces of the republic. Formerly the power of theſe great generals was uncontrouled, excepting by the diet, to which alone they were amenable for their adminiſtration. Their enormous authority, however, underwent ſome limitation in 1768, by the appointment of a committee of war, of which they are perpetual preſidents; and was ſtill further circumſcribed by the eſtabliſhment of the military department in the permanent council, whoſe office has been already deſcribed *.

In 1778 the following was the ſtate of the Poliſh army.

Troops of Poland.

	Complement.	Effective men.	Wanting.
Staff officers	27	27	
Cavalry	4997	4708	289
Infantry, including artillery	7286	6703	583
Total of Poland	12310	11438	872
Army of Lithuania.			
Staff officers	25	25	
Cavalry	2670	2497	173
Infantry, including artillery	4770	4465	305
Total of Lithuania	7465	6987	478

* See p. 74.

Total

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Total of the Poliſh and Lithuanian troops,

19775 18425 1350

The ſtanding army of Poland being ſo inconſiderable, the defence of the country, in caſe of invaſion, is left to the gentry at large, who are aſſembled by regular ſummons from the king with the conſent of the diet. Every palatinate is divided into diſtricts, over each of which proper officers are appointed; and every perſon poſſeſſing free and noble tenures is bound to military ſervice, either ſingly or at the head of a certain number of his retainers, according to the extent and nature of his poſſeſſions. The troops thus aſſembled are obliged only to ſerve for a limited time, and are not under the neceſſity of marching beyond the limits of their country. The mode of levying and maintaining this army is exactly ſimilar to that practiſed under the feudal ſyſtem. At preſent, though it is almoſt totally unfit for the purpoſes of repelling a foreign enemy, it is yet a powerful inſtrument in the hands of domeſtic faction: for the expedition with which it is raiſed under the feudal regulations, facilitates the formation of thoſe dangerous confederacies, which ſuddenly ſtart up on the conteſted election of a ſovereign, or whenever the nobles are at variance with each other.

There are two ſorts of confederacies. The firſt are thoſe formed with the conſent of the king, ſenate, or equeſtrian order, aſſembled in the diet; by which the whole nation confederates for the good of the country. The ſecond are the confederacies of the ſeveral palatinates, which unite for the purpoſe of redreſſing any grievances, or remonſtrating againſt encroachments of the ſovereign power. Theſe may be particular, or general, and are uſually the forerunners of a civil war. The general confederacy, which is always in oppoſition to the king, is called Rokoz, and is formed by the union of the particular confederacies.

As every Poliſh gentleman has a right to maintain as many troops as he chuſes, it may eaſily be conceived, that each palatinate is the ſcene of occaſional diſputes and petty contentions between the principal nobles, and ſometimes even between their reſpective retainers. In ſuch a dreadful ſtate of anarchy, it is a wonder that the whole kingdom is not a perpetual ſcene of endleſs commotions, and that the nation is compoſed of any thing elſe but lawleſs banditti. It redounds, therefore, greatly to the honour of the natural diſpoſition of the Poles, that amid all theſe incentives to confuſion, a much greater degree of tranquillity, than could be well expected, is maintained.

As I am now delineating the military eſtabliſhment, I muſt not omit the Ruſſian troops, which have been ſo long quartered in this country, that they may almoſt be conſidered as forming part of the national army. The whole kingdom is entirely under the protection, or, in other words, under the power of Ruſſia, who rules over it with the ſame unbounded authority as over one of its own provinces. The king is in effect little more than a viceroy; while the Ruſſian embaſſador has the real ſovereignty, and regulates all the affairs of the kingdom according to the direction of his court. The empreſs maintains within the country about 10,000 ſoldiers. Every garriſon is compoſed of Ruſſian and native troops; a thouſand of the former are ſtationed at Warſaw; and each gate of the town is guarded by a Ruſſian and Poliſh centinel. In a word, the Ruſſian troops hold the nobles in ſubjection, and for the preſent keep under internal feuds and commotions. But when Poland (if ever that event ſhould happen) is again left to herſelf, the ſame fury of contending parties, now ſmothered, but not annihilated, will probably break out with redoubled fury; and again generate thoſe diſturbances which have long convulſed this unhappy kingdom: and to what a wretched ſtate is that country reduced, which owes its tranquillity to the interpoſition of a foreign army?

CHAP. VIII.

Wretched ſtate of Poland.—*Diviſion of the inhabitants into I. Nobles or gentry; II. Clergy; III. Burghers; IV. Peaſants.—State of Vaiſſalage.—Its fatal effects.—Inſtances of a few nobles who have given liberty to their peaſants.—Advantages reſulting from that practice.—V. Jews.—Population of* Poland.

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I Conſider Poliſh liberty as the ſource of Poliſh wretchedneſs; and Poland appears to me, as far as I can judge by the ſpecimens which fell under my obſervation, of all countries the moſt diſtreſſed. Nor indeed do the natives themſelves attempt to palliate or deny this melancholy fact. Upon expreſſing my ſurprize at one inſtance of the abuſe of liberty, to which I had been myſelf a witneſs, to a perſon well verſed in the laws of the country, he returned for anſwer, "If you "knew the confuſion and anarchy of our conſtitution, you "would be ſurpriſed at nothing: many grievances neceſſarily "exiſt even in the beſt regulated ſtates; what then muſt be "the caſe in ours, which of all governments is the moſt de-"teſtable?" Another lamenting the dreadful ſituation of his country, ſaid to me, "The name of Poland ſtill remains, but "the nation no longer exiſts: an univerſal corruption and "venality pervades all ranks of people. Many of the firſt no-"bility do not bluſh to receive penſions from foreign courts. "One profeſſes himſelf publicly an Auſtrian, a ſecond a Pruſ-"ſian, a third a Frenchman, and a fourth a Ruſſian."

The preſent ſituation of the Poliſh nation impreſſed my mind with the moſt pathetic ideas of fallen greatneſs; and I could not conſider, without a mixture of regret and ſympathy, a people, who formerly gave law to the North, reduced to ſo low

low a ſtate of inſignificance and domeſtic miſery. The nation has few manufactures, ſcarcely any commerce; a king almoſt without authority; the nobles in a ſtate of uncontrouled anarchy; the peaſants groaning under a yoke of feudal deſpotiſm far worſe than the tyranny of an abſolute monarch. I never before obſerved ſuch an inequality of fortune, ſuch ſudden tranſition from extreme riches to extreme poverty; wherever I turned my eyes, luxury and wretchedneſs were conſtant neighbours. In a word, the boaſted Poliſh liberty is not enjoyed in the ſmalleſt degree by the bulk of the people, but is confined among the nobles or gentry. The truth of theſe remarks will beſt appear from the following account of the inhabitants.

The inhabitants of Poland are nobles, clergy, citizens, and peaſants.

I. The nobles are divided into two claſſes: the members of the ſenate, and of the equeſtrian order. Having, upon a former occaſion *, deſcribed the powers which ſenators enjoy in their collective capacity, it will be unneceſſary to repeat them in this place.

We ſhould be greatly deceived if we were to underſtand the word *noble* in our ſenſe of that term. In the laws of Poland a noble is a perſon who poſſeſſes a freehold † eſtate, or who can prove his deſcent from anceſtors formerly poſſeſſing a freehold, following no trade or commerce, and at liberty to chooſe the place of his habitation. This deſcription includes all perſons above burghers and peaſants. The members of

* See p. 83.

† Some citizens have the right of poſſeſſing lands within a league of the town which they inhabit; but theſe lands are not free and noble, and are always diſtinguiſhed from the freeholds of the nobles; the latter are called in the ſtatute law terrigenæ, or earth-born, free to live where they pleaſe, to diſtinguiſh them from perſons neceſſarily inhabiting towns, "Quos leges nominant terrigenas, "non alii ſunt, quam nobiles; exprimitque "prius vocabulum, polonicum *Ziemiánin*, quo "in agris ſibi et ſuo jure vivens intelligitur, "quæ nobilium in Polonia eſt conditio, qui "non civitátes & oppida, ſed ſua prædia ha-"bitantes, vitam ſuo arbitrio diſponunt." Leng. Jus Pub. I. p. 297. a true feudal diſtinction. They are alſo ſtyled indigenæ or natives, and concives or fellow-citizens of the republic.

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this body below the rank of ſenators are called, in a collective ſtate, the equeſtrian order; and in their individual capacities nobles, gentlemen, freemen, or land-holders, which appellations are ſynonymous.

All the nobles or gentry are, in the ſtrict letter of the law, equal by birth; ſo that all honours and titles are ſuppoſed to add nothing to their real dignity *. By means of their repreſentatives in the diet, they have a ſhare in the legiſlative authority, and in ſome caſes, as in the election of a king, they aſſemble in perſon, when each noble is capable of being elected a nuntio, of bearing the office of a ſenator, and of preſenting himſelf as a candidate upon a vacancy in the throne. No noble can be arreſted without being previouſly convicted, except in caſes of high treaſon, murder, and robbery on the highway, and then he muſt be ſurpriſed in the fact; nor can he be capitally puniſhed but by order of the diet. The definition of a noble being thus applied not only to perſons actually poſſeſſing land, but even to the deſcendants of former landholders, comprehends ſuch a large body of men, that many of them are in a ſtate of extreme indigence; and as, according to the Poliſh law, they loſe their nobility if they follow trade or commerce, the moſt needy generally devote themſelves to the ſervice of the richer nobles, who, like the

* It is particularly ſtipulated, that titles give no precedence; which is called in the Pacta Conventa of Auguſtus III. "Jus æquatis inter cives regni," &c. upon which Lengnich makes the following remark, "Omnis hæc nobilitas natura eſt æqualis, quod omnes ex illâ, ad eadem jura, in eandem ſpem naſcuntur. Tituli Principum, Marchionum, Comitum, quibus alii præ aliis inſigniuntur, vocabula ſunt, quæ ſtatum non immutant, & qui illis gaudent, non alio, quam nobilium jure, ſua tenent. Neque Polonia alias Principum, alias Marchionum, alias Comitum, alias Equitum leges novit; ſed omnibus una nobilium lex ſcripta eſt. Inde in conclavi Nunciorum Principum & Comitum nominibus fulgentes, cæteris permixtos videmus. Nullum ibi inter modici agelli & paucorum jugerum, ac aliquot oppidorum multorumque vicorum dominum, obſervatur diſcrimen. Præcedunt alii, alii ſequuntur non ex titulis familiarum, ſed ad palatinatuum terrarumque, ex quibus nuntii miſſi, ordinem. Eadem in ſenatu ratio. Aſſignat loca, muneris non ſtemmatis dignitas. Et qui ſenator non princeps, non comes, præcedit principem, ac comitem, non ſenatorem." Pac. Con. p. 31.

old

old feudal barons, are conſtantly attended by a large number of retainers. As all nobles, without any diſtinction, enjoy the right of voting, as well for the choice of nuntios, as at the election of a king, their poverty and their number is frequently productive of great inconvenience. Hence the king, who has juſtly conceived a great veneration for the Engliſh conſtitution, wiſhed to introduce into the new code a law ſimilar to ours relating to county elections, that no perſon ſhould be intitled to a vote in the choice of a nuntio but thoſe who poſſeſſed a certain qualification in land *. This propoſition, however, has been received with ſuch marks of diſſatisfaction, that we may conclude it will never be allowed to paſs into a law. CHAP. VIII.

II. The Clergy. Miciſlaus, the firſt ſovereign of Poland who embraced Chriſtianity, granted ſeveral immunities and eſtates to the clergy. His ſucceſſors and the rich nobles followed his example; and the riches of this body continued increaſing as well from royal as private donations, until the diet, apprehenſive leſt in proceſs of time the greateſt part of the eſtates ſhould paſs into the hands of the clergy, forbad by different laws, and particularly in 1669, the alienation of lands to the church, under penalty of forfeiture: and under the preſent reign ſeveral eſtates have been confiſcated which had been beſtowed upon the clergy ſince that period. A. D. 966.

From the time of the firſt eſtabliſhment of the catholic religion by Cardinal Ægidius, nuntio from Pope John XII. the biſhops have been admitted into the ſenate as king's counſellors. They were uſually appointed by the king, and confirmed by the pope; but, ſince the creation of the perma-

* Connor mentions a ſimilar attempt of John Caſimir, which failed of ſucceſs. "King Caſimir obſerving the great abuſes "that ſpring from every little gentleman's "pretended privilege to ſit in the little diets, "ordered that none ſhould have a vote there, "in electing a deputy or nuntio, but ſuch "only as had at leaſt two hundred crowns a "year; whereupon the palatine of Poſnania, "offering to put this law in execution in his "province, was not only affronted, but alſo "narrowly eſcaped with his life." Hiſt. of Poland, v. II. p. 104.

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nent council, they are nominated by his majeſty out of three candidates choſen by the council: a biſhop, the moment he is appointed, is of courſe entitled to all the privileges of a ſenator. The archbiſhop of Gneſna is primate, as we have before obſerved, the firſt ſenator in rank, and viceroy during an interregnum.

The eccleſiaſtics are all freemen, and, in ſome particular inſtances, have their own courts of juſtice, in which the canon law is practiſed. Of theſe courts of juſtice peculiar to the clergy, there are three ſorts; I. The conſiſtorial, under the juriſdiction of each biſhop in his dioceſe; II. The metropolitan, under the primate, to which an appeal lies from the biſhop's court; III. That of the pope's nuntio, which is the ſupreme eccleſiaſtical judicature within the kingdom, to which an appeal may be made both from the deciſion of the biſhop and of the primate. In caſes of divorce, diſpenſations for marriages, and in other inſtances, the parties, as in all catholic countries, muſt apply to the pope; by which means no inconſiderable portion of money is abſorbed by the ſee of Rome.

In moſt civil affairs the clergy are judged in the ordinary courts of juſtice. In criminal cauſes, an eccleſiaſtic is firſt arreſted by the civil powers, then judged in the conſiſtory, and, if convicted, he is remitted to the civil power, in order to undergo the penalty annexed to the crime of which he has been found guilty. One great eccleſiaſtical abuſe, which has been aboliſhed in moſt other catholic countries, ſtill exiſts in this kingdom: when the Pope ſends a bull into Poland, the clergy publiſh and carry it into execution, without the confirmation or approbation of the civil power. Before 1538 eccleſiaſtics were allowed to hold civil employments; but in that year prieſts were declared incapable of being promoted to ſecular offices. They were alſo exempted from paying any taxes; but this exemption has been wiſely taken off, and they

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are now rated in the ſame manner as the laity, with this difference, that their contributions are not called taxes, but charitable ſubſidies.

III. The next claſs of people are the burghers, inhabiting towns, whoſe privileges were formerly far more conſiderable than they are at preſent.

The hiſtory of all countries, in which the feudal ſyſtem has been eſtabliſhed, bears teſtimony to the pernicious policy of holding the lower claſſes of men in a ſtate of ſlaviſh ſubjection. In proceſs of time a concurrence of cauſes * contributed gradually to ſoften the rigour of this ſervitude with regard to the burghers, in ſeveral of the feudal kingdoms. Among other circumſtances tending to their protection, the moſt favourable was the formation of ſeveral cities into bodies politic, with the privilege of exerciſing municipal juriſdiction. This inſtitution took its riſe in Italy, the firſt country in Europe which emerged from barbariſm; and was from thence transferred to France and Germany. It was firſt introduced into Poland about 1250, during the reign of Boleſlaus the chaſte, who being inſtructed in the Teutonic or German laws by Henry the bearded duke of Wratiſlaw, granted firſt to Cracow, and afterwards to ſeveral other towns, the privileges poſſeſſed by the German cities: this body of rights is called in the ſtatutes of Poland *Jus Magdeburgicum et Teutonicum*; and the cauſe aſſigned for its introduction is, that no city could flouriſh and increaſe under the feudal laws †. In the 13th and following centuries the kings and great barons built ſeveral towns, to all which they granted a charter of incorporation, conceived in the following terms ‡: "*Transfero hanc villam ex jure Polonico in "jus Teutonicum.*" The beneficial tendency of this political

* It does not enter into the plan of this work to deſcribe theſe cauſes: the reader will find them amply and ably illuſtrated in a View of the State of Europe, prefixed to Dr. Robertſon's Hiſtory of Charles V.

† Leng. Jus Pub. p. 524.

‡ Chromer.

regu-

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regulation ſoon appeared: by a ſudden increaſe of population and wealth, the burghers of ſome of the principal free towns acquired ſuch a degree of importance and conſideration, as to give their aſſent to treaties, and ſend deputies to the national aſſembly; a noble was not degraded by being a burgher, and a burgher was capable of being an officer of the crown. A treaty * which Caſimir the Great entered into with the knights of the Teutonic order, was not only ſigned by the king and the principal nobles, but alſo by the burghers of Cracow, Poſin, Sandomir, and other towns; and under the ſame monarch Wierneſk †, burgomaſter of Cracow, was ſubmarſhal and treaſurer of the crown.

The burghers enjoyed the privileges juſt mentioned during the Jaghellon line, as appears from the different acts of Sigiſmond I. and his ſon Sigiſmond Auguſtus. During the reign of the former the nobles endeavoured to exclude the deputies of Cracow from the diet; but that monarch not only confirmed the right of that city to ſend repreſentatives, but even decreed, that the citizens were included within the claſs of nobles ‡.

When the crown became wholly elective, the burghers ſuffered continual encroachments on their privileges at every nomination of a new ſovereign; they loſt the right of poſſeſſing lands, excepting within a ſmall diſtance of their towns, of ſending deputies to the diets, and were of courſe excluded from all ſhare of the legiſlative authority. The principal cauſe of this excluſion was, that as the burghers were not

* Dlugoſſius L. IX. p. 1067.

† This Wierneſk was ſo rich, that in 1363, when the emperor Charles IV. married at Cracow Elizabeth grand daughter of Caſimir, he gave a moſt ſumptuous entertainment to his ſovereign, to the emperor, kings of Hungary, Denmark, Cyprus, and other princes, who were preſent at the marriage: beſide other magnificent gifts which he beſtowed upon the company, he preſented Caſimir with a ſum equal to the portion of the bride. Chromer, p. 324.

‡ Conſules Cracovienſes, &c. debere et poſſe omnibus conſiliis, quibus alii nuntii terreſtres aderunt, &c. more ſolito conſultari. Statuta Pol. p. 8. Cracovia eſt incorporata et unita nobilitati; ib. terrarumque civitatumque nuntii, p. 353.

obliged,

obliged, by the nature of their tenures, to march againſt the enemy, but were only under the neceſſity of furniſhing arms and waggons for the uſe of the army; they incurred, therefore, the contempt of the warlike gentry, who, in the true ſpirit of feudal arrogance, conſidered all occupations, but that of war, as beneath a freeman, and all perſons, not bound to military ſervices, as unqualified for the adminiſtration of public affairs.

The burghers, however, ſtill enjoy a conſiderable portion of freedom, and poſſeſs the following immunities: they elect their own burgomaſter and council; they regulate their interior police, and have their own criminal courts of juſtice, which decide without appeal. A burgher, when plaintiff againſt a noble, is obliged to carry the cauſe into the courts of juſtice belonging to the nobles, where the judgement is final: when defendant, he muſt be cited before the magiſtrates of his own town, from whence an appeal lies only to the king in the aſſeſſorial tribunal. To this exemption from the juriſdiction of the nobles, though only in one ſpecies of cauſes, the burghers owe whatever degree of independence they ſtill retain; as without this immunity they would long ago have been reduced to a ſtate of vaſſalage.

IV. The peaſants in Poland, as in all feudal governments, are ſerfs or ſlaves; and the value of an eſtate is not eſtimated ſo much from its extent, as from the number of its peaſants, who are transferred from one maſter to another like ſo many head of cattle.

The peaſants, however, are not all in an equal ſtate of ſubjection: they are diſtinguiſhed into two ſorts; 1. German; 2. Natives.

1. During the reign of Boleſlaus the Chaſte, and more particularly in that of Caſimir the Great, many Germans ſettled in Poland, who were indulged in the uſe of the German

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laws *; and their deſcendants ſtill continue to enjoy ſeveral privileges not poſſeſſed by the generality of Poliſh peaſants. The good effects of theſe privileges are very viſible in the general ſtate of their domeſtic œconomy; their villages are better built, and their fields better cultivated, than thoſe which belong to the native Poles; they poſſeſs more cattle, pay their quit-rents to their lords with greater exactneſs; and, when compared with the others, are cleaner and neater in their perſons.

2. The ſlavery of the Poliſh peaſants is very antient, and was always extremely rigorous. Until the time of Caſimir the Great, the lord could put his peaſant to death with impunity, and, when the latter had no children, conſidered himſelf as the heir, and ſeized all his effects. In 1347 Caſimir preſcribed a fine for the murder of a peaſant; and enacted, that, in caſe of his deceaſe without iſſue, his next heir ſhould inherit †. The ſame ſovereign alſo decreed, that a peaſant was capable of bearing arms as a ſoldier, and that therefore he ought to be conſidered as a freeman. But theſe and other regulations, by which that amiable monarch endeavoured to alleviate the miſeries of the vaſſals, have proved ineffectual againſt the power and tyranny of the nobles, and have been either abrogated or eluded. That law, which gives the property of a peaſant dying without iſſue to the next of kin, was inſtantly rendered nugatory by an old Poliſh maxim, "That "no ſlave can carry on any proceſs againſt his maſter;" and even the fine for his murder was ſeldom levied, on account of the numerous difficulties which attend the conviction of a noble for this or any other enormity. So far indeed from being inclined to ſoften the ſervitude of their vaſſals, the nobles have aſcertained and eſtabliſhed it by repeated and poſi-

* Lubienſki, p. 108. Florus Pol. p. 118. Chromer, 319.
† Stat. Pol. I. p. 24.

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tive ordinances. An able Poliſh writer, in a benevolent treatiſe* addreſſed to the chancellor Zamoiſki, obſerves, that in the Statutes of Poland there are above an hundred laws unfavourable to the peaſants, which, among other grievances, erect ſummary tribunals ſubject to no appeals, and impoſe the ſevereſt penalties upon thoſe who quit their villages without leave. From theſe numerous and rigorous edicts to prevent the elopement of the peaſants, the ſame humane author juſtly infers the extreme wretchedneſs of this oppreſſed claſs of men, who cannot be detained in the place of their nativity but by the terror of the ſevereſt puniſhment. CHAP. VIII.

The native peaſants may be divided into two ſorts: 1. Peaſants of the crown; 2. Peaſants belonging to individuals.

1. Peaſants of the crown are thoſe who are ſettled in the great fiefs of the kingdom, or in the royal demeſnes, and are under the juriſdictions of the ſtaroſts. If the crown-peaſants are oppreſſed by theſe judges, they may lodge a complaint in the royal courts of juſtice; and, ſhould the ſtaroſt endeavour to obſtruct the proceſs, the king can order the chancellor to iſſue a ſafe conduct, by which he takes the injured perſon under his protection: and although in moſt caſes the corrupt adminiſtration of juſtice, and the ſuperior influence of the ſtaroſts, prevent a complainant from obtaining any effectual redreſs even in the king's courts; yet, the very poſſibility of procuring relief is ſome check to injuſtice, and ſome alleviation of diſtreſs.

2. Peaſants belonging to individuals are at the abſolute diſpoſal of their maſter, and have ſcarcely any poſitive ſecurity, either for their properties or their lives. Until 1768 the Statutes of Poland only exacted a fine from a lord who killed his ſlave; but in that year a decree paſſed, that the murder of a peaſant was a capital crime; yet, as the law in

* Patriotic Letters.

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queſtion requires ſuch an accumulation of evidence* as is ſeldom to be obtained, it has more the appearance of protection than the reality.

How deplorable muſt be the ſtate of that country, when a law of that nature was thought requiſite to be enacted, yet is found incapable of being enforced. The generality, indeed, of the Poliſh nobles are not inclined either to eſtabliſh or give efficacy to any regulations in favour of the peaſants, whom they ſcarcely conſider as entitled to the common rights of humanity†. A few nobles, however, of benevolent hearts and enlightened underſtandings, have acted upon different principles, and have ventured upon the expedient of giving liberty to their vaſſals. The event has ſhowed this project to be no leſs judicious than humane, no leſs friendly to their own intereſts than to the happineſs of their peaſants: for it appears that in the diſtricts, in which the new arrangement has been introduced, the population of their villages is conſiderably increaſed, and the revenues of their eſtates augmented in a triple proportion.

The firſt noble who granted freedom to his peaſants was Zamoiſki, formerly great chancellor, who in 1760 enfranchiſed ſix villages in the palatinate of Maſovia. Theſe villages were, in 1777, viſited by the author of the Patriotic Letters, from whom I received the following information: On inſpecting the pariſh-regiſters of births from 1750 to 1760, that is, during the ten years of ſlavery immediately preceding their enfranchiſement, he found the number of births 434; in the firſt ten years of their freedom, from 1760 to 1770, 620; and from 1770 to the beginning of 1777, 585 births.

* The murderer muſt be taken in the fact; which muſt be proved by two gentlemen or four peaſants; and if he is not taken in the fact, and there are not the above-mentioned number of witneſſes, he only pays a fine.

† Zamoiſki, in his new code of laws, has warmly ſpoken in favour of the peaſants; but ſuch are the national prejudices, that it is uncertain whether the diet will receive that code, and confirm its decrees, though formed upon the common and natural rights of mankind.

By

By theſe extracts it appeared that

During the firſt period there were only 43 births } each year.
ſecond period 62 }
third period 77 }

If we ſuppoſe an improvement of this ſort to take place throughout the kingdom, how great would be the increaſe of national population!

The revenues of the ſix villages, ſince their enfranchiſement, have been augmented in a much greater proportion than their population. In their ſtate of vaſſalage Zamoiſki was obliged, according to the cuſtom of Poland, to build cottages and barns for his peaſants, and to furniſh them with ſeed, horſes, ploughs, and every implement of agriculture; ſince their attainment of liberty they are become ſo eaſy in their circumſtances, as to provide themſelves with all theſe neceſſaries at their own expence; and they likewiſe cheerfully pay an annual rent, in lieu of the manual labour, which their maſter formerly exacted from them. By theſe means the receipts of this particular eſtate have been nearly tripled.

Upon ſigning the deed of enfranchiſement of the ſix villages, their benevolent maſter intimated ſome apprehenſions to the inhabitants, leſt, encouraged by their freedom, they ſhould fall into every ſpecies of licentiouſneſs, and commit more diſorders than when they were ſlaves. The ſimplicity and good ſenſe of their anſwer is remarkable, "When we had no other "property," returned they, "than the ſtick which we hold "in our hands, we were deſtitute of all encouragement to a "right conduct; and, having nothing to loſe, acted on all "occaſions in an inconſiderate manner; but as ſoon as our "houſes, our lands, and our cattle, are our own, the fear of "forfeiting them will be a conſtant reſtraint upon our actions." The ſincerity of this aſſertion was manifeſted by the event. While they were in a ſtate of ſervitude, Zamoiſki was occaſionally

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ſionally obliged to pay fines for diſorders * committed by his peaſants, who, in a ſtate of drunkenneſs, would attack and ſometimes kill paſſengers: ſince their freedom he has ſeldom received any complaints of this ſort againſt them. Theſe circumſtances deciſively confute the ill-grounded ſurmiſes entertained by many Poles, that their vaſſals are too licentious and ungovernable not to make an ill uſe of freedom. Zamoiſki, pleaſed with the thriving ſtate of the ſix villages, has enfranchiſed the peaſants on all his eſtates.

The example of Zamoiſki has been followed by Chreptowitz, vice-chancellor of Lithuania, and the abbé Bryzotowſki, with ſimilar ſucceſs. I was informed by a perſon who had viſited the abbé's eſtate at Pawlowo near Vilna, that the happy countenance and comfortable air of theſe peaſants made them appear a different race of men from the wretched tenants of the neighbouring villages. The peaſants, penetrated with a ſenſe of their maſter's kindneſs, have erected, at their own expence, a pillar with an inſcription expreſſive of their gratitude and affection.

Prince Staniſlaus, nephew to the king of Poland, has warmly patronized the plan of giving liberty to the peaſants. His own good ſenſe and natural humanity, improved during his reſidence in England by a view of that equal liberty which pervades every rank of men, have raiſed him above the prejudices too prevalent among his countrymen: he has enfranchiſed four villages not far from Warſaw, in which he has not only emancipated the peaſants from their ſlavery, but even condeſcends to direct their affairs. I had the honour of holding ſeveral converſations with him upon this ſubject; he explained to me, in the moſt ſatisfactory manner, that the grant of freedom was no leſs advantageous to the lord than to the peaſant, provided the former is willing to ſuperintend their

* Called, in the Poliſh law, Pro incontinentiâ ſubditorum.

conduct

conduct for a few years, and to put them in a way of acting for themſelves; for ſuch is the ignorance of the generality among the boors, ariſing from the abject ſlavery in which they are held, and ſo little have they been uſually left to their own diſcretion, that few at firſt are equal to the proper management of a farm. From a conviction of theſe facts, the prince, whoſe knowledge and benevolence I ſhall ever revere, continues his attention to their concerns; he viſits their cottages, ſuggeſts improvements in agriculture, inſtructs them in the mode of rearing cattle and bees, and points out the errors into which ignorance and incapacity occaſionally betray them. CHAP. VIII.

The example of this prince, great by his rank, but ſtill greater by his humanity, can ſcarce fail of producing its due effect, eſpecially as he intends giving to the public his arrangements and regulations, and will ſhow how much he has increaſed his eſtate and the happineſs of his peaſants. Still, however, the condition of theſe peaſants is not permanent; for though a lord grants their freedom, yet he cannot entail it upon them, as his ſucceſſor may again reduce them to their original ſtate of vaſſalage. It is, however, in agitation to ſecure the perpetuity of their liberty, when they are once rendered free; but this attempt is of ſo delicate a nature, that it muſt be introduced with great caution, and can only be the work of time.

V. In giving an account of the different claſſes of men who inhabit this country, I ought not to omit the Jews, as they form no inconſiderable part of its preſent inhabitants. This people date their introduction into Poland about the time of Caſimir the Great, and as they enjoy privileges which they ſcarcely poſſeſs in any other country excepting England and Holland, their numbers have ſurprizingly increaſed. Lengnich, whom I have often quoted, ſays of them, that they "monopolize * the

* Pac. Con. Aug. III. p. 128.

"commerce

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"commerce and trade of the country, keep the inns and taverns, are ſtewards to the nobility, in ſhort, they ſeem to have ſo much influence, that nothing can be bought or ſold without the intervention of a Jew." Under John Sobieſki they were ſo highly favoured, that his adminiſtration was invidiouſly called a Jewiſh junto: he farmed to the Jews the royal demeſnes, and put ſuch confidence in them as raiſed great diſcontents among the nobility. After his death, an antient law of Sigiſmond I. was revived and inſerted in the *Pacta Conventa* of Auguſtus II. that no Jew or perſon of low birth ſhould be capable of farming the royal revenues.

In ſome towns, as at Caſimir, Poſen, &c. the Jews are permitted to ſettle, but in other places they are only allowed to reſide during the time of fairs, or when the dietines are aſſembled; but the laws are ſeldom put in force againſt them. I endeavoured to obtain a probable account of their number, but I found this to be no eaſy matter, although all Jews, as well male as female, pay an annual poll-tax, and therefore muſt be regiſtered. According to the laſt capitation there were 166,871 Jews in Poland, excluſive of Lithuania, who paid that tax; but this cannot be their full complement, as it is their intereſt to diminiſh their number; and it is a well-known fact, that they conceal their children as much as poſſible. Perhaps the following calculations will aſſiſt us in this reſearch. Of 2,580,796 inhabitants in Auſtrian Poland, 144,200, or about an eighteenth, were Jews*. The eighteenth of the preſent population of Poland will give near 500,000: allowing therefore, for omiſſions in the capitation, as well as for thoſe who migrated into Poland from the Ruſſian diſmembered province†, we may fairly eſtimate the number of Jews at 600,000.

* See Compend. Geog. Sclavoniæ, Gallicæ, &c. p. 66.

† Jews are not tolerated in Ruſſia.

Before

Before the late partition Poland contained about 14,000,000 of inhabitants *. As far as I could collect from various converſations with ſeveral intelligent Poles, its preſent population amounts to 9,000,000.

While I am giving my principal attention to the hiſtory and conſtitution of Poland, I cannot but remark, that the feudal laws, formerly ſo univerſal, and of which ſome traces are ſtill to be diſcovered in moſt countries, have been gradually aboliſhed in other nations, and given place to a more regular and juſt adminiſtration; yet in Poland a variety of circumſtances has concurred to prevent the abolition of thoſe laws, and to preſerve that mixture of liberty and oppreſſion, order and anarchy, which ſo ſtrongly characterized the feudal government. We may eaſily trace in this conſtitution all the ſtriking features of that ſyſtem. The principal are, an elective monarchy with a circumſcribed power; the great officers of ſtate poſſeſſing their charges for life, and independent of the king's authority; royal fiefs; the great nobility above controul; the nobles or gentry alone free and poſſeſſing lands; feudal tenures, military ſervices, territorial juriſdiction; commerce degrading; oppreſſed condition of the burghers; vaſſalage of the peaſants. In the courſe of this book I have had occaſion to make mention of moſt of theſe evils as ſtill exiſting in Poland, and they may be conſidered as the radical cauſes of its decline; for they have prevented the Poles from adopting thoſe more ſtable regulations, which tend to introduce order and good government, to augment commerce, and to increaſe population.

* Buſching gives the following eſtimate of the population of Poland ſince the partition:

Males	—	—	4,396,969
Females	—	—	4,298,083
Eccleſiaſtics	Secular	18,369	31,137
	Regular	10,189	
	Nuns	2,579	
Jews	Males	300,612	601,479
	Females	300,867	
Total number of inhabitants			9,327,668

See Buſching, His. Magazin. v. XVI. p. 28.

TRAVELS

INTO

POLAND.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Entrance into Auſtrian Poland.—*Limits of the diſmembered province.*—*Its population and productions.*—*Arrival at* Cracow.—*Deſcription of that city.*—*Univerſity.*—*Palace.*—*Citadel occupied by the confederates in the late troubles.*—*Hiſtory of that tranſaction.*—*Cathedral.*—*Tombs and characters of ſeveral* Poliſh *ſovereigns*, &c.

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JULY 24, 1778. We entered Poland juſt beyond Bilitz, having croſſed the rivulet Biala, which falls into the Viſtula, and purſued our journey to Cracow through the territories which the houſe of Auſtria ſecured to itſelf in the late partition.

The diſtrict claimed by the empreſs of Germany in her manifeſto is thus deſcribed: "All that tract of land lying on

" the right ſide of the Viſtula from Sileſia above Sandomir " to the mouth of the San, and from thence by Franepole, " Zamoiſc, and Rubieſſow, to the Bog. From the Bog the li- " mits are carried along the frontiers of Red Ruſſia to Zabras " upon the borders of Volhynia and Podolia; and from Zabras " in a ſtraight line to the Dnieper, where it receives the rivulet " Podhorts, taking in a ſmall ſlip of Podolia, and laſtly, along " the boundaries ſeparating Podolia from Moldavia."

A remarkable circumſtance attended the taking poſſeſſion of this diſtrict, which will ſhew with what uncertainty the limits were at firſt traced. The partition being made according to the map of Zannoni, the river Podhorts was taken as the eaſtern boundary of this diſmembered province: but when the Auſtrian commiſſioners viſited the ſpot, where, according to Zannoni, the Podhorts flowed into the Dnieper, they found no river known to the inhabitants which anſwered to that name. They advanced, therefore, the frontiers ſtill more eaſtwards, and adopting the Sebrawce or the Sbrytz for the boundary, called it the Podhorts. This ceded country has, ſince the partition, changed its name; and is now incorporated into the Auſtrian dominions under the appellation of the kingdoms of Galicia and Lodomeria, which kingdoms ſome antient diplomes repreſent as ſituated in Poland, and ſubject to the kings of Hungary: the moſt convincing proof that there ever exiſted ſuch kingdoms, that they depended upon Hungary, and ought, by virtue of an hereditary, though dormant title, to revert to the empreſs as ſovereign of Hungary, was derived from the Auſtrian army; for what people can reſiſt an argument backed by 200,000 troops, unleſs they can defend their ſide of the queſtion by an equal number?

The importance of this acquiſition to the houſe of Auſtria will beſt appear from the number of inhabitants, which, ac-

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cording to the numeration made in 1776*, amounted to 2,580,796. The mountainous parts of Galicia and Lodomeria produce fine paſture; the plains are moſtly ſandy, but abound in foreſts, and are fertile in corn. The principal articles of traffic are cattle, hides, wax, and honey. Theſe countries contain mines of copper, lead, iron, and ſalt, of which the latter are the moſt valuable.

We croſſed only a narrow ſlip of Auſtrian Poland of about 86 miles in length from Bilitz to Cracow, leaving on our right hand a chain of mount Crapak, or the antient Carpathian mountains. The country we paſſed through was at firſt ſomewhat hilly, but afterwards chiefly plain, covered with foreſts. The roads were bad, the villages few and wretched beyond deſcription; the hovels all built of wood ſeemed full of filth and miſery, and every thing wore the appearance of extreme poverty.

July 25. About noon we arrived at the Viſtula, the limits of the Auſtrian dominions, which reach to its ſouthern banks. According to the partition treaty, this river was marked as forming the limits between the Auſtrian and Poliſh territories: the houſe of Auſtria at firſt conſtrued the Viſtula to mean the old channel of that river now dry, called the Old Viſtula; and by force of this ſtrained interpretation included Caſimir in the diſmembered province; but not long afterwards the empreſs of Germany reſtored Caſimir to the Poles; and accepted the Viſtula as it now flows, for the boundary of her dominions.

Having croſſed the Viſtula by a bridge, at one end of which was an Auſtrian ſoldier, and at the other a Poliſh centinel, into Caſimir, we paſſed the above-mentioned dry channel, termed the Old Viſtula, by a ſecond bridge, and entered Cracow.

Cracow is a curious old town: it was formerly the capital of Poland, where the kings were elected and crowned, and was

* Comp. Regn. Sclavoniæ, Galiciæ, Lodomeriæ, &c. p. 66, note *m*.

once

once almoſt the center of the Poliſh dominions, but is now a frontier town; a proof how much the power of this republic has been contracted! CHAP. I.

Cracow ſtands in an extenſive plain, watered by the Viſtula, which is broad but ſhallow: the city and its ſuburbs occupy a vaſt track of ground, but are ſo badly peopled, that they ſcarcely contain 16,000* inhabitants. The great ſquare in the middle of the town is very ſpacious, and has ſeveral well-built houſes, once richly furniſhed and well inhabited, but moſt of them now either untenanted, or in a ſtate of melancholy decay. Many of the ſtreets are broad and handſome; but almoſt every building bears the moſt ſtriking marks of ruined grandeur: the churches alone ſeem to have preſerved their original ſplendour. The devaſtation of this unfortunate town was begun by the Swedes at the commencement of the preſent century, when it was beſieged and taken by Charles XII.; but the miſchiefs it ſuffered from that ravager of the North were far leſs deſtructive than thoſe it experienced during the late dreadful commotions, when it underwent repeated ſieges, and was alternately in poſſeſſion of the Ruſſians and Confederates. The effects of cannon, grape, and muſket-ſhot are ſtill diſcernible on the walls and houſes. In a word, Cracow exhibits the remains of antient magnificence, and looks like a great capital in ruins: from the number of fallen and falling houſes one would imagine it had lately been ſacked, and that the enemy had left it only yeſterday. The town is ſurrounded with high walls of brick, ſtrengthened by round and ſquare towers of whimſical ſhapes in the antient ſtyle of fortification: theſe walls were built by Venceſlaus† king of Bohemia during the ſhort period in which he reigned over Poland.

In Cracow there was a Ruſſian garriſon of 600 men, who

* The city, excluſive of the ſuburbs, contained in 1778 only 8894 ſouls.

† Cracoviam muro circumdedit. Lengnich; Hiſt. Pol. p. 20.

were

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were ſtationed at the guard-houſe in the center of the town: at all the gates a Ruſſian centinel ſtood on one ſide, and a Poliſh centinel on the other. The citadel was entirely occupied by Ruſſian troops.

I did not omit viſiting the univerſity founded and endowed by Caſimir the Great, and improved and completed by Ladiſlaus Jaghellon. The librarian told me that the number of ſtudents amounted to 600. I examined the library, which was neither remarkable for the number nor rarity of its books. Among the principal objects of attention, the librarian pointed out a Turkiſh book, of no intrinſic value, but eſteemed a curioſity becauſe found among the ſpoils at the battle of Chotzim, and preſented by John Sobieſki to the univerſity, as the memorial of a victory which ſaved his country from deſolation, and raiſed him to the throne of Poland. The univerſity of Cracow was formerly, and not unjuſtly, called the mother of Poliſh literature, as it principally ſupplied the other ſeminaries with profeſſors and men of learning; but its luſtre has been greatly obſcured by the removal of the royal reſidence to Warſaw, and ſtill more by the late inteſtine convulſions.

In this city the art of printing was firſt introduced into Poland by Haller; and one of the earlieſt books was the conſtitutions and ſtatutes compiled by Caſimir the Great, and afterwards augmented by his ſucceſſors. The characters are Gothic, the ſame which were univerſally uſed at the invention of printing: the great initial letters are wanting, which ſhews that they were probably painted and afterwards worn away. The year in which this compilation was printed is not poſitively known; but its publication was certainly anterior to 1496, as it does not contain the ſtatutes paſſed by John Albert in that year.

The moſt flouriſhing period of the univerſity was under Sigiſmond Auguſtus in the ſixteenth century, when ſeveral of

of the German reformers fled from the perſecutions of the emperor Charles V. and found an aſylum in this city. They gave to the world ſeveral verſions of the ſacred writings, and other theological publications, which diffuſed the reformed religion over great part of Poland. The protection which Sigiſmond Auguſtus afforded to men of learning of all denominations, and the univerſal toleration which he extended to every ſect of Chriſtians, created a ſuſpicion that he was ſecretly inclined to the new church, and it was even reported that he intended to renounce the catholic faith, and publicly profeſs the reformed religion *. CHAP. I.

Towards the ſouthern part of the town near the Viſtula riſes a ſmall eminence or rock, upon whoſe top is built the palace, ſurrounded with brick walls and old towers, which form a kind of citadel to the town. This palace owes its origin to Ladiſlaus Jaghellon; but little of the antient ſtructure now appears, as the greateſt part was demoliſhed by Charles XII. in 1702, when he entered this town in triumph after the battle of Cliſſow. It has been ſince repaired: the remains of the old palace conſiſt of a few apartments, which are left in their antient ſtate as they exiſted in the laſt century. The walls of the firſt of theſe apartments are decorated with paintings of tilts and tournaments; thoſe of the ſecond with a repreſentation of the coronation of a king of Poland, affirmed, by the perſon who ſhewed the palace, to be that of Ladiſlaus the Firſt, and to have been drawn in his time; but the ſtyle of the painting beſpeaks it of a more modern date. The cieling of the third apartment is divided into different compartments, ornamented with carved heads of extraordinary ſhapes and groteſque appearances. All the rooms in the palace are of fine dimenſions, containing ſeveral remains of antient magnificence, but totally without furniture.

* See p. 17.

This

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This palace was formerly the reſidence of the kings of Poland, who, from the time of Ladiſlaus Loketec, have been crowned at Cracow. The Poliſh and German hiſtorians differ concerning the time when the title of king was firſt claimed by the ſovereigns of this country; but the moſt probable account is, that in 1295 Premiſlaus aſſumed the regal title, and was inaugurated at Gneſna by the archbiſhop of that dioceſe. He was ſucceeded by Ladiſlaus Loketec, who, offending the Poles by his capricious and tyrannical conduct, was depoſed before he was crowned; and Venceſlaus king of Bohemia, who had married Richſa daughter of Premiſlaus, being elected in his ſtead, was in 1300 conſecrated at Gneſna. Ladiſlaus, after flying from his country, and undergoing a ſeries of calamitous adventures, was at length brought to a ſenſe of his miſconduct. Having regained the affection of his ſubjects, he was reſtored, in the life-time of Venceſlaus, to part of his dominions; and he recovered them all upon the demiſe of that monarch in the year 1305: he governed, however, for ſome years without the title of king; but at length in 1320 was crowned at Cracow, to which place he transferred the ceremony of the coronation; and afterwards enacted, that for the future his ſucceſſors ſhould be inaugurated in the cathedral of this city *.

Since that period, the laws of Poland have expreſsly enjoined that Cracow ſhould be the place of coronation; and ſuch has been the ſuperſtitious attachment of the Poles to this uſage, that when John Sobieſki was deſirous of being crowned at Leopold, on account of its vicinity to the army, which he was to command againſt the Turks at the time of his election, the Poliſh patriots ſtrongly oppoſed any innovation †; and that monarch was under the neceſſity of repairing to Cracow

* Dlugoſſius, lib. IX. p. 971. Lenguich, Hiſt. Pol. p. 19—22.
† Lengnich, Jus Publicum.

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for the performance of the ceremony.

Since Ladiſlaus, all the ſucceeding ſovereigns have been conſecrated at Cracow *, excepting the preſent king. Previous to his election a decree was iſſued by the diet of convocation, that the coronation ſhould be ſolemnized for this turn at Warſaw, without prejudice in future to the antient right of Cracow; a proviſo calculated to ſatisfy the populace, but which will not probably prevent any future ſovereign from being crowned at Warſaw, now become the capital of Poland, and the reſidence of its kings. The diadem and other regalia uſed at the coronation are ſtill kept in the palace of Cracow, under ſo many keys, and with ſuch care, that it was impoſſible to obtain a ſight of them.

From the apartments of the palace we commanded an extenſive view of the neighbouring country, which is principally a large ſandy plain. We obſerved particularly two very large mounds of earth, or barrows, one of which is by tradition called the burial-place of Cracus duke of Poland, who is ſuppoſed to have built the town of Cracow in the year 700; the other is called the ſepulchre of his daughter Venda, who is reported to have drowned herſelf in the Viſtula, that ſhe might not be compelled to marry a perſon for whom ſhe had entertained an averſion. The whole hiſtory of Cracus and Venda is involved in impenetrable darkneſs, and theſe barrows, which are common in different parts of Europe, were probably anterior to the Chriſtian æra. The practice of raiſing barrows over the bodies of the deceaſed was almoſt univerſal in the earlier ages of the world. Homer mentions it as a common practice among the Greeks and Trojans; Virgil alludes to it as uſual in Italy in the times treated of in the Æneid; Xenophon relates that it obtained among the Perſians; the Roman

* I do not mention Staniſlaus Letzinſki, who was crowned at Warſaw, becauſe he was only a temporary ſovereign, and was ſoon obliged to retire from Poland.

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hiſtorians record that the ſame mode of interring took place among their countrymen; and it appears to have prevailed no leſs among the antient Germans, and many other uncivilized nations. In general, popular tradition allows ſome favourite characters in national hiſtory, like Cracus and Venda, to uſurp the honour of being buried under the moſt conſpicuous of theſe monuments.

At ſome diſtance from Cracow we noticed the fortreſs of Landſkron ſituated upon a rock, which the confederates poſſeſſed during the late troubles; and from whence they made excurſions as occaſion offered againſt the Ruſſian and Poliſh troops in the ſervice of the king. By a detachment of troops from this fortreſs, the citadel of Cracow was taken by ſurprize; a gallant exploit, and which merits a particular deſcription. The perſon who ſhewed us the palace was himſelf preſent, when the Poliſh troops iſſued from a ſubterraneous paſſage, and ſurprized the Ruſſian garriſon, conſiſting of 87 troops. About four in the morning a party of 76 confederates, all of whom were Poles, led by a lieutenant *, whoſe name was Bytranowſki, entered the palace through a common ſewer, without being diſcovered, and repairing to the main guard inſtantly fell upon the Ruſſians: the latter were ſo confounded with the ſuddenneſs of the aſſault, that they all yielded themſelves priſoners without the leaſt reſiſtance, and the Poles became maſters of the citadel. Two or three Ruſſians were killed at the firſt onſet, and the remainder were

* In moſt of the accounts publiſhed of this tranſaction, it is ſaid that the confederates were led by a French officer, and that there were ſeveral Frenchmen amongſt them. I have related ſimply the account which I received from the ſteward of the palace, who repeatedly aſſured me, that there was not one Frenchman amongſt them; that they were led by a Poliſh lieutenant, whoſe name was Bytranowſki. The ſteward was himſelf preſent at the tranſaction, and as he was no ſoldier, was not confined with the garriſon in the dungeon; he had, therefore, every opportunity of being informed of the truth: at the ſame time it is poſſible, that his partiality to his countrymen might have induced him to give the whole honour to the Poles. Monſieur Vioſmenil is the French officer, generally mentioned as leading this enterpriſing band of confederates through the ſubterraneous paſſage.

confined

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confined in a dungeon. One ſoldier, however, found means to eſcape by climbing the wall of the citadel, and alarmed the Ruſſian ſoldiers within the town; theſe without delay attacked the caſtle, but, receiving a warm fire from the confederates, they imagined the enemy to be more numerous than they really were, and deſiſted from the aſſault. This event happened on the 2d of February, 1772. The ſame evening Monſieur de Choiſy, in the ſervice of the confederates of Landſkron, being made acquainted with the ſucceſs of the enterprize, advanced towards Cracow at the head of 800 confederates (amongſt whom were 30 or 40 Frenchmen, moſt of them officers), and, having defeated a detachment of 200 Ruſſians, was received into the citadel. But the Ruſſian garriſon in the town, which before conſiſted of only 400 men, being likewiſe reinforced, the confederates in the citadel underwent a regular ſiege: they defended themſelves with the moſt undaunted ſpirit for the ſpace of three months; and at length capitulated upon the moſt honourable terms.

I examined the ſubterraneous paſſage through which the 76 confederates introduced themſelves into the palace: it is a drain which conveys all the filth from the interior part of the palace to a ſmall opening without the walls near the Viſtula. They entered this ſmall opening, and crawled upon their hands and knees a conſiderable way, one behind another, until they came out through a hole in the walls of the palace: ſo that if the Ruſſians had either been apprized of their attempt, or had over-heard them in their paſſage, not one perſon could have eſcaped: the danger was great, but it ſhews what ſpirit and perſeverance will effect.

Having viewed the palace, we viſited the adjoining cathedral, which ſtands within the walls of the citadel. In this cathedral *, all the ſovereigns, from the time of Ladiſlaus

* Lengnich, Jus Publ.

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Loketec, have been interred, a few only excepted, viz. Louis and Ladiſlaus III. who were kings of Hungary as well as of Poland, and whoſe bodies were depoſited in Hungary; Alexander, who died and was buried at Vilna; Henry of Valois, interred in France; and the late monarch Auguſtus III. The laws of Poland are as expreſs and minute in regulating the burial as the election and coronation of the kings; and, as many curious circumſtances attend their interment, I ſhall take this opportunity of laying the ceremony before the reader.

Since Warſaw has become the royal reſidence, and the place for the election of the kings of Poland, the body of the deceaſed prince muſt be carried firſt to that city, where it remains until the nomination of the new ſovereign has taken place; it is then tranſported in great ſtate to Cracow, and, two days before the day appointed for the ceremony of the coronation, the king elect, preceded by the great officers of ſtate, with their rods of office pointing to the ground, joins the funeral proceſſion as it paſſes through the ſtreets, and follows the body to the church of St. Staniſlaus, where the burial ſervice is performed: the remains are then depoſited in the cathedral adjoining to the palace. It is peculiar to the laws of Poland, that the funeral of the deceaſed monarch ſhould immediately precede the coronation of the new ſovereign; and that the king elect ſhould be under a neceſſity of attending the obſequies of his predeceſſor. Hiſtorians have ſagely remarked, that this ſingular cuſtom was inſtituted, in order to impreſs the new king with the uncertainty of human grandeur; and to remind him of his duty, by mixing the horrors of death with the pomp and dignity of his new ſtation; yet we cannot but obſerve, that this precaution has not hitherto been productive of any viſible effects, as it does not appear that the kings of Poland have governed with greater wiſdom and juſtice than other potentates. But it is moſt probable,

probable, that this cuſtom took its riſe from the habits of exterior homage, which the Poles affect to pay to their ſovereign in compenſation for the ſubſtantial dignity which they withhold from him: this ſpirit of mock-reverence they extend beyond the grave; and while they ſcarcely allow the reigning king the ſhadow of real authority, they heap upon a deceaſed monarch every poſſible trapping of imperial honour.

The ſepulchres of the kings of Poland are not diſtinguiſhed by any peculiar magnificence: their figures are carved in marble of no extraordinary workmanſhip, and ſome are without inſcriptions.

I felt a ſtrong ſentiment of veneration at approaching the aſhes of Caſimir the Great, whom I conſider as one of the greateſt princes that ever adorned a throne. It was not, however, the brilliancy and magnificence of his reign, his warlike atchievements, nor even his patronage of the arts and ſciences; but his legiſlative abilities, and his wonderful beneficence to the inferior claſs of his ſubjects, that inſpired me with a reverence for his character.

Caſimir was born in 1310; and in 1333 aſcended the throne of Poland, upon the demiſe of his father Ladiſlaus Loketec. The Poliſh hiſtorians dwell with ſingular complacency upon his reign, as the moſt glorious and happy period of their hiſtory; and record with peculiar pleaſure the virtues and abilities of this great and amiable monarch: nor are their praiſes the echoes of flattery, for they were moſtly written ſubſequent to his death, when another family was ſeated upon the throne. In peruſing the reign of Caſimir, we can hardly believe that we are reading the hiſtory of the ſovereign of a barbarous people in the beginning of the fourteenth century; it ſeems as if, by the aſcendancy of his ſuperior genius, he had got the ſtart of the age in which he flouriſhed, and had anticipated the knowledge and improvements of the ſuc-

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ceeding and more enlightened periods.

From the moment of his acceſſion his firſt care was to ſecure his kingdom againſt foreign enemies; with this view he attacked the knights of the Teutonic order, with whom Poland had long been in an almoſt continual ſtate of warfare, and obliged them to purchaſe a peace by the ceſſion of Culm and Cujavia, which they had wreſted from his father; he then reduced Red Ruſſia, and annexed the duchy of Maſovia to the dominions of Poland. By theſe acquiſitions he not only extended the frontiers of his empire, but rendered his dominions leſs liable to ſudden invaſions. But theſe great ſucceſſes were not able to excite in his breaſt the fatal ſpirit of military enterprize; he always conſidered war as a matter of neceſſity, not of choice, and as the means of ſafety rather than of glory*. Having ſecured his frontiers, as well by his victories as by treaties with the neighbouring powers, he turned his whole attention to the interior adminiſtration of his kingdom; he built ſeveral towns, enlarged and beautified others: ſo that Dlugoſſius †, who wrote in the following century, ſays of him, "Poland is indebted to Caſimir for the greateſt part of her "churches, palaces, fortreſſes, and towns;" adding metaphorically, "that he found Poland of wood, and left her of mar-"ble." He patronized letters, and founded the academy of Cracow; he promoted induſtry, and encouraged trade; elegant in his manners and magnificent in his court, he was œconomical without meanneſs, and liberal without prodigality.

He was the great legiſlator of Poland: finding his country without any written laws, he reviewed all the uſages and cuſ-

* Mitis ingenio, et quietis quam armorum appetentior. Florus Pol. p. 116.

† Tantus enim illi ad magnificandum, locupletandumque Regnum Poloniæ inerat amor, ut graviſſimos & notabiles ſumptus in erigendis ex muro eccleſiis, caſtris, civitatibus, & curiis, faciendo ad id omnem ſolicitudinem curamque intenderit, ut Poloniam, quam luteam, ligneam, & ſqualidam reperierat, lateritiam, glorioſam, & inclytam, ſicut evenit, reliquerit. Nam quicquid Polonia in caſtris, eccleſiis, civitatibus, curiis, & domibus murorum continet, id prò majori parte ab ipſo Caſimiro rege, & ſuis regiis ſumptibus eſt perfectum. Lib. IX. p. 1164.

toms, and digeſted them, with ſome additions, into a regular code, which he ordered to be publiſhed. He ſimplified and improved the courts of juſtice; he was eaſy * of acceſs to the meaneſt as well as the higheſt of his ſubjects, and ſolicitous to relieve the peaſants from the oppreſſions of the nobility; ſuch indeed was the tenderneſs he ſhowed to that injured claſs of men, and ſo many were the privileges which he conferred upon them, that the nobles uſed to call him out of deriſion *Rex Ruſticorum*, the king of the peaſants; perhaps the moſt noble appellation that ever was beſtowed upon a ſovereign, and far to be preferred to the titles of magnificent and great, which have been ſo often laviſhed rather upon the perſecutors than the benefactors of mankind. Human nature is never perfect; Caſimir was not without his failings: voluptuous and ſenſual, he puſhed the pleaſures of the table to an exceſs of intemperance; and his inordinate paſſion for women led him into ſome actions, inconſiſtent with the general tenor of honour and integrity which diſtinguiſhes his character. But theſe defects influenced chiefly his private, and not his public deportment; or, to uſe the expreſſion of a Poliſh hiſtorian, his private failings were redeemed by his public virtues †: and it is allowed by all, that no ſovereign more conſulted the happineſs of his ſubjects, or was more beloved at home and reſpected abroad. After a long reign of 40 years he was thrown from his horſe as he was hunting, and died after a ſhort illneſs in the 60th year of his age, carrying with him to the grave the regret of his ſubjects, and a claim to the veneration of poſterity. He is deſcribed (for the figure of ſo amiable a character cannot fail to be intereſting) as tall in his perſon, and inclined to corpulency, with a majeſtic aſpect, thick and curling hair,

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* Adeuntibus facilis, querimonias etiam infimorum audivit, &c. Sarniſki. Cuilibet conditioni, generi, atque ætati facilis ad eum patebat acceſſus. Dlugoſſius.

† Redimens vitia virtutibus. Dlugoſſius.

long

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long beard, with a ſtrong voice ſomewhat liſping *.

Next to the remains of Caſimir repoſe the aſhes of Ladiſlaus † II. known by the appellation of Jaghellon, the father of a race of kings called from him the Jaghellon line. This ſovereign was originally duke of Lithuania, and, together with his ſubjects, a worſhiper of idols; but having embraced Chriſtianity, and eſpouſed Hedwige ſecond daughter of Louis, he obtained the throne of Poland. This event happened in 1386, in which year he was publicly baptized, married, and crowned at Cracow, and aſſumed a new baptiſmal name of Ladiſlaus II.; he died in 1434 in a very advanced age, in the 50th year of a long and glorious reign.

Among his poſterity, whoſe bodies are depoſited in this cathedral, the moſt memorable is Sigiſmond I. a great and able monarch, the protector of the arts and ſciences, which made no inconſiderable figure under his auſpices. He is repreſented, however, as not ſufficiently watchful over the royal prerogative ‡; and as yielding too eaſily to the encroachments of the nobility, to the injury of ſucceeding monarchs, and the detriment of the republic. But theſe compliances admit of great palliation, when we reflect, that the nobles, to whom they were made, had raiſed him to the throne, and were become nearly uncontroulable by the conceſſions of his immediate predeceſſors.

As I viewed the tomb of Sigiſmond Auguſtus, ſon of the laſt mentioned monarch, I recollected, not without a mixture

* Vir ſtaturâ elevatâ, corpore craſſo, fronte venerabili, crine circino et abundante, barbâ promiſsâ, voce aliquantulum balbâ ſed ſonorâ.

Deceſſit Caſimirus a. 1370, ſays Lengnich, cui Polonia leges, judicia, cultum, plurimas civitates, arces, et alia edificia, debet. Hiſt. Pol. p. 25.

† He is ſometimes called Ladiſlaus IV. and ſometimes Ladiſlaus V.; but reckoning from the time the ſovereigns of Poland aſſumed the regal authority, he ought to be called Ladiſlaus II. Ladiſlaus inter Poloniæ reges illius nominis ſecundus. Lengnich, Hiſt. Pol. p 31.

‡ Ab hoc potiſſimum rege nimis indulgente, licentia nobilitatis incrementa contra jura majeſtatis, cum injuria ſuccedentium regum, et reipub. decremento, ſumere et prævalere cœpit, ut ſapientes, &c. De Script. Pol. &c. p. 4.

of

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of regret and ſympathy for this unhappy country, that in him terminated that hereditary influence, which had given tranquillity during a long ſucceſſion of ſovereigns to the diets of election; and that upon his death all thoſe troubles and confuſions, which are inſeparable from a crown wholly elective, broke in upon the kingdom. From this period the cabals and convulſions, continually recurring at every appointment of a new ſovereign, rapidly impaired the ſtrength of the ſtate and the dignity of the throne. The Poles gradually loſt their conſequence among foreign powers; and the authority of ſucceeding kings depended more on their own perſonal abilities, and accidental circumſtances, than on any permanent principle of vigour inherent in the crown, which has been nearly ſtripped of all its prerogatives.

The firſt of the new ſucceſſion, whoſe remains are interred in this church, is Stephen Bathori prince of Tranſylvania, elected in 1576, upon the abdication of Henry of Valois: he owed his elevation to his marriage with Anne daughter of Sigiſmond I.; a princeſs who, being in the 52d year of her age, was not endowed with any winning attractions, if ſhe had not brought a kingdom for her portion. The epitaph upon his tomb juſtly aſcribes to Stephen a long catalogue of civil and military virtues.

I came next to the ſepulchre of his ſucceſſor Sigiſmond III. ſon of John III. king of Sweden, and of Catharine daughter of Sigiſmond I.: elected king of Poland in 1587, he revived in his perſon, on the female ſide, the race of the Jaghellon family. He was raiſed to the throne of this country while he was prince royal of Sweden; and, upon the death of his father in 1592, poſſeſſed both crowns; but he gradually loſt all authority in Sweden, and was at length formally depoſed by the ſtates of that kingdom. He owed his expulſion from Sweden to his partiality for Poland, to his bigoted zeal for the catholic

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religion, and above all to the ſuperior genius of his uncle and rival Charles IX. He expired in the 46th year of his reign, and in the 67th of his age.

Near the body of Sigiſmond lie thoſe of his two ſons; the eldeſt named Ladiſlaus IV. elected king of Poland upon the demiſe of his father, ſupported the dignity of his crown with reputation and honour; the ſecond, John Caſimir, was a prince, whoſe character and adventures are too ſingular to be paſſed over without particular notice.

John Caſimir, ſon of Sigiſmond III. by a ſecond wife Anne, ſiſter of the emperor Ferdinand II. was educated in his father's court, upon whoſe death his mother endeavoured, but without effect, to procure his election to the throne, in oppoſition to his elder brother Ladiſlaus IV. Repulſed from the throne, he contracted a diſguſt to Poland, and undertook a journey to Spain with a view of offering his ſervices to his couſin Philip IV. then at war with France. Paſſing through Auſtria and Trent into Italy, at Genoa he embarked in a veſſel bound for Spain; but, prompted by curioſity, he ventured to land incognito at Marſeilles: being diſcovered, he was arreſted by order of the court of France, and, on account of his connection with the houſe of Auſtria, cloſely impriſoned for the ſpace of two years *. Being at length releaſed at the interceſſion of his brother the king of Poland, he repaired to Rome, and there, either out of devotion or caprice, entered into the order of the Jeſuits. Afterwards, grown weary of his function, he quitted that order, and was promoted to the rank of cardinal. Upon the death of his brother Ladiſlaus IV. being abſolved from his vows by the pope, he was elected king of Poland; and, having obtained a diſpenſation, married his brother's widow Louiſa Maria daughter of the duke of Nevers, a woman of great beauty and ſtill greater ſpirit, who blended de-

* Florus Polon. p. 437, & ſeq.

votion

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votion with a ſtrong propenſity to political intrigues: the ſoul of her huſband's councils, ſhe may be ſaid to have reigned over Poland, while he was only nominal king. Such was her aſcendancy, that ſhe prevailed upon him to ſolicit the nomination of the duke of Enguien ſon of the great Condé for his ſucceſſor; a meaſure ſo contradictory to the firſt principles of the Poliſh conſtitution, as well as to his coronation oath, excited a general diſcontent, and threw the kingdom into the moſt violent commotions.

The reign of John Caſimir was active and turbulent, memorable for the revolt of the Coſſacs of the Ukraine, for the unſucceſsful wars with Sweden, and for the inſurrections of the nobility. Though, ſo far from being deficient in military courage, that in every deſperate emergency he always commanded his troops in perſon; though, to uſe his own expreſſion, "he was the firſt to attack, and the laſt to retreat *;" yet as he preferred peace to war, and wanted the enterprizing ſpirit of his brother Ladiſlaus IV. he was accuſed by the Poles of indolence and puſillanimity. His political ſagacity appears from his predictions, that Poland, enfeebled by the anarchy of its government, and the licentiouſneſs of the nobles, would neceſſarily be diſmembered by the neighbouring powers. Worn out at length with the cares of royalty, ſhocked at the diſtreſſed ſtate of the kingdom, diſcontented with the factions of the nobility, afflicted at the death of his wife, and impelled by the verſatility of his diſpoſition, he abdicated the throne in the 20th year of his reign, and in the 68th of his age. This extraordinary event happened on the 27th of Auguſt, in the year 1668, before a general diet aſſembled at Warſaw: the ſcene was affecting; the conduct of the king manly and reſolute; and his ſpeech upon that event is the fineſt piece of pathetic eloquence that hiſtory has ever recorded †.

* "Eum me eſſe, qui primus in præliis, poſtremus in diſcrimine et receſſu." Zaluſki Ep. vol. I. p. 57.

† See Zaluſki Epiſt. v. I. p. 57.

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Soon after his abdication he retired into France, and again embraced the eccleſiaſtical profeſſion. Louis XIV. who prided himſelf in affording an aſylum to abdicated ſovereigns, gave him the abbeys of St. Germain and St. Martin, without which he would have had no means of ſubſiſtence, as Poland ſoon with-held his penſion; a proof that the tears which were ſhed at his abdication were not ſincere. Notwithſtanding his eccleſiaſtical engagements, John Caſimir could not withſtand the attractions of Marie Mignot, a woman, who, from being a laundreſs, had been married firſt to a counſellor of Grenoble, and afterwards to the marſhal de L'Hoſpital. She was a widow when ſhe attracted the notice of the abdicated king, and ſo powerful was the impreſſion he received, that it was ſuſpected he was ſecretly married to her. Caſimir is repreſented, by thoſe who knew him in his retirement, as eaſy and familiar in his converſation, and diſpleaſed with receiving any honours or titles due to his former rank *. He ſurvived his abdication only four years, and died at Nevers on the 16th of December, 1672. His body was brought to this city, and buried in the cathedral at the ſame time with that of his ſucceſſor Michael, the day before the coronation of John Sobieſki.

Upon approaching the remains of John Sobieſki, I recollected that when Charles XII. of Sweden entered Cracow he viſited theſe tombs, in order to pay a mark of reſpect to the memory of that great monarch: he is reported, as he hung with reverence over his ſepulchre, to have cried out, "What "a pity that ſo great a man ſhould ever die!" May we not alſo exclaim, what a pity that a perſon, ſo impreſſed with a ſenſe of Sobieſki's virtues, ſhould adopt only the military part of his character for the object of his imitation! How infinitely inferior is the Swediſh to the Poliſh ſovereign! The former, dead to all the finer feelings of humanity, was awake

* Vie de Sobieſki I. p. 135.

only

only to the calls of ambition; every other ſentiment being loſt in the ardour for military honours. If perſonal courage be ſufficient to conſtitute an hero, he poſſeſſed that quality in a ſuperior degree; but it was rather the bravery of a common ſoldier than of a general. Sobieſki, even upon that ground, has an equal title to fame; for his valour was no leſs diſtinguiſhed, and was ſuperior in this reſpect, that it was not clouded with raſhneſs, but tempered with prudence. Though the firſt general of his age, he placed not his ſole ambition in military glory; he was great in peace as well as in war; by the union of talents belonging to each department, he defended his country from impending danger, raiſed her from her falling ſtate, and delayed during his reign the æra of her decline; while Charles, who was deficient in civil virtues, plunged Sweden, which he found highly proſperous, into ruin and deſolation: in a word, Charles had the enthuſiaſm of a knight errant, and Sobieſki the virtues of an hero *. CHAP. I.

About an Engliſh mile from Cracow are the remains of an old ſtructure, called the palace of Caſimir the Great, which my veneration for that ſovereign induced me to viſit, as there is a ſingular pleaſure ariſing from ſeeing the ſpot that was once dignified by the reſidence of a favourite character. Little, I imagine, of the original palace, as it was built by Caſimir, exiſts at preſent. In the inner court are the remains of a corridore with pillars of the Doric order; and upon one of the ſide walls I obſerved the white-eagle of Poland carved in ſtone, and around it an inſcription ſeemingly in old Gothic characters, of which I could only make out Ann. Dom. M.CCCLXVII, which anſwers to the æra of Caſimir, who died in 1370. Several marble columns were ſcattered around, which ſhowed the antient magnificence of the building. The greateſt part of the fabrick was evidently of later date than the reign of

* See an account of Sobieſki's death and family, Chap. IV. of this book.

Caſimir,

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Caſimir, and was probably conſtructed by ſucceeding ſove reigns upon the foundation of the antient palace; perhaps by Stephen Bathori, as I could trace in one place an inſcription, *Stephanus Dei gratia*; and alſo by Sigiſmond III. as I plainly diſcovered his cypher with the wheat-ſheaf, the arms of Guſtavus Vaſa, from whom he was lineally deſcended.

This palace was the principal reſidence of Caſimir: in the garden is a mound of earth, or one of thoſe barrows before mentioned, which is called the tomb of Eſther the fair Jeweſs, who was the favourite miſtreſs of that monarch. To the influence of Eſther it is ſaid the Jews owe the numerous privileges enjoyed by them in Poland, which is called the paradiſe of the Jews. But when I conſider the character of Caſimir, I conceive that they were indebted for their favourable reception in Poland more to his policy than to his affection for his miſtreſs; for in thoſe times the Jews were the richeſt and moſt commercial individuals in Europe; by allowing them, therefore, to ſettle in Poland, and by granting them ſome extraordinary immunities, he introduced trade and much wealth into his dominions. The number of Jews is now prodigious *, and they have in a manner engroſſed all the commerce of the country; yet this flouriſhing ſtate of their affairs muſt not be attributed ſolely to the edicts of Caſimir in their favour, but to the induſtry of thoſe extraordinary people, to the indolence of the gentry, and the oppreſſed condition of the peaſants.

* See p. 121.

CHAP.

Heigel sculpsit

A POLISH GENTLEMAN.

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CHAP. II.

Mode of ſaluting and dreſs of the Poles.—*Account of the ſalt-mines of* Wielitſka.—*Their extent and profit.*—*Journey to* Warſaw.

THE Poles ſeem a lively people, and uſe much action in their ordinary converſation. Their common mode of ſalute is to incline their heads, and to ſtrike their breaſt with one of their hands, while they ſtretch the other towards the ground; but when a common perſon meets a ſuperior, he bows his head almoſt to the earth, waving at the ſame time his hand, with which he touches the bottom of the leg near the heel of the perſon to whom he pays his obeiſance. The men of all ranks generally wear whiſkers, and ſhave their heads, leaving only a circle of hair upon the crown. The ſummer dreſs of the peaſants conſiſts of nothing but a ſhirt and drawers of coarſe linen, without ſhoes or ſtockings, with round caps or hats. The women of the lower claſs wear upon their heads a wrapper of white linen, under which their hair is braided, and hangs down in two plaits. I obſerved ſeveral of them with a long piece of white linen hanging round the ſide of their faces, and covering their bodies below their knees: this ſingular kind of veil makes them look as if they were doing penance. CHAP. II.

The dreſs of the higher orders, both men and women, is uncommonly elegant. That of the gentlemen is a waiſtcoat with ſleeves, over which they wear an upper robe of a different colour, which reaches down below the knee, and is faſtened round the waiſt with a ſaſh or girdle; the ſleeves of this upper garment are in warm weather tied behind the ſhoulders;

BOOK II.

a ſabre is a neceſſary part of their dreſs as a mark of nobility. In ſummer, the robe, &c. is of ſilk; in winter, of cloth, velvet, or ſtuff, edged with fur. They wear fur-caps or bonnets, and buſkins of yellow leather, the heels of which are plaited with iron or ſteel. The dreſs of the ladies is a ſimple polonaiſe, or long robe, edged with fur.

The Poles, in their features, look, cuſtoms, dreſs, and general appearance, reſemble Aſiatics rather than Europeans; and they are unqueſtionably deſcended from Tartar anceſtors. A German hiſtorian *, well verſed in the antiquity of nations, remarks, that the manner in which the Poles wear their hair is, perhaps, one of the moſt antient tokens of their origin. So early as the fifth century ſome nations, who were comprehended under the name of Scythians, had the ſame cuſtom. For Priſcus Rhætor, who accompanied Maximus in his embaſſy from Theodoſius II. to the court of Attila, deſcribes a Scythian lord, whoſe head was ſhaved in a circular form †, a mode perfectly analogous to the preſent faſhion in Poland.

Before we quitted this part of Poland, we viſited the celebrated ſalt-mines of Wielitſka, which are ſituated within eight miles of Cracow. Theſe mines are excavated in a ridge of hills at the Northern extremity of the chain which joins to the Carpathian mountains: they take their appellation from the ſmall village of Wielitſka; but are ſometimes called in foreign countries the mines of Cracow, from their vicinity to that city.

Upon our arrival at Wielitſka we repaired to the mouth of the mine ‡. Having faſtened three ſeparate hammocks in a circle round the great rope that is employed in drawing up the ſalt, we ſeated ourſelves in a commodious manner, and were let down gently without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger, about 160 yards below the firſt layer of ſalt. Quitting our ham-

* Maſcow.

† Capite in rotundum raſo.

‡ There are two other openings, down one of which the miners deſcend by ſtairs, down the other by ladders.

mocks,

mocks, we paſſed a long and gradual deſcent, ſometimes through broad paſſages or galleries capable of admitting ſeveral carriages abreaſt; ſometimes down ſteps cut in the ſolid ſalt, which had the grandeur and commodiouſneſs of the ſtair-caſe in a palace. We each of us carried a light, and ſeveral guides preceded us with lamps in their hands: the reflection of theſe lights upon the glittering ſides of the mine was extremely beautiful, but did not caſt that luminous ſplendour, which ſome writers have compared to the luſtre of precious ſtones.

The ſalt dug from this mine is called *Ziebna* or Green Salt, for what reaſon I cannot determine; for its colour is an iron grey; when pounded it has a dirty aſh colour like what we call brown ſalt. The quality improves in proportion to the depth of the mine: towards the ſides and ſurface it is mixed with earthy or ſtony particles; lower down it is ſaid to be perfectly pure, and requires no other proceſs before it is uſed than to be pounded. The fineſt of this grey ſalt, however, is of a weak quality when compared with our common ſea-ſalt: it is therefore undoubtedly by no means perfectly pure, but is blended with extraneous mixtures, though it ſerves very well for common purpoſes. Being almoſt as hard as ſtone, the miners hew it with pick-axes and hatchets, by a tedious operation, into large blocks, many of which weigh ſix or ſeven hundred pounds. Theſe large maſſes are raiſed by a windlas, but the ſmaller pieces are carried up by horſes along a winding gallery, which reaches to the ſurface of the earth.

Beſide grey ſalt, the miners ſometimes diſcover ſmall cubes of white ſalt, as tranſparent as chryſtal, but not in any conſiderable quantity; they find likewiſe occaſionally pieces of coal and petrified wood buried in the ſalt.

The mine appears to be inexhauſtible, as will eaſily be conceived from the following account of its dimenſions. Its

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known breadth is 1115 feet; its length 6691 feet; and depth 743; and the beſt judges on the ſpot ſuppoſe, with the greateſt appearance of probability, this ſolid body of ſalt to branch into various directions, the extent of which cannot be known: of that part which has been perforated, the depth is only calculated as far as they have hitherto dug; and who can aſcertain how much farther it may deſcend?

Our guide did not omit pointing out to us, what he conſidered as one of the moſt remarkable curioſities of the place, ſeveral ſmall chapels excavated in the ſalt, in which maſs is ſaid on certain days of the year; one of theſe chapels is above 30 feet long and 25 broad; the altar, the crucifix, the ornaments of the church, the ſtatues of ſeveral ſaints, are all carved out of the ſalt.

Many of the excavations or chambers, from whence the ſalt has been dug, are of an immenſe ſize; ſome are ſupported with timber, others by vaſt pillars of ſalt, which are left ſtanding for that purpoſe: ſeveral of vaſt dimenſions are without any ſupport in the middle. I remarked one of this latter ſort in particular, which was certainly 80 feet in height, and ſo extremely long and broad, as almoſt to appear amid the ſubterraneous gloom without limits. The roofs of theſe vaults are not arched, but flat. The immenſe ſize of theſe chambers, with the ſpacious paſſages or galleries, together with the chapels above-mentioned, and a few ſheds built for the horſes which are foddered below, probably gave riſe to the exaggerated accounts of ſome travellers, that theſe mines contain ſeveral villages inhabited by colonies of miners, who never ſee the light. It is certain that there is room ſufficient for ſuch purpoſes; but the fact is, that the miners have no dwellings under ground, none of them remaining below more than eight hours at a time, when they are relieved by others from above. In truth, theſe mines are of a moſt ſtupendous extent

extent and depth, and are ſufficiently wonderful without the leaſt exaggeration. We found them as dry as a room, without the leaſt damp or moiſture; obſerving only in our whole progreſs one ſmall ſpring of water, which is impregnated with ſalt, as it runs through the mine.

Such an enormous maſs of ſalt exhibits a wonderful phænomenon in the natural hiſtory of this globe. Monſieur Guetard, who viſited theſe mines with great attention, and who has publiſhed a treatiſe upon the ſubject, informs us, that the uppermoſt bed of earth at the ſurface immediately over the mines is ſand, the ſecond clay occaſionally mixed with ſand and gravel and containing petrefactions of marine bodies, the third calcarious ſtone. From all theſe circumſtances he conjectures that this ſpot was formerly covered by the ſea, and that the ſalt is a gradual depoſit formed by the evaporation of its waters *.

Theſe mines have now been worked above 600 years, for they are mentioned in the Poliſh annals ſo early as 1237, under Boleſlaus † the Chaſte, and not as a new diſcovery: how much earlier they were known cannot now be aſcertained. Their profits had long been appropriated to the king's privy purſe: before the partition they furniſhed a conſiderable part of his preſent majeſty's revenue, who drew from them an annual average profit of about 3,500,000 Poliſh florins, or £97,222. 4s. 6d. ſterling. They now belong to the emperor, being ſituated within the province which he diſmembered from Poland; but at the time we viſited them they were far from yielding a revenue equal to that which they had afforded to the king of Poland; for the Auſtrian commiſſioners imprudently raiſed the price of ſalt, from an idea that Poland could not exiſt without drawing that commodity as uſual from Wie-

* See Memoire ſur les Mines de Sel de Wielitſka in Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Sciences for 1762.

† Lengnich, Jus Pub. vol. I. p. 249.

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litſka, and would therefore be obliged to receive it at any price. This mode of proceeding offending the Poles, the king of Pruſſia, with his uſual ſagacity, did not neglect this opportunity of extending his commerce; he immediately imported large quantities of ſalt, which he procured chiefly from Spain, to Dantzic, Memmel, and Koningſburg, from whence it was conveyed up the Viſtula into the interior provinces: by theſe means he furniſhed great part of Poland with ſalt, at a cheaper rate than the inhabitants could procure it from the houſe of Auſtria; and in 1778 the mines of Wielitſka only ſupplied the diſtricts which immediately border upon Auſtrian Poland.

I never ſaw a road ſo barren of intereſting ſcenes as that from Cracow to Warſaw; there is not a ſingle object throughout the whole tract, which can for a moment draw the attention of the moſt inquiſitive traveller. The country, for the moſt part of the way, was level, with little variation of ſurface: it was chiefly overſpread with vaſt tracts of thick gloomy foreſt; and even where the country was more open, the diſtant horizon was always ſkirted with wood. The trees were moſtly pines and firs, intermixed with beech, birch, and ſmall oaks. The occaſional breaks in the foreſt preſented ſome paſture ground, with here and there a few meagre crops of corn.

Without having actually traverſed it, I could hardly have conceived ſo comfortleſs a region: a forlorn ſtillneſs and ſolitude prevailed almoſt through the whole extent, with few ſymptoms of an inhabited, and ſtill leſs of a civilized country. Though in the high road, which unites Cracow and Warſaw in the courſe of about 258 Engliſh miles, we met in our progreſs only two carriages and about a dozen carts. The countrry was equally thin of human habitations: a few ſtraggling villages, all built of wood, ſucceeded one another at long intervals, whoſe miſerable appearance correſponded to the wretchedneſs of the country around them. In theſe aſſemblages of huts,

huts, the only places of reception for travellers were hovels, belonging to Jews, totally deſtitute of furniture and every ſpecies of accommodation. We could ſeldom procure any other room but that in which the family lived; in the article of proviſion eggs and milk were our greateſt luxuries, and could not always be obtained; our only bed was ſtraw thrown upon the ground, and we thought ourſelves happy when we could procure it clean. Even we, who were by no means delicate, and who had long been accuſtomed to put up with all inconveniences, found ourſelves diſtreſſed in this land of deſolation. Though in moſt countries we made a point of ſuſpending our journey during night, in order that no ſcene might eſcape our obſervation; yet we here even preferred continuing our route without intermiſſion to the penance we endured in theſe receptacles of filth and penury: and we have reaſon to believe that the darkneſs of the night deprived us of nothing but the ſight of gloomy foreſts, indifferent crops of corn, and objects of human miſery. The natives were poorer, humbler, and more miſerable than any people we had yet obſerved in the courſe of our travels: wherever we ſtopped, they flocked around us in crouds; and, aſking for charity, uſed the moſt abject geſtures.

The road bore as few marks of induſtry as the country which it interſects. It was beſt where it was ſandy; in other parts it was ſcarcely paſſable; and in the marſhy grounds, where ſome labour was abſolutely neceſſary to make it ſupport the carriages, it was raiſed with ſticks and boughs of trees thrown promiſcuouſly upon the ſurface, or formed by trunks of trees laid croſsways. After a tedious journey we at length approached Warſaw; but the roads being neither more paſſable, nor the country better cultivated, and the ſuburbs chiefly conſiſting of the ſame wooden hovels which compoſe the villages, we had no ſuſpicion of being near the capital of Poland until we arrived at its gates.

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CHAP. III.

Arrival at Warſaw.—*Deſcription of the city.*—*Journal of occurrences.*—*Preſentation to the king of* Poland.—*Palace.*—*Portraits of the kings of* Poland.—*Literary ſociety.*—*Entertainment at the king's villa.*—*Supper in prince* Poniatouſki's *garden.*—*Deſcription of a fête champêtre given at* Povonſki *by the princeſs* Zartoriſka, &c. &c.

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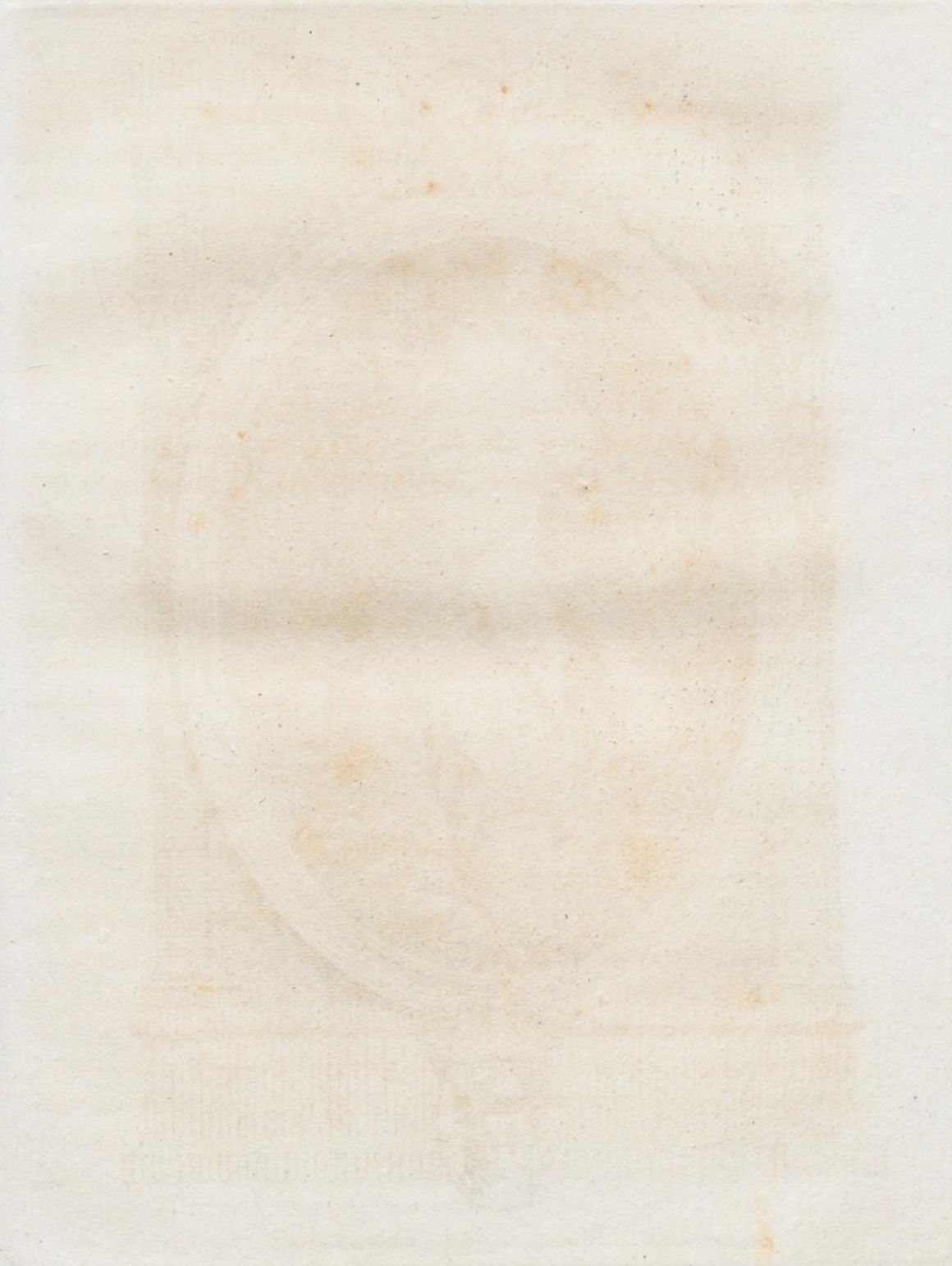
THE ſituation of Warſaw is not unpleaſant: it is built partly in a plain, and partly upon a gentle aſcent riſing from the banks of the Viſtula, which is about as broad as the Thames at Weſtminſter-Bridge, but very ſhallow in ſummer. The city and its ſuburbs occupy a vaſt extent of ground; and are ſuppoſed to contain between ſixty and ſeventy thouſand inhabitants, among whom are a prodigious number of foreigners. The whole town has a melancholy appearance, exhibiting that ſtrong contraſt of wealth and poverty, luxury and diſtreſs, which pervades every part of this unhappy country. The ſtreets are ſpacious, but ill-paved; the churches and public buildings are large and magnificent; the palaces of the nobility are numerous and ſplendid; but the greateſt part of the houſes, particularly in the ſuburbs, are mean and ill-conſtructed wooden hovels.

Auguſt 2. The Engliſh miniſter being abſent in the country, we carried our letters of recommendation to Count Rzewuſki great marſhal of the crown, who received us with much civility, and appointed Sunday morning to preſent us to the king at his levee. At the hour appointed we repaired to court, and were admitted into the audience-chamber, where the principal officers of the crown were waiting for his ma-

jeſty's



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jeſty's appearance. In this chamber I obſerved four buſts, placed by order of his preſent majeſty; namely, thoſe of Elizabeth queen of England; Henry IV. of France; John Sobieſki; and the preſent empreſs of Ruſſia. CHAP. III.

At length the king made his appearance; and we were preſented. His majeſty talked to each of us a conſiderable time in the moſt obliging manner; he ſaid many handſome things of the Engliſh nation, mentioned his reſidence in London with great appearance of ſatisfaction, and concluded by inviting us to ſupper in the evening, of which honour we had before had previous intimation from the great marſhal. The king of Poland is handſome in his perſon, with an expreſſive countenance, a dark complexion, Roman noſe, and penetrating eye: he is uncommonly pleaſing in his addreſs and manner, and poſſeſſes great ſweetneſs of condeſcenſion, tempered with dignity. He had on a full dreſſed ſuit; which circumſtance I mention becauſe he is the firſt king of this country who has not worn the national habit, or who has not ſhaved his head after the Poliſh cuſtom. His example has of courſe had many imitators: and I was much ſurprized to ſee ſo few of the chief nobility in the national garb. The natives in general are ſo attached to this dreſs, that in the diet of convocation which aſſembled previous to the election of his preſent majeſty, it was propoſed to inſert in the *Pacta Conventa* an article, whereby the king ſhould be obliged to wear the Poliſh garment: but this motion was over-ruled; and he was left at liberty to conſult his own taſte. At his coronation he laid aſide the antient regal habit of ceremony, and appeared in robes of a more modern faſhion, with his hair flowing upon his ſhoulders.

The levee being ended, we went over the palace, which was built by Sigiſmond III. and which ſince his time has been the principal reſidence of the Poliſh monarchs. Warſaw is far

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more commodious for the capital than Cracow, becauſe it is ſituated nearer to the center of the kingdom, and becauſe the diet is aſſembled in this city. The palace ſtands upon a riſing ground at a ſmall diſtance from the Viſtula, and commands a fine view of that river and of the adjacent country. Next to the audience-chamber is an apartment fitted up with marble, which his majeſty has dedicated, by the following inſcription, to the memory of his predeceſſors the kings of Poland: *Regum Memoriæ dicavit Staniſlaus Auguſtus hocce monumentum*, 1771. The portraits of the ſovereigns are ranged in chronological order: the ſeries begins from Boleſlaus, and is carried down to his preſent majeſty, whoſe picture is not yet finiſhed. Theſe heads are all painted by Bacciarelli, and well executed: the portraits of the earlier kings are ſketched from the painter's imagination; but that of Ladiſlaus II. and moſt of his ſucceſſors are copied from real originals. They altogether produce a pleaſing effect, and may be conſidered as an agreeable ſpecies of genealogical table. In this apartment the king gives a dinner every Thurſday to the men of letters who are moſt conſpicuous for their learning and abilities: his majeſty himſelf preſides at table, and takes the lead in the graces of converſation as much as in rank; and, though a ſovereign, does not think it beneath him to be a moſt entertaining companion. The perſons who are admitted to this ſociety read occaſionally treatiſes upon different topics of hiſtory, natural philoſophy, and other miſcellaneous ſubjects: and as a code of laws was at that time compiling in order to be preſented to the next diet, parts of that code, or obſervations relating to legiſlation in general, and the conſtitution of Poland in particular, were introduced and peruſed. The king ſtudiouſly encourages all attempts to refine and poliſh his native tongue, which had been much neglected during the reigns of his two predeceſſors, who were totally ignorant of the Poliſh language. He is

fond of poetry; accordingly that ſpecies of compoſition is much cultivated at theſe meetings. The next apartment was hung with the portraits of the principal members of the ſociety. CHAP. III.

In obedience to the king's condeſcending invitation, we ſat off about eight in the evening, and drove to one of the royal villas, ſituated in the midſt of a delightful wood about three miles from Warſaw. The villa is ſmall, conſiſting of a ſaloon, and four other apartments upon the firſt floor, together with a bath, from which it takes its name of *la Maiſon de Bain:* above ſtairs are the ſame number of rooms; each of them fitted up in the moſt elegant manner. The king received us in the ſaloon with wonderful affability: his brother and two of his nephews were preſent, and a few of the nobility of both ſexes, who generally compoſe his private parties. There were two tables for whiſt, and thoſe who were not engaged at cards walked about, or ſtood at different ſides of the room, while the king, who ſeldom plays, converſed occaſionally with every one. At about half an hour after nine, ſupper being announced, we followed the king into an adjoining apartment, where was a ſmall round table with eight covers: the ſupper conſiſted of one courſe and a deſert. His majeſty ſat down, but eat nothing; he talked a great deal, without wholly engroſſing the converſation. After ſupper we repaired to the ſaloon, part of the company returned to their cards, while we, out of reſpect to the king, continued ſtanding, until his majeſty was pleaſed to propoſe ſitting down, adding, "we ſhall "be more at our eaſe chatting round a table." We accordingly ſeated ourſelves, and the converſation laſted without interruption, and with perfect eaſe, till midnight, when the king retired. Before he withdrew, he gave a general order to a nobleman of the party, that we ſhould be conducted to ſee every object in Warſaw worthy of a ſtranger's curioſity. This extraordinary degree of attention penetrated us with gratitude,

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and proved a prelude to ſtill greater honours.

Auguſt 5. We had the honour of dining with his majeſty at the ſame villa, and experienced the ſame eaſe and affability of reception as before. His majeſty had hitherto talked French, but he now did me the honour to converſe with me in Engliſh, which he ſpeaks remarkably well. He expreſſed a great predilection for our nation: he ſurprized me by his extraordinary knowledge of our conſtitution, laws, and hiſtory, which was ſo circumſtantial and exact, that he could not have acquired it without infinite application: all his remarks were pertinent, juſt, and rational. He is familiarly acquainted with our beſt authors, and his enthuſiaſtic admiration of Shakeſpeare gave me the moſt convincing proofs of his intimate acquaintance with our language, and his taſte for the beauties of genuine poetry. He inquired much about the ſtate of arts and ſciences in England, and ſpoke with raptures upon the protection and encouragement which our ſovereign gives to the liberal arts, and to every ſpecies of literature. After we had taken our leave, we drove round the wood to ſeveral other villas, in which the king occaſionally reſides. They are all conſtructed in different ſtyles with great taſte and elegance. His majeſty is very fond of architecture, and draws himſelf all the plans for the buildings, and even the deſigns for the interior decorations of the ſeveral apartments.

In the evening we had the pleaſure of meeting his majeſty at his brother's, prince Poniatoffki, who gave us a moſt elegant entertainment at a garden which is ſituated near his villa, and is richly ornamented with buildings. The taſte of the Poliſh nobility is not to be controuled by want of any materials; for if they cannot procure them from nature, they make a repreſentation of them by art. In the preſent inſtance, as there are no quarries of ſtone near Warſaw, the prince has ſubſtituted a compoſition ſo nearly reſembling ſtone, that the moſt minute obſerver

obſerver can ſcarce diſcover the difference. We arrived at the garden about nine; it was a beautiful evening of one of the moſt ſultry days we had experienced this ſummer. After walking about the grounds, we came to a grotto of artificial rock, where a ſpring of water dripped through the ſides, and fell into a baſon with a pleaſing murmur. We were ſcarcely aſſembled in this delightful ſpot, when the king made his appearance: we roſe up to meet him; the uſual compliments being paſſed, we attended his majeſty about the grounds, and then returned to the grotto, round which we ranged ourſelves upon a bank covered with moſs. The moon was now riſen, and added greatly to the beauty of the ſcene. I happened to be ſeated next to the king (for all form and ceremony was baniſhed), who talked with me as uſual, in Engliſh, on the arts and ſciences, literature, and hiſtory. In the courſe of this converſation I ventured to aſk whether there was any good poetry in the Poliſh language. His majeſty told me, "We "have ſome lighter pieces of poetry, by no means contemp-"tible, and an indifferent epic poem; but the work of chief "poetical excellence in our tongue is a fine tranſlation of the "*Geruſalemme Liberata* of Taſſo, far ſuperior to any tranſla-"tions of that admirable poem in other languages; ſome Ita-"lians of taſte and judgement have eſteemed it not much in-"ferior to the original performance." I then took the liberty of inquiring about the hiſtorical productions of Poland; when the king informed me, that they had no good hiſtory of their country in Poliſh, which he looked upon as a national reflection, though he flattered himſelf it would ſoon be removed, as a perſon of genius and erudition, admirably calculated for the undertaking, was now employed in that work. Upon expreſſing my ſurprize at a circumſtance almoſt peculiar to Poland, that they had no hiſtory in their native tongue, his majeſty condeſcended to acquaint me, that they had ſeveral excel-

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lent hiſtorians, all of whom however had written in Latin; "the knowledge of this language," his majeſty remarked, "is very general among the Poles *; the earlieſt laws are all "drawn up in Latin until the reign of Sigiſmond Auguſtus, "when they began to be compoſed in the vernacular lan-"guage; the old *Pacta Conventa* are all in Latin; thoſe of "Ladiſlaus IV. being the firſt that appeared in Poliſh." This converſation, in which I was at a loſs whether to admire moſt the knowledge or condeſcenſion of the king, was interrupted by the prince, who propoſed a turn in the garden before ſupper: his highneſs led the way, and the company followed; we paſſed through a ſubterraneous paſſage, long and winding, with here and there a ſingle lamp, which ſhed a glimmering light; we came at length to a wooden door, which ſeemed the entrance into ſome hovel; it opened, and we found ourſelves, to our great aſtoniſhment, in a ſuperb ſaloon, illuminated with innumerable lamps. It was a rotunda, with an elegant dome of the moſt beautiful ſymmetry; in the circumference were four open receſſes between pillars of artificial marble †: in the receſſes were ſophas, with paintings *in freſco*, repreſenting the triumphs of Bacchus, Silenus, Love, and the victory of the Empreſs of Ruſſia over the Turks. As we were all admiring the beauty and elegance of the rotunda, our ears were on a ſudden regaled with a concert of exquiſite muſic from an inviſible band. While we were liſtening to this agreeable performance, and conjecturing from what quarter it came, a magnificent table was ſuddenly ſpread in the midſt of the ſaloon with ſuch expedition, as to reſemble the effects of enchantment. We immediately ſat down to ſupper with the king, the prince, and a choſen company: our ſpirits were elevated by the beauty of

* I had ſeveral opportunities of remarking the prevalency of the Latin tongue in Poland; when I viſited the priſons, I converſed in that language with a common ſoldier, who ſtood guard at the entrance; he ſpoke it with great fluency.

† Theſe pillars are of the ſame compoſition and colour with thoſe of the Pantheon in Oxford-Street.

the

the ſaloon, by the hoſpitality of the prince, and by the affability of the king; who, ſo far from being a conſtraint to the ſociety, greatly enlivened it by his vivacity, and ſeemed the ſoul of the party. I never paſſed a more agreeable evening; the converſation was animated and rational, while the ſocial eaſe and freedom, which diffuſed itſelf through every part of the company, realized this beautiful convivial picture;

La Liberté convive aimable
Met les deux coudes ſur la table *.

Even without the luſtre of a crown, which is apt to dazzle our judgements, the king of Poland could not fail of being eſteemed one of the moſt agreeable and polite gentlemen in Europe: he has a ſurprizing fund of intereſting converſation; and I never had the honour of acceſs to his company without being both informed and delighted. His majeſty did not retire until one o'clock, when the company ſeparated, and we returned to Warſaw, highly pleaſed with our evening's entertainment.

I have had frequent occaſion to mention the elegance and luxury of the Poliſh nobility in their houſes and villas; in their decorations and furniture they ſeem to have happily blended the Engliſh and French modes; in their entertainments they are exquiſitely refined; and as they ſpare no expence, and have a natural good taſte, they generally ſucceed in creating pleaſure and ſurprize. We every day experienced the agreeable effects of their hoſpitality and politeneſs; but by none were we ſo elegantly regaled as by the princeſs Zartoriſka in a *fête champêtre*, of which I ſhall attempt a deſcription.

Povonſki, the villa of prince Adam Zartoriſki, is about three miles from Warſaw in the midſt of a foreſt: the ſituation is almoſt level, with here and there a gentle ſlope, which produces an agreeable variety. A river runs through the grounds, which are laid out in the Engliſh taſte, with a beautiful inter-

* Voltaire.

mixture

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mixture of lawn and wood; walks are cut through the wood, and carried along the ſide of the water.

The houſe, which ſtands upon a gentle riſe, has the appearance of a cottage, conſtructed like thoſe of the peaſants, with trunks of trees piled upon each other, and thatched with ſtraw: beſide the principal building, inhabited by the prince and princeſs, there are ſeparate cottages for the children and attendants, each of which has its incloſures and ſmall garden; this group of ſtructures bears the reſemblance of a village, compoſed of huts ſcattered at a ſmall diſtance from each other. Other buildings, ſuch as ſummer houſes, pavilions, ruſtic ſheds, and ruins, are diſperſed throughout the grounds; the ſtables are conſtructed in the form of an half demoliſhed amphitheatre. Several romantic bridges, rudely compoſed of the trunks and bent branches of trees, contribute to heighten the ruſticity of the ſcenery.

Upon our arrival we repaired to the principal cottage, where the princeſs was ready to receive us: we expected the inſide to be furniſhed in the ſimple ſtyle of a peaſant's hovel, but were ſurprized to find every ſpecies of elegant magnificence which riches and taſte could collect. All the apartments are decorated in the moſt coſtly manner; but the ſplendour of the bath-room was peculiarly ſtriking: the ſides are covered from top to bottom, with ſmall ſquare pieces of the fineſt Dreſden china, each ornamented with an elegant ſprig; and the border and cieling are painted with beautiful feſtoons. The expence of fitting up this apartment muſt have been prodigious; as I was informed that there were at leaſt three thouſand ſquare pieces of china employed, each of which coſt at Dreſden three ducats *. After we had ſurveyed all the apartments, we proceeded to an enclofure near the houſe, ſurrounded with large blocks of granite heaped one upon ano-

* About 1l. 7s. 6d.

ther,

ther, and fallen trees placed in the moſt natural and pictureſque ſhapes; here we drank tea upon the lawn. From thence we repaired to the ſeveral cottages inhabited by the children; which are fitted up in different ſtyles, but with equal elegance. Every thing without doors gives one the idea of an happy peaſant's family; within all is coſtlineſs and taſte: I never ſaw ſuch a contraſt of ſimplicity and magnificence. CHAP. III.

We next walked round the grounds, which are prettily laid out in our taſte of gardening; the company then all adjourned to a Turkiſh tent of rich and curious workmanſhip, pitched in a beautiful retired field near the ſtables, which repreſent a ruined amphitheatre. This tent belonged to the grand-vizier, and was taken during the late war between the Ruſſians and the Turks: under it was a ſettee, and a carpet ſpread upon the ground. Here we ſtaid converſing until it was quite duſk; when the princeſs propoſed returning; ſhe led us through the houſe to a ſmall ſpot of riſing ground, where we were ſuddenly ſtruck with a moſt beautiful illumination. A ruſtic bridge, conſiſting of a ſingle arch over a broad piece of water, was ſtudded with ſeveral thouſand lamps of different colours; while the reflection of this illuminated bridge in the water was ſo ſtrong as to deceive the eye, and gave the whole the appearance of a brilliant circle ſuſpended in the air: the effect was ſplendid beyond deſcription, and conſiderably heightened by the gloom of the foreſt in the back-ground. While we continued admiring this delightful ſcene, a band of muſic ſtruck up at a little diſtance, and amuſed us with an excellent concert. We were then led from this enchanting ſpot, acroſs the illuminated bridge, to a thatched pavilion, open at the ſides, and ſupported by pillars ornamented with garlands and twiſted feſtoons of flowers: we found within a cold collation, and ſat down to a table covered with all kind of delicacies, with the moſt coſtly wines, and every ſpecies of fruit which art or nature

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ture could furniſh. The evening was delightful, the ſcenery pictureſque, the fare delicious; the company in good ſpirits; for who could be otherwiſe when every circumſtance, which the taſte and ingenuity of our fair hoſteſs could invent, conſpired to heighten the entertainment? The collation being ended, we roſe from table: which I concluded to be the cloſe of the entertainment, but was agreeably diſappointed: the gardens were ſuddenly illuminated; we all ranged about as fancy dictated; and were gratified with the ſound of wind inſtruments played by perſons diſperſed in different parts of the grounds. We repaſſed the bridge, and returned into the cottage, when the two eldeſt daughters of the princeſs, who were dreſſed in Grecian dreſſes of the moſt elegant ſimplicity, performed a Poliſh and a Coſſac dance; the former ſerious and graceful, the latter comic and lively. The eldeſt ſon, a boy about eight years old, next performed an hornpipe with wonderful agility, and afterwards a dance in the ſtyle of the Poliſh peaſants with much humour. It was now paſt two in the morning; we ſeemed as if we could ſtay for ever; but as there muſt be an end of all ſublunary joys, we took our leave, expreſſing our thanks and gratitude in language far unequal to our feelings. I can ſcarce form to myſelf a *fête champêtre* ſo elegant: and I am ſatisfied, that it will ſeldom fall to the lot of the ſame perſon to partake of ſuch a pleaſing entertainment twice in his life.

The day before our departure from this town we dined with the biſhop of Plotſko, the king's brother, at his palace of Jabloniſka about eight miles from Warſaw. The palace is an handſome building, conſtructed after a deſign, and at the expence, of his majeſty. One of the apartments, called the Turkiſh ſaloon, is remarkable for its elegance and ſingularity: it is in the Oriental taſte, of an oblong ſhape, very high, with a fountain in the middle, ſurrounded with a *parterre* of flowers.

Between the *parterre* and ſides of the room are ranges of Turkiſh ſophas. The variegated tints and rich fragrance of the flowers, joined to the tranſparency and murmurs of the fountain, produce a moſt pleaſing effect, and, together with the coolneſs of the apartment, render it a delicious retreat from the heats of ſummer. The Viſtula winds along at a ſmall diſtance from the palace, through a ſandy and almoſt level country. CHAP. III.

In the evening we accompanied prince Staniſlaus to his majeſty's villa, ſecure of paſſing an intereſting evening, but it was now embittered with the idea that it would never again be repeated, and that this was the laſt time of our being admitted to the company of ſo amiable a monarch. In the following converſation I had an additional proof of his humanity and condeſcenſion: "You have been to the priſons *, and I "am afraid you found them in a wretched condition." To have mentioned all their abuſes, when I knew that his majeſty could not alter them, would only have been an inſult; I endeavoured therefore to palliate my anſwer, by remarking, what is but too true, that in ſeveral inſtances they were not ſo badly regulated as in England. "I am ſurprized," returned the king, "that a nation, who ſo juſtly piques itſelf for its humanity, "ſhould be deficient in ſo eſſential an article of police." I then ventured, with as much delicacy as poſſible, to point out one material abuſe in the priſons of Warſaw, which I thought might probably be in his majeſty's power to alleviate at leaſt, if not to remedy. The circumſtance which I alluded to was, that there is no ſeparate room for the accommodation of ſick priſoners; at the ſame time I begged pardon for this inſtance of preſumption, which nothing but my compaſſion for the unfortunate could have extorted from me. "He who pleads the "cauſe of the unhappy," replied his majeſty, "is always liſt-

* See the latter part of Chap. V.

BOOK II.

" ened to with pleaſure;" an expreſſion I ſhall never forget, and which convinced me, by the pathetic manner in which it was uttered, that it was the real ſentiment of his heart. The turn of the converſation led the king to enlarge upon the code of laws preparing for the inſpection of the approaching diet; when his majeſty expatiated, with peculiar ſatisfaction, upon ſeveral beneficial regulations calculated to promote the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice. " Happy Eng-" liſhman!" exclaimed the king, " your houſe is raiſed, and " mine is yet to build." Every part of this conference impreſſed me with the higheſt opinion of the king's benevolence, patriotiſm, and legiſlative abilities.

After ſupper, which paſſed off no leſs agreeably than the preceding entertainments, we were preſented to take leave, when the king condeſcended to inquire of us the route we intended to take; and to point out what was moſt likely to occur worthy of obſervation. " Your majeſty," I ventured to obſerve, " has omitted the manufactures which you have " eſtabliſhed at Grodno *." " An Engliſhman," replied the king, " after having ſeen the manufactures of his own " country, will find little deſerving his curioſity in any other, " and particularly in this kingdom, where there is ſuch a ſet-" tled averſion to commerce. The eſtabliſhment at Grodno is " but a beginning: I conſider it only as a pledge of my future " intentions." I then mentioned the new regulations in the univerſity of Vilna, and the foundation of a phyſic-garden at Grodno. " You are deceived by the ſimilarity of names. An " Engliſh univerſity is as much ſuperior to foreign ſeminaries, " as your nation excels all others in the cultivation of litera-" ture, and the encouragement given to genius and abilities. " The academy at Vilna is more the image of what it was, and " of what it ought to be, than an object of a traveller's curi-

* See Chap. VI. article GRODNO.

" oſity."

"ofity." He then graciouſly expreſſed his regret at our departing ſo ſoon from Warſaw, and, wiſhing us a good journey, retired.

I flatter myſelf, that I ſhall not appear too minute in relating all theſe circumſtances; the familiar incidents of domeſtic life place the character of a ſovereign in a truer point of view than the more ſplendid occurrences of public grandeur, where the real diſpoſition is often diſguiſed by form, or ſacrificed to policy.

CHAP. IV.

Villanow *the favourite palace of* John Sobieſki.—*Account of that monarch.—Circumſtances of his death.—Intrigues of his queen.—Diviſion and cabals of his family.—Fortunes of his children.—Extinction of his name.—Genealogical table of his deſcendants.*

AUGUST 6. We paſſed the day at Villanow, where we dined with prince Zartoriſki. He is a fine old man, near fourſcore, and lives in the true ſtyle of ancient hoſpitality: he is conſtantly attended by his own guards, which I mention, not as being peculiar to him, who enjoys the firſt offices of the republic, but becauſe it leads me to remark that every Poliſh nobleman may have as many guards as he can afford to maintain.

The prince keeps an open table, at which there are ſeldom leſs than twenty or thirty covers. His revenues are large, amounting to near £100,000 ſterling *per annum*; and his ſtyle of living correſponds to this great income.

BOOK II.

Villanow was built by John Sobieſki the conqueror of the Turks and deliverer of Vienna: it was the favourite reſidence of that great monarch, where he moſtly lived when not in arms, and where he cloſed his days. The palace, being ſold after his death, came by marriage into the family of Zartoriſki; it was lent to Auguſtus II. who conſiderably enlarged it. The outſide is ornamented with ſeveral baſſo relievos, repreſenting the principal victories of John Sobieſki, which were probably added by Auguſtus; for the former was too modeſt and unaſſuming to erect monuments of his own glory.

The æra of John Sobieſki, ſplendid in itſelf, appears more luminous, when contraſted with the darkneſs which preceded and followed. The reigns of his immediate predeceſſor and ſucceſſor were convulſed with internal commotions; but the ſpirit of diſcord and anarchy was laid for a time by his tranſcendent genius. Under his auſpices Poland ſeemed to revive from the calamities which had long oppreſſed her, and again to recover her antient ſplendour; ſuch is the powerful aſcendency of a great and ſuperior mind. His military talents require no other teſtimony than the victory of Chotzim, the recovery of the Ukraine, repeated defeats of the Turks and Tartars, and the delivery of Vienna; while an exact inſight into the laws and conſtitution of his country, a manly and perſuaſive eloquence, a love and protection of literature, an accurate knowledge of foreign languages, and an unceaſing habit of affability, moderation, and temperance, render him no leſs an object of our admiration in his civil capacity *. But

* Dr. South, in his Account of Poland, thus deſcribes John Sobieſki: "The king is "a very well-ſpoken prince, very eaſy of ac- "ceſs, and extreme civil, having moſt of the "qualities requiſite to form a complete gen- "tleman. He is not only well verſed in all "military affairs, but likewiſe, through the "means of a French education, very opu- "lently ſtored with all polite and ſcholaſtical "learning. Beſides his own tongue, the "Sclavonian, he underſtands the Latin, "French, Italian, German, and Turkiſh lan- "guages: He delights much in natural hiſ- "tory, and in all the parts of phyſic. He "is wont to reprimand the clergy for not ad- "mitting the modern philoſophy, ſuch as Le "Grand's and Carteſius's, into the univer- "ſities and ſchools," &c. South's Poſthumous Works, p. 24.

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the monarch, who could allay the ſentiments of public faction, could not ſuppreſs the domeſtic diſſentions of his own family; and the ſame great prince, who kept a turbulent people in awe, and chaſtiſed the moſt formidable enemies, was himſelf under the controul of his conſort, a French lady*, of exquiſite beauty and elegant manners, but of reſtleſs intrigue, inſatiable avarice, and inordinate ambition. This unprincipled woman fomented a ſpirit of diſunion and jealouſy among her children; and loaded her eldeſt ſon with every ſpecies of indignity. She formed and ſupported an adminiſtration called, by way of deriſion, the Jewiſh junto; and introduced into the royal houſhold a narrow parſimony unbecoming the dignity of a powerful ſovereign: in a word, by a ſeries of offenſive and wicked meaſures, ſhe loſt her huſband the affection of his ſubjects; and rendered the cloſe of his reign as odious, as the preceding part had been popular and glorious. CHAP. IV.

The decline of Sobieſki's life was clouded with affliction. He felt himſelf a prey to a lingering diſeaſe †; yet, inſtead of deriving any comfort from his neareſt connections, he experienced an aggravation of his diſtreſs from the unnatural conteſts of his children, and the intriguing ſpirit of his queen. The decay of his authority, and the indecent cabals almoſt openly carrying on about the choice of his ſucceſſor, affected in the ſtrongeſt manner a perſon of his extreme ſenſibility: his ſubjects, inſtead of lamenting, ſeemed eagerly to anticipate his diſſolution. Yet, in this deplorable ſtate, the king's equanimity, founded on religion and philoſophy, did not forſake him; and he retained, even upon his death-bed, that mixture of ſerioufneſs and gaiety, ſtrength of reaſoning and quickneſs of repartee, which ſo ſtrongly marked his character. He died on the 17th of June, 1696. Some ſtriking incidents, imme-

* Marie de la Grange. See p. 168.

† His illneſs was a complication of diſorders, gout, ſtone, aſthma, dropſy.

BOOK II.

diately preceding his death, are tranſmitted to us by the chancellor Zaluſki biſhop of Plotſko, who was preſent when he expired.

Some alarming ſymptoms in Sobieſki's diſorder having awakened the queen's ſolicitude about the ſucceſſion to his fortune, ſhe earneſtly importuned Zaluſki to preſent himſelf before the king, and inſinuate ſome advice with reſpect to the diſpoſition of his affairs. The biſhop, when he entered the apartment, finding the king in an agony of excruciating pain *, endeavoured to give him comfort and hopes of recovery. But Sobieſki replied, "I foreſee my approaching death; my ſitu-"ation will be the ſame to-morrow as it is to-day; all conſo-"lation is now too late;" then, fetching a deep ſigh, his majeſty aſked him "why he came ſo ſeldom to court, and in "what manner he employed himſelf at his dioceſe alone!" Zaluſki, after expatiating upon the duties of his epiſcopal office and the reſources of literature, artfully turned the diſcourſe to the buſineſs in queſtion. "Lately," ſaid he, "I have been "employed in no very agreeable, yet neceſſary duty: weigh-"ing the frail condition of human nature, remembering, that "as Socrates and Plato, ſo all men muſt die; and conſidering "the diſſenſions which may ariſe among my relations after "my deceaſe, I have taken an inventory of my effects, and "have diſpoſed of them by will." The king, who ſaw the purport of his diſcourſe, interrupted him with a loud laugh, and exclaimed, in a quotation from Juvenal †, "O *medici, me-*"*diam contundite venam.*" "What, my Lord Biſhop! you "whoſe judgement and good ſenſe I have ſo long eſteemed, "do you make your will? What an uſeleſs loſs of time!" &c. Not diſcouraged by this ſally, the biſhop perſevered in ſuggeſting, "that in juſtice to his family and country he ought

* Zaluſki Epiſt. vol. III. p. 5—14. In applying this paſſage, the king meant to inſinuate that the biſhop was mad.

† Juvenal, Sat. VI. l. 40. "Open a vein."

" without delay to regulate the diſpoſition of his effects, and " to declare his final inclinations." " For God's ſake," returned Sobieſki with a more ſerious tone, " do not ſuppoſe that any " good will ariſe in this age! when vice has increaſed to ſuch " an enormous degree, as almoſt to exclude all hopes of forgive- " neſs from the mercy of the Deity! Do you not ſee how " great is the public iniquity, tumult, and violence? all ſtrive " who ſhall blend good and evil without diſtinction: the mo- " rals of my ſubjects are overturned; will you again reſtore " them? My orders are not attended to while I am alive; " can I expect to be obeyed when I am dead? That man is " happy, who with his own hand diſpoſes of his effects, which " cannot be entruſted with ſecurity to his executors; while " they who leave a will act abſurdly, for conſigning to the " care of others what is more ſecure in the hands of their " neareſt relations. Have not the regulations of the kings my " predeceſſors been deſpiſed after their deaths? Where cor- " ruption univerſally prevails, judgement is obtained by mo- " ney: the voice of conſcience is not heard, and reaſon and " equity are no more." Then ſuddenly giving a ludicrous turn to the converſation, he exclaimed, " What can you ſay " to this, Mr. Will-maker *!"

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On the 17th of June, the king growing worſe, the biſhop was again ſummoned to Villanow, when his majeſty heard prayers, and was particularly fervent in his devotion. After dinner, while he was converſing with his uſual gaiety in the preſence of Zaluſki and the abbé Polignac, he was ſuddenly ſeized with a ſtroke of apoplexy; but recovering a little, he confeſſed, and, having received abſolution and extreme unction, expired almoſt without a groan, in the 66th year of his age, and the 23d of his reign, on the ſame day in which he was raiſed to the throne. The name of Sobieſki is now extinct.

* Quid ad hæc, Domine teſtimentarie!

My

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My veneration for this great man prompted me to inquire into the fortunes of his family.

Sobieſki * left behind him his wife Marie de la Grange, three ſons, James, Alexander, and Conſtantine, and one daughter Thereſa Cunigunda. Marie his wife, daughter of Henry de la Grange captain of the guards to Philip duke of Orleans, and of Frances de la Chartre, was maid of honour to Louiſa queen of Ladiſlaus IV. She was firſt married to Radzivil prince of Zamoſki; within a month after his deceaſe ſhe eſpouſed John Sobieſki in ſecret, and brought him in dower a large portion and the favour of his ſovereign. Her influence over her huſband, and the ill uſe ſhe made of her power when he aſcended the throne, have been already obſerved.

James Louis, the eldeſt ſon of Sobieſki, was born at Paris in 1667. He accompanied his father to the relief of Vienna, in the 16th year of his age, and narrowly eſcaped being ſlain in an action near Banan in Hungary. He afterwards gave ſuch ſignal proofs of his military talents, that, upon his father's indiſpoſition in the campaign of 1687 againſt the Turks, he was entruſted with the command of the army, although only in the 21ſt year of his age; and received from the ſoldiers all the honours uſually paid only to the kings of Poland: a ſingular mark of deference in an elective monarchy, and which gave encouragement to an expectation of the throne at his father's deceaſe. His father promoted this view with the utmoſt exertion of his intereſt; but this project was entirely diſconcerted by the indiſcretion of the prince, and the reſtleſs intrigues of the queen, who, having conceived the ſtrongeſt antipathy to her eldeſt ſon, and a no leſs violent predilection in favour of her ſecond ſon Alexander, a prince of a more tractable diſpoſition, ſacrificed the dignity of her family to a blind impulſe of parental partiality. Sobi-

* The abbé Coyer has written the Life of Sobieſki with great ſpirit and fidelity; and, what is remarkable in a French hiſtorian, has cited his authorities.

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Sobieſki had ſcarcely expired, before the cabals, which even his authority could hardly ſuppreſs, broke out with undiſſembled violence. The diviſion of the king's treaſure cauſed the moſt indecent diſputes and altercations between his widow and children. James, without a moment's delay, endeavoured, though in vain, to ſeize it by force, being anticipated by the queen *, who, by the aſſiſtance of the abbé Polignac, ſent it into France. She had three great objects in view: either to obtain the crown for Alexander, whom ſhe was ſecure of governing; to promote the election of Count Jablonouſki, great general of the crown, with an intention of marrying him; or to favour the pretenſions of the prince of Conti, warmly ſupported by Louis XIV. At all events ſhe was firmly reſolved to procure the excluſion of her eldeſt ſon, and this was the only point ſhe carried. Had the family of Sobieſki been unanimous, James muſt have been elected king; but no ſubmiſſion † could ſoften the implacable reſentment of the queen, who, even when ſhe found it impracticable to ſecure the election of her favourite ſon Alexander, or to compaſs any of her other deſigns, both in ſecret and openly ſet herſelf in oppoſition to the pretenſions of James. When the diet of convocation aſſembled at Warſaw, the queen ſummoned a meeting of ſenators and nuntios in her apartment, whom ſhe addreſſed in regard to her ſon with all the virulence which inve-

* The queen ſent 3,000,000 French livres = £125,000 into France. Larrey, Hiſt. Louis XIV. v. II. p. 297.

† Zaluſki has given the following curious inſtance of the queen's implacability. "I "and other ſenators accompanied prince "James to the Queen's at Bieltz, but her "majeſty being informed of our approach, "retired precipitately from the palace in "order to avoid the interview; we overtook "her about a mile from Bieltz, and ordered "the driver to ſtop, while ſh repeatedly "urged him to continue his route: at length "the coachman, alarmed by our number and "threats, ſtopped the carriage. On our ad"vancing to the queen, ſhe received us with "great marks of diſpleaſure; and although "the prince proſtrated himſelf before her, "and embraced her feet with the moſt pro"found reſpect, he was not able to extort "from her more than a ſhort and evaſive "anſwer. Upon his retiring, with his eyes "full of tears, I myſelf uſed ſome endeavours "to ſoften her reſentment; which, however, "had no other effect than to draw from her "additional expreſſions of diſguſt and indig"nation." Zaluſki, vol. III. p. 135.

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terate fury could inſpire, and all the affected candour towards the Poles which the moſt conſummate hypocriſy could ſuggeſt *. "Although I am not by birth a Pole, I am one by "inclination, and am more attached to this nation than to "my own family. Reflect maturely whom you will nomi- "nate your king in the place of my much-regretted huſband, "and I ſincerely recommend to you not to elect one of my "children. I too well know all their diſpoſitions; and par- "ticularly caution you not to raiſe to the throne the eldeſt "prince James. His inconſiderate raſhneſs will involve the "kingdom in ſpeedy and inevitable ruin." The biſhop of Plotſko, though her creature, diſguſted at theſe appearances of unnatural rancour, importuned her to deſiſt; but ſhe exclaimed with greater violence: "Do not interrupt me; I "will never retract what I have ſaid, as I prefer the ſafety of "the republic to my own intereſts and the ſplendour of my "family. I again exhort the Poles to elect any candidate in "preference to one of my children." This virulent oppoſition to the views of her eldeſt ſon was but too ſucceſsful: he was rejected by a great majority, and the choice of the nation fell upon Auguſtus elector of Saxony.

The ſequel of the hiſtory of Sobieſki's family, now reduced to a private ſtation, will be compriſed in a ſhort compaſs. After the defeat of Auguſtus II. at the battle of Cliſſow, Charles XII. determined to give a new king to Poland; and his veneration for the memory of John Sobieſki induced him to offer that dignity to his eldeſt ſon. In conſequence of this reſolution, Auguſtus was declared by the primate unworthy to reign; and a diet of election was convened at Warſaw. James was then at Breſlaw, impatiently expecting his nomination to the throne ſo worthily filled by his father, and from which he had been deprived by the unprecedented malice of

* Zaluſki, vol. III. p. 102.

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a mother. But the uſual ſingularity of his ill-fortune ſtill purſued him: as he was hunting with his brother Conſtantine, a ſmall detachment of Saxon horſemen ſurprized and carried him off; and, inſtead of receiving a crown, he was confined in the caſtle of Pleiſſenburgh near Leipſic. Conſtantine * might have have eſcaped; but, from an impulſe of fraternal affection, voluntarily accompanied his brother into confinement, and adminiſtered conſolation under this grievous reverſe of fortune. This event happened on the 28th of February, 1704.

In the month of September, 1706, the two brothers were removed to the fortreſs of Koningſtein, as to a place of ſtill greater ſecurity; but in December of the ſame year fortunately obtained their enlargement, upon the requeſt of Charles XII. at the concluſion of the celebrated treaty with Auguſtus II. in which the latter was compelled to abdicate the throne of Poland. This abdication, however, did not revive the pretenſions of James to the crown, the election having fallen, during his confinement, upon Staniſlaus Letzinſki. From this period James paſſed a private and retired life, and ſeems to have entirely renounced all his views upon the crown of Poland. He died in 1737 at Zolkiew in Red Ruſſia, in the 70th year of his age; and in him, as the laſt male of his family, the name of Sobieſki became extinct. His wife was Hedwige Eleonora †, daughter of Philip William elector palatine;

* Lengnich, Hiſt. Pol. p. 342.

† Siſter of Eleonora Magdalena wife of the emperor Leopold. James had been firſt contracted in marriage to the widow of the elector of Brandenburgh's brother, a rich heireſs of the houſe of Radzivil in Lithuania, but upon this occaſion he firſt experienced that ill fortune which afterwards attended him through life. "An envoy was ſent to "Berlin to negotiate the marriage, which "was agreed upon by the elector's and her "conſent, and the prince himſelf came thi-"ther in perſon, with a numerous attend-"ance, to conſummate it. At the ſame time "came to Berlin the elector palatine's bro-"ther, prince Charles of Newburg, brother "to the empreſs, to ſee the ceremony of the "marriage; but this princeſs, taking more "fancy to him than to the prince of Poland, "gave him encouragement to make his ad-"dreſſes to her; which he did with that ſuc-"ceſs, that he engaged her ſo far and ſo un-"expectedly,

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latine; by her he left two daughters, Mary Charlotte and Clementina Mary.

The eldeſt, Mary Charlotte, married in 1723 Frederic Maurice de la Tour duke of Bouillon, who dying within a few days after the marriage, ſhe eſpouſed, with a diſpenſation from the pope, his brother Charles Godfrey the ſame year. By him ſhe left iſſue a ſon, the preſent duke of Bouillon, married to a lady of the houſe of Lorraine, and a daughter, who eſpouſed the duke of Rohan-Rohan. In theſe noble perſons and their progeny the female line of Sobieſki ſtill exiſts.

Clementina Mary, the youngeſt daughter of prince James, married at Monteſiaſcone, in 1719, James Edward Stuart, commonly known by the name of the Chevalier de St. George, the pretender to the Britiſh throne. This princeſs, though a woman of great perſonal and mental endowments, could not engage the affection of her huſband; and ſhe was ſo offended at his attachment to a favourite miſtreſs, that ſhe withdrew from his houſe, and remained for ſome time in a convent near Rome. Afterwards, being reconciled to him, ſhe died at Rome on the 18th of June, 1735, aged 33; her death, according to the account of a writer * attached to the Stuart family, was occaſioned by religious abſtinence and too ſevere mortifications: her remains were interred with regal pomp in the church of St. Peter, and a ſumptuous monument was erected to her memory. She left two ſons by the Chevalier:

" expectedly, that he was privately married " to her the night before ſhe was to be mar- " ried to the prince of Poland, ſo that prince " James was forced to return back ſhame- " fully: which the king his father reſented " ſo highly, that he was reſolved to have ſa- " tisfaction from the elector of Brandenburg, " for ſuffering his ſon to receive ſo notorious " an affront at his court; but the elector, " knowing nothing of that private intrigue, " juſtified himſelf, and all animoſities were " at laſt adjuſted by prince James's marrying " his rival's ſiſter the princeſs of Newburg, " who was ſent into Poland, and has two " daughters by him." Connor's Hiſtory of Poland, v. II. p. 188, 189.

* Letters from a Painter in Italy, where her funeral and monument is deſcribed v. II. p. 56.

Charles, uſually termed count of Albany, who died lately; and Henry, cardinal of Yorke, who is ſtill alive. Charles married the princeſs of Stolberg, by whom he has no children: a miſunderſtanding not long after their marriage taking place between them, ſhe quitted her huſband, and took ſhelter in a convent in the Tuſcan dominions; and, as her quarrel was eſpouſed by the cardinal of Yorke, ſhe obtained a ſeparation for life. We may therefore foreſee the extinction of the Sobieſki line in the Stuart branch. The ample patrimony of James Sobieſki was divided equally between his two daughters. Having lent a conſiderable ſum to the houſe of Auſtria, he obtained in return a mortgage upon certain eſtates in Sileſia, which, upon the diviſion of the property after his deceaſe, fell to the Stuart family, and were in their poſſeſſion when the king of Pruſſia ſecured Sileſia in the year 1740. His Pruſſian majeſty confiſcated theſe lands to himſelf by right of conqueſt; and the houſe of Auſtria never made any further compenſation for the above-mentioned loan. CHAP. IV.

Alexander, ſecond ſon of John Sobieſki, was born at Dantzic in 1677; and as he was brought into the world after his father had been raiſed to the throne, he was uſually ſtyled by his mother, who adored him, the ſon of the king; while ſhe affected to call his brother James, who was born before his father's election, the ſon of the great marſhal. Excited by his mother's partiality, and inflamed by an ambition natural to youth, he even aſpired to the throne in oppoſition to his brother James; afterwards however, when a more mature age had corrected his paſſions, and his mother's influence had ceaſed to miſlead him, he declined, from a principal of fraternal affection, the acceptance of that very crown, which had once been the object of his warmeſt hopes. When Charles XII. upon the impriſonment of James, offered the crown of Poland to Alexander, the latter, with a diſintereſtedneſs which reflects

the

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the higheſt honour upon his memory, refuſed it with this generous declaration, " that no intereſt ſhould tempt him to " avail himſelf of his brother's misfortunes *."

Alexander paſſed his days principally at Rome with the queen his mother. During his reſidence in that city, he never made his appearance at the court of Clement XI. becauſe that pontiff had refuſed to receive him with the marks of diſtinction which he claimed as a king's ſon. But the honours which were withheld from him while alive, were granted unto him when dead; his body being permitted to lie in royal ſtate, and to be interred with the ſame ceremonies, which attended the funeral of Chriſtina queen of Sweden. He expired in June 1714, having aſſumed upon his death-bed the habit of a capuchin, from a ſuperſtitious notion of enſuring his ſalvation †.

Conſtantine, having regained his liberty at the ſame time with his brother James, married a German baroneſs, maid of honour to the princeſs of Neuburg; a marriage of paſſion, ſoon followed by repentance, and from which he in vain endeavoured to procure a releaſe by a divorce. He deceaſed in 1726 without children.

Thereſa Cunigunda, the daughter of John Sobieſki, married in 1696 Maximilian Emanuel elector of Bavaria, and died a widow 1730. Her ſon Charles Albert, who ſucceeded to the electorate of Bavaria, was the unfortunate emperor Charles VII. and her grandſon Maximilian Joſeph expired in 1778 without iſſue. Her grand-daughter Maria Antonietta married Frederic Chriſtian elector of Saxony; and the blood of John Sobieſki ſtill flows in the veins of their progeny, the preſent electoral family.

Marie de la Grange, the conſort of John Sobieſki, paſſed the firſt part of her widowhood at Rome with her father the

* Voltaire's Charles XII. p. 90. † Vie de Sobieſki, v. III. p. 176.

marquis

marquis of Arquien, who, from being captain of the Swiſs guards to the duke of Orleans, had been promoted by her intereſt to the dignity of cardinal. She continued to reſide in that city until the year 1714, when ſhe retired into France, her native country. Louis XIV. aſſigned the caſtle of Blois for her reſidence, where ſhe died in 1716 *, above 70 years of age. Her remains were tranſported to Warſaw, and from thence conveyed, together with thoſe of her huſband in 1734, to Cracow, and interred in the cathedral of that city †.

* Vie de Sobieſki, v. III. p. 177.

† Lengnich, Hiſt. p. 390.

Genealogical

Genealogical Table of JOHN SOBIESKI's FAMILY.

John Sobieski died June 17, 1696; married Marie de la Grange, who died at Blois, 1716.

- James Louis b. 1667; d. at Zolkiew in Poland 1737; m. Hedwige Eleonora daughter of Philip William Elector Palatine.
  - Mary Charlotte b. 5th Nov. 1697; m. in 1723, 1. Frederic Maurice de la Tour, duke of Bouillon, who dying, she married in the same year; 2. Charles Godfrey his brother.
    - Godfrey Charles Henry de la Tour duke of Bouillon, m. Louisa Henrietta daughter of Louis prince of Lorraine, born 1728.
      - James Leopold, b. 1746; m. the princess of Hesse Rhenfeldt.
    - Louisa Henrietta, m. Jules Hercule duke of Rohan-Rohan 1743.
      - Henry Louis b. 1745.
  - Clementina Mary b. 1702; m. at Montefiascone in Sept. 1719, James Edward, the pretender to the British throne: she died at Rome in 1735.
- Theresa Cunigunda, b. March 6, 1672; m. in 1695 Maximilian Emanuel Elector of Bavaria; d. 1730.
  - Maria Antonietta, b. July, 1724; m. 1747 Frederic Christian Elector of Saxony; died 1783.
    - Frederic Augustus, the present Elector of Saxony, b. 1750; married Maria Amalia princess of Deuxponts.
  - Charles VII. Albert, b. 1697; Emp. 1742; d. 1745; married Maria Amalia daughter of the Emperor Joseph I.
    - Maximilian Joseph, Elector of Bavaria, b. 1734; d. Jan. 1, 1778, without issue; m. Anne Sophia da. of Augustus III. King of Poland.
    - Charles, the late pretender, b. at Rome 1720; mar. a princess of Stolberg; d. 1783.
      - Henry, Cardinal of Yorke, born 1725.
  - Ferdinand Maria, b. 1699; d. 1738; m. Anne daughter of Philip William Elector Palatine.
    - Clement Francis de Paula, marr. Anne, daughter of Joseph Charles Prince Palatine; di. without issue.
- Alexander Benedict, b. 1677; d. at Rome 1714 unmarried.
- Constantine Ladislaus, b. 1680; died 1726 without issue; m. a German baroness; died without issue.

CHAP. V.

Coins of Poland.—*Public library.*—*State of learning.*—*Literature encouraged by the king.*—*Wretched adminiſtration of juſtice.*—*Priſons of* Warſaw.—*Puniſhments for criminal offences.*—*Torture aboliſhed.*—*Laws relating to debtors.*

CHAP. V.

BEFORE our departure from Warſaw we viſited ſome objects of literary curioſity uſually ſeen by foreigners. We firſt adjourned to the palace to examine ſome coins and medals relative to the hiſtory of Poland. The count of Mazinſki, natural ſon of Auguſtus III. purchaſed the greateſt part of this collection, and preſented it to his preſent majeſty. I ſhall not enter upon any account of the foreign coins and medals, but content myſelf with mentioning a few which relate to Poland.

The earlieſt coin is that of Boleſlaus I. ſon of Miciſlaus, the firſt Poliſh prince converted to Chriſtianity: this piece of money was ſtruck in 999, probably ſoon after the introduction of coining into Poland. There was no head of the ſovereign upon it, only the Poliſh eagle on one ſide, and a crown on the reverſe. The ſeries of coins is broken until Sigiſmond I. from whoſe acceſſion it is continued in an uninterrupted line, Henry of Valois excepted; during whoſe ſhort reign no money was ſtruck in Poland. I noticed a curious piece of Albert of Brandenburgh as duke of Pruſſia, after he had wreſted that country from the Teutonic knights. The Pruſſian eagle is marked with an S, to ſhew that Albert held his lands as feudal and tributary to Sigiſmond I. There was a fine medal in honour of John Sobieſki's raiſing the ſiege of Vienna, with the following punning inſcription: *Urbem ſervaſtis et orbem.* I likewiſe obſerved a medal of his preſent majeſty, caſt in the late

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turbulent times; it had a well-executed likeneſs of the king on one ſide, and on the reverſe an emblem of civil commotions, a ſhip in a ſtorm with the claſſical alluſion, *Ne cede malis*.

The public library next engaged our attention. The collection owes its beginning to the private bounty of two biſhops of the family of Zaluſki; the following inſcription is over the door; "*Civium uſui perpetuo Zaluſicorum par illuſtre dicavit* "1714." It has ſince received ſeveral large additions from various benefactors; and, as the librarian informed me, contains above 100,000 volumes. It is very rich in books and manuſcripts relating to the Poliſh hiſtory.

I have only a few obſervations to make upon the general ſtate of literature in Poland, my ſtay in this country not being long enough to collect a more circumſtantial account.

There are two univerſities, one at Cracow, and the other at Vilna; the former was under the direction of prieſts, called Academicians; and the latter was ſuperintended by the Jeſuits; but in both, the courſe of ſtudies was chiefly confined to theology. Since the ſuppreſſion of the Jeſuits, the king has eſtabliſhed a committee of education, compoſed of members diſtinguiſhed either by high ſtation, or enlightened underſtandings. The committee has an abſolute power in matters of education; appoints profeſſors; regulates their ſalary; and directs their ſtudies. The advantages of this regulation have already been experienced.

Although from the nature of the government learning has never been widely diffuſed in Poland, yet there never have been wanting men of genius and literature, who have been an ornament to their country: and perhaps no nation can boaſt a more regular ſucceſſion of excellent hiſtorians *; or a greater variety of writers deeply converſant in the laws, ſtatutes, and conſtitution. Under Sigiſmond I. and his ſon Sigiſmond Au-

* See p. 155.

guſtus, the arts and ſciences began to be greatly diſtinguiſhed by royal patronage; they were cheriſhed by ſome of the ſucceeding monarchs, particularly John Sobieſki; but no prince has paid them more attention than the preſent king Staniſlaus Auguſtus. His munificence in this particular has been attended with the happieſt effects. The Poliſh literati have, within a few years, given to the public a much greater variety of elegant performances than ever appeared in any former period of the ſame length. What is more material, a taſte for ſcience has ſpread itſelf among the nobles, and begins to be regarded as an accompliſhment. The enlargement of mind, derived by theſe licentious ſpirits from this new purſuit, has already weaned ſeveral of them from their habits of barbarous turbulence, and greatly humanized their civil deportment. It may in time teach them thoroughly to comprehend the true intereſt of their country, and the expedience of due ſubordination, hitherto deemed incompatible with liberty: theſe petty deſpots will, perhaps, be induced to lay aſide that contempt for their vaſſals; they will perceive that the burghers and peaſants are the true ſupports of their country; and that Poland wants nothing but juſtice and order to become as flouriſhing as the neighbouring ſtates. CHAP. V.

During my ſtay at Warſaw I viſited the ſeveral priſons; and made inquiries into the nature of the various tribunals, and into the different modes of puniſhment for criminal offences: my engaging in this employment was principally owing to a caſual meeting I had at Vienna with the benevolent Mr. Howard, whoſe humane attention to the outcaſts of ſociety has reflected ſo much honour on himſelf and his country. Informing him that I was proceeding to the Northern kingdoms, I intimated an intention to examine the ſtate of the priſons and penal laws in thoſe countries; and profeſſed a readineſs to lay before him the reſult of my obſervations. Mr.

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Howard approved my deſign, ſuggeſted ſeveral uſeful hints, and even dictated ſome ſpecific queſtions tending greatly to facilitate my inquiries.

I ſhall not enter upon a deſcription of the priſons in Warſaw, as they afforded ſcarcely any thing worthy of particular obſervation; I ſhall therefore confine myſelf to the general adminiſtration of juſtice.

Atrocious crimes, ſuch as murder, &c. are puniſhed by beheading or hanging; leſſer delinquencies by whipping, hard labour, and impriſonment: the nobles never ſuffer any corporal puniſhment; but are liable only to impriſonment and death. Torture was aboliſhed in 1776, by an edict of the diet, introduced by the influence of the king; a regulation as expreſſive of his majeſty's judgement as of his benevolence. It is an infinite ſatisfaction to ſee the rights of humanity extending themſelves in countries, where they had been but little known; a circumſtance that muſt caſt a great reflection on thoſe nations which, like France, have attained the higheſt pitch of civilization, and yet retain the uſeleſs and barbarous cuſtom of torture *.

The defects of the police in this country are by no circumſtances ſo ſtrongly evinced, as by the frequent impunity of the moſt atrocious crimes: this abuſe may be traced from the following cauſes. 1. The greateſt criminals find at times little difficulty in engaging the protection of ſome of the principal nobles, who occaſionally aſſemble their vaſſals and retainers in arms, and drive the officers of juſtice from their lands. This anarchy reſembles the ſtate of Europe in the 14th century, during the prevalence of the feudal laws, when every great baron poſſeſſed territorial juriſdiction, and was almoſt equal in

* *La queſtion preparatoire*, or the infliction of torture, for forcing the confeſſion of a crime from an accuſed perſon, has indeed been lately aboliſhed in France; but the torture uſed for the diſcovery of accomplices is ſtill retained.

authority

authority to the king. 2. The law, eſteemed by the Poliſh gentry the great bulwark of their liberty, which enacts *, that no gentleman can be arreſted for miſdemeanors until he is convicted of them, notwithſtanding the ſtrongeſt degree of preſumptive proof: the offender, of courſe, if likely to be found guilty, takes care to withdraw himſelf before the completion of the proceſs. Murder indeed, and robbery on the highway, and a few other capital crimes, are excluded from this privilege: but even in thoſe flagrant enormities no gentleman can be taken into cuſtody, unleſs actually apprehended in the commiſſion of the offence; and when the crime is thus poſitively aſcertained, which in the nature of things can ſeldom occur, the culprit cannot be ſentenced to capital puniſhment by any other tribunal than a diet. 3. The right which every town poſſeſſes of having its own criminal courts of juſtice, with judges ſelected ſolely from the inhabitants. Many of theſe towns are at preſent reduced to ſuch a low ſtate, as ſcarcely to deſerve the name of villages: in theſe places, of courſe, the judges are neceſſarily perſons of the loweſt deſcription, and totally unqualified for the diſcharge of their high office. Innocence and guilt, by this means, are often not diſtinguiſhed, and as often wantonly confounded. Not only the power of levying diſcretionary fines, but the infliction of corporal puniſhment, and even of death itſelf, is entruſted to theſe contemptible tribunals. The chancellor Zamoiſki has, in the new code of laws which he is preparing for the inſpection of the diet, deſcribed the abuſes of theſe petty courts of juſtice in the moſt forcible language; and propoſes, as the only adequate remedy of the evil, to annihilate this right of penal juriſdiction in all but nine of the principal towns. 4. There are no public officers whoſe province it is to proſecute the offenders in the king's name. Hence, even in caſe of

* Neminem captivabimus niſi jure victum.

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murder, robbery upon the highway, and the moſt atrocious crimes, the delinquent generally eſcapes, unleſs ſome individual indicts and brings him to trial: this ſeldom happens, as the proceſs is attended with no ſmall ſhare of expence. The juriſdiction of the great marſhal is almoſt the only exception to this flagrant defect of common juſtice. His juriſdiction is in force in the place where the king reſides, and to the diſtance of three Poliſh miles. Within that diſtrict the great marſhal can arreſt and proſecute for crimes of felony without any plaintiff. In caſes alſo of high treaſon, certain officers of the crown, called *inſtigatores*, are impowered of their own motion to cite ſuſpicious perſons before the diet. 5. The power which every plaintiff poſſeſſes of with-drawing his proſecution, even in caſes of the greateſt enormity: this cuſtom ſcreens all but the indigent from the purſuit of juſtice; as perſons of moderate property are generally able to bribe the neceſſity or avarice of their proſecutor. This practice, founded on a narrow principle, that outrages againſt individuals are merely private, not public offences, is an inſtance of the groſſeſt barbariſm, which all civilized nations have renounced; for it requires a very ſmall degree of legiſlative improvement to perceive, that private wrongs, when unchaſtized, become highly injurious to the community at large, by affording encouragement to ſimilar offences.

In viſiting the priſons I ſaw the bad effects of this uſage exemplified in a ſtriking inſtance. Two perſons, indicted for the aſſaſſination of a Jew, had been permitted to remain in priſon upwards of a twelvemonth, without being brought to a trial. The widow of the deceaſed, upon whoſe accuſation they were impriſoned, having agreed, on the payment of a ſtipulated ſum, to drop the ſuit and grant them a releaſe, their inability to ſatisfy her demand had been the only reaſon for detaining them ſo long in confinement; and as when I ſaw them

them they had juſt raiſed the money, they were upon the point of obtaining a final diſcharge.

From this ſketch of the adminiſtration of juſtice in this country, the expediency of a thorough reformation is very apparent. That able legiſlator count Zamoiſki, in the new code of laws which I have frequently had occaſion to mention, has paid particular attention to the amendment of the criminal laws. But as any innovations in the courts of juſtice, calculated to produce any eſſential benefit, muſt materially infringe the privileges of the nobles, and counteract the national prejudices, the moſt uſeful code can ſcarcely expect to receive the ſanction of the diet.

The laws relating to debtors are as follow. The creditor proceeds againſt the debtor at his own expence; and, until the trial is finiſhed, allows him eight groſchens, or three halfpence, a day for his maintenance; when the debt is proved, the creditor is releaſed from the above-mentioned contribution: the debtor continues in priſon, at the diſcretion of his creditor, until the debt is diſcharged; and, if he has no means of ſubſiſtence, is obliged to maintain himſelf by working with the other delinquents in cutting wood, ſawing ſtone, or cleaning the ſtreets. In caſe a gentleman contracts a debt, an action lies againſt his lands and goods, and not againſt his perſon, unleſs he gives a note of hand with a double ſignature, one intended as an aſcertainment of the debt, the other as a renunciation of his exemption from arreſts; but a perſon of high diſtinction, even though he ſhould bind himſelf by this engagement, can bid defiance to all danger of impriſonment.

CHAP

CHAP. VI.

Departure from Warſaw.—Bialliſtock.—*Entertainment at the counteſs of* Braniſki's *palace.—Dutchy of* Lithuania.—*Its union with* Poland.—*Deſcription of* Grodno.—*Diets.—Phyſic garden.—General productions of* Lithuania.—*Account of the Wild-ox.—Of the Remiz and its pendent neſt.—Manufactures.—Entertainments.—Hoſpitality of the* Poles.—*Election-dinner, and ball.*

BOOK II.

BEFORE we quitted Warſaw we received another inſtance of his majeſty's wonderful condeſcenſion, a letter written with his own hand to the poſt-maſter at Grodno, ordering that we ſhould receive every accommodation which could be procured, and that we ſhould be permitted to viſit the manufactures and every object of curioſity.

We quitted the capital on the 10th of Auguſt, croſſed the Viſtula, and paſſed through the ſuburbs of Praga. About an Engliſh mile from Warſaw a foreſt begins, and continues, with little interruption, to the diſtance of eighteen miles. At Wengrow we obſerved a fine corps of Ruſſian troops quartered in the village. Some of the places in our route, though extremely wretched, enjoyed their own police and courts of juſtice: they conſiſted of wooden huts, moſtly thatched, ſome roofed with wood, and a few with tiles. The country was chiefly ſandy and level until we arrived at the Bog, which we croſſed at Gran: the river was broad and ſhallow. We aſcended from its banks a ſmall riſe, and found a better ſoil, and the country more diverſified. The road was not unpleaſant, running through fields ſown with different ſpecies of corn, hemp, and flax; but we never loſt ſight of the foreſt, and always

ways ſaw it ſkirting the horizon. In many places I obſerved the wood encroaching upon the fields, and young trees ſhooting up in great numbers wherever cultivation had been neglected. I was informed that this is the caſe in moſt parts of Poland, many traces of former encloſures, and even the veſtiges of paved ſtreets, being diſcernible in the center of the foreſts.

The largeſt place we paſſed through was Bielſk, capital of the palatinate of Podalachia, where the dietine for the diſtrict is held: it is little better than a miſerable village, though called, in the geographical deſcriptions of Poland, a large town. Between Bielſk and Woytſzi, our wheel was nearly taking fire, and while we ſtopped at a ſmall village to have it greaſed, I entered ſeveral cottages, which I found infinitely worſe even than thoſe wretched dwellings which I had before examined in the towns where the inhabitants were more free; in the latter we obſerved furniture and ſome conveniences; in theſe nothing but the bare walls. The peaſants were perfect ſlaves, and their habitations and appearance correſponded with their miſerable ſituation: I could ſcarcely have figured to myſelf ſuch objects of poverty and miſery. The country we traverſed from Warſaw to Bialliſtock was in general ſandy; but in ſome places the ſoil was very rich. All parts were fit for cultivation, and many ſpots had the appearance of great fertility. We remarked, however, that the harveſt, even in the moſt fruitful tracts, was but indifferent; a circumſtance evidently owing to the defect in huſbandry.

We arrived late in the evening at Bialliſtock, a very neat and well-built town. The ſtreets were broad, and the houſes, which were in general plaſtered, ſtood detached from each other at uniform diſtances. The ſuperior neatneſs of Bialliſtock is owing to the illuſtrious family of Braniſki, whoſe palace ſtands cloſe to the town, and who have contributed to ornament their place of reſidence. It belongs to the counteſs

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Braniſki, ſiſter of the preſent king, and widow of the late great general Braniſki; who, notwithſtanding this alliance, warmly proteſted againſt the election of his preſent majeſty.

The morning after our arrival, the counteſs, to whom we had a letter from prince Staniſlaus Poniatowſki, honoured us with a moſt polite invitation to dinner, and ſent her carriage to convey us to the palace. We were moſt politely received by our noble hoſteſs, and were convinced from her amiable manners, condeſcending behaviour, and lively flow of converſation, that affability and good ſenſe are natural to the family of Poniatowſki.

We found a large company aſſembled at table, whom the counteſs had invited to partake of her hoſpitable board, which was elegantly ſupplied with every delicacy. Among other topics, the converſation turned upon our mode of travelling through a country ſo poor and wretched, and ſo deficient in comfortable accommodations. "I ſuppoſe," ſaid a Poliſh gentleman, "you carry your beds with you;" to which we replied in the negative. "How do you ſleep then?"—"Upon "ſtraw, when we can get it; and, when we are not ſo for- "tunate, upon the floor, upon a bench, or upon a table."— "You take your proviſions," returned the Pole.—"Very ſel- "dom."—"How do you live then?"—"Upon what we can "procure: one of our ſervants is ſent before, and generally con- "trives to obtain ſome kind of proviſion, which may ſooth, "if not ſatisfy, the demands of hunger; but we have travel- "ling appetites, and are not faſtidious."—"You are not, how- "ever, without knives, forks, and ſpoons; for ſuch conveni- "ences are not known among the peaſants."—"We each of "us carry a claſp-knife; are now and then ſo fortunate as to "meet with a wooden ſpoon; and never regret the want of a "fork." Here our noble hoſteſs made a propoſal to ſupply us with knives, forks, and ſpoons, together with wine and proviſion:

proviſion: upon our declining this offer, ſhe pleaſantly replied, "Perhaps you are above accepting them; I know the "Engliſh are very haughty; will you purchaſe them?" We made anſwer, that we were not afraid of laying ourſelves under any obligations to a perſon of her politeneſs and generoſity; but that the object of our travels was to gratify curioſity rather than appetite; and that we thought ourſelves moſt likely to become acquainted with the domeſtic œconomy of the peaſants, by partaking of their accommodations, and by relying on them for the ſupply of our wants. Willing, however, not to appear rude in a rejection of the whole offer, we accepted a few bottles of wine.

The counteſs did us the honour to conduct us herſelf through the apartments of the palace, which is a large building in the Italian taſte; and, on account of its grandeur and magnificence, generally called the Verſailles of Poland. It was formerly only a royal hunting ſeat; John Caſimir gave it, together with Bialliſtock and other eſtates, to Czarnieſki, a general highly diſtinguiſhed by his victories over the Swedes at the time that Poland was nearly cruſhed by her enemies. Among the curioſities preſerved in the palace is a golden cup, which Czarnieſki uſed after the cuſtom of thoſe times to wear faſtened to his girdle; and an embroidered ſaſh which he took among the ſpoils after a defeat of Charles X. and ſuppoſed to belong to that monarch. Czarnieſki left one daughter, who married Braniſki the father of the late great general, by which marriage the eſtate came into that family. There is one apartment which Auguſtus III. uſed to occupy whenever he paſſed this way to the diet of Grodno; and which, out of reſpect to the memory of their late ſovereign, is left in its original ſtate. In another room is a fine portrait of Auguſtus in his royal robes, with his head ſhaved in the Poliſh faſhion, as he appeared on the day of his coronation. In the afternoon we

BOOK II. drove about the park and grounds, which are very extenſive, and elegantly laid out in the Engliſh taſte.

We cloſed this agreeable day with a ſupper at the palace, and took leave, with regret, of its amiable and noble miſtreſs.

Auguſt 13. We ſat off early from Bialliſtock: for ſome way we traverſed a continued foreſt; afterwards the country became more open, abounding with corn and paſture; the towns and villages were long and ſtraggling; all the houſes, and even the churches, of wood; crouds of beggars ſurrounded our carriage whenever we ſtopped; Jews made their appearance without end. About four we arrived at Grodno; we firſt paſſed through ſome wretched ſuburbs inhabited by Jews, and ferried over the Niemen, which is broad, clear, and ſhallow, aſcended the riſing banks, and came to the town, which is built upon an eminence overlooking the river.

Though Vilna is the capital, yet Grodno is eſteemed the principal town in Lithuania.

Formerly Lithuania was entirely unconnected with Poland, and was governed by its own ſovereigns under the title of great-dukes. From that rivalry which uſually ſubſiſts between contiguous ſtates, the two nations were engaged in a ſeries of perpetual wars until 1386, when the great-duke Ladiſlaus Jaghellon, having eſpouſed Hedwige and embraced the Chriſtian religion, was raiſed to the Poliſh throne, and reigned over both countries.

Ladiſlaus ſoon became ſo ſincere a convert to the new religion, which he at firſt adopted from intereſted views, that he endeavoured to propagate its doctrines among his idolatrous ſubjects in Lithuania. In ſubſerviency to this great work, he ordered the hallowed groves to be cut down, the oracular ſhrine to be deſtroyed, the ſacred fire to be extinguiſhed, and the ſerpents worſhiped as Gods by his ſuperſtitious ſubjects to be ſlain. A belief univerſally prevailed among the people, that

that whoever profanely attempted to deſtroy theſe objects of their worſhip, would be ſtruck with inſtantaneous death: when the falſity of this tradition was proved by the impunity of thoſe concerned in the ſuppoſed ſacrilege, the Lithuanians flocked in ſuch crouds to be converted, that the prieſts could only beſtow ſeparate baptiſm on perſons of diſtinction; but diſtributed the multitude in ranks, and, ſprinkling them with water, gave one chriſtian name to each rank without diſtinction of ſex *. Ladiſlaus, having thus introduced the Chriſtian religion into Lithuania, nominated his brother Caſimir Skirgello governor of that duchy, and returned to Poland; but a civil war being excited by the ambition of Alexander, ſurnamed Vitoldus, and by the diſcontents of the people, ſtill attached to their Pagan rites, Lithuania was for ſome time a ſcene of tumult and hoſtility. At length, by a compromiſe in 1392, Vitoldus was appointed great-duke, and Ladiſlaus contented himſelf with a reſervation of nominal ſovereignty. CHAP. VI.

In 1401 the nobles of Lithuania aſſembled at Vilna, and entered upon an offenſive and defenſive alliance with the king and republic of Poland. In 1413 it was ſtipulated, in a diet of Poles and Lithuanians held in the town of Hrodlo, that, upon the demiſe of Vitoldus, the Lithuanians ſhould acknowledge no other great-duke but the perſon who was appointed by the king, and with the agreement of the two nations; that, in caſe Ladiſlaus died without iſſue, the Poles ſhould elect no king without the conſent of Vitoldus and the Lithuanians; and that a diet, compoſed of repreſentatives from both nations, ſhould meet whenever it was thought neceſſary, at Lublin or

* "Ægrè gens barbara majorum ſuorum religiones relinquebat. Sed cum juſſu regis "facer ignis extinctus, templum aráque ejus "diruta & adytum, unde oracula à ſacerdote "edebantur, everſum Vilnæ eſſet, necatique "ſerpentes, & ſucciſi luci nulla cujuſquam "læſione," &c. &c. "Sed cum immenſi laboris eſſet ſingulos "ſacro fonte tingere, nobilioribus tantum hic "honor habitus: reliquum verò vulgus turmatim diſtributum, aquâ luſtrali ſive ſacrâ "à ſacerdotibus conſperſum eſt, unumque "nomen cuique turmæ tam virorum quàm "mulierum inditum." Cromer, p 368.

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Parzow *. From the demiſe of Vitoldus, who expired in 1439 in the 80th year of his age, the great-dukes were ſometimes, in conformity to this compact, nominated by the kings of Poland; at other times, in violation of it, by the Lithuanians. At length Sigiſmond I. fortunately united in his perſon the two ſovereignties, and was ſucceeded in both by his ſon Sigiſmond Auguſtus.

Hitherto the connection between the two nations had been more an alliance than an union; but Sigiſmond Auguſtus having no children, and being the only ſurviving male heir of the Jaghellon family, planned the union of Poland and Lithuania, leſt upon his deceaſe the connection ſhould be diſſolved, and the two nations be again governed by different princes. After ſome difficulties, and being once fruſtrated in his attempt, he obtained, from a general diet held at Lublin in 1569, that Poland and Lithuania ſhould from henceforth be united and conſidered as one nation; that one ſovereign ſhould be choſen conjointly by both people; that the Lithuanians ſhould ſend nuntios to the general diet, be admitted into the ſenate, and have an equal ſhare in the public honours and employments; that no alliance ſhould be made with foreign powers, and no embaſſadors diſpatched without the conſent of both parties; that the ſame money ſhould paſs current in both countries; in ſhort, that they ſhould have no diſtinction of privilege or intereſt. Upon the ratification of this union, Sigiſmond Auguſtus renounced all hereditary right to Lithuania. From this period the ſame perſon has been uniformly elected king of Poland and great-duke of Lithuania; and the two nations have been incorporated into one republic †.

Grodno is a large and ſtraggling place, but contains no more than 3000 Chriſtians, excluding the perſons employed in the manufactures, and 1000 Jews. It has greatly the appearance

* Dlugoſſius & Cromer.

† Lengnich, Jus Pub. v. I. p. 30 to 33.

of a town in decline; containing a mixture of wretched hovels, falling houſes, and ruined palaces, with magnificent gateways, remains of its ancient ſplendour. A few habitations in good repair make the contraſt more ſtriking.

The old palace, in which the kings uſed to reſide during the diets, ſtood upon an hill of ſand riſing abruptly from the river, and forming part of its bank: ſome remains of the ancient walls ſtill exiſt. Oppoſite to this hill is the new palace, built, but never inhabited, by Auguſtus III. as it was not finiſhed at the time of his death. In this palace are the apartments wherein the diets are held, or rather will be held if they are ever again ſummoned to Grodno. According to the treaty of Hrodlo, Lublin, or Parzow, or any other more commodious town, was appointed for the meeting of the Poliſh and Lithuanian deputies; but in the articles of union it was ſtipulated, that Warſaw ſhould be the place where the repreſentatives of the two nations were to aſſemble *. In 1673, as I have already obſerved, it was enacted, that every third diet ſhould be held at Grodno; and, in conformity to this law, the firſt national aſſembly was convened here in 1678 under John Sobieſki. But when the next turn of Grodno arrived, that monarch ſummoned the diet to Warſaw: the Lithuanians ſtrongly oppoſed this infringement of their rights; and their deputies, inſtead of proceeding to Warſaw, where the king, ſenate, and nuntios of Poland were met, repaired to this town, and formed a ſeparate diet. In order to prevent a civil war, which this diviſion might occaſion, a negotiation took place, and it was at length ſettled, that the diet of 1673 ſhould aſſemble at Warſaw, but be called the diet of Grodno, and that the marſhal ſhould be choſen from the Lithuanian nuntios †. From that time the diets have been occaſionally ſummoned to Grodno; until the reign of his preſent majeſty, when they

* Lengnich, Jus Pub. v. II. p. 315, &c.

† Vie de Sobieſki, p. 19.

have

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have been uniformly held at Warſaw; and this innovation has been tacitly agreed to by the Lithuanians, on account of the diſtance of this town from the royal reſidence, as well as in conſideration of the troubles which convulſed the country.

We carried a letter of recommendation to Mr. Gillibert, a French naturaliſt of great learning and abilities, who has the ſuperintendence of the college and phyſic garden. The king of Poland has eſtabliſhed in this place a Royal Academy of Phyſick for Lithuania, in which ten ſtudents are inſtructed in phyſick, and twenty in ſurgery. They are all lodged, boarded, and taught at his majeſty's expence: an inſtitution that reflects the higheſt honour upon the king, and which has greatly flouriſhed under the royal patronage and protection. The phyſic garden, which did not exiſt in 1776, made, when I paſſed through the town in 1778, a very reſpectable appearance; which was entirely owing to Mr. Gillibert's attention and care. It contained 1500 exotics, amongſt which were ſeveral delicate American plants ſown in the open air, and which thrived remarkably well in this climate. Mr. Gillibert told me, that he had diſcovered 200 ſpecies of plants in Lithuania, which were only thought indigenous in Siberia, Tartary, and Sweden; and that in the whole duchy he had obſerved 980 ſpecies, excluſive of the ſorts common to moſt countries in Europe.

Mr. Gillibert had lately formed a ſmall collection, chiefly conſiſting of the productions of Lithuania; and was employed in arranging materials for a natural hiſtory of this duchy: he propoſes to begin his publications upon that ſubject with a *Flora Lithuanica*; which will be ſucceſſively followed by an account of the mineralogy, inſects, quadrupeds, and birds. Conſidering the infant ſtate of natural knowledge in this country, the deſign will require great length of time and perſeverance before it is completed; but there is nothing which aſſiduity and attention will not effect.

The

CHAP. VI.

The animals roving in the boundleſs foreſts of Lithuania are the bear, the wolf, the elk, the wild-ox, the lynx, the beaver, the glouton, the wild-cat, &c.

At Grodno I had an opportunity of ſeeing a female of the wild-ox, probably the ſame quadruped which is deſcribed by Ariſtotle under the name of *Bonaſus*, ſtyled *Urus* in the Commentaries of Cæſar, and called *Biſon* by ſome naturaliſts. That which fell under my obſervation was not full grown, about the ſize of a common Engliſh cow, ſhaped like a buffalo, but without the protuberance over its ſhoulders: its neck was high and thick, and covered with long hair, or mane, which fringed down the throat and breaſt, and hung almoſt to the ground, ſomewhat reſembling that of an old lion: the forehead was narrow, with two horns turning inwards *, and the tongue of a bluiſh colour. The male, as we were informed, is ſometimes ſix feet in height, and is more fierce and ſhaggy than the female.

Linnæus has claſſed the *Bonaſus*, the *Urus*, and the *Biſon* (probably the ſame animal with different names) under three ſpecies; Buffon reduces them to two, the *Urus* and the *Biſon*; and Pennant has compriſed them all under one ſpecies †. His opinion has been lately adopted by Pallas, in a very curious diſſertation publiſhed in the Acts of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Peterſburgh. That celebrated naturaliſt informs us, that this ſpecies of the wild-ox, which was formerly very common in Europe, exiſts no where in that continent, but in theſe Lithuanian foreſts, in ſome parts of the Carpathian mountains, and perhaps in the Caucaſus. He agrees alſo with

* Ariſtotle deſcribes the horns of the *Bonaſus* as γαμψα και κεκαμμενα προς αλληλα, "*crooked and bending towards each other.*" A circumſtance which ſeems to have puzzled ſome naturaliſts who have commented upon Ariſtotle, who did not conſider that the figure of the horns varies exceedingly in the ſame ſpecies, in a wild or tame ſtate, and cannot be admitted as forming a ſpecific difference. See Ariſt. Hiſt. Anim. L. IX. c. 45. alſo Camus Hiſt. des Animaux, cited in Maty's Review for April, 1783, p. 313, &c.

† Syſtema Naturæ. Buffon's Hiſt. Nat. Pennant's Hiſt. of Quad. p. 15.

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Buffon, in holding the *biſon* or wild-ox of America to be only a variety of the *urus* changed by the climate *.

Lithuania is very rich in ornithology: among the birds of prey the eagle and vulture are very common. The *Remiz* † or little ſpecies of titmouſe, called *Parus Pendulinus*, is not unfrequently found in theſe parts. The wondrous ſtructure of its pendent neſt induced me to give an engraving of both that and the birds themſelves. They are of the ſmalleſt ſpecies of titmice. The head is of a very pale bluiſh aſh colour; the forepart of the neck and the breaſt tinged with red; the belly white; wings black; back and rump of a yellowiſh ruſt colour; quill feathers cinereous, with the exterior ſides white; the tail ruſt-coloured. The male is ſingularly diſtinguiſhed from the female by a pair of black-pointed whiſkers.

Its neſt is in the ſhape of a long purſe, which it forms with amazing art, by interweaving down, goſs-a-mer, and minute fibres, in a cloſe and compact manner, and then lining the inſide with down alone, ſo as to make a ſnug and warm lodge for its young brood. The entrance is at the ſide, ſmall and round, with its edge more ſtrongly marked than the reſt of this curious fabrick: the bird, attentive to the preſervation of its eggs or little ones from noxious animals, ſuſpends it at the leſſer end to the extremity of the ſlender twigs of a willow, or ſome other tree, over a river. Contrary to the cuſtom of titmice, it lays only four or five eggs: poſſibly Providence hath ordained this ſcantineſs of eggs to the *Remiz*, becauſe by the ſingular inſtinct imparted to it, it is enabled to ſecure its young much more effectually from deſtruction, than the other ſpecies, which are very prolific.

Mr. Gillibert acquainted me that a great quantity of yel-

* Sur le Buffle à Queue de cheval in Nov. Act. Pet. 1771. Part II. p. 232, &c. Alſo in his Neue Nord. Beytrage, p. 2.

† I am indebted to that able naturaliſt, Mr. Pennant, for this deſcription of the Remiz, and for the annexed plate.

low

MALE and FEMALE REMIZ; or PENDULINE TITMOUSE.

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low amber is frequently dug up in the Lithuanian foreſts, ſometimes in pieces as large as one's fiſt, and that it is probably the production of a ſmall reſinous pine *. He informed me that the duchy abounds in iron ochre, called by Linnæus *Tophus humoſo ochreaceus*, and deſcribed by Wallerius † under the article of *Ferrum limoſum*, which produces forty pounds of metal in an hundred weight; that it yields alſo ſeveral ſpecies of copper and iron pyrites; black agate, which always bears a reſemblance to the roots of pines ‡; detached maſſes of red and grey granite; pudding ſtones, containing chryſtals of white quartz; the *echinus* agatized; a prodigious quantity of falſe precious ſtones, particularly amethyſts, topazes, garnets, alſo chalcedonies, cornelians, milky agates, the *oculus catti*, or cat's eye, jaſpers, and particularly the red ſpecies. He added, that Lithuania was extremely rich in marine petrefactions, and chiefly in thoſe which are common in the Baltic: of theſe the madrepores are the moſt numerous, and amongſt others

* Naturaliſts have long differed concerning the origin of amber. Some maintain it to be an animal ſubſtance: others claſs it among the minerals; ſome aſſert, that it is a vegetable oil united with a mineral acid; but the moſt common opinion ſeems to be that it is a foſſil bitumen. A few, with Mr. Gillibert, hold it to be the reſinous juice of a pine hardened by age: this latter opinion was alſo maintained by the antient Romans. Amber is moſt uſually found upon the ſea-coaſt, and though frequently diſcovered ſeveral feet beneath the ſurface of the ground, yet has been ſuppoſed to have never been dug up at any conſiderable diſtance from the ſea; a circumſtance which has led ſeveral naturaliſts to conjecture, that it owes, in a great meaſure, its production to the ſea. But this hypotheſis is confuted by the diſcovery of theſe large pieces of amber in the heart of the Lithuanian foreſts far from any ſea. See Plin. Hiſt. Nat. L. 37. Sec. XI. Tacitus de Mor. Germ. Macquaire's Chymiſtry, v. II. p. 206. Biſhop of Landaff's (Dr. Watſon) Eſſays on Chym. v. III. p. 12. and particularly Wallerius Syſt. Min. v. II. p. 115—117. where the reader will find a liſt of the principal naturaliſts, who have written upon Amber.

† Wallerius Syſt. Min. v. II. p. 255.

‡ Mr. Gillibert thus deſcribes theſe agates in the Acts of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. "Mr. Gillibert dans une lettre à Mr. "le Profeſſeur Pallas, parle d'une petrifica-"tion très remarquable, commune dans ce "pays [Lithuania], laquelle eſt agathe par "ſa nature, mais reſemble parfaitement par "ſa forme, à des racines de ſapins pétrifiées. "Les racines agatiſées ſont bandées de noir "autour de leur axe, et incruſtées d'une "écorſe griſe ou blanchâtre. On en trouve "à demi petrifiées; et toutes donnent une "odeur empyreumatique au feu, qui provient "d'un reſte de principe bitumeneux. D'Ail-"leurs toutes les petrifications d'origine ma-"rine ſe trouvent agatiſées dans ce pays cou-"vert d'un ſable fin, dont les eaux peuvent "extraire un principe pétrifiant de cette na-"ture." Nov. Act. Acad. Pet. for 1777, p. 45.

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the *Corallinum Gothlandicum* is not uncommon; which is deſcribed in the firſt volume of the *Amœnitates Academicæ* * as extremely rare.

The next morning we viſited the manufactures eſtabliſhed by the king in 1776. They were carrying on in wooden ſheds, built by Auguſtus III. for ſtables, which had been converted into temporary working looms, and dwelling houſes for the accommodation of the manufacturers; the whole eſtabliſhment was expected to be ſoon removed to Loſſona, a village near Grodno, where convenient buildings, conſtructing at his majeſty's expence, were nearly finiſhed for that purpoſe. The principal manufactures are cloth and camlets, linen and cottons, ſilk ſtuffs, embroidery, ſilk ſtockings, hats, lace, fire arms, needles, cards, bleaching wax, and carriages. The country furniſhes ſufficient wool, flax, hemp, beavers hair, and wax for the ſupply of the manufactures which employ thoſe commodities; but the ſilk, cotton, iron, colours, gold and ſilver for the embroidery, and fine thread from Bruſſels for the lace, are imported.

The manufactures employ 3000 perſons, including thoſe diſperſed in the contiguous villages, who ſpin linen and worſted thread. There are ſeventy foreigners, who direct the different branches; the reſt are natives belonging to the king's demeſnes. The apprentices are boys and girls, all children of Poliſh peaſants, who are clothed and fed, and have beſides a ſmall allowance in money. The directors complain that there is no emulation among them; and that, although they are better fed and clothed than the other peaſants, yet they cannot excite them to induſtry by any other means than force. Nor is this a matter of wonder; for as they ſtill continue in a ſtate of ſervitude, if they acquire any unuſual profit, and carry it to their parents, they are apprehenſive leſt it ſhould be taken away; it

* P. 211.

having frequently happened, that any little pittance, they had gained by their labour, has been wreſted from them, in order to pay the quit-rents which their parents owed to their lords. One of theſe apprentices, more ſhrewd than the reſt, ſaid to the director, who was trying to ſtimulate her induſtry, "What advantage ſhall I obtain if I follow your advice? let me become ever ſo ſkilful in my trade, I ſhall always continue ſubject to my maſter: the labour will be mine, and the profits his." To which obſervation no anſwer could be given. Moſt of them appeared with ſuch a ſettled melancholy in their countenances, as made my heart ache to ſee them; and it was eaſy to perceive that they worked from compulſion, and not from inclination. As ſome remedy to this evil, it has been propoſed, after a certain term of years, to give liberty to thoſe who particularly excel, and diſtinguiſh themſelves by any extraordinary exertions. But this humane propoſal has been rejected, from a notion that ſuch perſons, when once made free, would no longer continue to work; and that by theſe means the manufactures would be deprived of their beſt hands. Though this inconvenience, however, might occaſionally take place, yet the encouragement of ſuch a regulation would beget alacrity and excite induſtry, and would therefore create a greater number of artiſts than it would emancipate. It would now and then occaſion the loſs of a manufacturer; but would diffuſe ſuch a knowledge of the manufacture, as to render the loſs immaterial.

Theſe manufactures are ſtill in their infancy, but their inſtitution reflects a conſiderable luſtre upon his majeſty's reign; and more particularly as his attention was not withdrawn from them during the civil convulſions which ſo lately ſhook his throne.

On the firſt evening of our arrival at Grodno, a Poliſh nobleman, to whom we were introduced by Mr. Gillibert, invited

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us to ſupper with ſuch frankneſs and cordiality, that it would have been rudeneſs not to have accepted the invitation. After an hour's converſation, he conſigned us to the care of his wife, and retired; nor did he again make his appearance the whole evening. This ſeeming inattention, ſo contrary to the politeneſs of the invitation, occaſioned at firſt ſome ſurprize; but we afterwards found that good manners equally directed his behaviour in both theſe inſtances. Having before our arrival invited ſome Poliſh gentlemen to ſup with him who could not converſe in French, and who drank freely, he thought juſtly enough that we ſhould paſs a more agreeable evening with the ladies. We had a ſmall party at ſupper, which was cheerful and agreeable, for the Poles are a very lively people, and the women in general amiable and well-bred.

We dined the following day with count Tyſenhauſen vice-chancellor of Lithuania: it was an election-dinner previous to the dietine, which was to aſſemble at Grodno, in order to chuſe the repreſentatives of this diſtrict for the approaching diet. There were eighty nobles at table, all, a few excepted, in their national dreſs, and with their heads ſhaved in the Poliſh faſhion. Before dinner they ſaluted the count with great reſpect, ſome kiſſing the hem of his garment, others ſtooping down and embracing his legs. Two ladies were at table, and, as ſtrangers, we had the poſt of honour aſſigned to us, and were ſeated by them. It was my good fortune to ſit next to one who was uncommonly entertaining and agreeable, and never ſuffered the converſation to flag. After dinner ſeveral toaſts went round:—the king of Poland—the diet—the ladies who were preſent—a good journey to us, &c. The maſter of the feaſt named the toaſt, filled a large glaſs, drank it, turned it down to ſhew that it was empty, and then paſſed it to his next neighbour; from whom it was circulated in ſucceſſion and with the ſame ceremonies through the whole company.

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The wine was champagne, the glaſs large, and the toaſts numerous: but there was no obligation, after the firſt round, to fill the glaſs; it was only neceſſary to pour in a ſmall quantity and paſs the toaſt. As it is eſteemed a kind of hoſpitality in Poland to circulate the wine freely among the gueſts, my fair neighbour, when it was my turn to drink her health, propoſed that I ſhould fill a bumper. Though I had already drank one in honour of his majeſty, and would willingly have declined another, I could not diſobey the orders of an agreeable woman, and did the ſame homage to beauty that I had before paid to royalty. The next turn was the health of the other lady, which my fair neighbour urged me to do juſtice to in the ſame manner; but I excuſed myſelf by intimating, that ſhe alone was deſerving of ſuch a tribute.

In the evening the count gave us a ball concluded by an elegant ſupper. The ball was lively and agreeable. The company amuſed themſelves with Poliſh and Engliſh country-dances: the former was ſimple, but not deficient in grace, and accompanied by a moſt pleaſing air; the company ſtood in pairs; the firſt man led his partner round the room in a kind of ſtep not much unlike that of a minuet, he then quitted her hand, made a ſmall circle, joined hands again, and repeated the ſame movements until the concluſion. The ſecond couple began as ſoon as the firſt had advanced a few ſteps, and was quickly followed by the remainder, ſo that all the parties glided after one another at the ſame time. The Poles are very fond of this dance: although it has little variety, they continued it for half an hour without intermiſſion, and frequently renewed it during the courſe of the evening. The intervals between this national dance were filled with Engliſh country dances, which they performed with equal expertneſs, and with no leſs delight. An elegant ſupper, to which

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which only a ſelect party was invited, agreeably concluded the entertainment of the day.

The count politely preſſed us to continue ſome time at Grodno, and to take up our abode in his houſe; but as we were deſirous of arriving at Peterſburgh before the commencement of the winter, we declined the invitation, which we ſhould otherwiſe have accepted with the greateſt pleaſure. Some of the company, however, had kindly endeavoured to detain us by the following ſtratagem: they privately deſired the coach-maker employed in mending our carriage to execute the commiſſion in a dilatory manner; and although we had accidentally diſcovered this project, yet it was not without the moſt urgent remonſtrances that we obtained the neceſſary repairs. In order to ſpare our acquaintance the trouble of making, and ourſelves the pain of rejecting, any further ſolicitations, we thought it moſt expedient to ſteal away in the night without appriſing any one of our deſign.

It was our intention to have proceeded to Vilna; but as this was the time of electing nuntios, the poſtmaſter informed us, that for want of horſes we ſhould be delayed upon the road at ſome wretched village without a poſſibility of proceeding; we therefore, very unwillingly, altered our route, to our great diſappointment, as we wiſhed much to have viſited the capital of Lithuania.

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CHAP. VII.

Continuation of the tour through the duchy of Lithuania.—*Number of Jews.—Badneſs of the roads and want of accommodations.—Cloſe of the dietine at* Minſk.—*Poverty and wretchedneſs of the natives.—Comparative view of the* Swiſs *and* Poliſh *peaſants.—Remarks on the* Plica Polonica.

CHAP. VII.

IN our route through Lithuania we could not avoid being ſtruck with the ſwarms of Jews, who, though very numerous in every part of Poland, ſeem to have fixed their head-quarters in this duchy. If you aſk for an interpreter, they bring you a Jew; if you come to an inn, the landlord is a Jew; if you want poſt-horſes, a Jew procures them, and a Jew drives them; if you wiſh to purchaſe, a Jew is your agent: and this perhaps is the only country in Europe where Jews cultivate the ground: in paſſing through Lithuania, we frequently ſaw them engaged in ſowing, reaping, mowing, and other works of huſbandry.

The roads in this country are quite neglected, being ſcarcely ſuperior to by-paths winding through the thick foreſt without the leaſt degree of artificial direction: they are frequently ſo narrow as ſcarcely to admit a carriage; and are continually ſo obſtructed by ſtumps and roots of trees, and in many parts ſo exceedingly ſandy, that eight ſmall horſes could ſcarcely drag us along. The poſtilions were frequently boys of ten or twelve years of age, hardy lads, who rode poſts of twenty and even thirty Engliſh miles without a ſaddle, and with ſcarcely any covering except a ſhirt and a pair of linen drawers. The bridges acroſs the rivulets were ſo weakly conſtructed and ſo old, that they ſeemed ready to crack with the weight

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of the carriage, and we thought ourſelves fortunate in getting over them without an accident.

Some travellers have remarked, that the foreſts, through which our route lay, are ſet on fire by lightning or other natural cauſes, and blaze for a conſiderable time. At firſt we conceived this repreſentation to be well-founded, as we diſcovered in many parts evident traces of extenſive conflagrations. Upon inquiry, however, we were informed, that the peaſants, being obliged annually to furniſh their landlords with a certain quantity of turpentine, ſet fire to the trunks of the pines while ſtanding, and catch it as it oozes from the ſtems. We could obſerve few trees without marks of fire upon them: ſome were quite black, and nearly charred to cinder; ſome half-burnt; others conſiderably ſcorched, but continuing to vegetate.

Auguſt 15. After twenty hours inceſſant travelling we arrived late in the evening at Bielitza, which is diſtant about ninety Engliſh miles from Grodno; and ſet out before the break of day, anxious to reach Minſk on the morning of the 17th, when a dietine for the election of nuntios was to be aſſembled. We ſtopped a ſhort time at Novogrodec, which is all built of wood, except two or three ruinous brick-houſes, a convent that belonged to the Jeſuits, and ſome mouldering ſtone-walls ſurrounding a ſmall eminence, upon which are the remains of an old citadel. Near Novogrodec we paſſed a large number of barrows, which the peaſants call Swediſh burying-places. In this part the country was leſs ſandy, of a richer ſoil, and ſomewhat diverſified with hill and dale: the ſolitary extent of the foreſts was more than uſual interſperſed with villages and dotted with fields of paſture, in which we obſerved numerous herds of cattle.

Upon our arrival at the ſmall village of Mir, we found that our original intention of reaching Minſk by the next morning

was ſcarcely practicable, even if we continued our journey during the night. The diſtance was between ſixty and ſeventy miles; the night extremely dark; the roads bad, and, we were informed, that in ſome places we ſhould be obliged to croſs ſeveral bridges not very paſſable even in the day without the utmoſt circumſpection. Our deſire therefore of being preſent at the election of nuntios gave way to theſe ſuggeſtions; and we ſacrificed the gratification of our curioſity to the conſiderations of perſonal ſafety. The pleaſures of Mir certainly offered no inducement for delay: the poverty of the inhabitants denied a ſcanty ſupply of the moſt ordinary refreſhments; the higheſt entertainment which the place afforded being a ſuſpenſion of the dangers of travelling, and the ſum of our comforts an intermiſſion of fatigue.

The badneſs of our accommodations at Mir led us to conſider Minſk (where we arrived on the evening of the 17th) as the ſeat of taſte and luxury. We there experienced comforts to which we had lately been ſtrangers, a neat white-waſhed room with a brick floor, no fleas or flies, plenty of clean ſtraw, good bread, and freſh meat. After a refreſhing night's reſt, we ſallied forth the next morning to the refectory of the Jeſuits monaſtery, the place where the nuntios had been choſen the preceding day. We had ſome difficulty in gaining admittance; at length a perſon, who appeared to be a man of conſequence, came out and inquired in the German language our country and our buſineſs. Upon our anſwering that we were three Engliſh gentlemen, deſirous of ſeeing every thing worthy of obſervation, he expreſſed much ſurprize at the plainneſs of our dreſſes, particularly at our want of ſwords. "In Po-
"land," he ſaid, "every gentleman wears his ſabre as a badge
"of his rank, never appearing in public without it; and I
"adviſe you to obſerve this cuſtom as long as you continue
"in this country, if you wiſh to be conſidered as gentlemen."

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Thanking him for his advice, we accompanied him into the refectory, where we found the majority of the dietine ſtill aſſembled, though not upon national buſineſs; in plain Engliſh, they were engaged in drinking, a no leſs eſſential appendage of a Poliſh than a Britiſh election. One perſon, whom they ſeemed to treat with deference, was conſtantly employed in delivering drams to the electors, who were ſtanding in different parts of the room: many ceremonies paſſed at every circulation of the glaſs; they touched their breaſts, ſtooped towards the ground, and drank the nuntios' and each other's health with great ſolemnity. Several of the Poliſh gentlemen converſed with me in the Latin tongue: they informed me, that every palatinate is divided into a certain number of diſtricts, and that each diſtrict chuſes two nuntios. I aſked them whether the election of the diſtrict of Minſk had been conteſted; they told me, that three candidates had offered themſelves. I then demanded whether the elected nuntios were of the king's party; and they anſwered, "We have in this "inſtance complied with his majeſty's recommendation."—"You have acted," I replied, "with great propriety: is he not "a good prince?"—"A good prince!" returned the Poles, "yes, the moſt excellent that ever filled a throne."

Minſk is a large place: two churches and the monaſtery which belonged to the Jeſuits are conſtructed of brick; and the remaining buildings, though formed of wood, have a neater look than the generality of dwellings in this country. On returning to our inn, we received an invitation to dinner from a Poliſh count; but as the weather appeared fine, as our carriage was at the door, and all things prepared for our immediate departure, we determined to give up an opportunity of ſocial enjoyment to the expediency of purſuing our journey.

Auguſt 18. We were conſiderably fatigued with our journey from Minſk to Smolewitzo, which, though ſcarcely thirty

thirty miles, employed us, on account of the badneſs of the roads and other unexpected delays, near twelve hours. The weather was cold and rainy, the wind high, the roads worſe than uſual; and the evening, when it ſet in, extremely dark. We were almoſt beginning to deſpair of reaching our deſtined ſtation, when a noiſe of folding-doors thrown open, and the rattling of our carriage upon a wooden floor, announced our actual arrival. The leathern blinds of our carriage having been cloſely faſtened down, in order to exclude the wind and rain, we were for a few moments held in ſuſpenſe into what kind of place we were admitted. Upon alighting, we found ourſelves in the middle of a large barn or ſhed, at the further end of which we deſcried two large pines, branches and all, in full blaze upon an hearth without a chimney: round it ſeveral figures, in full black robes and with long beards, were employed in ſtirring a large cauldron ſuſpended over the flame. A belief in witchcraft, or a little ſuperſtition, might eaſily have repreſented this party as a group of magicians engaged in celebrating ſome myſtic rites; but, upon nearer inſpection, we recognized in them our old friends the Jews, preparing their and our evening repaſt.

We ſet out the next morning before day-break, as was our uſual cuſtom, having no inducement to remain any longer than was abſolutely neceſſary in theſe hovels, abounding in vermin, and in which filth and wretchedneſs are united. Near Boriſow we croſſed the Berezyna, which has been erroneouſly laid down by ſome modern geographers, as forming the new boundary between Ruſſia and Poland; and on the other ſide of the town paſſed a camp of 2000 Ruſſian troops, who were marching to Warſaw.

At Boriſow the Jews procured us ten horſes, and placed them all in two rows, ſix next the carriage, and four in front*.

* The uſual method of harneſſing was by placing four a-breaſt, and two in the foremoſt row.

There

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There was indeed much ingenuity in contriving this arrangement, which was effected in the following manner. The two middle horſes in the hinder row were harneſſed as uſual to the ſplinter-bars, their two neareſt neighbours were faſtened to the extremities of the axle-tree, which projected conſiderably on each ſide beyond the boxes of the fore-wheels, and the two outermoſt were tied in the ſame manner, by means of long ropes, to the axle-tree of the hind-wheels: the four horſes in front were harneſſed to the pole and to the ſplinter-bars of the pole. Well aſſured that horſes, ranged in this primitive manner, would require more room than the narrow roads of Poland generally afforded, we endeavoured to perſuade the drivers to place them two by two; but ſuch was their obſtinacy or want of comprehenſion, we could not prevail upon them to make any alteration. We therefore unlooſed two horſes from the hindermoſt row, and for that permiſſion were obliged to compound for leaving the remaining eight in their original poſition. In this manner we proceeded; and ſtill found great difficulty in forcing our way through the wilderneſs, which was ſo overgrown with thick underwood, as in many parts ſcarcely to admit the breadth of an ordinary carriage. In ſome places we were obliged to take off two, in others four of the horſes; and not uncommonly alighted, in order to aſſiſt the drivers and ſervants in removing fallen trees which obſtructed the way, in directing the horſes through the winding paths, and in finding a new track along the almoſt impenetrable foreſt. We thought ourſelves exceedingly fortunate, that our carriage was not ſhaken to pieces, and that we were not frequently overturned.

In various parts of the foreſt, we obſerved a circular range of boards fixed to ſeveral trees about twelve feet from the ground, and projecting three in breadth from the trunk. Upon inquiry we were informed, that upon any great hunting

ing party, ladders were placed againſt theſe ſcaffoldings; and that when any perſon is cloſely preſſed by a bear, he runs up the ladder, and draws it up after him: the bear, although an excellent climber, is ſtopped in his aſcent by the projection of the boards.

We were very happy at length to reach Naitza, although we took up our ſtation in one of the moſt wretched of all the wretched cottages we had yet entered. The only article of furniture it afforded was a ſmall table, and the only utenſil a broken earthen pot, in which our repaſt was prepared, and which ſerved us alſo for diſhes and plates. We ate our meagre fare by the light of a thin lath of deal, about five feet in length, which was ſtuck into a crevice of the wainſcot, and hung over the table: this lath, thanks to the turpentine contained in it, ſerved us inſtead of a candle, of which there was not one to be found in the whole village of Naitza. It is ſurprizing, that the careleſs method of uſing theſe lights is not oftener attended with more dreadful effects; for the cottagers carry them about the houſe with ſuch little caution, that we frequently obſerved ſparks to drop from them upon the ſtraw which was prepared for our beds: nor were we able, by the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of fear, to awaken in them the ſlighteſt degree of circumſpection. For ſome time after coming into this country, we uſed to ſtart up with no ſmall emotion in order to extinguiſh the ſparks; but, ſuch is the irreſiſtible influence of cuſtom, we became at laſt ourſelves perfectly inſenſible to the danger of this practice, and caught all the indifference of the natives. I once even ſo far forgot myſelf as to hold a lighted ſtick for a conſiderable time over an heap of ſtraw, while I was negligently ſearching for ſome trifle. This ſupineneſs, which I ſo eaſily acquired in this particular, convinced me (if I may compare ſmall things with great), that I could live with the inhabitants at the foot of Mount Veſuvius without

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without dread of an eruption; or ſit unconcerned with the natives of Conſtantinople amid the devaſtations of the plague.

It is inconceivable how few are the wants of the Lithuanian peaſants! Their carts are put together without iron; their bridles and traces are generally plaited from the bark of trees, or compoſed merely of twiſted branches. They have no other inſtrument but a hatchet, to conſtruct their huts, cut out their furniture, and make their carts. Their dreſs is a thick linen ſhirt and drawers, a long coarſe drugget coat, or a ſheepſkin cloak, a round black felt cap lined with wool, and ſhoes made from the bark of trees. Their huts are built of trunks of trees heaped on each other, and look like piles of wood in wharfs with penthouſe roofs. How very unlike the Swiſs cottages, though conſtructed of the ſame materials! Nor are their houſes more diſſimilar than their manners. The ſtriking difference between the Swiſs and Poliſh peaſants, in their very air and deportment, ſtrongly marks the contraſt of their reſpective governments. The Swiſs are open, frank, rough, but ready to ſerve you; they nod their heads, or ſlightly pull off their hats as you paſs by, but expect a return of civility: they are rouſed by the leaſt rudeneſs, and are not to be inſulted with impunity. On the contrary, the Poliſh peaſants are cringing and ſervile in their expreſſions of reſpect; they bowed down to the ground; took off their hats or caps, and held them in their hands till we were out of ſight; ſtopped their carts on the firſt glimpſe of our carriage; in ſhort, their whole behaviour gave evident ſymptoms of the abject ſervitude under which they groaned. Yet liberty is as often the ſubject of encomium in Poland as in Swiſſerland: how different, however, are its operations in the two countries! In the one it is equally diffuſed, and ſpreads comfort and happineſs through the whole community: in the other it centers in a few, and is in reality the worſt ſpecies of deſpotiſm.

Before I close my account of Poland, I shall just cursorily mention, that in our progress through this country we could not fail observing several persons with matted or clotted hair, which constitutes a disorder called *Plica Polonica:* it receives that denomination because it is considered as peculiar to Poland; although it is not unfrequent in Hungary, Tartary, and several adjacent nations, and instances of it are occasionally to be found in other countries.

According to the observations of Dr. Vicat, an ingenious Swiss physician long resident in Poland, and who has published a satisfactory treatise * upon this subject; the *Plica Polonica* is supposed to proceed from an acrid viscous humour penetrating into the hair, which is tubular †: it then exudes either from its sides or extremities, and clots the whole together, either in separate folds, or in one undistinguished mass. Its symptoms, more or less violent, according to the constitution of the patient, or malignity of the disease, are itchings, swellings, eruptions, ulcers, intermitting fevers, pains in the head, languor, lowness of spirits, rheumatism, gout, and sometimes even convulsions, palsy, and madness. These symptoms gradually decrease as the hair becomes affected. If the patient is shaved in the head, he relapses into all the dreadful complaints which preceded the eruption of the *Plica*; and he continues to labour under them, until a fresh growth of hair absorbs the acrid humour. This disorder is thought hereditary; and is proved to be contagious when in a virulent state.

Many physical causes have been supposed to concur in rendering the *Plica* more frequent in these regions than in other parts: it would be an endless work to enumerate the various conjectures with which each person has supported his favourite

* Memoire sur la Plique Polonoise.

† The dilatation of the hair is sometimes so considerable as to admit small globules of blood; this circumstance, which however very rarely happens, has probably given rise to the notion, that the patient, if his hair is cut off, bleeds to death.

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hypotheſis: the moſt probable are thoſe aſſigned by Dr. Vicat. The firſt cauſe is the nature of the Poliſh air, which is rendered inſalubrious by numerous woods and moraſſes; and occaſionally derives an uncommon keenneſs even in the midſt of ſummer from the poſition of the Carpathian mountains; for the ſouthern and ſouth-eaſterly winds, which uſually convey warmth in other regions, are in this chilled in their paſſage over their ſnowy ſummits. The ſecond is unwholeſome water; for although Poland is not deficient in good ſprings, yet the common people uſually drink that which is neareſt at hand, taken indiſcriminately from rivers, lakes, and even ſtagnant pools. The third cauſe is the groſs inattention of the natives to cleanlineſs; for experience ſhews, that thoſe who are not negligent in their perſons and habitations, are leſs liable to be afflicted with the plica, than others who are deficient in that particular. Thus perſons of higher rank are leſs ſubject to this diſorder than thoſe of inferior ſtations: the inhabitants of large towns than thoſe of ſmall villages; the free peaſants than thoſe in an abſolute ſtate of vaſſalage; the natives of Poland Proper than thoſe of Lithuania. Whatever we may determine as to the poſſibility that all, or any of theſe cauſes, by themſelves, or in conjunction with others, originally produced the diſorder; we may venture to aſſert, that they all, and particularly the laſt, aſſiſt its propagation, inflame its ſymptoms, and protract its cure.

In a word, the *Plica Polonica* appears to be a contagious diſtemper; which, like the leproſy, ſtill prevails among a people ignorant in medicine, and inattentive to check its progreſs; but is rarely known in thoſe countries, where proper precautions are taken to prevent its ſpreading.

MAP of EUROPEAN RUSSIA.

By Thos. Kitchin Senr. Hydrographer to his Majesty.

Russian Versts 105 to a Degree.

English Miles 69 to a Degree.

FROZEN OCEAN

NORTH SEA

BALTIC SEA

BLACK SEA

CASPIAN SEA

LAPLAND

RUSSIAN LAPLAND

SWEDISH LAPLAND

WHITE SEA

GULF OF BOTHNIA

GULF OF FINLAND

GULF OF RIGA

ARCHANGEL

OLONETZ

WIBURG

NOVOGOROD

PETERSBURG

ESTHONIA or REVEL

LIVONIA

RIGA

POLOTSK

TWER

MOSCOW

SMOLENSKO

MOHILEF

KALUGA

KARGAPOL

BIELOZERO

VOLOGDA

KOSTROMA

VOLODIMIR

NISHNEI NOVOGOROD

CASAN

VIATKA

PERMIA

ORENBURG

SIMBIRSK

SARATOF

PENZA

TAMBOF

ORIEL

KURSK

CHERNIGOF

UKRAINE

NEW RUSSIA

CRIMEA

KUBAN

ASTRACAN

Arctic Circle

Publish'd March 26. 1784 according to Act of Parliament by T. Cadell in the Strand.

TRAVELS

INTO

RUSSIA.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Entrance into Ruſſia.—*Limits and account of the province diſmembered from* Poland.—*Cheapneſs of the poſt.*—*Journey to* Smolenſko.—*Hiſtory and deſcription of* Smolenſko.—*Divine ſervice in the cathedral.*—*Viſit to the biſhop.*—*Dinner with a judge.*—*Journey to* Moſcow.—*Peaſants.*—*Their dreſs, cottages, food,* &c.

AUGUST 20. We came into Ruſſia at the ſmall village of Tolitzin, which in 1772 belonged to Poland, but is now compriſed in the portion of country ceded to the empreſs by the late partition treaty. The province allotted to Ruſſia compriſes Poliſh Livonia, that part of the palatinate of Polotſk which lies to the eaſt of the Duna; the palatinates of Vitepſk, Miciſlaw, and two ſmall portions to the north-eaſt and ſouth- CHAP. I.

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eaſt of the palatinate of Minſk: this tract of land (Poliſh Livonia excepted) is ſituated in White-Ruſſia, and includes at leaſt one third of Lithuania.

The Ruſſian limits of the new province are formed by the Duna, from its mouth to above Vitepſk, from thence by a ſtraight line running directly ſouth to the ſource of the Drug near Tolitzin, by the Drug to its junction with the Dnieper, and laſtly, by the Dnieper to the point where it receives the Sotz. This territory is now divided into the two governments of Polotſk and Mohilef; its population amounts to about 1,600,000 ſouls; its productions are chiefly grain in large quantities, hemp, flax, and paſture; its foreſts furniſh great abundance of maſts, planks, alſo oak for ſhip-building, pitch and tar, &c. which are chiefly ſent down the Duna to Riga.

Upon entering Ruſſia at Tolitzin we were greatly aſtoniſhed at the cheapneſs of the poſt-horſes: and when our ſervant had diſcharged the firſt account, which amounted to only two copecs, or about a penny, a verſt * for each horſe, we ſhould have concluded, that he had cheated the poſt-maſter in our favour, if we had not been well convinced, from the general character of the Ruſſians, that they were not likely to be duped by ſtrangers. Indeed we ſoon afterwards diſcovered, that even half of the charge, which we thought ſo extremely moderate, might have been ſaved, if we had taken the precaution of obtaining an order from the Ruſſian embaſſador at Warſaw.

From Tolitzin, through the new government of Mohilef, the road was excellent, and of conſiderable breadth, with a double row of trees planted on each ſide, and ditches to drain off the water. We paſſed through ſeveral wretched villages, ferried at Orſa over the Dnieper, there only a ſmall river, went through Dubroffna, and arrived in the evening at Lady. The country from Tolitzin to Lady is waving and ſomewhat hilly,

* Three quarters of a mile.

abounds

abounds in foreſt, and produces corn, millet, hemp, and flax. In the largeſt villages we obſerved ſchools and other buildings, conſtructing at the expence of the empreſs, and alſo churches with domes, intended for the Poliſh diſſidents of the Greek ſect, and the Ruſſians who chuſe to ſettle in the country.

Lady is ſituated in the government of Smolenſko, and, before the late diſmemberment, was one of the Ruſſian frontier towns: we took up our quarters at the poſt-houſe, where we procured a very comfortable apartment. Theſe poſt-houſes, which frequently occur in the principal high-roads of Ruſſia, are moſtly conſtructed upon the ſame plan, and are very convenient for the accommodation of travellers: they are large ſquare wooden buildings, encloſing a ſpacious court-yard; in the center of the front is a range of apartments intended for the reception of travellers, with a gate-way on each ſide leading into the court-yard; the remainder of the front is appropriated to the uſe of the poſt-maſter and his ſervants; the other three ſides of the quadrangle are divided into ſtables and ſheds for carriages, and large barns for hay and corn. We were agreeably ſurprized to meet with, in this remote place, ſome Engliſh ſtrong beer; and no leſs pleaſed to ſee our ſupper ſerved up in diſhes of our countryman Wedgewood's cream-coloured ware. The luxury of clean ſtraw for our beds was no ſmall addition to theſe comforts.

Upon calling for our bill in the morning, we found our charge as reaſonable as the entertainment was good. The ſatisfaction we expreſſed at our reception, perhaps, induced the ſecretary (as the poſt-maſter himſelf was abſent) to think us proper ſubjects of impoſition. The diſtance to the next ſtation was about ten miles, and the ſecretary demanded three times the ſum allowed by the public regulations, under pretence of our not being provided with an order for poſt-horſes. We hinted ſome ſurprize at this charge: this intimation,

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though conveyed in the mildeſt terms, the ſecretary thought proper to anſwer with expreſſions of contempt and defiance; he ordered the horſes again into the ſtable, and declared we ſhould not ſtir from the place until we diſcharged the full ſum. Though we might eaſily have been prevailed upon by the ſlighteſt apology to have ſubmitted to the fraud, we determined to chaſtiſe his inſolence. We repaired to the director of the cuſtom-houſe, and were immediately admitted: to our great ſatisfaction he ſpoke German; and after we had laid our caſe before him, he told us, that the Ruſſian had demanded treble the ſum he was intitled to; he aſſured us, that we ſhould receive inſtant redreſs, and that the offender ſhould be puniſhed for his impoſition. Having diſpatched a meſſenger, to whom he whiſpered a private order, he deſired us to wait his return, and offered us coffee. While we were drinking it, he gave us various information relative to the Ruſſian poſts; added ſeveral hints, which afterwards proved ſingularly uſeful; and he particularly cautioned us to procure an order for horſes from the governor of Smolenſko. In the midſt of this converſation we heard a carriage drive to the door, which we perceived to be our own, with all things ready for our immediate departure: our old friend, the poſt-maſter's ſecretary, made at the ſame time his appearance in a very ſubmiſſive attitude; we interceded with the director for his back, and obtained a promiſe that he ſhould not be beat, but only reprimanded. After making thoſe acknowledgements to our friendly director which were due to his politeneſs, we took our leave, and proceeded on our journey.

We were much chagrined at finding that the excellent new road lately deſcribed terminated at Lady: it was ſome ſatisfaction, however, that the remaining parts from thence to Smolenſko proved far ſuperior to thoſe we had encountered in the Lithuanian foreſts. The villages were an exact counterpart

terpart to thoſe we had left behind, and exhibited ſcarcely any thing more than a repetition of ſcenes already detailed. CHAP. I.

The Ruſſians differ widely in their appearance and dreſs from the Poliſh peaſants. The moſt ſtriking contraſt ariſes from their method of wearing their hair: the Poles ſhave their heads, leaving only a ſmall tuft upon the crown; while the others ſuffer their hair to hang quite down to the eye-brows and over the ears, and cut it ſhort round the neck. The country was undulating and hilly, and more open than uſual until we arrived within a few miles of Smolenſko, when we plunged into a thick foreſt, which continued almoſt to the gates of that town without the intervention of a ſingle village, or ſcarcely of a ſingle cottage.

In 1403 the town of Smolenſko, which belonged to the Ruſſians, was beſieged and taken by Vitoldus, and, together with the whole province, united to the duchy of Lithuania *. During the conſtant and inveterate enmities which ſubſiſted between the Ruſſians and Poles, Smolenſko was a place of great importance; though only fortified according to the cuſtom of the time, partly with ramparts of earth and ditches, and partly with palliſadoes, and a wooden citadel †; theſe fortifications were, however, ſufficiently ſtrong to reſiſt the deſultory attacks of undiſciplined troops, and it was at different intervals ineffectually beſieged until the beginning of the 16th century, when Vaſſili Ivanovitch great-duke of Moſcovy got poſſeſſion of it, by corrupting the garriſon. It continued in the hands of the Ruſſians for above a century, in the ſame ſimple ſtyle of defence. At length the importance of its ſituation near the frontiers of Poland, and the improvements in the art of war, induced Boris Godunof, prime miniſter, and brother-in-law of the tzar Feodor Ivanovitch, to ſurround it

* Dlugoſſius, Lib. X. p. 104. et ſeq.
† Rerum Moſc. Auct. p. 52. Mayerberg Iter Moſc. p. 74.

with

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with a wall: he came in perſon to Smolenſko, and himſelf aſſiſted in tracing out the ſite of the fortifications, which he lived to ſee completed in his own reign *, and which are the ſame that ſubſiſt at preſent. Theſe additional fortifications, however, did not prevent Sigiſmond III. king of Poland, from beſieging and taking the town in 1611; and by the truce of Develina in 1618, the poſſeſſion was confirmed to Poland. In 1654 it was again reduced by Alexèy Michaelovitch; and in 1686 finally ceded to Ruſſia at the peace of Moſcow †.

Smolenſko, though by no means the moſt magnificent, is by far the moſt ſingular town I have ever ſeen. It is ſituated upon the river Dnieper, and ſtands upon two hills, and upon the valley which lies between them. It is ſurrounded by walls thirty feet high and fifteen thick, with the lower part of ſtone, and the upper of brick: theſe walls, which follow the ſhape of the hills, and encloſe a circumference of ſeven verſts ‡, have, at every angle, round or ſquare towers of two or three ſtories, much broader at top than at bottom, and covered with circular roofs of wood. The intervals are ſtudded with ſmaller turrets; on the outſide of the wall is a broad deep ditch, regular covered way with traverſes, glacis, &c. and where the ground is higheſt there are redoubts of earth according to the modern ſtyle of fortification. In the middle of the town is an eminence, upon which ſtands the cathedral; from whence I had a moſt pictureſque view of the town, interſperſed within the circuit of the walls with gardens, groves, copſes, fields of paſture, and corn. The buildings are moſtly wooden, of one ſtory (many of them no better than cottages) excepting here and there a gentleman's houſe, which is called a palace, and ſeveral churches, conſtructed of brick and ſtuccoed. One long broad ſtreet, which is paved, interſects the

* S. R. G. vol. V. p. 94. Lengnich, Jus Pub. v. I. p. 46.

† Lengnich, vol. I. p. 47.

‡ Four miles and three quarters.

whole

whole length of the town in a ſtraight line; the other ſtreets generally wind in circular directions, and are floored with planks. The walls, ſtretching over the uneven ſides of the hills till they reach the banks of the Dnieper, their antient ſtyle of architecture, their groteſque towers, the ſpires of churches ſhooting above the trees, which are ſo numerous as almoſt to conceal the buildings from view, the appearance of meadows and arable ground, all theſe objects blended together exhibit a ſcene of the moſt ſingular and contraſted kind. On the further ſide of the Dnieper are a number of ſtraggling wooden houſes that form the ſuburbs of the town, and are joined to it by a wooden bridge. As far as I could collect from vague information, this town contains about 4,000 inhabitants: it has no manufactures; but carries on ſome commerce with the Ukraine, Dantzic, and Riga. The principal articles of its trade are flax, hemp, honey, wax, hides, hogs briſtles, maſts, planks, and Siberian furs. CHAP. I.

The Dnieper riſes in the foreſt of Volkonſki, near the ſource of the Volga, about 100 miles from Smolenſko. It paſſes by Smolenſko and Mohilef, ſeparates the Ukraine from Poland, flows by Kiof, and falls into the black-ſea between Otzakof and Kinburn. By the acquiſition of the province of Mohilef, its whole courſe is now included within the Ruſſian territories. It begins to be navigable at a little diſtance above Smolenſko, though in ſome ſeaſons of the year it is ſo ſhallow near the town, that the goods muſt be tranſported upon rafts and ſmall flat-bottomed boats.

Having occaſion for a new paſſport and an order for horſes, we called upon the governor, accompanied by a Ruſſian ſtudent, who ſpoke Latin, for our interpreter. The governor being at church, we repaired to the cathedral, where we waited until divine ſervice was concluded. The cathedral is a ſtately building, erected upon the ſpot where formerly ſtood the pa-

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lace of the antient dukes of Smolenſko. The inſide walls are covered with coarſe paintings repreſenting our Saviour, the Virgin, and a variety of Saints, which are very abundant in the Greek religion. The ſhrine, or ſanctuary, into which only the prieſts are admitted, is ſeparated from the body of the church by a ſkreen with large folding doors, and is ornamented with twiſted pillars of the Corinthian order richly carved and gilded. The worſhip ſeemed to conſiſt of innumerable ceremonies: the people croſſed themſelves without ceaſing; bowed towards the ſhrine and to each other, and even touched the ground with their heads. The biſhop of Smolenſko performed the ſervice; a venerable figure, with white flowing hair and long beard; he had a crown upon his head, and was dreſſed in rich epiſcopal robes. The folding doors were occaſionally opened and cloſed with great pomp and ſolemnity wenever the biſhop retired within, or came forth to bleſs the people: at the concluſion of the ſervice, the doors being thrown open, the biſhop advanced forward with a candleſtick in each hand, one containing three, and the other two lighted candles; which he repeatedly croſſed over each other in different directions; then waving them towards the audience, he concluded with a final benediction. Theſe candleſticks, as I am informed, are ſymbolical; one alludes to the Trinity, and the other to the two natures of Chriſt.

The ſervice being finiſhed, we preſented ourſelves to the governor, who, to our ſurprize, received us with an air of coldneſs, which made ſuch an impreſſion on our interpreter, that he could not be perſuaded to utter a ſingle word. At length a gentleman in the governor's train accoſted us in French, and inquired our buſineſs. Upon our informing him, that we were Engliſh gentlemen who deſired a paſſport, and an order for horſes, he told us with a ſmile, that the plainneſs of our dreſſes had raiſed a ſuſpicion of our being tradeſmen;

men; but he was not ignorant that Engliſh gentlemen ſeldom wore lace on their clothes, or ſwords in a journey; an intimation which recalled to our memory the advice of our Poliſh friend at Minſk *. He then whiſpered the governor, who inſtantly aſſumed an appearance of complacency, and teſtified by his geſture an intention of complying with our requeſt. This matter was ſcarcely adjuſted, when the biſhop joined the company; he had laid aſide the coſtly garments, in which he performed the ſervice, and was dreſſed in a long black robe, a round black cap, and veil of the ſame colour. He addreſſed us in Latin, and invited us to his houſe. He led the way, and we followed with the reſt of the company to a commodious wooden building adjoining to the cathedral. Upon entering the apartment the governor and Ruſſian gentlemen kiſſed his hand with great marks of reſpect. After deſiring all the company to ſit, he diſtinguiſhed us by particular attention, and obſerved, with much politeneſs, that our company gave him greater pleaſure, as he had never, ſince his reſidence at Smolenſko, received a viſit from any Engliſhman, for whoſe nation he had the higheſt reſpect. During this converſation a ſervant ſpread a cloth upon a ſmall table, and placed upon it a plate of bread, ſome ſalt, and ſome flowers: another followed with a ſalver of ſmall glaſſes full of a tranſparent liquor; the biſhop bleſſed the bread and the ſalver with great ſolemnity, and then took a glaſs: we thought it at firſt a religious ceremony; but were undeceived by the ſervants offering the bread and ſalver to us as well as the other perſons preſent. Every one being ſerved, the biſhop drank all our healths, a compliment which the company returned with a bow, and inſtantly emptied their glaſſes; we followed this example, and found the draught to be a dram of cherry-water. This preliminary being ſettled, we reſumed our converſation with the biſhop,

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* P. 203.

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and aſked him ſeveral queſtions relative to the antient ſtate of Smolenſko. He anſwered every enquiry with great readineſs; gave us a conciſe account of the ſtate of the town under its antient dukes, and informed us that their palace was ſituated on the ſpot now occupied by the cathedral, which was built by Feodor Michaelovitch brother of Peter the Great, and had been lately repaired and beautified. After about half an hour's agreeable converſation, we roſe up and took our leave, greatly pleaſed with the politeneſs and affability of the biſhop.

Our interpreter, who was one of the ſtudents, conducted us to the ſeminary, which is appropriated for the education of the clergy, in which the Latin, Greek, German, and Poliſh languages are taught: the prieſt who ſhewed us the library talked Latin; he introduced us into his chamber, and, according to the hoſpitable cuſtom of this country, offered us ſome refreſhment, which conſiſted of cakes and mead.

In the afternoon the Ruſſian gentleman, who ſo obligingly relieved us from our embarraſsment before the governor, kindly paid us a viſit, and invited us to dine with him the following day. We accepted his invitation, and waited upon him at two, the uſual hour of dining: he was a judge, and lived in a wooden houſe provided by the court; the rooms were ſmall, but neatly furniſhed. The company conſiſted of that gentleman, his wife and ſiſter, all of whom talked French: the ladies were dreſſed in the French faſhion, and had on a good deal of rouge; they do not curtſy; but their mode of ſalute is to bow their heads very low. Before dinner *liqueurs* were handed about; the ladies each took a ſmall glaſs, and recommended the ſame to us as favourable to digeſtion. The table was neatly ſet out, the dinner excellent, and ſerved up in Engliſh cream-coloured ware: beſide plain roaſt and boiled meats, ſeveral Ruſſian diſhes were introduced; one of theſe was a kind of ſallad compoſed of muſhrooms and onions;

and

and another the grain of green corn, baked and moiſtened with ſweet oil. Before we roſe from table our hoſt called for a large glaſs; he filled a bumper of champagne, drank it off to our health, and then handed the glaſs round. "This is an old "cuſtom," ſaid the judge, "and was meant as an expreſſion of "regard; the age is now grown delicate, and the free effu- "ſions of hoſpitality muſt be ſuppreſſed in ceremony: but I "am an old-faſhioned man, and cannot eaſily relinquiſh the "habits of my youth." After dinner we adjourned to another room, and played two or three rubbers of whiſt. Coffee and tea were brought in, and a plate of ſweet-meats was handed round to the company. About ſix we took leave of our friendly hoſt, and returned to our inn, if it may be called by that honourable appellation. This inn, which was the beſt, for it was the only one in the town, was a wooden building, in a very ruinous ſtate, formerly painted on the outſide. The apartment which we occupied had once been hung with paper, as appeared from ſome torn fragments that here and there covered a ſmall portion of the wainſcot, which was a patch-work of old and new planks. Its furniture was two benches and as many chairs; of the latter, one was without a bottom, and the other without a back; the only table was an old deal box. We were inclined to conjecture that there was a heavy tax upon air and light in this country; for all the windows were cloſed with planks, except one, which could not be opened, and it could ſcarcely be ſeen through, on account of the dirt with which it was incruſted. In the inventory of theſe valuables I ſhould not omit a couch upon which I ſlept: it had been ſo often mended, that, like Sir John Cutler's ſtockings, immortalized in *Martinus Scriblerus*, we could not diſtinguiſh any part of the original materials. It may perhaps appear ſurprizing, that in a town like Smolenſko there ſhould be no tolerable inn; but the ſurprize will ceaſe, when we reflect that

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few ſtrangers paſs this way; and that the Ruſſians themſelves carry their proviſions with them, and either continue their journey through the night, or are received in private houſes.

Auguſt 25. We quitted Smolenſko, croſſed the Dnieper over a wooden bridge into the ſuburbs, and purſued our journey for ſome way through a valley of fine paſture watered by the Dnieper, ſpotted with underwood, and terminating on each ſide in gentle eminences clothed with trees. As we advanced, the country became more abrupt and uneven, but no where roſe into any conſiderable hill. Near Slovoda a large ſtraggling village, where we ſtopped for a few hours during the darkneſs of the night, we again croſſed the Dnieper upon a raft formed of trunks of trees tied together with cords, and ſcarcely large enough to receive the carriage, which ſunk it ſome inches under water; this machine was then puſhed from the banks until it met another of the ſame kind, to which the horſes ſtepped with great difficulty; and the diſtance of the two rafts from each other was ſo conſiderable, that the carriage could ſcarcely be prevented from ſlipping between them and ſinking into the river.

The ſecond poſt from this primitive ferry was Dogorobuſh, built upon a riſing hill, and exhibiting, like Smolenſko, though upon a leſſer ſcale, an intermixture of churches, houſes, cottages, corn-fields, and meadows; ſome of the houſes, which had been lately conſtructed at the empreſſes expence, were of brick covered with ſtucco, and had the appearance of ſo many palaces when contraſted with the meanneſs of the ſurrounding hovels. This place was formerly a ſtrong fortreſs, and frequently beſieged during the wars between Ruſſia and Poland: the ramparts and ditches of the antient citadel ſtill remain; from them we commanded an extenſive view of the adjacent country, which was a large plain watered by the winding Dnieper, and bounded by diſtant hills. From Dogorobuſh we

proceeded about 24 miles to a ſmall village called Zarateſh, where we thought ourſelves very fortunate in being houſed for the night in a tolerable hut, which afforded us a rare inſtance of accommodation in theſe parts, a room ſeparate from that uſed by the family. Our hoſteſs was a true Aſiatic figure: ſhe had on a blue garment without ſleeves, which deſcended to the ankles, and was tied round the waiſt with a red ſaſh; ſhe wore a white piece of linen wrapped round her head like a turban, ear-rings, and necklace of variegated beads; her ſhoes were faſtened with blue ſtrings, which were alſo bound round the ankles, in order to keep up the coarſe linen wrappers which ſerved for ſtockings.

Auguſt 27. Our route the next morning, from Zarateſh to Viaſma, lay through a continuity of foreſt, occaſionally relieved by the intervention of paſtures and corn-fields. When we reflected that we were in the 55th degree of northern latitude, we were ſurprized at the forwardneſs of the harveſt: the wheat and barley were already carried in, and the peaſants were employed in cutting the oats and millet. Since our departure from Smolenſko the weather had proved remarkably cold, and the wind had the keenneſs of a November blaſt: the peaſants were all cloathed in their ſheepſkins, or winter dreſſes.

At a ſmall diſtance from Viaſma we paſſed the rivulet of the ſame name, navigable only for rafts, which deſcend its ſtream into the Dnieper: we then mounted a ſmall eminence, on the top whereof ſtands the town, making a magnificent appearance with the domes and ſpires of ſeveral churches riſing above the trees. Viaſma ſpreads, in a broken disjointed manner, over a large extent of ground: its buildings are moſtly of wood, a few houſes of brick excepted, which had lately been erected by the munificence of the empreſs. Part of the principal ſtreet is formed, like the Ruſſian roads, of the trunks

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trunks of trees laid croſs-ways, and part is boarded with planks like the floor of a room. It contains above twenty churches, an aſtoniſhing number for a place but thinly inhabited. The churches in theſe ſmall towns and villages are moſtly ornamented with a cupola and ſeveral domes: the outſide walls are either white-waſhed or painted red, and the cupolas or domes are generally of a different colour from the other parts. At ſome diſtance the number of ſpires and domes riſing above the trees, which conceal the contiguous hovels from view, would lead a traveller unacquainted with the country to expect a large city in a place, where perhaps, upon nearer inſpection, he will only find a collection of wooden huts.

At Viaſma was concluded, in 1634, the treaty of perpetual peace between Ladiſlaus IV. king of Poland, and Michael Feodorovitch: by this treaty Michael confirmed the ceſſion of Smolenſko, Severia, and Tchernichef, which had been yielded to the Poles at the truce of Develina; while Ladiſlaus renounced the title of Tzar, and acknowledged Michael as the rightful ſovereign of Ruſſia *. On this occaſion both monarchs relinquiſhed what they did not poſſeſs; and wiſely ſacrificed imaginary pretenſions to the attainment of a ſubſtantial peace.

The Ruſſian peaſants appeared in general a large coarſe hardy race, and of great bodily ſtrength. Their dreſs is a round hat or cap with a very high crown, a coarſe robe of drugget (or in winter of ſheep-ſkin with the wool turned inwards) reaching below the knee, and bound round the waiſt by a ſaſh, trowſers of linen almoſt as thick as ſack-cloth, a woollen or flannel cloth wrapped round the leg inſtead of ſtockings; ſandals woven from ſtrips of a pliant bark, and faſtened by ſtrings of the ſame materials, which are afterwards twined round the leg, and ſerve as garters to the woollen or

* Lengnich, Hiſt. Pol. p. 167.

flannel

flannel wrappers. In warm weather the peaſants frequently wear only a ſhort coarſe ſhirt and trowſers. CHAP. I.

Their cottages are conſtructed in the ſame manner as thoſe of Lithuania, but they are larger, and ſomewhat better provided with furniture and domeſtic utenſils: they are of a ſquare ſhape, and are formed of whole trees, piled upon one another, and ſecured at the four corners where their extremities meet, with mortaiſes and tenons. The interſtices between theſe piles are filled up with moſs. Within the houſe the timbers are ſmoothed with the axe, ſo as to form the appearance of wainſcot; but without are left with the bark in their rude ſtate. The roofs are in the penthouſe form, generally compoſed of the bark of trees or ſhingles, which are ſometimes covered with mould or turf. The peaſants uſually conſtruct the whole houſe ſolely with the aſſiſtance of the hatchet, and cut the planks of the floor with the ſame inſtrument, in many parts being unacquainted with the uſe of the ſaw: they finiſh the ſhell of the houſe and the roof, before they begin to cut the windows and doors. The windows are openings of a few inches ſquare, cloſed with ſliding frames; and the doors are ſo low as not to admit a middle-ſized man without ſtooping. Theſe cottages ſometimes, though very rarely, conſiſt of two ſtories; in which caſe the lower apartment is a kind of ſtore-room for their proviſions, quaſs, &c. and the upper room is the habitable part of the houſe; the ſtair-caſe is moſt commonly a kind of ladder on the outſide; moſt of theſe huts are, however, only one ſtory in height; a few of them contain two rooms, the generality only one. In ſome of this latter ſort I was frequently awakened by the chickens picking the grains of corn in the ſtraw upon which I lay, and more than once by a leſs inoffenſive animal. At Tabluka, a village, where we paſſed the night of the 27th, a party of hogs gained admittance into the room at four in the

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morning, and roufed me by grunting clofe to my ear. Not much pleafed either with the earlinefs of the vifit, or the falutation of my vifitors, I called out to my fervant, "Jofeph, "drive thefe gentry out of the room, and fhut the door." "There is no door that will fhut," replied Jofeph with great compofure, "we have tried every expedient to faften it with-"out fucceſs; the hogs have more than once been excluded, "but have as often returned." This converſation ſo effectually roufed me, that I determined to reſign to my unwelcome gueſts that litter which I could no longer enjoy myſelf: I accordingly raiſed myſelf from the ſtraw, and, ſitting down, contemplated by the light of a ſlip of deal the ſcene around me. My two companions were ſtretched upon the ſame parcel of ſtraw from which I had juſt emerged; a little beyond them our ſervants occupied a ſeparate heap; at a ſmall diſtance three Ruſſians, with long beards, and coarſe ſackcloth ſhirts and trowſers, lay extended upon their backs on the bare floor; on the oppoſite ſide of the room three women in their clothes ſlumbered on a long bench; while the top of the ſtove afforded a couch to a woman dreſſed like the others, and four ſprawling children almoſt naked.

The furniture in theſe cottages conſiſts chiefly of a wooden table or dreſſer, and benches faſtened to the ſides of the room: the utenſils are platters, bowls, ſpoons, &c. all made of wood, with perhaps one large earthen pan, in which the family cook their victuals. The food of the peaſants is black-rye-bread, ſometimes white, eggs, ſalt-fiſh, bacon, muſhrooms; their favourite diſh is a kind of hodge-podge made of ſalt, or ſometimes freſh meat, groats, rye-flour, highly ſeaſoned with onions and garlick, which latter ingredients are much uſed by the Ruſſians.

The peaſants ſeemed greedy of money, and almoſt always demanded previous payment for every trifle we bought or bargained

bargained for. They ſeemed alſo in general much inclined to thieving. In Poland it was not neceſſary to be always upon the watch; and we frequently left the equipage during the whole night without any guard: but in this country, without the precaution of regularly ſtationing a ſervant in the carriage, every article would ſoon have diſappeared; and even with this expedient, the watchfulneſs of our *Argus* was continually baffled by the ſuperior vigilance of the natives; and the morning generally announced ſome petty loſs, to which the night had given birth.

The peaſants at every poſt were obliged to furniſh us with horſes at a fixed and very reaſonable rate, which had one ill effect of rendering them extremely dilatory in their motions; and as our only interpreter was a Bohemian * ſervant, not perfectly acquainted with the Ruſſian language, his difficulty in explaining, joined to their backwardneſs in executing our orders, occaſioned our frequently waiting ſeveral hours for a change of horſes. The peaſants acted in the capacity of coachmen and poſtilions: they always harneſſed four horſes a-breaſt, and commonly put eight, and ſometimes even ten horſes to our carriage, as the ſtages were for the moſt part twenty, and ſometimes even thirty miles in length, and the roads extremely bad. They ſeldom uſed either boots or ſaddles, and had no ſort of ſtirrup, except a rope doubled and thrown acroſs the horſe's back. Each horſe was equipped with a ſnaffle-bridle, which however was ſeldom inſerted into the mouth, but was generally ſuffered to hang looſe under his jaw. The general method of driving was not in a ſteady pace, but by ſtarts and bounds, with little attention to the nature of the ground: the peaſants ſeldom trotted their horſes; they would ſuddenly puſh them forwards into a gallop through the worſt roads, and ſometimes as ſuddenly check their ſpeed upon the moſt level

* The Bohemian and Ruſſian languages are both dialects of the Sclavonian tongue.

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ſurface. A common piece of rope ſerved them for a whip, which they ſeldom had any occaſion to uſe, as they urged their horſes forwards by hooting and whiſtling like cat-calls. The intervals of theſe noiſes were filled with ſinging, which is a favourite practice among the Ruſſians; and has been mentioned by moſt travellers who, for theſe two or three laſt centuries, have viſited this country, and which I ſhall enlarge upon on a future occaſion.

From the wretched harneſs, which was continually breaking, and required to be repeatedly adjuſted, the badneſs of the roads, the length of time we were always detained at the poſts before we could procure horſes, and other neceſſary impediments, we were ſeldom able to travel more than forty or fifty miles a day, although we commenced our journey before ſunriſe, and purſued it till it was quite dark.

Auguſt 27. Near Viaſma we entered the vaſt foreſt of Volkonſki, through which we continued for 150 miles without interruption almoſt to the gates of Moſcow. This foreſt, which ſtretches on all ſides to an immenſe extent, gives riſe to the principal rivers of European Ruſſia, the Duna, the Dnieper, and the Volga. The ſources of the Duna were at ſome diſtance from our route; but thoſe of the Dnieper and the Volga roſe at ſmall intervals from each other, not far from Viaſma. The country in this part was more than uſual broken into hill and dale; though ſtill it exhibited rather a ſucceſſion of waving ſurface, than any conſiderable elevations.

On the 28th we arrived at the village of Gretkeva towards the cloſe of the evening, and imprudently proceeded on our journey another ſtage of eighteen miles: the evening ſet in exceedingly dark, cold, and rainy; the road was uncommonly bad, and we were in continual apprehenſions of being overturned. The greateſt danger, however, which we encountered, was unknown to us until we arrived at the end of the ſtation:

ſtation: we were then informed by our ſervants, that we had actually croſſed a broad piece of water upon a wooden bridge without railing, ſo infirm that it almoſt cracked under the carriage, and ſo narrow that one of the hind-wheels was for an inſtant abſolutely ſuſpended over the precipice beneath. Our uſual good fortune brought us ſafe between twelve and one to a cottage at Moſhaiſk, where we found an excellent ragout of beef and onions prepared for us by the truſty ſervant, who always preceded us, and provided our lodging and ſupper. I have little to ſay of Moſhaiſk, as we entered it at ſo late an hour, and departed the next morning by day-break. We changed horſes at the village of Selo-Naro, and arrived early in the evening at Malo-à-Viaſma, emboſomed in the foreſt, and pleaſantly ſituated at the edge of a ſmall lake. This place was diſtant only 24 miles from Moſcow, where we were impatient to arrive; but we prudently deferred our journey until the next morning, as we did not chuſe to tempt fortune again by expoſing ourſelves a ſecond time to dangers in a dark night and in an unknown country.

The road for ſome way before we came to Malo-à-Viaſma, and from thence to Moſcow, was for the whole ſpace a broad ſtraight avenue cut through the foreſt. The trees, which compoſed theſe vaſt plantations, ſet by the hand of Nature, were oaks, beech, mountain-aſh, poplar, pines and firs, mingled together in the moſt wanton variety. The different ſhades of green, and the rich tints of the autumnal colours, were inexpreſſibly beautiful; while the ſublime, but uniform expanſe of foreſt was occaſionally relieved by receſſes of paſtures and corn-fields.

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Arrival at Moſcow.—*Hiſtory of its origin and progreſs.*—*Removal of the ſeat of empire to* Peterſburgh.—*General and particular deſcription of* Moſcow.—*Its diviſions.*—Kremlin.—Khitaigorod.—Bielgorod.—Semlainigorod.—*The Sloboda, or ſuburbs.*—*New palace-gardens.*—*Old ſtyle.*—*Hoſpitality of the* Ruſſian *nobles.*—*Polite attentions of Prince* Volkonſki.—*Account of Mr.* Muller *the celebrated hiſtorian.*—*Anniverſary of* St. Alexander Nevſki.—*Ceremonies of the day.*—*Entertainments at Count* Alexèy Orlof's—*his ſtud.*—*Boxing matches.*—Vauxhall, &c.

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AUGUST 30. Our approach to Moſcow was firſt announced about the diſtance of ſix miles by ſome ſpires, which over-topped an eminence at the end of the broad avenue cut through the foreſt: about two or three miles further we aſcended an height, from whence a moſt ſuperb proſpect of the vaſt city burſt upon our ſight. It lay in the form of a creſcent, and ſtretched to a prodigious extent, while innumerable churches, towers, gilded ſpires and domes, white, red, and green buildings glittering in the ſun, formed a moſt ſplendid appearance, yet ſtrangely contraſted by an intermixture of numberleſs wooden hovels. The neighbouring country was undulating; the foreſt reached to within a mile of the ramparts, when it was ſucceeded by an open range of paſtures without encloſures. We croſſed the river Moſkva over a raft floating upon the water, and faſtened to each bank, which the Ruſſians call a living-bridge, from its bending under the carriage. After a ſtrict examination of our paſsport, being permitted to enter the gates, we drove through the

ſuburbs for a conſiderable way along a wooden road, entered one of the interior circles of the town, called Bielgorod, and took up our quarters at an inn kept by a Frenchman, at which ſome of the nobility hold aſſemblies. Our apartments were convenient and ſpacious; we alſo found every accommodation in abundance, except beds and ſheets; for as no one thinks of travelling in this country without thoſe articles, inns are ſeldom provided with them. With much trouble, however, we were able to obtain from our landlord two bedſteads with bedding, and one matraſs to place upon the floor; but we could not procure more than three ſheets, one whereof fell to my ſhare: we had been ſo long accuſtomed to ſleep in our clothes upon ſtraw, that we thought ourſelves in a ſtate of unheard-of luxury, and bleſſed ourſelves for our good fortune.

Moſcow, called by the natives Moſkva, is not ſo antient as Novogorod, Kiof, Vladimir, and Tver, which towns had been the reſidence of the Ruſſian ſovereigns before this city exiſted. The antiquaries of this country differ conſiderably in their opinions concerning the firſt foundation of Moſcow; the following relation is generally eſteemed by the beſt authors the moſt probable account *.

Kiof was the metropolis, when George ſon of Vladimir Monomaka aſcended in 1154 the Ruſſian throne. That monarch, being inſulted in a progreſs through his dominions by a rich and powerful nobleman named Stephen Kutchko, put him to death, and confiſcated his domains, which conſiſted of the lands now occupied by the city of Moſcow, and the adjacent territory. Pleaſed with the ſituation of the ground lying at the conflux of the Moſkva and Neglina, he laid the foundation of a new town, which he called Moſkva from the river of that name. Upon the demiſe of George, the new town was not neglected

* See Sumorokof's Kleine Chronik Von Moſcau in St. Pet. Journal for 1776; and Scherebatof's Ruſſ. Geſ. p. 736.

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by his ſon Andrew, who transferred the ſeat of empire from Kiof to Vladimir; but it fell into ſuch decay under his immediate ſucceſſors, that when Daniel, ſon of Alexander Nevſki, received, in the diviſion of the empire, the duchy of Muſcovy as his portion, and fixed his reſidence upon the conflux of the Moſkva and Neglina, he may be ſaid to have new founded the town. The ſpot now occupied by the Kremlin, was at that time overſpread with a thick wood and a moraſs; in the midſt whereof was a ſmall iſland, containing a ſingle wooden hut. Upon this part Daniel conſtructed churches and monaſteries, and various buildings, and encloſed it with wooden fortifications; he firſt aſſumed the title of duke of Moſcow; and was ſo attached to this ſituation, that when, in 1304, he ſucceeded his brother Andrew Alexandrovitch in the great duchy of Vladimir, he did not remove his court to Vladimir, but continued his reſidence at Moſcow, which then became the capital of the Ruſſian dominions. His ſucceſſors followed his example; among whom his ſon Ivan conſiderably enlarged the new metropolis; and in 1367 his grandſon Demetrius Ivanovitch Donſki ſurrounded the Kremlin with a brick-wall. Theſe new fortifications, however, were not ſtrong enough to prevent Tamerlane, in 1382, from taking the town after a ſhort ſiege *. Being ſoon evacuated by that deſultory conqueror, it again came into the poſſeſſion of the Ruſſians; but was frequently invaded and occupied by the Tartars, who in the 14th and 15th centuries over-ran the greateſt part of Ruſſia; and who even maintained a garriſon in Moſcow, until they were finally expelled by Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. To him Moſcow is indebted for its principal ſplendour; and under him it became the principal and moſt conſiderable city of the Ruſſian empire.

The Baron of Herberſtein, who in the beginning of the ſixteenth century was embaſſador from the emperor Maximilian

* S. R. G. vol. II. p. 93.

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to the great-duke Vaſſili, ſon of the above-mentioned Ivan Vaſſilievitch, is the firſt foreign writer who has given a deſcription of Moſcow, which he accompanied with a coarſe engraving of the town in wood *. In this curious, but rude plan, we may diſtinguiſh the walls of the Kremlin, or citadel, in their preſent ſtate, and we may recognize ſeveral of the public buildings, which even now contribute to its ornament. From this period we are able to trace its ſubſequent progreſs and gradual increaſe under the ſucceeding ſovereigns in the accounts of ſeveral Engliſh † and foreign ‡ writers, who, ſince Herberſtein, have publiſhed their travels into theſe parts.

Moſcow continued the metropolis of Ruſſia until the beginning of the preſent century; when, to the great diſſatisfaction of the nobility, but with great advantage, probably, to the ſtate, the ſeat of empire was transferred to Peterſburgh.

Notwithſtanding the predilection which Peter conceived for Peterſburgh, in which all the ſucceeding ſovereigns, excepting Peter II. have fixed their reſidence, Moſcow is ſtill the moſt populous city of the Ruſſian empire. Here the chief nobles who do not belong to the court of the empreſs reſide; they here ſupport a larger number of retainers; they love to gratify their taſte for a ruder and more expenſive magnificence in the antient ſtyle of feudal grandeur; and are not, as at Peterſburgh, eclipſed by the ſuperior ſplendour of the court.

Moſcow is ſituated in the longitude of 37 degrees 31 minutes from the firſt meridian of Greenwich, and in 55° 45′ 45″ of northern latitude.

It is certainly the largeſt town in Europe; its circumference within the rampart, which encloſes the ſuburbs, being exactly

* See Rer. Moſ. Com. in Rer. Moſ. Auct.

† Chiefly Chancellor Fletcher, Smith, the author of Lord Carliſle's Embaſſy, Perry, Bruce, &c.

‡ Poſſevinus, Margaret, Petreius, Olearius, Mayerberg, Le Bruyn, &c.

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39 verſts, or 26 miles*; but it is built in ſo ſtraggling and disjointed a manner, that its population in no degree correſponds to its extent. Some Ruſſian authors ſtate its inhabitants at 500,000 ſouls; a number evidently exaggerated. Buſching, who reſided ſome years in Ruſſia, ſays that in 1770 Moſcow contained 708 brick-houſes, and 11,840 wooden habitations; 85,731 males and 67,059 females, in all only 152,790 ſouls; a computation which ſeems to err in the other extreme†. According to an account publiſhed in the Journal of St. Peterſburgh ‡, the diſtrict of Moſcow contained, in the beginning of 1780, 2178 hearths; and the number of inhabitants were 137,698 males, and 134,918 females, in all 272,616 ſouls. In the courſe of that ſame year the deaths amounted to 3702, and the births to 8621; and in the end, the population of the diſtrict was found to be 140,143 males, and 137,392 females, in all 277,535 ſouls. This computation is certainly more to be depended upon than either of the others; and its truth has been recently confirmed to me by an Engliſh gentleman lately returned from Moſcow, who made this topic the ſubject of his inquiries. According to his account, which he received from the lieutenant of the police ||,

Moſcow contains within the ramparts	250,000 ſouls.
And in the adjacent villages	50,000

If I was ſtruck with the ſingularity of Smolenſko, I was all aſtoniſhment at the immenſity and variety of Moſcow. Something ſo irregular, ſo uncommon, ſo extraordinary, and ſo contraſted, never before fell under my obſervation. The

* Its circumference is nearly equal to that of Pekin, which, including its ſuburbs, meaſures 40 verſts, or 26 miles and three-quarters. Journal of St. Pet. April, 1775, p. 243.

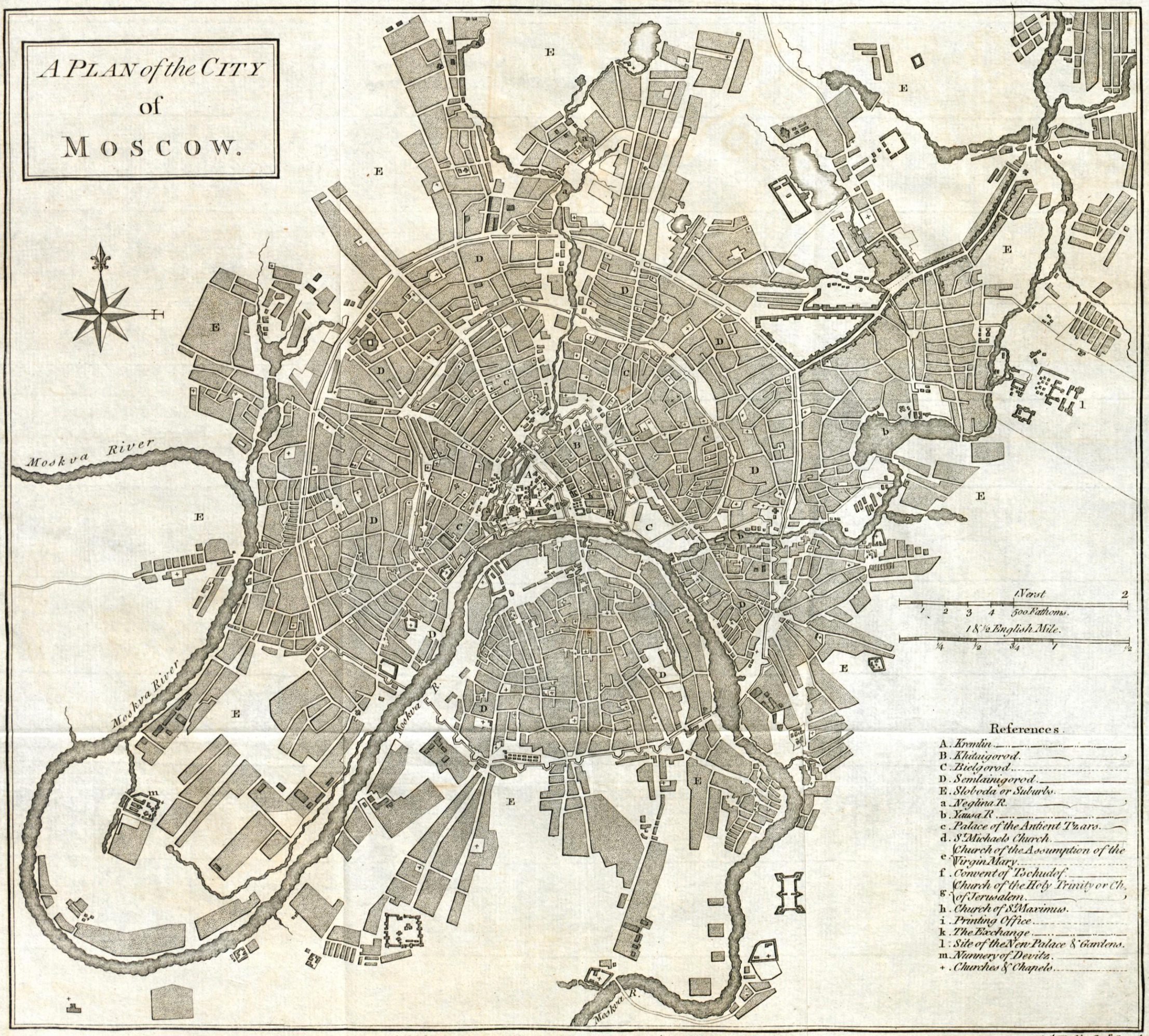
† Buſching's Neue Erdbeſchreibung, V. I. p. 841. Edit. 1777.

‡ For 1781, p. 200.

|| This computation may be relied upon. For as a new aqueduct near Moſcow was juſt finiſhed, it was neceſſary to form as exact an eſtimate as poſſible of the number of inhabitants, in order to regulate the neceſſary ſupply of water for each family.

ſtreets

A PLAN of the CITY of MOSCOW.



References.

A. *Kremlin*
B. *Khitaigorod.*
C. *Bielgorod.*
D. *Semlainigorod.*
E. *Sloboda or Suburbs.*
a. *Neglina R.*
b. *Yausa R.*
c. *Palace of the Antient Tzars.*
d. *St. Michaels Church.*
e. *Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary.*
f. *Convent of Tschudof.*
g. *Church of the Holy Trinity or Ch. of Jerusalem.*
h. *Church of St. Maximus.*
i. *Printing Office.*
k. *The Exchange.*
l. *Site of the New Palace & Gardens.*
m. *Nursery of Devitz.*
+. *Churches & Chapels.*

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Tho.s Hitchin Sen.r Sculp.t

ſtreets are in general exceedingly long and broad: ſome of them are paved; others, particularly thoſe in the ſuburbs, are formed with trunks of trees, or are boarded with planks like the floor of a room; wretched hovels are blended with large palaces; cottages of one ſtory ſtand next to the moſt ſuperb and ſtately manſions. Many brick ſtructures are covered with wooden tops; ſome of the wooden houſes are painted, others have iron doors and roofs. Numerous churches preſented themſelves in every quarter built in a peculiar ſtyle of architecture; ſome with domes of copper, others of tin, gilt or painted green, and many roofed with wood. In a word, ſome parts of this vaſt city have the look of a ſequeſtered deſert, other quarters of a populous town, ſome of a contemptible village, others of a great capital.

Moſcow may be conſidered as a town built upon the Aſiatic model, but gradually becoming more and more European; and exhibiting in its preſent ſtate a motley mixture of diſcordant architecture. It is diſtributed into the following diviſions. 1. Kremlin. 2. Khitaigorod. 3. Bielgorod. 4. Semlainogorod. 5. Sloboda; which, for want of a more preciſe term, I ſhall call the ſuburbs.

1. The Kremlin was probably thus denominated by the Tartars when they were in poſſeſſion of Moſcow, from the word Krem, or Krim, which ſignifies a fortreſs: it ſtands in the central and higheſt part of the city, near the conflux of the Moſkva and Neglina, which waſh two of its ſides, is of a triangular form, and about two miles in circumference. It is ſurrounded by high walls of ſtone and brick, which were conſtructed by Peter Solarius, a celebrated architect of Milan, in the year 1491, under the reign of Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. as appears from the following curious inſcription over one of the gates.

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" Joannes Vaſilii Dei Gracia Magnus Dux Volodimeriæ
" Moſcoviæ Novogardie Tiferiæ Pleſcoviæ Veticie On-
" garie Permiie Buolgarie et Aliar. Totius Q. Raxiæ
" Dominus Anno Tertio Imperii Sui Has Turres Condere
" Fet. Statuit Petrus Antonides Solarius Mediolanenſis
" anno Nat. Domini 1491. K. Julii."

The reader will doubtleſs be as much ſurprized as I was to find that the Tzars employed foreign architects at ſo early a period of their hiſtory, before their country was ſcarcely known to the reſt of Europe. The Kremlin is not disfigured by wooden houſes *, and contains the antient palace of the Tzars, ſeveral churches, two convents, the patriarchal palace, the arſenal now in ruins, and one private houſe, which belonged to Boris Godunof before he was raiſed to the throne.

2. The ſecond diviſion is called Khitaigorod, a term conjectured by ſome etymologiſts to imply the Chineſe town. Voltaire, in his Hiſtory of Peter the Great, peremptorily ſupports this opinion, when he calls Khitaigorod " La partie appellée " la ville Chinoiſe, ou les raretés de la Chine s'etallaient." But it may be remarked, that this diviſion of Moſcow bore its preſent appellation long before any connection was opened between the Ruſſians and Chineſe; and the beſt hiſtorians of this country, without pretending to aſcertain its original ſignification, ſuppoſe the word Cathay or Khitai to have been introduced by the Tartars when they had poſſeſſion of Moſcow †: in proof of this conjecture, it is alledged, that there is a town in the Ukraine called Khitaigorod, and another of the ſame name in Podolia; both which countries, though entirely unknown to the Chineſe, have been either over-run or inhabited by Tartars.

The Khitaigorod is incloſed on one ſide by that wall of

* See the next Chapter, where ſome of theſe buildings are deſcribed.
† S. R. G. v. VIII. p. 538—541.

the

the Kremlin which runs from the Moſkva to the Neglina; and on the other ſide by a brick wall of inferior height. It is much larger than the Kremlin, and contains the univerſity, the printing-houſe, and many other public buildings, and all the tradeſmens' ſhops. The edifices are moſtly ſtuccoed or white-waſhed; and it has the only ſtreet in Moſcow in which the houſes ſtand cloſe to one another without any intervals between them.

3. The Bielgorod, or White Town, which runs quite round the two preceding diviſions, is ſuppoſed to derive its name from a white wall with which it was formerly encloſed, and of which ſome remains are ſtill to be ſeen.

4. Semlainogorod, which environs all the three other quarters, takes its denomination from a circular rampart of earth with which it is encompaſſed. Theſe two laſt mentioned diviſions exhibit a groteſque group of churches, convents, palaces, brick and wooden houſes, and mean hovels, in no degree ſuperior to peaſants cottages.

5. The Sloboda, or Suburbs, form a vaſt exterior circle round all the parts already deſcribed, and are inveſted with a low rampart and ditch. Theſe ſuburbs contain, beſide buildings of all kinds and denominations, corn-fields, much open paſture, and ſome ſmall lakes, which give riſe to the Neglina.

The Moſkva, from which the city takes its name, flows through it in a winding channel; but, excepting in ſpring, is only navigable for rafts. It receives the Yauſa in the Semlainogorod, and the Neglina at the weſtern extremity of the Kremlin; the beds of both theſe laſt-mentioned rivulets are, in ſummer, little better than dry channels.

The morning after our arrival we ordered our Ruſſian ſervant to hire a carriage for our uſe during our ſtay at Moſcow: the equipage he procured was a chariot and four horſes of different

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different colours; the coachman and poſtilion were dreſſed like the peaſants, with high cylindrical hats; the former, with a long beard and ſheep-ſkin robe, ſat upon the box; the latter, in a coarſe drugget garb, was mounted upon the off horſe, according to the cuſtom of this country. Behind the carriage was an enormous ſack of hay: upon expreſſing ſome ſurprize at this appendage, we were informed, that almoſt every carriage at Moſcow is provided with a viaticum of this ſort, which, while the maſter is paying his viſits, or is at dinner, is occaſionally given to the horſes. Some refreſhments of this kind, indeed, ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary, as our horſes never ſaw the ſtable from the time of leaving it in the morning, until they returned to it in the evening, or at midnight; and were kept during that interval, like thoſe of our hackney-coaches, in the ſtreets. During our continuance in this city we, not uncommonly, perceived about dinner-time, in the court-yards of thoſe houſes where we dined, many horſes without bridles, and unharneſſed from the reſpective carriages, browſing upon their portable provender ſtrewed upon the ground; with them were intermixed different parties of coachmen and poſtilions, who at the ſame time gratified the calls of hunger upon a repaſt ready prepared, like that of their cattle, and which too required as little ceremony in ſerving up. The frequency of theſe objects ſoon rendered them familiar to us; and we ceaſed to look upon our truſs of hay as an excreſcence.

The firſt uſe we made of our new equipage was to convey us to our banker, who lived at the furtheſt extremity of one of the ſuburbs, about the diſtance of four miles from our inn. Our coachman drove us through the town with great expedition, generally in a briſk trot, and frequently a full gallop, without any diſtinction of paved or boarded ſtreets. Having ſettled our buſineſs with the banker, who was our country-

man, and who obligingly furniſhed us with a large collection of Engliſh news-papers, we croſſed the Yauſa over a raft-bridge to a palace, which was conſtructed for the accommodation of the preſent empreſs, whenever ſhe may chuſe to viſit Moſcow: this palace was not, according to our ordinary acceptation of the word, a ſingle ſtructure, but, in the true ſtyle of Aſiatic grandeur, a vaſt aſſemblage of numerous buildings diſtributed into ſeveral ſtreets, and bearing the appearance of a moderate town. The baſe of all theſe buildings is of ſtone, but of ſo ſoft a nature, that it ſeemed ſcarcely adequate to the ſupport of the ſuperſtructure; the bricks uſed for the remainder of the fabric were ſo indifferently prepared, that they crumbled at the touch: nor did the workmanſhip exceed the materials; for it was obvious to the moſt careleſs obſerver, that the walls were in many places out of the perpendicular line.

I was aſtoniſhed upon obſerving, that the greateſt part of the timber, uſed in the conſtruction of theſe vaſt piles of building, no leſs than ordinary cottages, was faſhioned with the axe. Though I often ſaw the carpenters at work, I never once perceived a ſaw in their hands: they cut the trees through with the axe; they hewed planks with the axe; they formed the beams, and fitted them together with the axe. With this ſimple engine they mortaiſed and tenanted the ſmalleſt as well as the largeſt pieces of wood; and ſmoothed the boards for the floor with the niceſt exactneſs. The dexterity, indeed, and juſtneſs with which they managed this inſtrument was wonderful; but its tedious mode of operation muſt evidently occaſion a prodigious waſte of labour and wood.

The gardens, which belonged to the old palace, built by Elizabeth near the ſpot where the preſent ſtructure was erecting, are ſtill retained: they are of conſiderable extent, and contained ſome of the beſt gravel-walks I have ſeen ſince my departure from England. In ſome parts the grounds were laid

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laid out in a pleaſing and natural manner; but in general the old ſtyle of gardening prevailed, and continually preſented us with rows of chipped yew-trees, long ſtraight canals, and a profuſion of prepoſterous ſtatues. Hercules was preſiding at a fountain, with a retinue of gilded Cupids, dolphins and lamias; every little ſtructure was a pantheon; and every grove was haunted by its Apollos and Dianas; but the principal deity in the place ſeemed to be a female figure holding a cornucopia reverſed, which, inſtead of diſtributing, as uſual, all kinds of fruit, grain, and flowers, poured out crowns, coronets, and mitres. But the reign of all theſe deities was doomed to be very ſhort: under the auſpices of her preſent majeſty all theſe inſtances of groteſque taſte were to be removed, and give place to more natural ornaments. This palace and gardens are at the extremity of the ſuburbs, within the compaſs of the exterior rampart which encircles the whole town.

We ſoon ceaſed to be ſurprized that our carriage was provided with four horſes, nothing being more common than to meet the equipages of the nobility with complete ſets, driving merely about the ſtreets of Moſcow. As the city is of ſo large a compaſs, a great number of hackney-carriages are ſtationed in the ſtreets for the convenience of carrying paſſengers to the different quarters. Theſe vehicles are without tops, have moſtly four wheels, and are provided either with a long bench, or one, two, or three ſeparate ſeats, like arm-chairs, placed ſide-ways: their fares are ſo reaſonable, that ſervants occaſionally uſe them upon errands to diſtant parts of the city. The coachman generally drives a full trot at the rate of eight or nine miles in an hour.

September 1. This morning we received a card of invitation from Count Oſterman, governor of Moſcow, to dinner for the 22d of Auguſt; but, as it was the 1ſt of September, our ſervant, who took the meſſage, came laughing into the room,

room, and informed us, that we were invited to an entertainment which was paſt; he added, that he had endeavoured to convince the perſon who brought the card of the miſtake; but the man inſiſted that the enſuing day was the 22d of Auguſt. It was indeed a natural miſtake in our ſervant, who did not know that the Ruſſians ſtill adhered to the old ſtyle; and as he had paſſed the 22d of Auguſt in Lithuania, it is no wonder that he was ſurprized at finding it again ſo ſoon at Moſcow.

Until the reign of Peter the Great the Ruſſians began their year in September, and dated their æra from the creation of the world*, and not from the nativity of our Saviour. In 1700 Peter inſtituted a grand jubilee at Moſcow, and ordained, that from that period the year ſhould commence in January, and be computed from the Chriſtian æra, according to the old ſtyle then in uſe in England. Out of veneration to his memory no alteration has been ſince made in the Ruſſian calendar; ſo that at preſent Ruſſia, and ſome of the proteſtant Swiſs republics, are the only European nations who ſtill retain the old ſtyle.

The ſame morning we carried a letter of recommendation from count Stakelbergh, the Ruſſian embaſſador at Warſaw, to prince Volkonſki governor of the province, who received us with great frankneſs and cordiality, and immediately invited us to dinner, deſiring us to conſider his table as ours as long as we continued at Moſcow. The prince is in his 67th year, and remembered, when he was about thirteen, to have ſeen Peter the Great; whom he deſcribed as very tall, above ſix feet in height, ſtrong and well made, with his head ſlouching and awry, of a dark complexion, and a countenance continually ſubject to diſtortions; he was generally dreſſed in his blue uniform, or a plain brown coat, was remarkable for the fineneſs of his linen, wore his ſhort black hair without powder, and whiſk-

* They reckoned alſo, according to the opinion of the Greeks, 5508 years, inſtead of only 3369, from the creation to the nativity.

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ers. The prince amuſed us with relating ſeveral curious anecdotes of that great monarch, and, amongſt others, the following, which he received from prince Menzikof.

After the battle of Pultava, while prince Volkonſki, the father of our noble hoſt, was following Charles XII. with a corps of light horſe, and was at no great diſtance from him, an aid-de-camp brought an order from Menzikof to halt: he obeyed, but diſpatched a meſſenger to acquaint the prince, that he was purſuing the king of Sweden with the faireſt proſpect of overtaking him. Menzikof was greatly aſtoniſhed at this meſſage, as no orders for diſcontinuing the purſuit had iſſued from him: and his ſuppoſed aid-de-camp who delivered them was never diſcovered. As Peter, when informed of this tranſaction, inſtituted no inquiry concerning the perſon who had probably prevented the capture of his moſt formidable rival, it is ſuſpected that the ſtratagem was contrived by himſelf, in order to avoid being embarraſſed with a priſoner, whom he would be unwilling either to releaſe, or to detain long in captivity.

Nothing can exceed the hoſpitality of the Ruſſians. We could never pay a morning viſit to any nobleman without being detained to dinner; we alſo conſtantly received ſeveral general invitations; but as we conſidered them in the light of mere compliments, we were unwilling to intrude ourſelves without further notice. We ſoon found, however, that the principal perſons of diſtinction kept open tables, and were highly obliged at our reſorting to them without ceremony. Prince Volkonſki in particular, having caſually diſcovered that we had dined the preceding day at our inn, politely upbraided us; repeating his aſſurances, that his table was ours, and that whenever we were not particularly engaged, he ſhould always expect us for his gueſts. Indeed the ſtrongeſt expreſſions can ſcarcely do juſtice to the attention and kindneſs of this excellent

lent nobleman: not content with admitting us to his table without form, he was anxious that our curioſity ſhould be gratified with the ſight of every remarkable object at Moſcow; he ordered his aid-de-camp to accompany us to different parts of the city; and as we were extremely deſirous to become acquainted with Mr. Muller, the celebrated hiſtorian of this country, he one day invited that reſpectable old gentleman to meet us at dinner.

Gerard Frederick Muller, a native of Germany, was born, in 1705, at Herforden, in the circle of Weſtphalia. He came into Ruſſia during the reign of Catharine I.; and was not long afterwards admitted into the Imperial Academy of Sciences, of which ſociety he is one of the moſt antient members. In 1731, ſoon after the acceſſion of the empreſs Anne, he commenced, at the expence of the crown, his travels over European Ruſſia, and into the extreme parts of Siberia. He was abſent ſeveral years upon this expedition; and did not return to Peterſburgh until the reign of Eliſabeth. The preſent empreſs, an able judge and rewarder of merit, conferred upon him a very ample ſalary, and appointed him counſellor of ſtate and keeper of the archives at Moſcow, where he has reſided about ſixteen years. He collected, during his travels, the moſt ample materials for the hiſtory and geography of this extenſive empire, which was ſcarcely known to the Ruſſians themſelves, before his valuable reſearches were given to the world in various publications. His principal work is a "Collection of Ruſſian Hiſtories *," in nine volumes octavo, printed at different intervals at the preſs of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. The firſt part came out in 1732, and the laſt made its appearance in 1764. This ſtore-houſe of information and literature, in regard to the antiquities, hiſtory, geography, and commerce of Ruſſia, and many of the neighbouring countries, conveys the moſt indiſputable proofs

* Samlung Ruſſiſcher Geſchichte.

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of the author's learning, diligence, and fidelity. To this work the accurate and indefatigable writer has ſucceſſively added many other valuable performances upon ſimilar ſubjects, both in the German and Ruſſian languages, which elucidate various parts in the hiſtory of this empire.

Mr. Muller ſpeaks and writes the German, Ruſſian, French, and Latin tongues with ſurprizing fluency; and reads the Engliſh, Dutch, Swediſh, Daniſh, and Greek with great facility. His memory is ſtill ſurprizing; and his accurate acquaintance with the minuteſt incidents of the Ruſſian annals almoſt ſurpaſſes belief.

At the concluſion of the dinner at prince Volkonſki's, I had the pleaſure of accompanying this eminent hiſtorian to his houſe, and paſſed ſome hours in his library. He poſſeſſes moſt of the books in the different languages of modern Europe which treat of Ruſſia: the Engliſh writers who have written upon this country are far more numerous than I imagined. His collection of ſtate-papers and manuſcripts is invaluable: they are all arranged in the exacteſt order, and claſſed into ſeveral volumes, diſtinguiſhed by the names of thoſe illuſtrious perſonages to whom they principally relate; ſuch as Peter I. Catharine I. Menzikof, Oſterman, &c. *

Every lover of literature muſt regret, that Mr. Muller, who is admirably qualified for the taſk, has not favoured the publick with a regular, unbroken hiſtory of this country: but, on account of his advanced age, an undertaking of this kind, although all the materials are already prepared, cannot be expected from him: he muſt therefore conſign to others the uſe of thoſe papers, which he has ſo diligently accumulated. He will, however, always be conſidered as the great father of

* The empreſs has lately purchaſed this fine collection of books and manuſcripts for £2000. Bachmeiſter Ruſſ. Bib. for 1781, p. 554. This great patroneſs of letters has conſigned to Mr. Muller the charge of arranging and printing, at her expence, a Collection of Treaties between Ruſſia and the other powers, in the form of Dumont's Corps Diplomatique.

Ruſſian

Ruſſian hiſtory, as well from the excellent ſpecimens he himſelf has produced, as from the vaſt fund of information which he bequeaths to future hiſtorians. CHAP. II.

Sept. 10. This day being ſacred to Alexander Nevſki, a ſaint highly revered by the Ruſſians, and in whoſe honour an order of knighthood is inſtituted, was kept with great ſolemnity and magnificence. Service was performed in the principal churches of Moſcow with all the pageantry peculiar to the Greek religion; and the governor of the province gave a ſplendid entertainment, to which the principal nobility and clergy of this city were invited. As ſtrangers we were deſirous of obſerving the ceremonies of the day, and by the attention of our acquaintance our curioſity was amply gratified. But before I proceed to give a deſcription of what occurred upon this occaſion, it may be neceſſary to premiſe a ſhort account of the ſaint who gave riſe to this feſtival, and who, though adored by the Ruſſians, is ſcarcely known beyond the limits of this country.

Alexander Nevſki, a name more reſpectable than moſt of the ſaints who fill the Ruſſian calendar, was ſon of the great-duke Yaroſlaf, and flouriſhed in the beginning of the 13th century, at a period when his country had been reduced to the utmoſt extremity by a combination of formidable enemies. He repulſed an army of Swedes and Teutonic knights, and wounded the king of Sweden with his own hand on the bank of the Neva, from whence he obtained the appellation of Nevſki. He defeated the Tartars in ſeveral engagements, and delivered his country from a diſgraceful tribute impoſed by the ſucceſſors of Zinghis Khan. His life ſeems to have been almoſt one continued ſcene of action; and he ſhewed ſuch proweſs, and performed ſuch almoſt incredible acts of valour, that it is no wonder ignorant and ſuperſtitious people ſhould conſider him as a ſuperior being, and ſhould conſecrate his

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his memory; indeed, of all idolatry, that which is paid to real merit, and in gratitude for real ſervices, is the moſt natural, and the moſt excuſable. He died about the year 1262 at Gorodetz near Niſhnei Novogorod. The great ſuperiority of his character was evinced, as well by victories which diſtinguiſhed the Ruſſian arms during his life, as by the numerous defeats which immediately took place on his deceaſe.

The morning of this anniverſary was uſhered in by the ringing of bells uncommonly loud; inceſſant peals reſounded in every quarter of the city, but more particularly in the Kremlin, which contains the principal churches and the largeſt bells. Before eleven we paid our reſpects to prince Volkonſki, who, as governor of the province of Moſcow, had a levee: he wore the red ribband of the order of St. Alexander, and received the compliments of the principal nobility and gentry. From the levee we repaired to the cathedral of St. Michael, and were preſent at high maſs, performed by the archbiſhop of Roſtof. The church was filled with ſuch an immenſe concourſe of people, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty we could penetrate to the bottom of the ſteps leading to the ſhrine, at the top of which the biſhop ſtood whenever he came forth to addreſs the congregation. The confuſion ariſing from the croud, and the rapid ſucceſſion of various ceremonies, ſo diſtracted our attention, as to render us incapable of diſcriminating the different parts of the ſervice. We could only obſerve in general a great diſplay of pomp and ſplendour, and many ceremonies ſimilar to thoſe deſcribed on a former occaſion *, with the addition of ſeveral others appropriated to the greater feſtivals of the Ruſſian church.

At the concluſion of the ſervice, which laſted two hours, we returned to prince Volkonſki's, where about ninety perſons were aſſembled at an entertainment given in honour of

* P. 218.

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the day: when the archbiſhop of Roſtof entered the room, the prince roſe to meet him at the door, and kiſſed his hand after the archbiſhop had made the ſign of the croſs; he paid the ſame mark of reſpect to two other biſhops; and the greateſt part of the company ſucceſſively followed the prince's example. Being preſented to the archbiſhop, I had the honour of holding a long converſation with him in the Latin tongue, which he ſpoke with great fluency. He appeared to be a ſenſible well-informed man, and well verſed in various branches of literature: he had peruſed the works of ſeveral of our beſt divines, either originally written, or tranſlated into Latin, and mentioned their compoſitions with great applauſe. I troubled him with ſeveral queſtions relative to the ſervice of the Ruſſian church, which he anſwered with great readineſs and condeſcenſion. He told me that the Bible is tranſlated into Sclavonian, and that the liturgy is written in that language, which is the mother-tongue of the Ruſſian; and that therefore the ſtyle of the ſacred writings, though ſomewhat antient and obſolete, is yet underſtood without much difficulty even by the common people. He informed me, that the clergy are divided into ſecular and regular prieſts: that the latter, from whom are choſen the dignitaries of the church, are not permitted to marry; that the ſeculars are the pariſh-prieſts, and from a literal obſervation of St. Paul's precept, "the huſband of one "wife," are required, as a qualification for orders, to marry; and, on the ſpirit of the ſame tenet, are after the death of their wives deemed unfit for the ſacred function. The incapacitation ariſing from widowhood may, indeed, be healed by the biſhop's diſpenſation *; but the operation of a ſecond marriage is final, and irrevocably divorces from the altar. The archbiſhop was politely continuing to acquaint me with many other circumſtances peculiar to their eccleſiaſtical eſta-

* In general the ſecular prieſt, when a widower, is received into a monaſtery.

bliſhment,

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bliſhment, when the converſation was interrupted by a ſummons to dinner. Before dinner a ſmall table in the corner of the withdrawing room, as is the uſual cuſtom in this country, had been covered with plates of caviare, red-herring, bread, butter, and cheeſe, and different ſorts of *liqueurs*, to which the company helped themſelves before they adjourned to dinner.

About ninety perſons ſat down to table. The entertainment was ſplendid and profuſe. During the ſecond courſe, a large glaſs with a cover was brought to prince Volkonſki, who, ſtanding up, delivered the cover to the archbiſhop, who ſat next him, filled the glaſs with champagne, and drank the empreſſes health, which was accompanied with a diſcharge of cannon. The archbiſhop followed his example, and the glaſs was in like manner circulated round the table. The healths of the great-duke, of the great-ducheſs, and of their ſon prince Alexander, were then ſucceſſively toaſted with the ſame ceremonies; after which count Panin aroſe, and drinking a return of thanks to prince Volkonſki as maſter of the feaſt, was joined by the whole company. When each toaſt was named by the prince, all the perſons at table got up out of reſpect, and remained ſtanding while he drank. The reader will excuſe the mention of theſe particulars on this and other occaſions; as they may be deemed not unworthy of notice, becauſe they are ſometimes characteriſtics of national manners.

During our ſtay at Moſcow we frequently experienced the hoſpitality of count Alexèy Orlof, who, in the laſt war with the Porte, commanded the Ruſſian fleet in the Archipelago, and burnt the Turkiſh armament in the bay of Tcheſme, for which action he has been honoured with the title of Tcheſminſki. The cuſtom of conferring an additional name for the performance of ſignal ſervices to the country was, in imitation of the Romans, familiarly practiſed by Conſtantine and his ſucceſſors the Greek emperors, who reigned at Conſtantinople.

nople. From that quarter it probably paſſed to the Ruſſians, who in the earlier times of their hiſtory gave appellations of this kind to ſome of their illuſtrious leaders. Thus the great-duke Alexander was called Nevſki for his victory over the Swedes near the Neva; and his great-grandſon Demetrius Ivanovitch was denominated Donſki for his conqueſt of the Tartars upon the banks of the Don. This cuſtom, which had long been diſcontinued, has been lately revived by the preſent empreſs. Accordingly Marſhal Romanzof received the denomination of Zadunaiſki from his victories ſouth of the Danube; prince Dolgorucki that of Crimſki for his ſucceſſes in the Crimea; and count Orlof this of Tcheſminſki from the action in the bay of Tcheſme.

The houſe of count Orlof is ſituated at the extremity of one of the ſuburbs, upon an elevated ſpot, commanding a fine view of the vaſt city of Moſcow and the neighbouring country. A number of ſeparate buildings occupy a large tract of ground. The offices, ſtables, manage, and other detached ſtructures, are entirely of brick; the foundation and lower ſtory of the dwelling-houſe are conſtructed with the ſame materials, but the upper part is built with wood *, neatly painted of a green colour. We carried a letter of recommendation from prince Staniſlaus Poniatowſki, the king of Poland's nephew, to the count, who received us with great frankneſs and cordiality, and detained us at dinner; he deſired us to lay aſide all form; adding, he was a plain man, had a high eſteem for the Engliſh nation, and ſhould be happy to render us every ſervice in his power during our ſtay at Moſcow. We had the pleaſure of dining ſeveral times with him, and always met with the moſt polite reception. The

* Wooden houſes are by many perſons in this country ſuppoſed to be warmer and more wholeſome than thoſe of brick and ſtone, which is the reaſon why ſeveral of the Ruſſian nobility chuſe that part of the houſe, which they inhabit themſelves, to be conſtructed with wood.

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count ſeemed to live in the true ſtyle of old Ruſſian hoſpitality; kept an open table, provided with a great variety of Greek wines, which he brought with him from his expedition into the Archipelago. One diſh, ſerved on his plentiful board, muſt be mentioned as the moſt delicious of the kind I ever taſted, and which I think only inferior to our beſt veniſon; it was a quarter of an Aſtracan ſheep, remarkable for the quantity and flavour of the fat *.

We had muſic during dinner, which indeed generally made a part of the entertainment at the tables of the nobility. We obſerved alſo another very uſual inſtance of parade; namely, a great number of retainers and dependents, mixed with ſervants, but ſeldom aſſiſting in any menial office: they occaſionally ſtood round their lord's chair, and ſeemed infinitely pleaſed whenever they were diſtinguiſhed by a nod or a ſmile. In this train there was an Armenian not long arrived from Mount Caucaſus, who, agreeably to the cuſtom of his country, inhabited a tent pitched in the garden, and covered with a thick kind of felt. His dreſs conſiſted of a long looſe robe tied with a ſaſh, large breeches, and boots: his hair was cut, in the manner of the Tartars, in a circular form; his arms were a poignard, and a bow of buffalo's horn ſtrung with the ſinews of the ſame animal. He was extremely attached to his maſter: when he was firſt preſented, he voluntarily took an oath of fealty, and ſwore, in the true language of Eaſtern hyperbole, to attack all the count's enemies, offering, as a proof of the ſincerity of this declaration, to cut off his own ears; he alſo wiſhed that all the ſickneſs, which at any time threatened his maſter, might be transferred to himſelf. He

* In the court-yard I obſerved ſeveral ſheep of this ſpecies ranging about the ſtables, ſo perfectly tame that they ſuffered us to ſtroke them. They are almoſt as large as fallow deer, but with much ſhorter legs: they have no horns, long flowing ears, and, inſtead of tails, a large bunch of fat, ſometimes weighing thirty pounds. Mr. Pennant has given an engraving of theſe ſheep in his Hiſtory of Quadrupeds, which he has accompanied with an accurate deſcription.

examined our clothes, and ſeemed delighted with pointing out the ſuperiority of his own dreſs in the article of convenience; he threw himſelf into different attitudes with uncommon agility, and defied us to follow his example; he danced a Calmuc dance, which conſiſted in ſtraining every muſcle, and writhing his body into various contorſions without ſtirring from the ſpot: he beckoned us into the garden, took great pleaſure in ſhowing us his tent and his arms; and ſhot ſeveral arrows to an amazing height. We were ſtruck with the unartificial character of this Armenian, who ſeemed like a wild-man juſt beginning to be civilized. CHAP. II.

Count Orlof, who is very fond of the manage, is eſteemed to have, though not the largeſt, yet the fineſt ſtud in Ruſſia: and he was ſo obliging as to gratify our curioſity by carrying us to ſee it near his country-houſe, at the diſtance of about fifteen miles from Moſcow. He conveyed us in his own carriage drawn by ſix horſes, harneſſed with ropes, and placed two in front, and four a-breaſt in the hinder row: an empty coach, with ſix horſes, ranged two by two, followed for parade. He was attended by four huſſars, and the above-mentioned Armenian accoutred with his bow and quiver: the latter continually ſhouted and waved his hand with the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of tranſport; he occaſionally galloped his horſe cloſe to the carriage, then ſuddenly ſtopped, and wheeled round to the right or left with inconceivable rapidity.

In our route we paſſed ſeveral large convents, ſurrounded, like many of the monaſteries in this country, with ſtrong walls and battlements of brick, ſo as to have the appearance of ſmall fortreſſes; croſſed the Moſkva twice, and came in about two hours into a ſpacious circular plain of luxuriant paſture, in the midſt of which riſes an inſulated hill, with the count's houſe on the top. This ſeat commands a beautiful view of the circular plain, watered by the Moſkva, and

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ſkirted by gentle hills, whoſe ſides preſent a rich variety of wood, corn, and paſtures.

The greateſt part of the ſtud was grazing in the plain: it conſiſted of a large number of the fineſt ſtallions, and above ſixty brood-mares, moſt of whom had foals. The collection was gleaned from the moſt diſtant quarters of the globe, from Arabia, Turkey, Tartary, Perſia, and England. He obtained the Arabians during his expedition in the Archipelago, ſome as preſents from Ali-Bey, others by purchaſe or by conqueſt from the Turks: amongſt theſe he chiefly prized four horſes (two of which we had noticed in the manage at Moſcow) of the true *Cochlean* breed, ſo much eſteemed in Arabia, and ſo ſeldom ſeen out of their native country.

The count, after having politely attended us himſelf to the ſtud and about the grounds, regaled us with a moſt elegant entertainment, at which his vivacity lent charms to his ſplendour and hoſpitality. In our return to Moſcow, we made a circuit to a ſmall village about ſix miles from the capital, where a villa was erecting for the empreſs, called Tzaricino: it conſiſted, beſide the principal building, of eight or ten detached ſtructures in the Gothic taſte, which were prettily diſperſed among the plantations. The ſituation is romantic, a riſing ground backed with wood, and a large piece of water embracing the foot of the hill.

I cannot forbear to mention in this place an act of almoſt Eaſtern magnificence, which this viſit ſome time afterwards occaſioned. One morning in the enſuing winter, at Peterſburgh, one of the fineſt among the Arabian horſes, which Lord Herbert had greatly admired at Moſcow, was ſent to him, accompanied with the following note.

" My Lord, I obſerved that this horſe pleaſed you, and " therefore deſire your acceptance of him. I received him as " a preſent from Ali-Bey. He is a true Arabian of the Coch-

" lean

" lean race, and in the late war was brought by the Ruſſian CHAP. II.
" ſhips from Arabia to me while I was in the Archipelago. I
" wiſh he may be as ſerviceable to you as he has been to me;
" and I remain, with eſteem, your obedient ſervant,

" Count ALEXEY ORLOF TCHESMINSKI."

This valuable horſe was ſent from Peterſburgh by ſea to England, and is now in the Earl of Pembroke's poſſeſſion.

At the cloſe of an entertainment, which the count one day gave us at Moſcow, he introduced us to the ſight of a Ruſſian boxing-match, which is a favourite diverſion among the common people. We repaired to the manage, where we found about three hundred peaſants aſſembled. They divided themſelves into two parties, each of which choſe a chief, who called out the combatants, and pitted them againſt each other: only a ſingle pair was allowed to engage at the ſame time. They did not ſtrip as with us, and had on thick leathern gloves with thumb pieces, but with no ſeparations for the fingers. From the ſtiffneſs of the leather they could ſcarcely double their fiſts; and many of them ſtruck open-handed. Their attitudes were very different from thoſe uſed by boxers in England: they advanced the left foot and ſide; ſtretched the left arm towards the adverſary in order to repel his blows; and kept the right arm ſwinging at ſome diſtance from the other. They generally ſtruck in a circular direction at the face and head, never attacked the breaſt or ſides, and ſeemed to have no notion of aiming a blow directly forwards. When any combatant felled his antagoniſt to the ground, he was declared victor, and the conteſt between that pair immediately ceaſed. During our ſtay we were witneſs to about twenty ſucceſſive combats. Some of the men were of vaſt ſtrength; but their mode of fighting prevented any miſchief from its exertion; nor did we perceive any of thoſe fractures and contuſions in which boxing-matches in England ſo frequently terminate.

Both

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Both parties were highly intereſted in favour of their reſpective champions; and ſeemed at times inclined to enter the liſts in their ſupport; but the firſt appearance of diſpute, or growing heat, was humanely checked by the count, who acted as mediator: a kind word, or even a nod from him, inſtantly compoſed all differences. When he appeared deſirous to put an end to the combats, they humbly requeſted his permiſſion to honour them with his preſence a little longer; upon his aſſent, they bowed their heads to the ground, and ſeemed as pleaſed as if they had received the higheſt favour. The count is greatly beloved by his peaſants, and their ſtern countenances would melt into the moſt affectionate ſoftneſs at his approach.

We made one day an agreeable excurſion to Mikaulka, the villa of count Peter Panin, a Ruſſian nobleman of the firſt diſtinction, who ſignalized himſelf in the late war againſt the Turks, by the taking of Bender; and more recently by the defeat and capture of the rebel Pugatchef. This villa is ſituated at the diſtance of ſix miles from Moſcow, in the midſt of a large foreſt. The count originally purpoſed to have raiſed a very grand ſtructure of brick, after a deſign of his late wife; but upon her death he abandoned this project, and contented himſelf with a comfortable wooden houſe at the extremity of his grounds, which he at firſt erected only as a temporary habitation. His offices, ſtables, coach-houſes, dog-kennels, lodgings for his huntſmen and other menial ſervants, form two long rows of ſeparate wooden buildings, all with uniform fronts and neatly painted. The grounds are prettily laid out in the ſtyle of our parks, with gentle ſlopes, ſpacious lawns of the fineſt verdure, ſcattered plantations, and a large piece of water fringed with wood. We could not avoid feeling extreme ſatisfaction at obſerving, that the Engliſh ſtyle of gardening had penetrated even into theſe diſtant regions. The

Engliſh

Engliſh taſte, indeed, can certainly diſplay itſelf in this country to great advantage, where the parks are extenſive, and the verdure, during their ſhort ſummer, uncommonly beautiful. Moſt of the Ruſſian nobles have gardeners of our nation, and reſign themſelves implicitly to their direction. The count, who is fond of country diverſions, had a pack of hounds chiefly of the Engliſh breed, conſiſting of an indiſcriminate mixture of harriers, ſtag and fox-hounds ſelected without any regard to their ſizes or ſorts. With this ſame pack he hunted wolves, deer, foxes, and hares. He poſſeſſed likewiſe a fine breed of Ruſſian greyhounds, in high eſtimation for their ſwiftneſs: they are ſhaggy and wire-haired, and ſome of them are taller than the largeſt Newfoundland dog I ever ſaw.

The count entertained us with a moſt ſumptuous dinner: we were particularly ſtruck with the quantity and quality of the fruit which made its appearance in the deſert: pines, peaches, apricots, grapes, pears, cherries, none of which can in this country be obtained without the aſſiſtance of hot-houſes, were ſerved in the greateſt profuſion. There was a delicious ſpecies of ſmall melon, which had been ſent by land-carriage from Aſtracan to Moſcow, though at the diſtance of a thouſand miles *. One inſtance of elegance which diſtinguiſhed the deſert, and which had the prettieſt effect imaginable, muſt not be omitted: at the upper and lower end of the table were placed two china vaſes containing cherry-trees in full leaf, and fruit hanging on the boughs, which was gathered by the company. We obſerved alſo in the deſert a curious ſpecies of apple, which is not uncommon in the neighbourhood of Moſcow: it is ſomewhat larger than a golden-pippin, is of the colour and tranſparency of pale amber, and has an exquiſite flavour; the Ruſſians call it Navl-

* Theſe melons ſometimes coſt five pounds apiece, and at other times they may be purchaſed in the markets of Moſcow for leſs than half a crown apiece.

nich.

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nich. The tree thrives here in the open air without any particular attention to its culture, but degenerates in other countries; its ſlips and ſeed, when planted in a foreign ſoil, have hitherto produced only a common ſort of apple, but never the tranſparent ſpecies.

In returning from Mikaulka we paſſed cloſe to the villa of count Roſomouſki Hetman of the Ukraine, and it reſembled more a little town than a country houſe. It conſiſted of forty or fifty buildings of different ſizes; ſome of brick; others of wood; ſome painted, and others plain. He maintains his guard, a numerous train of retainers, and a large band of muſicians. The Ruſſian nobles diſplay a great degree of grandeur and magnificence in their houſes, domeſtics, and way of living. Their palaces at and near Moſcow are ſtupendous piles of buildings; and I am informed that their manſions, at a diſtance from Moſcow and Peterſburgh, are upon a ſtill greater ſcale, where they reſide as independent princes, like the feudal barons in early times; have their ſeparate courts of juſtice, and govern their vaſſals with an almoſt unlimited ſway.

I did not expect to have found in this northern climate a kind of Vauxhall, which our curioſity led us to viſit. It is ſituated at the furtheſt extremity of the ſuburbs in a ſequeſtered ſpot, which has more the appearance of the country than of a town. We entered by a covered way, ſimilar to that at our Vauxhall, into the gardens, which were ſplendidly illuminated. There was an elegant rotunda for the company to walk in, either in cold or rainy weather, and ſeveral apartments for tea or ſupper. The entrance money was four ſhillings. The proprietor is an Engliſhman, whoſe name is Mattocks. The encouragement he met with from the natives on this occaſion had enabled him to engage in conſtructing, at a very conſiderable expence, a ſpacious theatre of brick; and, as an indemnification, he had obtained from the empreſs

an excluſive patent for all plays, and public maſquerades, during ten years from the time of its completion. CHAP. II.

The fineſt view of Moſcow is to be ſeen from an eminence about four or five miles from the town, of which I have forgotten the Ruſſian name, but its ſignification in Engliſh is Sparrow-hill: upon this eminence were the ruins of a large palace built by Alexèy Michaelevitch. Upon our return we ſtopped at Vaſiliofſki, the villa of prince Dolgorucki, which ſtands upon the brow of the ſame hill. The Moſkva, broader than uſual, runs at its foot in a ſemi-circle; and the vaſt city of Moſcow lies open before it: the houſe is a large wooden building, to which we aſcended by mounting three terraſſes. The preſent poſſeſſor of this villa is prince Dolgorucki Crimſki, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his repeated victories over the Turks in the Crimea, and by the conqueſt of that peninſula. The models of ſeveral fortreſſes, which he beſieged and took, are placed in the gardens; I particularly remarked thoſe of Yenikale, Kerſch, and Precop.

In going over the houſe, the various reverſes of fortune which have befallen the family of Dolgorucki, occurred forcibly to my recollection, eſpecially when I ſurveyed the portrait of the princeſs Catharine Dolgorucki, whoſe adventures, ſo pathetically deſcribed by Mrs. Vigor *, afford one of the moſt affecting ſtories in the annals of hiſtory. That unfortunate princeſs, after having been torn from the perſon ſhe loved, was betrothed againſt her inclination to the emperor Peter II. On his deceaſe ſhe became a momentary ſovereign; but was almoſt as inſtantly hurried from the palace to a dungeon, where ſhe languiſhed during the whole reign of the empreſs Anne. Being at length releaſed upon the acceſſion of Elizabeth, ſhe married count Bruce, and died without leaving any iſſue.

* See Letters from Ruſſia, by a Lady.

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Number of churches in Moſcow.—*Deſcription of the moſt antient.*—*Their outward ſtructure.*—*Interior diviſions.*—*Worſhip of painted images.*—*Deſcription of an enormous bell.*—*Principal buildings in the* Kremlin.—*Antient palace.*—*Convent of* Tchudof.—*Nunnery of* Vieſnovitſkoi.—*Cathedral of* St. Michael.—*Tombs and characters of the* Tzars.—*Genealogical tables of the ſovereigns of* Moſcow *of the houſe of* Ruric.—*Of different families.*—*Of the line of* Romanof.

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THE places of divine worſhip at Moſcow are exceedingly numerous; including chapels, they amount to above a thouſand: there are 484 public churches, of which 199 are of brick, and the others of wood; the former are commonly ſtuccoed or white-waſhed, the latter painted of a red colour.

The moſt antient churches of Moſcow are generally ſquare buildings, with a cupola and four ſmall domes *, ſome whereof are of copper or iron gilt; others of tin, either plain or painted green. Theſe cupolas and domes are for the moſt part ornamented with croſſes entwined with thin chains or wires; each croſs has two tranſverſe bars †, the upper horizontal, the lower inclining; which, according to the ſuppoſition of many Ruſſians, is ſuppoſed to have been the form of the real croſs, and that our Saviour was nailed to it with his arms in an horizontal poſition, and one of the legs higher

* The church of the Holy Trinity, ſometimes called the Church of Jeruſalem, which ſtands in the Khitaigorod, cloſe to the gate leading into the Kremlin, has a kind of high ſteeple and nine or ten domes: it was built in the reign of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. An engraving of that, as well as of ſome of the more antient churches, may be ſeen in Olearius and Le Brun's Travels.

† I am here deſcribing the moſt antient churches; the modern croſſes over thoſe of St. Peterſburgh are moſtly ſingle.

than

than the other. I frequently obſerved a creſcent under the lower bar, the meaning of which no one could explain *.

The inſide of the church is moſtly compoſed of three parts; that called by the Greeks τρονος, by the Ruſſians Trapeza; the body; and the ſanctuary or ſhrine.

In the body of the church there are frequently four ſquare pillars, very thick and heavy, for the purpoſe of ſupporting the cupola: theſe pillars, as well as the walls and cielings, are painted with innumerable repreſentations of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, and of different ſaints. Many of the figures are enormouſly large, and are executed in the rudeſt manner; ſome are daubed upon the bare walls; others upon large maſſive plates of ſilver or braſs, or encloſed in frames of thoſe metals. The head of each figure is invariably decked with a glory; which is a maſſy ſemicircle, greatly reſembling an horſe-ſhoe, of braſs, ſilver, or gold, and ſometimes compoſed almoſt entirely of pearls and precious ſtones. Some of the favourite ſaints are adorned with ſilken drapery faſtened to the walls, and ſtudded with jewels; ſome are painted upon a gold ground, and others are gilded in all parts but their face and hands. Towards the extremity of the body of the church is a flight of ſteps leading to the ſhrine; and between theſe ſteps and the ſhrine is uſually a platform, upon which the officiating miniſter ſtands and performs part of the ſervice.

The ſhrine or ſanctuary is divided from the body of the church by the *Iconaſtus*, or ſkreen, generally the part the moſt richly ornamented, and on which the moſt holy pictures are

* Dr. King accounts for the creſcent in the following ingenious manner. "Some "churches have a creſcent under the croſs; "for when the Tartars, to whom Muſcovy "was ſubjected two hundred years, converted "any of the churches into moſques for the "uſe of their own religion, they fixed the "creſcent, the badge of Mahometaniſm, upon "them: and when the grand-duke Ivan Ba"ſilovitch had delivered his country from "the Tartar yoke, and reſtored thoſe edi"fices to the Chriſtian worſhip, he left the "creſcent remaining, and planted a croſs "upon it as a mark of its victory over its "enemy." Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church, p. 23.

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painted or hung *. In its centre are the folding, called the holy, royal, or beautiful doors, which lead to the ſhrine, within which is the holy table, as Dr. King well deſcribes it, "with four ſmall columns to ſupport a canopy over it; from "which a *periſterion*, or dove, is ſuſpended, as a ſymbol of "the Holy Ghoſt; upon the holy table the croſs is always "laid, and the Goſpel, and the pyxis, or box, in which a part "of the conſecrated elements is preſerved, for viſiting the ſick "or other purpoſes †."

It is contrary to the tenets of the Greek religion to admit a carved image within the churches, in conformity to the prohibition in Scripture, "Thou ſhalt not make to thyſelf a "*graven* image," &c. By not conſidering, however, the prohibition as extending to repreſentations by painting, the Greek canoniſts, while they have followed the letter, have departed from the ſpirit of the commandment, which poſitively forbids us to worſhip the likeneſs of any thing under whatever form, or in whatever manner it may be delineated: for if we transfer our adoration from the Creator to any object of his creation, it is of little conſequence whether we bow down to the productions of the painter, or to thoſe of the ſculptor.

Over the door of each church is the portrait of the ſaint to whom it is dedicated, to which the common people pay their homage as they paſs along, by taking off their hats, croſſing themſelves, and occaſionally touching the ground with their heads, a ceremony which I often ſaw them repeat nine or ten times in ſucceſſion.

Before I cloſe the general deſcription of the Ruſſian churches,

* "On the north ſide of the royal doors "the picture of the Virgin is always placed, "and that of Jeſus on the ſouth; next to "which is that of the ſaint to whom the "church is dedicated; the ſituation of the "reſt is indifferent. Candles or lamps are "uſually ſuſpended before the images of "Jeſus and the Virgin, and ſeveral others, "and ſometimes kept perpetually burning." Dr. King on the Greek Church, p. 29; to which book I would refer the reader who deſires further information on the ſubject.

† Ibid. p. 26.

I muſt

I muſt not forget their bells, which form, I may almoſt ſay, no inconſiderable part of divine worſhip in this country, as the length or ſhortneſs of their peals aſcertains the greater or leſſer ſanctity of the day. They are hung in belfreys detached from the church: they do not ſwing like our bells, but are fixed immoveably to the beams, are rung by a rope tied to the clapper, and pulled ſideways. Some of theſe bells are of a ſtupendous ſize: one in the tower of St. Ivan's church weighs 3551 Ruſſian poods, or 127,836 Engliſh pounds. It has always been eſteemed a meritorious act of religion to preſent a church with bells; and the piety of the donor has been meaſured by their magnitude. According to this mode of eſtimation, Boris Godunof, who gave a bell of 288,000 pounds to the cathedral of Moſcow, was the moſt pious ſovereign of Ruſſia, until he was ſurpaſſed by the empreſs Anne, at whoſe expence a bell was caſt weighing 432,000 pounds, and which exceeds in bigneſs every bell in the known-world. Its ſize is ſo enormous, that I could ſcarcely have given credit to the account of its magnitude if I had not examined it myſelf, and aſcertained its dimenſions with great exactneſs. Its height is nineteen feet, its circumference at the bottom twenty-one yards eleven inches, its greateſt thickneſs twenty-three inches *. The beam to which this vaſt machine was faſtened being accidentally burnt, the bell fell down, and a fragment was broken off towards the bottom, which left an aperture large enough to admit two perſons a-breaſt without ſtooping.

Our inn being cloſe to the walls of Kremlin, I had frequent opportunities of examining its principal buildings.

The palace, inhabited by the antient tzars, ſtands at the extremity of the Kremlin. Part of this palace is old, and remains in the ſame ſtate in which it was built under Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. The remainder has been ſucceſſively added at different

* Mr. Hanway, in his Travels, has given an accurate deſcription and engraving of this bell.

intervals

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intervals without any plan, and in various ſtyles of architecture; which has produced a motley pile of building, remarkable for nothing but the incongruity of the ſeveral ſtructures. The top is thickly ſet, with numerous little gilded ſpires and globes; and a large portion of the front is decorated with the arms of all the provinces, which compoſe the Ruſſian empire. The apartments are in general exceedingly ſmall, excepting one ſingle room, called the council-chamber, in which the antient tzars uſed to give audience to foreign embaſſadors; and which has been repeatedly deſcribed by ſeveral Engliſh travellers, who viſited Moſcow before the Imperial reſidence was transferred to Peterſburgh. The room is large and vaulted, and has in the centre an enormous pillar of ſtone, which ſupports the cieling *.

This palace, which, prior to the æra of Peter the Great, was eſteemed by the natives as an edifice of unparalleled magnificence, in which the tzars held their courts in all the ſplendour of Eaſtern pomp †, is now, ſince the late improvements in

* "The roof of the audience-chamber "was arched and ſupported by a great pillar "in the middle." Lord Carliſle's Embaſſy, p. 149. In the feaſt which Alexèy Michaelovitch gave to the Earl of Carliſle, this great pillar was adorned with a wonderful variety of gold and ſilver veſſels, p. 292.

† The author of Lord Carliſle's Embaſſy deſcribes, in the following hyperbolical expreſſions, the Aſiatic magnificence of the court of Alexèy Michaelovitch, at the firſt audience of the embaſſadors. "And here "(in the audience chamber) it was we were "like thoſe who coming ſuddenly out of the "dark are dazzled with the brightneſs of "the ſun: the ſplendour of their jewels "ſeeming to contend for priority with that "of the day; ſo that we were loſt as it were "in this confuſion of glory. The tzar, like "a ſparkling ſun, (to ſpeak in the Ruſſian "dialect) darted forth moſt ſumptuous rays, "being moſt magnificently placed upon his "throne, with his ſceptre in his hand, and "having his crown on his head. His throne "was of maſſive ſilver gilt, wrought curiouſly "on the top with ſeveral works and pyra-"mids; and being ſeven or eight ſteps higher "than the floor, it rendered the perſon of "the prince tranſcendently majeſtic. The "ſceptre glittered all over with jewels, his "veſt was ſet with the like from top to the bot-"tom down the opening before, and his col-"lar was anſwerable to the ſame. By his "ſide he had four of the talleſt lords ſtand-"ing below his throne, each of them with "a battle-ax upon his ſhoulder, and with a "profound gravity caſting their eyes now "and then upon the tzar, as inviting us to "an admiration of his grandeur. Their ha-"bits were no leſs remarkable than their "countenances, being all four of them, from "the top of their head to the ſole of their "foot, clothed in white veſts of ermine, and "having chains of gold. But that which "was

in architecture, far ſurpaſſed by the ordinary manſions of the nobility, and by no means calculated even for the temporary reſidence of the ſovereign. In this palace Peter the Great came into the world, in the year 1672; an event here mentioned, not only becauſe it is remarkable in the annals of this country, but becauſe the Ruſſians themſelves were, till very lately, ignorant of the place in which their favourite hero was born. That honour was uſually aſcribed to Columna, which, on that ſuppoſition, has been profanely ſtyled the Bethlehem of Ruſſia; but the judicious Muller has unqueſtionably proved, that the Imperial palace of Moſcow was the place of Peter's nativity *. I was greatly diſappointed that we could not view that part of the palace called the treaſury. The keeper being lately dead, the door was ſealed up, and could not be opened, until a ſucceſſor was appointed. Beſide the crown, jewels, and royal robes, uſed at the coronation of the ſovereign, this repoſitory, as we were informed, contains ſeveral curioſities, which relate to and illuſtrate the hiſtory of this country. CHAP. III.

There are two convents in the Kremlin; one is a nunnery, and the other a monaſtery for men, called Tſchudof. The latter does not merit any particular deſcription; I entered it merely becauſe it is well known in the Ruſſian hiſtory as the place wherein the tzar Vaſſili Shuiſki was confined after his depoſition, and from whence he was taken in order to be carried into Poland: where he only exchanged one priſon for another ſtill more diſmal; and where he fell a victim to his own diſappointment and chagrin, as well as to the ill-treatment A. D. 1610.

" was farther admirable was the glorious " equipage of the Boyars preſent at this au- " dience, who were as ſo many beams of the " ſun elevated in his triumphant car, and " ſeemed to have no luſtre but to do homage " withal to their great monarch. They were " about two hundred, clothed all with veſts " of cloth and gold, cloth of ſilver or velvet " ſet with jewels, all placed in order upon " benches covered with tapeſtry," &c. p. 147 to 149. The reader will find many deſcriptions of the tzar's magnificence and court, in the ſeveral accounts of the different embaſſies in Hackluyt's Collection of Voyages.

* See Journ. St. Pet.

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of the Poles. We are naturally led to compaſſionate the fate of an exiled and depoſed monarch, who dragged on a miſerable exiſtence amidſt the horrors of perpetual impriſonment: but the black ingratitude of Vaſſili Shuiſki towards Demetrius, his ſovereign and benefactor, almoſt extinguiſhes our ſenſe of his calamities. For even if the perſon who aſſumed the name of Demetrius was an impoſtor, Shuiſki, when condemned for high-treaſon to an ignominious death, was indebted to him for his pardon; an act of clemency ill requited by the depoſition and murder of his benefactor *.

The nunnery, called Vieſnovitſkoi, was founded in 1393 by Eudoxia, wife of the great-duke Dmitri Ivanovitch Donſki. The abbeſs politely accompanied us over the convent herſelf, and pointed out to us every object in the leaſt degree worthy of attention. She firſt conducted us to the principal chapel, which contained the tombs of ſeveral tzarinas and princeſſes of the Imperial family. The tombs are a kind of ſtone coffins laid on the floor, and ranged in rows very near each other; ſome were incloſed with braſs, and others with iron balluſtrades, but the greateſt number had no diſtinction of this ſort. Each ſepulchre was covered with a pall of crimſon or black velvet, ornamented with an embroidered croſs in the middle, and edged with a border of gold and ſilver lace. Over theſe, on great feſtivals, are laid other coverings of gold and ſilver tiſſue, richly ſtudded with pearls and precious ſtones. The foundreſs of the convent is a ſaint, and is buried under the altar. The abbeſs very obligingly preſented me with a MS. Ruſſian account of the princeſſes, who are interred in the church. After we had fully examined theſe repoſitories of the dead, and ſurveyed the rich veſtments of the prieſts, and the figures of various ſaints painted on the walls, the abbeſs invited us into her apartments. She led the way, and at the top of the ſtairs,

* See Chap. VII.

as

as we entered the anti-chamber, ſtruck the floor two or three blows with her ivory-handled cane, when inſtantaneouſly a chorus of about twenty nuns received us with hymns, which they continued ſinging as long as we ſtaid: the melody was not unpleaſing. In an adjoining room tea was ſerved to the company, and a table was plentifully ſpread with pickled herrings, ſlices of ſalt fiſh, cheeſe, bread, butter, and cakes; champaigne and *liqueurs* were tendered by the abbeſs herſelf. After we had partaken of theſe refreſhments, we attended the abbeſs through the apartments of the nuns, many of whom were employed in embroidering ſacerdotal habits for the archbiſhop of Moſcow, and we took our leave. CHAP. III.

The nuns wore a long robe of black ſtuff, black veils, black forehead-cloth, and black wrappers under the chin, which made them look very diſmal and pale. The abbeſs was diſtinguiſhed by a robe of black ſilk. The nuns are totally prohibited from meat, living chiefly upon fiſh, eggs, and vegetables. In other reſpects the order is not rigid, and they are allowed to pay occaſional viſits in the town.

I have already had occaſion to mention the great number of churches contained in this city. The Kremlin is not without its ſhare; in a ſmall compaſs I counted eight almoſt contiguous to each other. Two of theſe churches, namely that of St. Michael, and that of the Aſſumption of the Virgin Mary, are remarkable; the one for being the place where the ſovereigns of Ruſſia were formerly interred; and the other where they are crowned. Theſe edifices are both in the ſame ſtyle of architecture, and were probably conſtructed by Solarius of Milan, who built the walls of the Kremlin. Though the architect was obliged to conform his taſte to the models of eccleſiaſtical buildings at that time uſed in Ruſſia, yet their exterior form is not abſolutely inelegant, although it is an oblong ſquare, and much too high in proportion to the breadth.

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In the cathedral of St. Michael I viewed the tombs of the Ruſſian ſovereigns. The bodies are not, as with us, depoſited in vaults, or beneath the pavement, but are entombed in raiſed ſepulchres, moſtly of brick, in the ſhape of a coffin, and about two feet in height. When I viſited the cathedral, the moſt antient were covered with palls of red cloth, others of red velvet, and that of Peter II. with gold tiſſue *, bordered with ſilver fringe and ermine. Each tomb has at its lower extremity a ſmall ſilver plate, upon which is engraved the name of the deceaſed ſovereign, and the æra of his death.

From the time that Moſcow has been the Imperial reſidence to the cloſe of the laſt century, all the tzars have been interred in this cathedral, excepting Boris Godunof, whoſe remains are depoſited in the convent of the Holy Trinity †, the tzar under the name of Demetrius ‡, who was deſtroyed in a tumult, and Vaſſili Shuiſki, who died in captivity at Warſaw.

The tomb of Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. who may juſtly be eſteemed the founder of the Ruſſian greatneſs, claimed my principal attention. At his acceſſion to the throne in 1462, Ruſſia formed a collection of petty principalities engaged in perpetual wars with each other, ſome of them nominally ſubject to the great-duke of Moſcow, and all of them, together with that monarch himſelf, tributary to the Tartars §. Ivan, in the courſe of a proſperous reign of above forty years, gave a new aſpect to the Ruſſian affairs: he annexed to his dominions the duchies of Tver and other neighbouring principali-

* Upon great feſtivals all the ſepulchres are covered with rich palls of gold or ſilver brocade, ſtudded with pearls and jewels.

† See Chap. VI.

‡ See Chap. VII.

§ The ſervitude of the great-duke will beſt appear from the following circumſtances, recorded by Cromer the Poliſh hiſtorian. "Whenever the Tartar embaſſadors were "ſent to Moſcow in order to collect the accuſtomed tribute, the great-duke uſed to "meet them, and offer, as a mark of his reſpect, a cup of mare's milk; and if a drop "chanced to fall upon the mane of the horſe, "on which the Tartar embaſſador was ſitting, "he would himſelf lick it up. When they "reached the hall of audience, the embaſſadors read the khan's letter ſeated upon "a carpet of the choiceſt furs, while the "great-duke with his nobles knelt, and "liſtened in reſpectful ſilence." Cromer, L. 29. p. 647.

ties,

ties, ſubdued Novogorod, and, what was ſtill more glorious and beneficial, he reſcued this country from the Tartar yoke, and refuſed the payment of the ignominious tribute, which for above a century had been exacted from his predeceſſors. He had no ſooner delivered Ruſſia from this dependence, than his alliance was courted by many European ſovereigns; and during his reign Moſcow ſaw, for the firſt time, embaſſadors from the emperor of Germany, from the pope, the grand-ſignor, from the kings of Poland and Denmark, and from the republic of Venice. CHAP. III.

The talents of this able monarch were not confined to military atchievements: Ruſſia was indebted to him for the improvement of her commerce, and for opening a more ready communication with the European nations. Under his auſpices, the knowledge of gunpowder and the art of caſting cannon was firſt brought into Ruſſia by Ariſtotle of Bologna*: he employed the ſame artiſt†, as well as other foreigners, to ſtrike anew the Ruſſian coins, which had hitherto been diſfigured by Tartar inſcriptions; he engaged, at a vaſt expence, Italian artiſts to encloſe the Kremlins of Moſcow and Novogorod with walls of brick, and to conſtruct ſeveral churches and other public ſtructures with the ſame materials‡. For his various civil and military ſervices he deſervedly acquired the name of the *Great*. He is deſcribed as a perſon of gigantic ſtature and ferocious aſpect. His manners and deportment, ſtrongly infected with the barbariſm of his age and country, were ſomewhat ſoftened and poliſhed by the example of his ſecond wife Sophia §, a Grecian princeſs of conſummate beauty and

* Bachmeiſter's Eſſai ſur la Bib. de Peterſ. p. 28.

† Poſſevinus.

‡ A vaſt effort in thoſe barbarous times, and which deſerves to be mentioned, becauſe at his acceſſion to the throne almoſt all the buildings of Moſcow were of wood.

§ Sophia was daughter of Thomas Palæologus, brother of Conſtantine the laſt Grecian emperor, who loſt his life when Conſtantinople

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and winning addreſs; who to all the ſofter graces of her ſex added a vigorous and manly ſpirit; and who, while ſhe infuſed into her huſband a taſte for the arts of peace, animated him to thoſe glorious enterprizes which tended to the aggrandizement of his country.

Ivan the Great died in 1505, in the 67th year of his age: on each ſide of his remains are depoſited thoſe of his father Vaſſili Vaſſilievitch, ſurnamed The Blind*; and of his ſon Vaſſili Ivanovitch, who ſucceeded him in the throne, and expired in 1533.

In a ſmall chapel adjoining to theſe tombs is the ſepulchre of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II.† ſon and ſucceſſor of Vaſſili Ivanovitch. This ſovereign is branded by many writers with the name of *tyrant*, and repreſented as the moſt odious monſter that ever diſgraced human nature. In delineating, however, his general character, they are ſometimes guilty of falſehood‡,

ſtantinople was taken by the Turks in 1453. Soon after that event Sophia repaired to Rome with her father, where they lived under the protection of the pope. The latter is ſaid to have negotiated her marriage with the great-duke, and even to have beſtowed her portion, in hopes of procuring, through her influence, great advantages to the Roman catholic religion in Ruſſia. But theſe hopes were fruſtrated; for Sophia, immediately upon her marriage in 1482, embraced the Greek religion. She encouraged her huſband in ſhaking off the Tartar yoke; and probably aſſiſted him in procuring the ableſt architects from Italy. See Herberſtein, in Rer. Moſ. Comm. p. 7. alſo Pau. Jovii De Leg. Moſ.—Ibid. p. 129.

* He received the appellation of the Blind, becauſe his eyes had been put out by order of his uncle, who, having formerly depoſed him, practiſed this cruel expedient in order to diſqualify him from re-aſcending the throne. He was afterwards, however, reinſtated in the ſovereignty by the affection of his ſubjects.

† Called, by the Engliſh writers, John Baſilovitz.

‡ Thus ſome writers aſſert, that when he walked out, or made a progreſs through his dominions, if he met any one whoſe mien diſpleaſed him, he would order his head to be ſtruck off, or do it himſelf.

Others as abſurdly relate, that he would order bears to be let looſe upon a crowd of people aſſembled in the ſtreets of Moſcow, and diverted himſelf with the cries and agonies of the perſons devoured by thoſe ferocious animals.

Olearius informs us, that Ivan wantonly commanded the eyes of the architect, who built the church of the Holy Trinity at Moſcow, to be put out, that he might never conſtruct any building of ſuperior beauty.

Theſe idle tales confute themſelves; but the following report we are able to contradict from our own hiſtory. Ivan is ſaid to have ordered the hat of the Engliſh embaſſador, Sir Jerome Bowes, to be nailed to his head, becauſe he refuſed to take it off in the tzar's preſence.

This report was occaſioned by the exaggerated account of a miſunderſtanding between the tzar and Sir Jerome Bowes, which is related in the embaſſador's diſpatches. Hackluyt's Collection of Voyages, v. I. p. 460, &c.

and often of exaggeration, and ſeem totally to forget many great qualities which he certainly poſſeſſed. Though we ſhould not give implicit credit to many idle reports which are related of his ſavageneſs and inhumanity; yet it would be equally as abſurd, and contrary to hiſtorical evidence, to deny or attempt to apologiſe for many cruelties * actually committed by this monarch, who, no more than Peter the Great, reckoned clemency among the number of his virtues. CHAP. III.

But while we regard the ferocity and implacability of his temper with abhorrence, we cannot refuſe the tribute of admiration to his political character. He raiſed the ſuperſtructure of the Ruſſian grandeur, of which his grandfather had laid the foundation. Inſtead of a deſultory militia, collected in haſte, and always impatient to diſband, he inſtituted a ſtanding army; he aboliſhed the uſe of the bow, hitherto the principal weapon among the Ruſſians; he trained them to fire-arms, and accuſtomed them to a more regular diſcipline. By means of this formidable body, he extended his dominions on all ſides, conquered the kingdoms of Caſan and Aſtracan, and rendered the Ruſſian name reſpectable to the diſtant powers of Europe. He gave to his ſubjects the firſt code of written laws; he invited foreign artiſts † to Moſcow; he introduced printing into Ruſſia; he promoted commerce, and regulated the duties of export and import; he permitted Engliſh merchants to eſtabliſh factories within his dominions, and, with a liberality not always practiſed by more enlightened ſovereigns, granted to them the free exerciſe of their religion; he had even formed the deſign, which death alone prevented, of inſtituting various ſeminaries for the cultivation of the Latin and German

* Inſtances of which the reader will find in the 6th Chap. of this Book, and the 2d of Book IV.

† Above three hundred artiſts of all profeſſions, namely, painters, ſculptors, architects, watch-makers, caſters of bells, miners, armourers, ſtationers, maſons, &c. have already arrived at Lubec in their way to Moſcow, but were prevented from proceeding by the intrigues of the inhabitants of Lubec, and the natives of Livonia. See Bachmeiſter's Eſſai ſur la Bib. &c. p. 32.

languages.

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languages. In a word, he may fairly be eſteemed one of thoſe ſovereigns, who have contributed to improve and civilize their ſubjects.

Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. died in 1584, in an agony of grief at the death of his eldeſt ſon Ivan, whoſe remains are placed contiguous to thoſe of his father. Hiſtorians have recorded, that this prince received his death, from the perſon to whom he was indebted for his life, by an unfortunate blow upon his temple. The enemies of the tzar have not failed to impute this melancholy cataſtrophe to deſign; while his apologiſts have no leſs ſtrenuouſly laboured to repreſent it as merely accidental. Upon weighing theſe diſcordant accounts with impartiality, it appears, that the blow was either caſual, or, if deſigned to chaſtiſe, certainly not intended to be fatal.

Feodor, the ſecond ſon and ſucceſſor of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. is interred in the ſame chapel; a prince of ſuch weak intellects and notorious incapacity, as to be a mere phantom of ſovereignty, and entirely under the direction of his brother-in-law Boris Godunof. Feodor aſcended the throne in 1584, and expired in 1598: in him ended the male line of the ſovereigns of the houſe of Ruric *, a family who had reigned over Ruſſia for a period of more than ſeven centuries.

Among the tombs in this church, the moſt remarkable is that which contains the body of a child, ſuppoſed by the Ruſſians to have been the third ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. who is ſaid to have been aſſaſſinated at Vglitz, in the ninth year of his age, by order of Boris Godunof. This tomb, which is more diſtinguiſhed than thoſe of the Ruſſian ſovereigns, is of braſs and highly ornamented. The child is claſſed among the ſaints of the Ruſſian calendar, and, according to the legends of the church, his body is ſaid to have performed miracles, and is believed by the credulous to remain uncorrupted. The top

* Unleſs Demetrius was the real ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II.

of

of the ſepulchre is frequently uncovered, and, during divine ſervice on the feſtival of St. Alexander Nevſki, I obſerved ſeveral Ruſſians kiſſing the inſide with great marks of devotion. The hiſtory of the aſſaſſination at Vglitz, and the adventures of the real or pretended Demetrius, who filled the throne for a ſhort time, require a ſeparate narrative.

The ſovereigns of the houſe of Romanof are interred in the body of the church: their tombs are placed on each ſide between the maſſy pillars, which ſupport the roof.

The firſt of this illuſtrious line is Michael Feodorovitch, whoſe election in 1613 put a final period to a long ſcene of civil bloodſhed, and reſtored tranquillity to his diſtracted country. He owed his elevation to his high rank and princely deſcent; but more particularly to the virtues, abilities, and popularity of his father Philaretes. A body of Ruſſian nobles having tendered the crown to Ladiſlaus prince of Poland, that prince had actually aſſumed the title of tzar, and eſtabliſhed a garriſon at Moſcow: ſoon afterwards a powerful party, averſe to the government of a foreigner, expelled the Poles from the capital, and unanimouſly advanced Michael to the throne, though at that time ſcarcely ſeventeen years of age. It is ſingular, that he was raiſed to this high ſtation, not only without his knowledge, but even in repugnance to his own inclination. When the deputies from Moſcow arrived at Coſtroma, where he at that time reſided with his mother, and acquainted him with his election; Michael, recollecting the dreadful cataſtrophes which had befallen all the tzars ſince the demiſe of Feodor Ivanovitch, and reflecting on the preſent diſtracted ſtate of Ruſſia, burſt into tears; and for a while declined the proffered crown, which ſeemed to entail deſtruction upon thoſe who had ventured to wear it *. Overcome, however, by the importunities of the deputies, and

* See Buſching's Account of the Election of Michael. Hiſt. M. II. p. 403.

partly

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partly dazzled with the ſplendour of royalty, Michael at length yielded to the wiſhes of his country; and repairing without delay to Moſcow, was crowned with the uſual ſolemnities. Though he aſcended the throne with reluctance, he filled it with dignity: and found a protection from thoſe diſtaſters which overwhelmed his immediate predeceſſors, in his own diſcretion, in the wiſe counſels of his father, and in the affection of his ſubjects. Michael died in 1648, after a proſperous reign of 28 years.

Alexèy Michaelovitch his ſon, whoſe aſhes lie contiguous to his remains, is chiefly known by foreigners as the father of Peter the Great; but he deſerves likewiſe our attention for his own public virtues, and for a variety of ſalutary inſtitutions. He reviſed, amended, and new-modelled the code of laws compiled by Ivan Vaſſilievitch II.; he introduced a more regular diſcipline into the army; and invited* foreign officers into his ſervice; he procured from Amſterdam ſeveral ſhip-builders, whom he employed in conſtructing veſſels for the navigation of the Caſpian Sea; in a word, he traced the great outlines of many of thoſe regulations which were afterwards improved and enlarged by the vaſt genius of his ſon Peter the Great. Alexèy deceaſed in 1676, in the 32d year of his reign, and the 49th of his age.

Oppoſite to the ſepulchre of Alexèy are thoſe of his ſons Feodor and Ivan: Feodor, who ſucceeded his father in the throne, has been deſcribed by Voltaire and others as a prince who poſſeſſed a vigorous mind in a weak frame, and whoſe adminiſtration was dignified with many uſeful and glorious regulations. The truth is, however, that incapacity, no leſs than ill-health, diſqualified him from conducting the affairs

* Mayerberg ſays, among the foreign officers in the ſervice of Alexèy Michaelovitch, were two generals, two field marſhals, more than an hundred colonels, majors, captains, lieutenants, and enſigns in proportion.

of

of government; that he actually reſigned himſelf to the direction of his ſiſter Sophia: and that all the beneficial acts of his adminiſtration muſt be aſcribed to her influence, and to the abilities of his prime miniſter the great Galitzin. Feodor, after a ſhort reign of ſix years, ſunk in 1682 under the diſorders which had long preyed upon his frame.

Ivan, ſecond brother of Feodor, and rightful heir of the throne, was ſo debilitated by epileptic fits, both in body and mind *, that he was at firſt excluded from the ſucceſſion as incapable of diſcharging the functions of government, but was afterwards recognized as joint-ſovereign with his half-brother Peter the Great; he was conſidered merely as a puppet, held up to ſatisfy the multitude, and to ſecure to his adherents a ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs. He was allowed to continue this ſtate-pageant during the remainder of his life; and his death, which happened in 1698, was ſcarcely perceived by his ſubjects, and not known to the reſt of Europe, except by the omiſſion of his name in the public acts.

The ſovereigns ſubſequent to Ivan are interred at Peterſburgh, excepting Peter II. whoſe aſhes repoſe in this cathedral. This monarch, the ſon of the unfortunate Tzarovitch Alexèy, was born in 1715, ſucceeded in 1727 Catharine I. and died in 1730 of the ſmall-pox in this city, on the very day which had been appointed for his marriage with the princeſs Dolgorucki. His death was occaſioned by the ignorance of the phyſicians, who treated his diſorder as a malig-

* Schleiſſing, who was at Moſcow during the adminiſtration of Sophia, thus deſcribes the perſon of Ivan. "Ivan Alexèy, the "eldeſt tzar, is ill-formed by nature, info- "much that he can neither rightly ſee, "read, or ſpeak. He always wears a piece "of green ſilk before his eyes, in order to "prevent the upper part of his face from "being ſeen on account of its deformity. "But he is very pious and devout; and as, "on account of his weak conſtitution, he "cannot hunt, or take any violent exerciſe, "he is the more conſtant in his attendance "at church, and never miſſes a proceſſion. "He is ſhort in his perſon, very thin, and "is now 30 years of age."

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nant fever. Peter II. acquired great popularity by fixing, during the latter part of his ſhort reign, his imperial reſidence at Moſcow. He was greatly regretted as the grandſon of Peter the Great, and as the perſon in whom the male line of the Houſe of Romanof became extinct.

SOVEREIGNS

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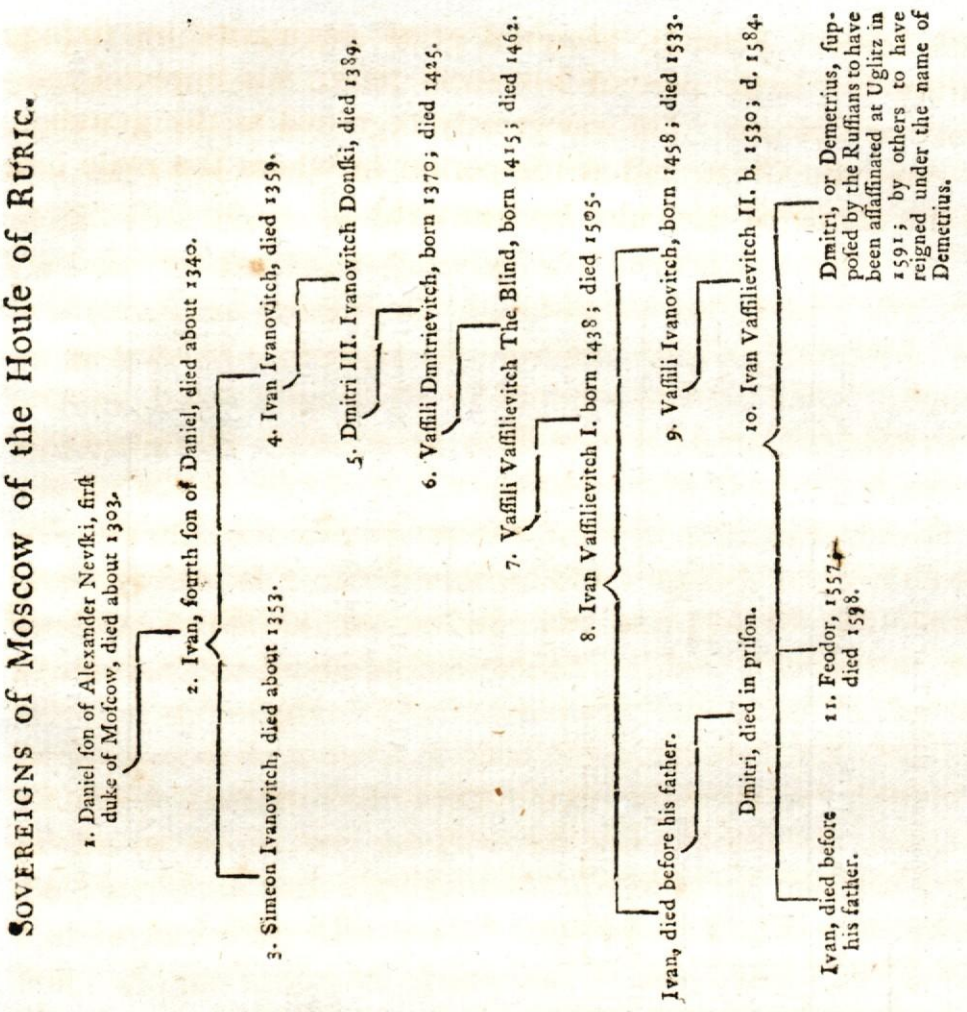
SOVEREIGNS of MOSCOW of the House of RURIC.



TZARS of different Families.

13. Boris Godunof, elected Tzar 1598; died in 1605.

His son Feodor, proclaimed Tzar in April by his father's party, and put to death in June, can scarcely be classed among the Russian sovereigns.

Dmitri, or Demetrius, the False Demetrius of the Russians; by others called the son of Ivan Vassilievitch II. ascended the throne in June, 1605; assassinated May, 1606.

Vassili Ivanovitch Shuiski, elected Tzar upon the assassination of Demetrius in 1606; deposed in 1610; died in captivity at Warsaw.

SOVEREIGNS of RUSSIA of the House of ROMANOF.

I. Michael Feodorovitch, elected Tzar 1613; died 1633.

II. Alexèy Michaelovitch, died 1676, married 1. Maria Iliſhna Miloſlaſſky; 2. Natalia Kiriloſna Narikin.

III. Feodor Alexievitch, born 1651; died 1682.

IV. Ivan Alexievitch, born 1666; died 1695; married Proikovia Soltikof.

Catharine Ivanoſna, died 1733; married Charles Leopold duke of Mecklenburgh.

Anne, Regent of Ruſſia, 1740; died in priſon at Kolmogori 1746; married Anthony Ulric brother to the duke of Brunſwick. Anthony died 1782.

VIII. Ivan, born and Emperor 1740; depoſed 1741; put to death at Schluſſelburgh 1764.

VII. Anne Ivanoſna, born 1694; Empreſs 1730; died 1740; married Frederick William duke of Courland.

Sophia, died 1704. Alexèy had many other daughters, who all died unmarried.

IV. Peter the Great, by Natalia, born 1672; died 1725: mar. 1. Eudokia Lapukin;
2. V. Catharine, who was born about 1689; Empreſs 1725; died 1727.

Alexèy Petrovitch, by Eudokia, born 1691; died 1718; married Charlotte princeſs of Brunſwick.

VI. Peter II. Alexievitch, born 1715; Emperor 1727; died 1730.

Anne Petroſna, by Catharine, b. 1707; died 1730; married Charles Frederick duke of Holſtein Gottorp.

X. Peter III. born 1728; Emperor 1761; depoſed and died 1762; married

XI. Catharine II. princeſs of Anhalt-Zerbst the preſent Empreſs, born 1729.

IX. Elizabeth, by Catharine, bo. 1709; Empreſs 1741; d. 1761.

Paul Petrovitch, born 1754; married 1. Natalia princeſs of Heſſe-Darmſtadt; 2. Maria princeſs of Wurtenburgh Stugard.

Alexander, born 1777.

Conſtantine, born 1779.

CHAP. IV.

Cathedral of the Aſſumption of the Virgin Mary *in the* Kremlin. —*Tombs of the* Ruſſian *patriarchs.*—*Origin and abolition of the patriarchal dignity.*—*Account of the patriarchal* Philaretes *father of the houſe of* Romanof.—*Biographical anecdotes of the patriarch* Nicon.

CHAP. IV.

ANOTHER church in the Kremlin, namely, the cathedral of the Aſſumption of the Virgin Mary, which has long been appropriated to the coronation of the Ruſſian ſovereigns, remains to be deſcribed. This church is the moſt ſplendid and magnificent in Moſcow. The ſcreen is in many parts covered with plates of ſolid ſilver and gold richly worked. From the centre of the roof hangs an enormous chandelier of maſſy ſilver, weighing 2940 pounds: it was made in England, and was a preſent from Moroſof, prime-miniſter and favourite of Alexèy Michaelovitch. The ſacred utenſils and epiſcopal veſtments are extraordinarily rich, but the taſte of the workmanſhip is in general rude, and by no means equal to the materials.

Many of the paintings which cover the inſide walls are of a Coloſſal ſize: ſome are very antient, and were executed ſo early as in the latter end of the fifteenth century. It contains, amongſt the reſt, a head of the Virgin, ſuppoſed to have been delineated by St. Luke, and greatly celebrated in this country for its ſanctity and the power of working miracles. Its face is almoſt black; its head is ornamented with a glory of precious ſtones, and its hands and body are gilded, which gives it a moſt groteſque appearance. It is placed in the ſkreen, and

encloſed

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encloſed within a large ſilver covering, which is only taken off on great feſtivals, or for the curioſity of ſtrangers. This picture is more antient than the other paintings: according to the tradition of the church, it was brought from Greece to Kiof when that city was the reſidence of the Ruſſian ſovereigns; from thence it was conveyed to Volodimir, and afterwards transferred to Moſcow. It ſeems a Grecian painting, and was probably anterior to the revival of that art in Italy *.

In this cathedral are depoſited the remains of the Ruſſian patriarchs.

The firſt of theſe was Job, before whoſe time the primate of the Ruſſian church was ſuffragan to the patriarch of Conſtantinople. Job, being metropolitan archbiſhop of Moſcow, was, in the year 1588, inſtalled in this cathedral patriarch of

* I ſaw ſeveral paintings of the Virgin in the north of Italy ſimilar to this: a few were ſaid to be the productions of St. Luke, others of Cimabue, or his ſcholars. The complexion in theſe was likewiſe of a duſky hue, and plainly from the fancy of the painters. This leads me to imagine that the Grecian painters originally repreſented the Virgin of a dark complexion, which was copied by the earlieſt Italian artiſts, Cimabue and his immediate ſcholars, who received the art from the Greeks. Le Bruyn, ſpeaking of this picture of St. Luke at Moſcow, ſays, "It is very gloomy and almoſt black; but "whether this proceeds from the effects of "time, or the ſmoke of tapers, or the fancy "of the painter; certain it is, there is no "great matter in it." &c. Travels, vol. I. p. 70. An ingenious author, in a late publication, mentions in the monaſtery of Monte-Virgine, a Coloſſal portrait of the Virgin Mary, which paſſes for the work of St. Luke the Evangeliſt, and adds, "There are in "Italy and elſewhere ſome dozens of black, "ugly Madonnas, which all paſs for the "work of his hands, and as ſuch are re-"vered." To which paſſage he ſubjoins the following note, but without citing his authority: "The origin of this fable, or rather "miſtake, appears to be, that about the "time that paintings of holy ſubjects came "into faſhion, there lived at Conſtantinople "a painter called Luke, who, by many re-"preſentations of the Virgin, acquired a "very tranſcendent reputation. He was a "man of exemplary life, and on account of "his piety, and the edifying uſe he made "of his talents, was generally known by the "name of the Holy Luke. In proceſs of "time, when the epocha and circumſtances "of his life were forgotten by the vulgar, "and his performances had acquired by age "a ſmoky, duſky caſt, ſufficient to perplex "the ſhort-ſighted connoiſſeurs of thoſe "days, devotees aſcribed his pictures to the "Evangeliſt, who was pronounced a painter, "becauſe they knew of no other ſaint of "the name, and becauſe if he had been a "painter, no one could have had ſuch op-"portunities of examining and delineating "the features of the holy model." Swinburne's Travels in the Two Sicilies, p. 123. For proof of the introduction of painting into Ruſſia and Italy by the Greeks, ſee the Deſcription of the Cathedral of St. Sophia at Novogorod.

Ruſſia,

Ruſſia, by Jeremias patriarch of Conſtantinople, with all due ſolemnities. The ceremony of tranſlating the ſee from the capital of Turkey to this city is thus deſcribed by an author, who was himſelf preſent *. CHAP. IV.

"On the 25th of January, 1588, the Greek patriarch, "accompanied with the Ruſſe cleargie, went to the great "church of Precheſte, or our Ladie, within the Emperour's "caſtle, where he made an oration, and delivered his reſig-"nation in an inſtrument of writing, and ſo laid down his "patriarchal ſtaffe; which was preſently received by the me-"tropolite of Moſko, and divers other ceremonies uſed about "the inauguration of the new patriarch."

The moſt venerable of Job's ſucceſſors in the patriarchal ſee was Philaretes, who, though no ſovereign himſelf, is celebrated as being father to that line of Ruſſian monarchs, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Houſe of Romanof †. His ſecular name was Feodor: he drew his lineage from Andrew, a Pruſſian prince, who came into Ruſſia about the middle of the fourteenth century, and whoſe immediate deſcendants enjoyed the moſt conſiderable honours and the higheſt offices under the ſovereigns of this country. Feodor was ſon of Nikita Romanovitch, great grandſon of Andrew, and nephew of Anaſtaſia firſt wife of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. By the will of that monarch he was, in conjunction with two other noble-

* Fletcher's Ruſſia, Chap. 21. This author adds, that Jeremias, whom he calls Hieronimo, had been either baniſhed from Conſtantinople by the Turks, or depoſed by the Greek clergy, that he came to Moſcow without any invitation from the Ruſſians, in order to obtain money from the tzar Feodor Ivanovitch, and that with this view he propoſed the tranſlation of the patriarchal ſee from Conſtantinople to Moſcow.

Others deny that he was either depoſed or baniſhed; and relate, that the tzar having formally demanded the conſent of the four patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, Conſtantinople, and Jeruſalem, to the eſtabliſhment of a new patriarch in Ruſſia, they acceded to the requeſt, and ſolemnly deputed Jeremias to Moſcow, who inveſted the metropolitan Job with the new dignity. King on the Greek Church, p. 496.

† In conſequence of a cuſtom prevalent among the Ruſſians to adopt the appellation of the grandfather for a family name, the new royal line was called Romanof, in honour of Roman, Feodor's grandfather.

men,

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men, appointed to ſuperintend the adminiſtration of government under Feodor Ivanovitch, who was extremely deficient in his underſtanding; but ſupplanted by the arts of Boris Godunof, whoſe ſiſter had eſpouſed the young tzar, he was excluded from all ſhare in the direction of affairs during the whole reign of that weak prince. When Boris himſelf was elevated to the throne, the high birth, great abilities, and popularity of Feodor Romanof rendered him ſo obnoxious to the new monarch, that he was compelled to aſſume the prieſthood, and was confined in a monaſtery; when, according to the Ruſſian cuſtom, he changed his name to Philaretes.

1605. Upon the acceſſion of the ſovereign, whom the Ruſſians call the Falſe Demetrius, he was releaſed from his confinement, and appointed to the archbiſhoprick of Roſtof; but in this period of his life he ſeemed doomed to a ſucceſſion of impriſonments. Soon after the depoſition of Vaſſili Shuiſki, when a ſtrong party among the nobles had agreed to elect Ladiſlaus, ſon of Sigiſmond III. king of Poland, tzar of Ruſſia, Philaretes was, in 1610, diſpatched at the head of an embaſſy to Sigiſmond, in order to ſettle the conditions of his ſon's election. He found the Poliſh monarch engaged in the ſiege of Smolenſko; and when the king demanded the immediate ceſſion of that town, Philaretes warmly returned, "When "your ſon has aſcended our throne, he will poſſeſs not only "Smolenſko, but all Ruſſia; and it ill becomes you to diſ"member his territories." Sigiſmond, exaſperated at this ſpirited reply, and ſtill farther inflamed by the remonſtrances which Philaretes and the embaſſadors urged againſt his conduct towards Ruſſiá, arreſted and threw them into priſon. Philaretes languiſhed nine years in the caſtle of Marienburgh *, in Pruſſia, under a moſt rigorous confinement, during which even many of the common neceſſaries were frequently with-

* Buſching. Hiſt. Mag. v. II. p. 403.

held from him. His abſence, however, did not diminiſh the reſpect and veneration which the Ruſſians entertained for his character: the whole nation unanimouſly conferred the crown upon his ſon Michael, a youth only in the ſeventeenth year of his age, in hopes that a peace with Poland would reſtore Philaretes to his country, and render him the director of that power with which they had inveſted his ſon. This expectation was gratified at the peace of Viaſma, concluded in 1619, between Ruſſia and Poland, which gave Philaretes to the wiſhes of the people. Immediately upon his arrival at Moſcow he was conſecrated patriarch, and became the real, though not the oſtenſible, ſovereign of this country, as his ſon may be ſaid to have held the reins of government under his abſolute direction. He was inveſted with the adminiſtration of affairs; his name was frequently aſſociated in the public acts with that of the tzar *; he gave audience to embaſſadors †; and upon many public occaſions was permitted to take precedence of his ſon ‡. His experience, moderation, and abilities, rendered him worthy of theſe high honours, and this unbounded authority; and the proſperity of Michael's reign proclaimed the wiſdom of his ſage monitor. Philaretes died in 1633 in an advanced age, regretted by his ſon and the whole kingdom. CHAP. IV.

The laſt of theſe patriarchs was Adrian, at whoſe demiſe, in 1690, Peter, attentive to the true intereſts of his crown, could never be prevailed upon to nominate a ſucceſſor; and in 1721 the patriarchal dignity was formally aboliſhed.

In a former chapter I obſerved, that there are no ſeats in the Ruſſian churches, the ceremonial of the Greek worſhip requiring all perſons to ſtand during the performance of divine ſervice. In this cathedral, ſacred to the Aſſumption of the Virgin Mary, I obſerved two elevated places near the ſkreen,

* Schmid. Ruſſ. Geſ. v. II. p. 13. † Buſching. Hiſt. Mag. v. VII. p. 329.
‡ Olearius.

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encloſed with rails without ſeats: one of them is appropriated to the ſovereign, the other was formerly deſtined for the patriarch, whoſe ſtate and grandeur were in ſome inſtances not inferior to thoſe of the tzar himſelf. Upon ſome public occaſion the archbiſhop of Novogorod, who aſpired to have the patriarchal dignity revived in his perſon, pointing to the place formerly occupied by the patriarch, remarked to Peter, "Sire, "that ſtructure is now uſeleſs; will not your majeſty order "it to be removed?" Peter was ſilent; but, upon the archbiſhop's repeating the queſtion, turned to him and ſaid, "That "place ſhall not be removed, nor ſhall you fill it."

The Ruſſians reckon eleven patriarchs from the firſt eſtabliſhment of the dignity in the perſon of Job, to its final abolition after the death of Adrian. Of theſe the greateſt and moſt conſpicuous was the celebrated Nicon, whom, as he is the only patriarch not interred in this cathedral, I could not mention upon contemplating their tombs. It is hoped that no apology needs be offered for the following account of a man, whom ſome Ruſſians ſtill abhor as Antichriſt, and others adore as a ſaint; and whoſe extraordinary character has never been faithfully repreſented to the Engliſh reader.

Nicon was born in 1613, in a village of the government of Niſhnèi Novogorod, of ſuch obſcure parents, that their names and ſtation are not tranſmitted to poſterity. He received, at the baptiſmal font, the name of Nikita, which afterwards, when he became monk, he changed to Nicon, the appellation by which he is more generally known. He was educated in the convent of St. Macarius, under the care of a monk. From the courſe of his ſtudies, which were almoſt ſolely directed to the Holy Scriptures, and the exhortations of his preceptor, he imbibed at a very early period, the ſtrongeſt attachment to a monaſtick life; and was only prevented from following the bent of his mind by the perſuaſions and authority of his father.

ther. In conformity, however, to the wiſhes of his family, though contrary to his own inclination, he entered into matrimony; and, as that ſtate precluded him from being admitted into a convent, he was ordained a ſecular prieſt. CHAP. IV.

With his wife he paſſed ten years; firſt as a pariſh-prieſt in ſome country village, and afterwards at Moſcow in the ſame capacity; but loſing three children, whom he tenderly loved, his diſguſt for the world and his propenſity to ſolitude returned with redoubled violence; and, having perſuaded his wife to take the veil, he entered into the monaſtick order. He choſe for his own retreat a ſmall iſland of the White-Sea, inhabited only by a few perſons, who formed a kind of eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, as remarkable for the auſterity of their rules as for the ſolitude of their ſituation: about twelve monks dwelled in ſeparate cells ſcattered at equal diſtances from each other *, and from the church which ſtood in the center of the iſland. Theſe lonely cenobites aſſembled regularly on Saturday evening in the church, where they aſſiſted in the performance of divine ſervice during the whole night, and the next day until noon, when they retired to their reſpective habitations. This practice was repeated on certain feſtivals; while at other times each recluſe occupied his cell undiſturbed by any mutual intercourſe. Their food was bread, and fiſh which they caught themſelves, or procured from parts of the contiguous continent. Such was the ſituation which Nicon adopted as congenial to the gloomy ſtate of his own mind; where, brooding in ſolitude upon the uncertainty of human life, he was unhappily led to conſider the moſt debaſing auſterities as acceptable to the Supreme Being; and neceſſarily contracted that cloiſtered pride, which gave an alloy to his ſublime virtues, and which proved the greateſt defect in his character,

* Two verſts, or a mile and an half.

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when afterwards called upon to fulfil the duties of a publick and exalted ſtation.

After a ſhort reſidence in this iſland, Nicon was choſen to accompany the chief of the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment to Moſcow, in order to raiſe a collection for the building of a new church. He was ſcarcely returned from this expedition, when, at the inſtigation of the chief, whom he had offended during his journey, he was compelled by the other monks to retire from the iſland; he embarked in an open boat, with only a ſingle perſon to aſſiſt him, in an high ſea; being overtaken by a violent ſtorm, he was toſſed about and in continual danger of periſhing, but was at length driven upon an iſland near the mouth of the Onega.

From this iſland he repaired to a monaſtery upon the contiguous continent; and being admitted into the ſociety, inſtead of inhabiting an apartment in the convent, he, in imitation of his former ſolitude, conſtructed a ſeparate cell on an adjacent iſland, where he lived upon the fiſh that he caught with his own hands, and never viſited the monaſtery but during the time of divine ſervice. By this recluſe and rigid way of life he was held in ſuch high eſteem by the brethren, that upon the death of their ſuperior they unanimouſly raiſed him to the vacant dignity. He continued in this capacity for three years, when, being drawn by ſome family affairs to Moſcow, he was caſually preſented to the tzar Alexèy Michaelovitch; that monarch was ſo captivated with his various talents, extenſive learning, and natural eloquence, that he detained him at Moſcow, and took him under his immediate protection. Within leſs than the ſpace of five years he was ſucceſſively created archimandrite or abbot of the Novoſpatſkoi convent, archbiſhop of Novogorod, and patriarch of Ruſſia. He deſerved theſe rapid promotions by a rare aſſemblage of extraordinary qualities, which even his enemies allow him to have poſſeſſed, undaunted

undaunted courage, irreproachable morals, exalted charity, comprehenſive learning, and commanding eloquence. CHAP. IV.

While archbiſhop of Novogorod, to which dignity he was raiſed in 1649, he gave a memorable inſtance of his firmneſs and diſcretion. During a tumult in that city, the Imperial governor, prince Feodor Kilkof, took refuge in the archiepiſcopal palace againſt the fury of the inſurgents; who, burſting open the gates, threatened inſtant pillage if the governor was not delivered to them without delay. Nicon, inſtead of acceding to their demand, boldly advanced into the midſt of them, and exhorted them to peace. The populace, inflamed to madneſs by the prelate's appearance, transferred their rage from the governor to him; aſſaulted him with ſtones, dragged him by the hair, and offered every ſpecies of violence and indignity to his perſon. Being conveyed to the palace in a ſtate of inſenſibility, he was recovered by immediate aſſiſtance; but, regardleſs of the imminent danger from which he had juſt eſcaped, he perſiſted in his reſolution, either to appeaſe the tumult, or periſh in the attempt. With this deſign, as if devoting himſelf to certain death, he confeſſed and received the ſacrament, and repaired to the town-houſe, where the inſurgents were aſſembled. He confounded them by his preſence; ſoftened them into repentance by a firm, but pathetic, addreſs; and, perſuading them to diſperſe, tranquillity was inſtantly reſtored to the town, which the moment before had exhibited a ſcene of confuſion and uproar. This calm, however, was of no long duration: the ſedition, which had been thus allayed by the ſpirit and eloquence of Nicon, being fomented by the ringleaders of the tumult, broke into open rebellion; many of the inhabitants renounced their allegiance to the tzar, and propoſed to deliver the town into the hands of the king of Poland. The prelate, however, not daunted by this change in their ſentiments, did not diſcon-

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tinue his efforts to bring them back to their duty: his remonſtrances and exhortations were gradually attended with ſucceſs; many flocked to his palace, deſiring his interceſſion with their enraged ſovereign; and though the remainder of the inſurgents blocked up all the avenues to the town, yet he contrived, at the peril of his life, to ſend information to the tzar. Being armed, by a commiſſion from Moſcow, with full authority, he, with a proper degree of vigour, yet without the effuſion of blood, finally quelled the rebellion. To him was remitted the trial of the rebels, and the abſolute diſpoſal of life and death; an office which he executed with as much judgement as lenity. Only the leader of the ſedition was puniſhed with death; ten of his moſt mutinous adherents were knooted and baniſhed; and a few others were condemned to a ſhort impriſonment. Nicon nobly overlooked and forgave the outrage committed againſt his own perſon; and in chaſtizing the public offence tempered the ſeverity of juſtice with the feelings of humanity.

He obtained the reſpect of the inhabitants by the unwearied aſſiduity with which he performed the functions of his archiepiſcopal office; and conciliated their affection by acts of unbounded charity. During a dreadful famine he appropriated the revenues of his ſee to the relief of the poor; he conſtructed alms-houſes for widows, old men, and orphans: he was the great patron of the indigent; and the zealous protector of the lower claſs of men againſt the oppreſſions of the great.

He was no leſs conſpicuous in the vigilant diſcharge of the high duties of his patriarchal office, to which he was appointed in 1652, only in the 39th year of his age. He inſtituted ſeminaries for the inſtruction of prieſts in the Greek and Latin languages; he enriched the patriarchal library with many rare eccleſiaſtical and claſſical manuſcripts drawn from

a convent at Mount Athos: by a diligent reviſal of the Holy Scriptures, and a collation of the various editions of the Old and New Teſtament, perceiving that many errors had crept into the printed copies of the Bible and Liturgy uſed for divine ſervice; he prevailed upon the tzar to ſummon a general council of the Greek church at Moſcow, in which he preſided. By his arguments, authority, and influence, it was determined that the moſt antient Sclavonian verſion of the Bible was exact, and that the errors with which the later copies abounded ſhould be corrected. He inſpected and ſuperintended the printing of a new edition of the Sclavonian Bible, which was become ſo rare as not to be purchaſed at any price. He removed from the churches the pictures of deceaſed perſons, to which many of the Ruſſians offered the moſt blind adoration; he aboliſhed a few ceremonies which had been carried to a moſt ſuperſtitious exceſs: in a word, his labours tended more to the reformation of the church, than the united efforts of all his predeceſſors in the patriarchal ſee. CHAP. IV.

Nor did he ſolely diſtinguiſh himſelf in his profeſſional duties; but ſhewed himſelf no leſs qualified in a civil capacity. Notwithſtanding the courſe of his ſtudies hitherto ſolely confined to eccleſiaſtical ſubjects, and the recluſeneſs of his former life which ſeemed to have impeded the attainment of political knowledge, yet he was no ſooner called to a public ſtation, than his abilities expanded in proportion as the objects which they embraced became more numerous and important: his ſagacity, ſharpened by continual application, ſoon rendered him maſter of the moſt intricate affairs of government; taught him to comprehend and diſcriminate a variety of the moſt oppoſite intereſts; and to adopt that deciſive line of conduct which marks the great and enlightened ſtateſman. Being conſulted by the tzar upon all occaſions, he ſoon became the

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the ſoul of his councils *; and gained the aſcendancy in the cabinet by the ſplendour of his reaſoning, and by a vaſt ſuperiority of genius, ever fertile in expedients, and prone to recommend the moſt vigorous and ſpirited meaſures.

When he ſeemed thus to have attained the higheſt ſummit of human grandeur to which a ſubject can arrive, he fell a victim to popular diſcontents, and to the cabals of a court. His fall, no leſs ſudden than his riſe, muſt be traced from the following cauſes. The removal of the painted images from the churches diſguſted a large party among the Ruſſians ſuperſtitiouſly addicted to the adoration of their anceſtors; the correction of the errors in the Liturgy and Bible, the abolition of ſome ceremonies, and the admiſſion of a few others (introduced, perhaps, with too much haſte, and without paying a due deference to the prejudices of his countrymen), occaſioned a ſchiſm in the church; many perſons averſe to all innovations, and adhering to the old tenets and ceremonies, formed a very conſiderable ſect under the appellation of *Old Believers*, and, riſing in ſeveral parts, created much diſturbance to the ſtate, circumſtances naturally imputed to Nicon by his enemies: he attracted the hatred of an ignorant and indolent clergy by the appointment of Greek and Latin ſeminaries; he raiſed the envy and jealouſy of the prime-miniſter and courtiers by his predominance in the cabinet, and by the haughtineſs of his deportment; and by the ſame means he offended the tzarina and her father, who were implacable in their reſentment.

All theſe various parties uniting in one great combination againſt him, Nicon haſtened his fall by a ſupercilious de-

* The influence which Nicon, from the ſuperiority of his genius, obtained in the tzar's councils, perhaps induced Voltaire, in his erroneous account of this patriarch, to declare, that he "voulut elever ſa chaire "au-deſſus du trône; non ſeulement il uſurpait le droit de s'aſſeoir dans le ſenat à "côté du czar, mais il pretendait, qu'on ne "pouvait faire ni la guerre ni la paix ſans "ſon conſentement," &c. Hiſt. de Pierre le Grand, p. 74. From Voltaire the compiler of the article of Ruſſia, in the Univerſal Hiſtory, has adopted this idle aſſertion. V. XXXVIII. p. 140.

meanour,

meanour, which occaſionally bordered upon arrogance; by truſting ſolely for his ſupport to the rectitude of his conduct and the favour of his ſovereign; and by diſdaining to guard againſt, what he conſidered, as the petty intrigues of a court. CHAP. IV.

The only circumſtance which ſeemed wanting to complete his diſgrace was the loſs of Alexèy's protection; and this was at length effected by the gradual, but ſecret, inſinuations of the tzarina and her party, who finally availed themſelves of an unſucceſsful war with Poland, of which the patriarch is ſaid to have been the principal adviſer, to excite the tzar's diſpleaſure againſt him. Nicon, finding himſelf excluded from the preſence of a ſovereign accuſtomed to conſult him upon every emergency, and diſdaining to hold the higheſt office in the kingdom, when he had loſt the confidence of his maſter, aſtoniſhed the public by a voluntary abdication of his patriarchal dignity. This meaſure, cenſured by many as haſty and imprudent, and as highly expreſſive of that pride which ſtrongly marked his character, muſt yet be eſteemed manly and reſolute; which even thoſe who condemn cannot but admire. It may alſo admit of great palliation, if we conſider, what is moſt probable, that the popular odium was riſing againſt him; that a powerful party had abſolutely, though ſecretly, effectuated his diſgrace; and that, as he foreſaw his fall, he preferred a voluntary abdication of his dignity to a forcible depoſition, chuſing to reſign with ſpirit what he thought he could not retain without meanneſs *.

This abdication took place on the 21ſt † of July, 1658, only ſix years after he had been created patriarch; when he

* This is the opinion of Mayerberg, who came to Moſcow ſix years after his abdication: After enumerating the cauſes of his fall, he adds, "Propter quæ omnia *omnibus exoſus*, et ad exilium *communibus votis* "expetitus patrocinium nullum invenerit in "favore Alexii, cujus animum ſenſim abalie-"naverant jactis in longum odiis uxor et ſocer "illi ob privatas cauſas infenſi," p. 87.

† The 10th, O. S.

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quitted that exalted ſtation with the ſame greatneſs of ſoul with which he had aſcended it. He was permitted to retain the title of patriarch, while the functions of his office were performed by the archbiſhop of Novogorod. He choſe for the place of his reſidence the convent of Jeruſalem, built and endowed by himſelf, which is ſituated about the diſtance of thirty miles from the city of Moſcow. Upon his arrival at the convent he immediately re-aſſumed his former recluſe way of life, and practiſed the moſt rigid mortifications. His hermitage, which he inhabited, lay about a mile from the monaſtery, and is thus deſcribed by an author *, who viſited the ſpot in the beginning of this century: "A winding ſtair-caſe, ſo narrow that one "man could hardly paſs, leads to the little chapel of about a "fathom in the ſquare, in which the patriarch uſed to per-"form his ſolitary worſhip. The room in which he lived "was not much larger; in it hung a broad iron-plate, with "a croſs of braſs fixed to a heavy chain, weighing above "twenty pounds, all which the ſaid patriarch wore about his "neck for twenty years together. His bed was a ſquare "ſtone two ells in length, and ſcarcely one in breadth, over "which was ſpread nothing but a cover of ruſhes. Below in "the houſe was a ſmall chimney, in which the patriarch "uſed to dreſs his own victuals."

While we admire the firmneſs with which he ſupported this reverſe of fortune, we cannot without regret obſerve a perſon of his enlightened underſtanding ſubmitting to theſe mortifying penances, which the moſt ignorant and ſuperſtitious Anchorite was no leſs capable of performing: he did not, however, waſte his whole time in the performance of frivolous auſterities; but employed great part of his retirement in compiling a regular ſeries of Ruſſian annaliſts from Neſtor, the earlieſt hiſtorian of this country, to the reign of

* Perry's State of Ruſſia, v. 1. p. 140.

Alexèy Michaelovitch. He purſued this plan with the ſame zeal which had diſtinguiſhed all his other purſuits. He compared and collated the numerous manuſcripts, and, after the moſt diligent examination, he digeſted the whole collection in chronological order into a work, which is called ſometimes, from its author, the Chronicle of Nicon; and ſometimes, from the place where it was begun and depoſited, the Chronicle of the Convent of Jeruſalem. This compilation, the labour of twenty years, is juſtly eſteemed, by the beſt Ruſſian hiſtorians, a work of the greateſt uſe and authority; and was conſidered, by its venerable author, of ſuch importance to the hiſtory of his country, that, in the true ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, he begins the performance by anathematizing all thoſe who ſhould attempt to alter the minuteſt expreſſion. CHAP. IV.

The innocent manner, however, in which he ſeems to have paſſed his time could not protect him from the further perſecutions of his enemies, who were apprehenſive, that while he retained the name of patriarch he might be reinſtated in his former dignity. Repeated complaints were lodged againſt him; every diſturbance, occaſioned by the old believers, was made a matter of ſerious accuſation; not only his former conduct was diſcuſſed and arraigned, but new crimes were invented to render him ſtill more obnoxious. He was accuſed of writing to the patriarch of Conſtantinople in a diſreſpectful manner againſt the tzar, of holding a treaſonable correſpondence with the king of Poland, and of receiving bribes from the ſame monarch.

The tzar, continually beſet by the patriarch's enemies, was prevailed upon to proceed to the moſt violent extremities againſt him. With this view he convened, in 1666, a general council of the Greek and Ruſſian clergy at Moſcow, who, after a ſhort deliberation, formally depoſed Nicon from the patriarchal ſee, and baniſhed him to a diſtant convent. The prin-

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cipal cauſe aſſigned for this depoſition was, that Nicon, having by his voluntary abdication meanly deſerted his flock, was unworthy to fill the patriarchal ſeat; a ſufficient proof that the other crimes were maliciouſly imputed to him, circulated merely to prejudice the tzar, and to influence the judges againſt him: for if he had been found guilty of a treaſonable correſpondence, that alone would have been a much better plea for his depoſition and impriſonment, than a trifling charge drawn from his voluntary abdication. In conformity to his ſentence, Nicon was degraded to the condition of a common monk, and impriſoned in the convent of Therapont, in the government of Bielozero. His confinement was for ſome time extremely rigorous, becauſe, conſcious of his own integrity, he perſiſted in a denial of guilt, and refuſed to accept a pardon for crimes which he had never committed. Upon the death of Alexèy in 1676, Feodor, probably at the inſtigation of his prime-miniſter prince Galitzin, the patron and friend of genius, permitted Nicon to remove to the convent of St. Cyril in the ſame government, where he enjoyed the moſt perfect liberty.

Nicon ſurvived his depoſition fifteen years. In 1681 he requeſted and obtained permiſſion to return to the convent of Jeruſalem, that he might end his days in that favourite ſpot; but he expired upon the road near Yaroſlaf, in the 66th year of his age. His remains were tranſported to that convent, and buried with all the ceremonies uſed at the interment of patriarchs *.

* For the Hiſtory of Nicon, I have followed Muller in his Nachricht von Novogorod in S. R. G. vol. V. p. 541 to 559. L'Eveſque has drawn from this ſame ſource a ſpirited and candid account of this great patriarch, to which I hold myſelf indebted for a few reflections. Hiſt. de Ruſſie, v. III. p. 391 to 394; alſo 417 to 430.

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CHAP. V.

Ruſſian *archives.*—Engliſh *ſtate-papers.*—*Commencement of the connection between the courts of* London *and* Moſcow.—*Correſpondence between queen* Elizabeth *and the tzar* Ivan Vaſſilievitch II.—*His demand of the lady* Anne Haſtings *in marriage.*—*Account of that negotiation.*—*Other diſpatches.*—*A letter from the emperor* Maximilian I. *to* Vaſſili Ivanovitch.—*Riſe of the title of tzar.*—*Negotiation between* Peter the Great *and the* European *courts relative to the title of emperor.*—*Univerſity.*—*Syllabus of the lectures.*—*Account of* Matthæi's *Catalogue of the* Greek *manuſcripts in the library of the* Holy Synod.—*Hymn to* Ceres *attributed to* Homer, *&c. &c.*

MR. Muller obligingly accompanied us to the place in the Khitaigorod, where the public archives are depoſited; which is a ſtrong brick building, containing ſeveral vaulted apartments with iron floors. Theſe archives, conſiſting of a numerous collection of ſtate-papers, were crouded into boxes, and thrown aſide like common lumber, until the preſent empreſs ordered them to be reviſed and arranged. In conformity to this mandate, Mr. Muller has diſpoſed them in chronological order with ſuch perfect regularity, that any ſingle document may be inſpected with little trouble. They are encloſed in ſeparate cabinets with glaſs doors: thoſe relative to Ruſſia are all claſſed according to the ſeveral provinces which they concern; and over each cabinet is inſcribed the name of the province to which it is appropriated. In the ſame manner the manuſcripts relative to foreign kingdoms are

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are placed in ſeparate diviſions under the reſpective titles of Poland, Sweden, England, France, Germany, &c. The papers which concerned my native country firſt engaged my attention. The earlieſt correſpondence between the ſovereigns of England and Ruſſia commenced about the middle of the 16th century, ſoon after the diſcovery of Archangel, and chiefly relates to the permiſſion of trade granted excluſively to the Engliſh company of merchants ſettled in this country. The firſt record is an original letter of Philip and Mary to Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. acknowledging the receipt of a diſpatch tranſmitted to England by his embaſſador Oſef Niphea, and returning thanks for the liberty of opening a free trade throughout the Ruſſian dominions. The charter of privileges granted by the ſame tzar to the Engliſh merchants, and the numerous letters which he received from Elizabeth, are all preſerved in this collection; and are for the moſt part printed in Hackluyt's Voyages: I obſerved one, however, not to be found in that work; it is dated the 18th of May, 1570, and Elizabeth, among other expreſſions of friendſhip, offers to Ivan Vaſſilievitch, in caſe he ſhould be compelled by an inſurrection to quit his country, an aſylum for himſelf and family in England. This letter was ſigned by Elizabeth in the preſence of her ſecret council: amongſt the ſignatures I noticed the names of Bacon, Leyceſter, and Cecil.

As ſome hiſtorians have aſſerted that the tzar Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. carried his perſonal reſpect for queen Elizabeth ſo far as to be one of her ſuitors, while Camden only relates that he propoſed to marry lady Anne Haſtings, daughter of the earl of Huntingdon, my curioſity led me to make inquiries into this tranſaction. With reſpect to any treaty of marriage between the tzar and Elizabeth, the archives are entirely ſilent; but in regard to the intended eſpouſal of lady Anne Haſtings, they furniſhed me with the following curious particulars.

The

The firſt hint of this match ſeems to have been ſuggeſted by Dr. Robert Jacob a phyſician, whom Elizabeth in 1581, at the tzar's deſire, ſent to Moſcow. Dr. Jacob, not unacquainted with the fickleneſs of Ivan in his amours, and his deſire of contracting an alliance with a foreign princeſs, extolled, in the moſt extravagant terms, the beauty, accompliſhments, and rank of lady Anne Haſtings, and actually inſpired the tzar with a ſtrong inclination to eſpouſe her, although he had juſt married his fifth wife Maria Feoderofna. Dr. Jacob repreſented this lady as a niece of the queen, and daughter of an independent prince; both which circumſtances being falſe ſufficiently ſeem to prove that he acted from his own ſuggeſtions, without the leaſt authority from Elizabeth. The tzar, fired by his deſcription, diſpatched Gregory Pirſemſkoi, a Ruſſian nobleman of the firſt diſtinction, to England, to make a formal demand of the lady for his wife: according to his inſtructions, he was ordered, after a conference with the queen, to procure an interview with the lady, obtain her portrait, and inform himſelf of the rank and ſituation of her family: he was then to requeſt that an Engliſh embaſſador might return with him to Moſcow, with full powers to adjuſt the conditions of the marriage. If an objection ſhould be raiſed, that Ivan was already married, he ſhould anſwer, that the tzar, having eſpouſed a ſubject, was at liberty to divorce her; and if it was aſked, what proviſion ſhould be made for the children by lady Anne Haſtings, he ſhould reply, that Feodor the eldeſt prince was undoubtedly heir to the throne, but that her children ſhould be amply endowed.

Pirſemſkoi, in conſequence of theſe orders, repaired to London, had an audience of Elizabeth, ſaw lady Haſtings, who had juſt recovered from the ſmall-pox, procured her portrait, and returned to Moſcow in 1583, accompanied with an Engliſh embaſſador, Sir Jerome Bowes. The latter, who

was

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was a perſon of a capricious diſpoſition, at his firſt interview greatly offended the tzar by his freedom of ſpeech, and more particularly as he was not commiſſioned to give a final aſſent to the marriage, but only to receive a more explicit offer, and tranſmit it to the queen. The tzar, little accuſtomed to brook delay, declared, "that no obſtacle ſhould prevent him from "marrying ſome kinſwoman of her majeſty's; that he ſhould "ſend again into England to have ſome one of them to wife; "adding, that if her majeſty would not, upon his next em-"baſſy, ſend him ſuch an one as he deſired, himſelf would "then go into England, and carry his treaſure with him, and "marry one of them there." Sir Jerome Bowes, probably in conformity to his inſtructions, threw every obſtacle in the way of the marriage: inſtead of ſpeaking handſomely of lady Haſtings, he mentioned her perſon with indifference, and denied that ſhe was any relation to the queen; adding, with ſome marks of contempt, that his miſtreſs had many ſuch nieces. By theſe means the affair was ſuſpended, and the negotiation was finally terminated by the death of the tzar in the beginning of the following year.

The correſpondence between the Ruſſian and Engliſh ſovereigns, begun in the reign of Ivan, appears, from theſe archives, by no means to have ceaſed upon his demiſe. The amity, indeed, between the two courts was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that Charles I. ſent a corps of troops, under colonel Sanderſon, to the aſſiſtance of Michael Feodorovitch, againſt Ladiſlaus king of Poland; and Alexèy Michaelovitch occaſionally furniſhed Charles, in the period of his greateſt diſtreſs, with money and corn. The laſt letter from our unfortunate ſovereign to Alexèy is dated Iſle of Wight, June 1, 1648, and was written during his confinement in Cariſbrook-Caſtle. I obſerved one from Charles II. to the ſame tzar, announcing the execution

execution of his father; it is dated September the 16th, 1649, and was brought to Moſcow by Lord Culpepper. CHAP. V.

During the uſurpation of Cromwell, Alexèy maintained a conſtant correſpondence with the exiled Charles. He was accuſtomed to declare, that all monarchs ought to eſteem the cauſe of Charles I. as their own; and ſhould not, by countenancing an uſurper, encourage ſubjects to rebel againſt their king. In conformity to theſe ſentiments he refuſed, for a time *, to hold any intercourſe with the protector; and theſe archives contain no letters between Cromwell and the tzar.

The reſtoration of Charles II. renewed the friendly harmony between the two courts; and as from this interval the diſpatches received from England were ſo numerous, that it would have required ſeveral days to have examined them with any degree of attention; I was compelled to retire without having ſufficiently ſatisfied my curioſity. Theſe papers †, as they contain a complete hiſtorical ſeries of the alliances, connection, correſpondence, and commerce, between Ruſſia and England, could not fail of forming a very intereſting publication, if they were printed in chronological order, and interſperſed with hiſtorical obſervations.

I had ſcarcely time to take a glance of the numerous ſtate-papers which relate to the other European powers; but the keeper of the archives did not omit pointing out to me one document of great importance in the hiſtory of Ruſſia; I al-

* I ſay *for a time*; for although, if I rightly remember, theſe archives contain no diſpatches between the tzar and Cromwell, yet it is certain, that after ſome time Alexèy maintained a correſpondence with the protector, and had once conſented to receive his embaſſadors at Moſcow. This will fully appear in the chapter on the Riſe and Progreſs of the Engliſh Trade to Ruſſia in the next volome.

† Theſe papers appeared ſo curious, that ſoon after my arrival at Peterſburgh, I obtained, by the kind interceſſion of Sir James Harris, permiſſion from count Panin to have them copied. But the demands of the copyiſt being greatly diſproportionate to my finances, I was unwillingly obliged to relinquiſh my deſign; and I muſt leave to ſome *richer* traveller the happineſs of diſplaying to the public this *treaſure* of political information.

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lude to the famous letter, written in the German tongue *, from Maximilian I. emperor of Germany, to Vaſſili Ivanovitch, confirming a treaty of alliance offenſive and defenſive againſt Sigiſmond king of Poland. The diſpatch, which is dated Auguſt the 4th, 1514, and is ratified with the ſeal of the golden-bull, is remarkable becauſe Maximilian addreſſes Vaſſili by calling him *Kayſer* und Herrſcher aller Ruſſen; *Emperor* and ruler of all the Ruſſias. This deed, which was diſcovered by baron Shavirof in the archives about the beginning of this century, is ſaid to have firſt ſuggeſted to Peter the idea of aſſuming the appellation of emperor, and of formally demanding that it ſhould never be omitted by the European courts. The demand gave riſe to various negotiations, and occaſioned a curious controverſy among the learned, concerning the riſe and progreſs of the titles by which the monarchs of this country have been diſtinguiſhed. From their reſearches, it appeared that the early ſovereigns of Ruſſia were called great-duke, and that Vaſſili Ivanovitch † was probably the firſt who ſtyled himſelf tzar, an expreſſion which, in the Sclavonian language, ſignifies king; and that his ſucceſſors continued to bear within their own dominions that title as the moſt honourable appellation, until Peter the Great firſt took that of *Povélitel*, or emperor. It is nevertheleſs as certain, that the foreign courts ‡ in their intercourſe with that of Moſcow, ſtyled the ſovereigns indiſcriminately great-duke, tzar, and emperor §. With reſpect to England in particular, we

* The reader will find a copy of the original German in Weber's Verandertes Ruſsland, v. I. p. 357; and a faithful tranſlation in Perry's State of Ruſſia, p. 258.

† The appellation of tzar was not taken, as ſome authors ſuppoſe, from the Tartars, when Ivan conquered Caſan, for the prince of Caſan was called Khan.

‡ This is aſſerted upon the poſitive teſtimony of Herberſtein; and his authority is unqueſtionable, becauſe, as he was twice embaſſador to Moſcow, the firſt time to Vaſſili Ivanovitch, and afterwards to Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. he muſt have been acquainted with the titles born by theſe two ſovereigns. Other authors ſuppoſe that his ſon Ivan was the firſt who aſſumed the title of tzar.

§ According to Mayerberg, the title of Alexèy Michaelovitch prefixed to his Code of Laws, was "Tzar, et Magnus Dux totius "Ruſſiæ Autrocator." Iter in Moſ. p. 113.

know

know for certain, that in Chancellor's Account of Ruſſia, ſo early as the middle of the ſixteenth century, Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. is called lord and *emperor* of all Ruſſia; and in the Engliſh diſpatches, from the reign of Elizabeth to that of Anne, he is generally addreſſed under the ſame appellation. We may at the ſame time remark, that when the European powers ſtyled the tzar emperor of Muſcovy, they by no means intended to give him a title ſimilar to that which was peculiar to the emperor of Germany; but they beſtowed upon him that appellation as upon an Aſiatic ſovereign, in the ſame manner as we now ſay the emperors of China and Japan. When Peter, therefore, determined to aſſume the title of emperor, he found no difficulty in proving that it had been conferred upon his predeceſſors by moſt of the European powers; yet, when he was deſirous of affixing to the term the European ſenſe, it was conſidered as an innovation, and was productive of more negotiations than would have been requiſite for the termination of the moſt important ſtate-affair. After many delays and objections, the principal courts of Europe conſented, about the year 1722, to addreſs the ſovereign of Ruſſia with the title of emperor, without prejudice, nevertheleſs, to the other crowned heads of Europe *.

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The

* Many authors have erroneouſly advanced, that the Engliſh embaſſador Lord Whitworth, ſoon after the battle of Pultava, gave, by order of queen Anne, the title of emperor in its *European ſenſe* to Peter the Great. But the following extracts, in a diſpatch of Lord Carteret to Sir Luke Schaube, the Engliſh miniſter at Paris, which fell under my obſervations ſince I had finiſhed the account in the text, will fully contradict theſe aſſertions; and are here inſerted, becauſe they will help to throw further light upon this ſubject. The United Provinces and the king of Pruſſia had already, in 1711, acknowledged Peter's right to the title of emperor: but the courts of London and Paris withheld their conſent. During the negotiation pending between thoſe courts and Peter, ſeveral diſpatches paſſed between lord Carteret, ſecretary of ſtate, the cardinal Dubois, and Sir Luke Schaube, Engliſh miniſters at Paris.

"Le cardinal," writes lord Carteret in one of his diſpatches to Sir Luke, dated Jan. 1721-2, "croit qu'on pourroit accorder le "titre de *l'empereur* au tzar, de maniere que "les couronnes n'en fuſſent point prejudiciés."

"Le Roy [George I.] a trouvé la réponſe "très ſage, que le cardinal a faite aux mi- "niſtres du czar touchant la demande du "titre *d'empereur*. Nous agirons de concert, "avec ſon eminence dans cette affaire Et "pour

The archives contain alſo thirteen volumes of letters, journals,

" pour luy donner les éclairciſſements ;
" qu'elle ſouhaitte, toûchant ce qui s'eſt paſſé
" entre la Grande Bretagne et le czar à
" l'egard du titre, je vous envoye un extrait,
" qui a été tiré des regiſtres de nos archives,
" pour luy être communiquè. Les miniſtres
" Moſcovites ne ſont nullement fondez en ce
" qu'ils alleguent que ce titre a été accordé
" au czar comme une partie de la ſatisfaction
" dans l'affaire de Matueof. Il eſt conſtant
" que l'on ne fit alors aucun changement à
" cette occaſion là.

" En examinant le ſtile, dont les roys de
" la Grande Bretagne ſe ſont ſervis, en ecri-
" vant aux czars de Moſcovie, on eſt remonté
" juſqu'au tems de la reine Elizabeth. On
" trouve qu'on leur a toûjours écrit en An-
" glois, et que cette princeſſe,

An. 1559. Se ſervoit du ſtile *d'empereur* et de *highneſs*.

An. 1616. Le roy Jaques I. de celuy *d'empereur* et de *majeſty*.

An. 1633. Le roy Charles I.

1666. Le roy Charles II.

1687. Jaques II. et Guillaume III. de

1689. celuy *d'emperour* de *d'imperial majeſty*.

1707. La reine Anne s'eſt ſervie du ſtile *d'emperour* et *d'imperial majeſty*, juſqu'à l'an 1707, et alors on commença à écrire *commander*, &c. et *czaric majeſty*.

1708. En 1708 le 19 Juillet et le 19 Septembre, *commander* et *imperial majeſty* ; et le 9 Novembre de la même année *emperour* et *imperial majeſty*. En 1709, 1710, 1711, *Emperour* et *imperial majeſty*.

En 1712, 1713, 1714, *emperour* et *czarean*, *czariſh*, et *imperial majeſty* tantôt l'un, tantôt l'autre, et ſouvent *czariſh*, et *imperial majeſty*, dans une même lettre.

En 1714 le 27 Septembre, le ſtile de la lettre de notification de l'avenement du roy à la Couronne, eſt, *emperour* et *your majeſty*, et dans pluſieurs autres lettres depuis ce temps la *czariſh*, ou *imperial majeſty*, et quelquefois *your majeſty* ſimplement.

Voicy le titre entier.

To the moſt high, moſt potent, and moſt illuſtrious, our moſt dear brother, the great lord czar, and great-duke, Peter Alexejewitz, of all the Greater, Leſſer, and White Ruſſia, Self-Upholder of Muſcovia, Kiovia, Ulodomiria, Novogardia, czar of Cazan, czar of Aſtrachan, czar of Siberia, lord of Plexoe, and great-duke of Smolenſko, Tueria, Ugoria, Permia, Viatkya, Bolgaria, and others, lord and great-duke of Novogardia, and of the Lower Countries of Czernegorſky, Reſanſky, Roſtoveſky, Yeroſlave, Beloorzerſky, Udorſky, Obdorſki, Condinſki, and *emperour* of all the Northern Coaſts, lord of the Lands of Iverſky, Cartilinſky, and Gruzenſky, czar of the Lands of Caberdinſky, Czereaſky, and duke of the Mountains, and of many other Dominions and Countries, Eaſt, Weſt, and North, from Father, and from Grandfather, Heir, Lord and Conqueror.

Lord Carteret, in a letter to the cardinal Dubois, writes,

Le roi concoura ſans difficulté avec ſa majeſté très Chretienne à faire ce que V. Eminence jugera convenable, par rapport au *nouveau titre* que le czar demande, et un parfait concert à faire eſperer à ce prince une telle complaiſance pour ſervir à le gagner, et à nous faire tirer fruits de ſon ambition. Jan. 30, 1721-2.

And in a diſpatch to Sir Luke Schaube, he thus expreſſes himſelf :

La coûtume icy a toûjours été d'écrire aux czars de Moſcovie ſur du velin enluminè peint et doré, comme on fait aux empereurs de Maroc et Fez, et à pluſieurs autres princes non-Europeens leſquels

nals, notes, and other manuſcripts, of Peter the Great, written with his own hand: theſe papers ſufficiently ſhow the indefatigable pains, with which that great monarch noted down the minuteſt circumſtances, that might prove uſeful in his extenſive plans for the civilization and aggrandiſement of his country. Mr. Muller has lately given to the public ſeveral letters and other pieces of this kind, which throw a conſiderable light upon the tranſactions of Peter's reign, and afford ſtriking inſtances of his perſevering genius.

From the archives we repaired to the univerſity, alſo ſituated in the Khitaigorod: it was founded, at the inſtance of count Shuvalof, by the empreſs Elizabeth, for ſix hundred ſtudents, who are clothed, boarded, and inſtructed at the expence of the crown. We were received, with great civility, by the director of the univerſity and profeſſors, who conducted us firſt to the printing-office belonging to their ſociety. One of the preſſes being at work, ſeveral ſheets were ſtruck off and preſented to us as ſpecimens of the Ruſſian printing: upon looking at them we were ſurprized to find a complimentary addreſs to ourſelves in the Engliſh and Ruſſian languages, of which the following is a *fac-ſimile*.

quels ſelon cette coûtume ſeroient également fondez d'inſiſter ſur le titre d'empereur. On n'a jamais voulu changer l'uſage établi, quoique les Moſcovites l'ayent fort ſolicité durant l'ambaſſade de my lord Whitworth à Moſcow. Ce miniſtre s'excuſa toûjours d'en faire la propoſition. Il leur dit, qu'il leur donneroit le titre, ſans difficulté, tel qu'il le trouvoit établi; mais qu'il ne leur conſeilloit pas de remuër cette matiere, ni de s'eclaircir trop ſoigneuſement ſur quel pied on leur donnoit ce titre. Les Moſcovites crûrent ſon avis bon pour lors. Quand my lord Whitworth et Mr. l'amiral Norris fûrent chargez d'une commiſſion auprez du czar à Amſterdam, ils n'cûrent que des lettres de cachet, dont le ſtile étoit *votre majeſté*; les miniſtres Ruſſiens en firent d'abord quelque ſcrupule, mais n'y inſiſterent pas.

Theſe extracts are drawn from Sir Luke Schaube's State Papers, in the rare and ample collection of the earl of Hardwicke, a nobleman as diſtinguiſhed for the extent, as the liberal communication of his knowledge.

This Specimen of the Ruſſian print was preſented to the Right honourable LORD HERBERT on his Travels thro' Ruſſia, accompany'd by Captain *Floyd* & Mr. *Coxe*; on their honouring the Imperial Univerſity of Moſco with a friendly viſit this * 1 Day of September 1778.

Сie шиснеше печати Россійской поднесено Высокопочтеннѣйшему ЛОРДУ ГЕРБЕРТУ въ его путешествованіи чрезъ Россію съ Капитаномъ *Флойдомъ* и Господиномъ *Коксомъ* во время, когда они удостоили своимъ благосклоннымъ посѣщеніемъ Императорскій Московскій Университетъ Сентября 1 дня 1778 года.

* O. S.

We

We next proceeded to the univerſity library, which contains a ſmall collection of books, and a moderate apparatus of experimental philoſophy. CHAP. V.

Upon taking leave of the director, he obligingly preſented me with a Tartar Grammar, which language is taught in this ſociety, a Syllabus of a year's lectures, and a Catalogue of the Greek Manuſcripts in the library of the Holy Synod.

The following extract from the Syllabus * will diſplay to the reader the general ſtudies, and the principal books uſed in this univerſity for the inſtruction of the ſtudents.

1. A courſe of Lectures on the Hiſtory of the Ruſſian Law, on Nettelbadianus, *Syſtema univerſæ Juriſprudentiæ*, and on the *Jus Cambiale*; eight hours in the week. 2. On Cicero's Orations againſt Catiline, the ſixth book of Virgil's Eneid, plays of Plautus and Terence, inſtructions on the manner of writing Latin and Ruſſian verſes from the examples of Lomonoſof and Horace; an expoſition of the panegyrical orations of Lomonoſof, together with tranſlations and exerciſes in Latin and Ruſſian proſe: eight hours in the week. 3. On arithmetic, trigonometry, and optics, from Weidler's *Mathematicæ Inſtitutiones*; and experimental philoſophy from Kruger's Compendium. 4. On ancient and modern hiſtory. 5. Introduction to the knowledge of moral philoſophy, from Bielfield's Inſtitutes. 6. On clinic medicine, or the remedies uſed by antient and modern phyſicians, from Vogel's Compendium. 7. On the pandects from the Compendium of Heineccius, and a compariſon between the Roman and Ruſſian law: eight hours in the week. Profeſſor Deſaitſky, who reads this lecture, teaches alſo the Engliſh language from a Grammar compiled by himſelf: four hours in the week. 8. Logic and metaphyſics from Baumeiſter's logic, eight hours in the week;

* It is entitled "Catalogus prælectionum publicarum in Univerſitate Cæſareâ Moſquenſi "habendarum."

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and four hours geometry and trigonometry from Weidler. 9. On phyſic, under the following heads, pathology, dietetics, and therapeutics, from Ludwig's Compendium. 10. On Botany, after the ſyſtem of Linnæus. 11. Anatomy from Ludwig. 12. On the etymology, ſyntax, and ſtyle of the French tongue; eight hours in the week. 13. Etymology, ſyntax, and ſtyle of the German.

Beſide the univerſity, there are two gymnaſia, or ſeminaries, for the education of youth, endowed alſo by Elizabeth, in which are taught divinity, claſſics, philoſophy, the Greek, Latin, Ruſſian, German, French, Italian, and Tartar languages; hiſtory, geography, mathematics, architecture, fortification, artillery, algebra, drawing and painting, muſic, fencing, dancing, reading and writing. There are twenty-three profeſſors: amongſt theſe, the Syllabus informed me, that Mr. Alexief teaches divinity two hours in the week. Mr. Matthæi, profeſſor and rector of both ſeminaries, explains ſome of Cicero's Orations and ſelect Epiſtles, Libanius's Letters, Erneſti's Oratorical Eſſays, *Xenophon's Anabaſis*, teaches the Roman antiquities from Burman's Compendium, and continues his uſual Latin exerciſes upon oratory. Mr. Sinkovſki, every morning from ſeven to nine, treats of the principles of rhetoric, particularly concerning the *Periodologia*, both as to theory and practice, from *Burgius's Elementa Oratoria*; explains Cæſar's Commentaries and Juſtin; employs his ſcholars in Latin and Ruſſian tranſlations, and in the etymology and ſyntax of the Greek tongue: reads Plutarch περι Πτυχης; and, from nine to twelve on Mondays, Wedneſdays, and Saturdays, Ovid's Metamorphoſis, and connects mythology with antient hiſtory and geography. Mr. Tſherbotaref, extraordinary profeſſor of logic and morality, and under-librarian to the univerſity, four hours in the week, comments upon *Heineccii elementa philoſophiæ rationalis et moralis*, as well in the original Latin,

Latin, as in the Ruſſian * tranſlation, for the benefit of thoſe who are unacquainted with the Latin tongue. Mr. Urbanſki gives inſtructions in rhetoric from the Compendium of Burgius, both in theory and practice. Mr. Holberſtof explains Count Teſſin's Letters to a young prince †. CHAP. V.

The account of the Greek manuſcripts in the library of the Holy Synod at Moſcow, preſented to me by the director, bore the following title: "*Notitia codicum manuſcriptorum Graecorum Bibliothecarum Moſquenſium ſanctiſſimae ſynodi Ecclesiae orthodoxae Graeco-Ruſſicae, cum variis anecdotis, tabulis æneis et indicibus locupletiſſimis. Edidit Chriſtianus Fredericus Matthaei, Gymnaſiorum Univerſitatis Moſquenſis Rector. Moſquae, typis Univerſitatis, Anno* 1776," folio. The author is Chriſtian Frederick Matthæi, a learned German, who was educated at Leipſic under the celebrated Erneſti, and being drawn to Moſcow by the liberality of the empreſs, was appointed a profeſſor of this univerſity. Soon after his arrival in this city, he turned his firſt attention to the ſtate of Greek learning in this country; and being informed that the library of the Holy Synod contained a large and curious collection of Greek manuſcripts, the greateſt part of which had, at the ſuggeſtion of the patriarch Nicon, and at the expence of Alexèy Michaelovitch, been collected by the monk Arſenius from the monaſtery of Mount Athos, he immediately explored this literary treaſure.

And as a catalogue of theſe manuſcripts, publiſhed by Athanaſius Schiada, by order of Peter the Great, was exceedingly inaccurate, Matthæi, who had diſplayed his erudition by ſeveral excellent editions ‡ of the Claſſics, was encouraged, by Prince Potemkin the great patron of antient literature who

* Iis præcipue, qui linguæ Latinæ ſunt ignari, nec ſua ſtudia academica in univerſitate ulterius proſequi poſſunt.

† The preſent king of Sweden when prince royal.

‡ The late ingenious Mr. Harris has enumerated the editions publiſhed by Mr. Matthæi. Philoſ. Inquiries, p. 564.

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defrayed the expence of the publication, to undertake this work upon a more extenſive plan. Accordingly, in 1776, the learned editor gave to the public this firſt part of the performance, in which he has laid down a very accurate and circumſtantial detail of fifty-one manuſcripts, accompanied with many judicious remarks and critical inquiries; he deſcribes the materials upon which each manuſcript is written; he mentions the number of pages, the age, the writer, the former poſſeſſors; the contents, the firſt and laſt word. The author propoſes to continue the publication at different intervals until he has finiſhed the account. But as it would require many years thus minutely to detail and deſcribe all the manuſcripts, whoſe number amounts to 502; the learned author has, in the mean while, favoured the publick with a complete catalogue, in a leſs circumſtantial manner, under the following title: "*Index codicum manuſcriptorum Graecorum Biblio-*" *thecarum Moſquenſium ſanctiſſimae Synodi eccleſiae orthodoxae* " *Græco-Ruſſicae: edidit Chriſtianus Fridericus Matthaei. Pe-*" *tropoli, typis Academiae Scientiarum*, 1780," 4to. To this index is prefixed a very ſatisfactory and comprehenſive introduction; in which, after having informed us that he compiled it for the uſe of prince Yuſapof, an enthuſiaſt in Greek literature, he enters into a ſhort account of the principal manuſcripts. Among theſe he enumerates ſeveral of the Septuagint, and one in particular of the Books of Kings, which is of the ninth century, and contains, in ſome places, many various readings, materially differing from the printed editions. He mentions alſo ſeveral of the New Teſtament; ſome accompanied with antient commentaries, which have never been publiſhed, and which the ingenious author has tranſcribed, collated, and prepared for the preſs. The moſt antient of theſe, containing the New Teſtament, was written at different periods; the firſt part ſo early as the ſeventh or eighth century,

tury, and the remainder in the twelfth and thirteenth. He adds, that this collection, although chiefly confined to theological ſubjects, is by no means deficient in the claſſics; amongſt which he enumerates Homer, Æſchylus, Sophocles, Demoſthenes, Æſchines, Heſiod, Pauſanias, Plutarch, and a moſt beautiful Strabo, which he has collated for the new edition of that author, preparing for the Clarendon preſs by Mr. Falkener of Oxford *. CHAP. V.

In this library of the Holy Synod Mr. Matthæi diſcovered an antient hymn of Ceres in a manuſcript of Homer, written about the concluſion of the fourteenth century, but which he ſuppoſes to have been a tranſcript from a moſt antient and valuable copy: this manuſcript, beſide a fragment of the Iliad, contained the ſixteen hymns uſually attributed to Homer, in the ſame order as they are generally printed. At the end of the ſixteenth he found twelve verſes of an hymn to Bacchus, and an hymn to Ceres, which, excepting the laſt part, was entire. Mr. Matthæi, well acquainted with the delays which would have attended the publication at Moſcow, ſent a copy of the hymn to the celebrated Ruhnkenius, of the univerſity of Leyden, who gave it to the public in 1780; and, as by miſtake twenty lines had been omitted, he put forth a ſecond edition the following year †.

The learned editor has prefixed a critical diſquiſition upon this hymn, in which he aſſerts that it is undoubtedly of great antiquity, and written, if not by Homer himſelf, yet certainly by a very diligent imitator of his ſtyle and phraſeology. The expreſs teſtimony of Pauſanias, who repeatedly mentions that Homer had compoſed an hymn to Ceres, may perhaps ſeem

* It was a conſiderable diſappointment to me, that Mr. Matthæi was abſent from Moſcow during my continuance in that city, as I ſhould have derived great information from his acquaintance. I have likewiſe to regret, that, on account of his abſence, I could not obtain a ſight of theſe manuſcripts.

† Homeri Hymnus in Cererem nunc primum editus a Davide Ruhnkenio.

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to ſome readers a ſtrong argument, that it is the genuine production of the great author whoſe name it bears: and yet the joint opinion of the two antient grammarians *, quoted by Ruhnkenius in his preface, may be thought of ſufficient weight to counterbalance the ſingle evidence of Pauſanias; whoſe judgement (as the editor has well obſerved) in this caſe is of the leſs value, becauſe he has, without diſcrimination, adjudged the reſt of the Homeric hymns to the reputed parent, many of which bear much ſtronger marks of a leſs honourable origin, than this compoſition in queſtion. Though the ſtyle and plan of this hymn appears to me (as well as to the celebrated editor) inferior to Homer, and in ſome places unworthy of him, yet this argument, depending on the taſte and feelings of the reader, will not operate on all with equal force; nor will even they who allow its inferiority to the other productions of the divine poet, be immediately inclined to grant the concluſion, that it is not his work; becauſe that objection may be removed by ſuppoſing, that Homer might in one particular compoſition fall below his uſual ſtandard of perfection. A ſtronger proof againſt its originality may be drawn from the words, phraſes, and inflexions occurring in this poem, which are either of a later date than the age of Homer, or not found in his unſuſpected works. Some of theſe the editor has enumerated †.

The claſſical reader who is deſirous of further information relative to the genuineneſs of this antient poem, is referred to

* P. VII. & VIII. Scholiaſtes Nicandri ad Alexiph.—Grammaticus vetus apud Allatium de Patr. Hom. &c. Præf.

† The hymn to Ceres has ſuffered many mutilations and corruptions. It may not be improper to produce an inſtance. Among other particulars, in which this hymn reſembles the Iliad and Odyſſey, one of the moſt conſpicuous is that proneneſs to iteration, which makes a diſtinguiſhing feature of Homer. The author of this hymn, from v. 443 to 447 incluſive, mentions the promiſes which Jupiter commiſſions Rhea to make in his name to Ceres; theſe Rhea repeats, v. 461—464. The 465th verſe conſiſting of the ſame words with the 447th, the copier of the poem abſurdly tranſcribed the five following lines (v. 448—452.), and probably omitted at leaſt as many, which originally connected this part with the ſequel.

the laſt edition of the Hymn by Ruhnkenius, and to the Preface of Mr. Hole's Tranſlation *. CHAP. V.

* Homer's Hymn to Ceres tranſlated into Engliſh verſe by Richard Hole, LL. B.

CHAP. VI.

Retail trade in the Khitaigorod.—*Market for the ſale of houſes.*—*Expedition uſed in building wooden ſtructures.*—*Excellence of the police in caſes of riot or fire.*—*Cheſs very common in* Ruſſia.—*Account of the* Foundling Hoſpital.—*Excurſion to the monaſtery of the* Holy Trinity.—*Delays of the poſt.*—*Deſcription of the monaſtery.*—*Tomb of* Maria *titular queen of* Livonia.—*The hiſtory of that queen and of her huſband* Magnus.—*Tomb and character of* Boris Godunof.

MOSCOW is the center of the inland commerce of Ruſſia, and particularly connects the trade between Europe and Siberia.

The only navigation to this city is formed by the Moſkva, which, falling into the Occa near Columna, communicates by means of that river with the Volga †. But, as the Moſkva is only navigable in Spring upon the melting of the ſnows, the principal merchandize is conveyed to and from Moſcow upon ſledges in winter.

The whole retail commerce of this city is carried on in the Khitaigorod, where, according to a cuſtom common in Ruſſia, as well as in moſt kingdoms of the Eaſt, all the ſhops are col-

† For the communication of the Volga with the Baltic, ſee the chapter on the Inland Navigation of Ruſſia in the next volume.

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lected together in one ſpot. The place is like a kind of fair, conſiſting of many rows of low brick buildings; the interval between them reſembling alleys. Theſe ſhops or booths occupy a conſiderable ſpace; they do not, as with us, make part of the houſes inhabited by the tradeſmen, but are quite detached from their dwellings, which for the moſt part are at ſome diſtance in another quarter of the town. The tradeſman comes to his ſhop in the morning, remains there all day, and returns home to his family in the afternoon. Every trade has its ſeparate department; and they who ſell the ſame goods have booths adjoining to each other. Furs and ſkins form the moſt conſiderable article of commerce in Moſcow, and the ſhops which vend thoſe commodities occupy ſeveral ſtreets.

Among the curioſities of Moſcow, I muſt not omit the market for the ſale of houſes. It is held in a large open ſpace in one of the ſuburbs, and exhibits a great variety of *ready-made houſes*, thickly ſtrewed upon the ground. The purchaſer who wants a dwelling, repairs to this ſpot, mentions the number of rooms he requires, examines the different timbers, which are regularly numbered, and bargains for that which ſuits him. The houſe is ſometimes paid for upon the ſpot, and taken away by the purchaſer; or ſometimes the vender contracts to tranſport and erect it upon the place where it is deſigned to ſtand. It may appear incredible to aſſert, that a dwelling may be thus bought, removed, raiſed, and inhabited, within the ſpace of a week; but we ſhall conceive it practicable by conſidering that theſe *ready-made houſes* are in general merely collections of trunks of trees, tenanted and mortaiſed at each extremity into one another, ſo that nothing more is required than the labour of tranſporting and adjuſting them.

But this ſummary mode of building is not always peculiar to the meaner hovels; as wooden ſtructures of very large dimenſions and handſome appearance are occaſionally formed in

Ruſſia with an expedition almoſt inconceivable to the inhabitants of other countries. A remarkable inſtance of this diſpatch was diſplayed the laſt time the empreſs came to Moſcow. Her majeſty propoſed to reſide in the manſion of prince Galitzin, which is eſteemed the completeſt edifice in this city; but as it was not ſufficiently ſpacious for her reception, a temporary addition of wood, larger than the original houſe, and containing a magnificent ſuite of apartments, was begun and finiſhed within the ſpace of ſix weeks. This meteor-like fabrick was ſo handſome and commodious, that the materials, which were taken down at her majeſty's departure, were to be re-conſtructed, as a kind of imperial villa, upon an eminence near the city.

In Moſcow I obſerved an admirable police for preventing riots, or for ſtopping the concourſe of people in caſe of fires, which are very frequent and violent in thoſe parts, where the houſes are moſtly of wood, and the ſtreets are laid with timber. At the entrance of each ſtreet there is a *chevaux-de frize* gate, one end whereof turns upon a pivot, and the other rolls upon a wheel; near it is a centry-box, in which a man is occaſionally ſtationed. In times of riot or fire the centinel ſhuts the gate, and all paſſage is immediately ſtopped.

Cheſs is ſo common in Ruſſia, that during our continuance at Moſcow, I ſcarcely entered into any company where parties were not engaged in that diverſion; and I very frequently obſerved, in my paſſage through the ſtreets, the tradeſmen and common people playing it before the doors of their ſhops or houſes. The Ruſſians are eſteemed great proficients in cheſs. With them the queen has, in addition to the other moves, that of the knight, which, according to Phillidor, ſpoils the game, but which certainly renders it more complicated and difficult, and of courſe more intereſting. The Ruſſians have alſo another method of playing at cheſs, namely,

with

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with four perſons at the ſame time, two againſt two; and for this purpoſe the board is longer than uſual, contains more men, and is provided with a greater number of ſquares. I was informed, that this method is more difficult, but far more agreeable, than the common game.

Among the public inſtitutions of Moſcow, the moſt remarkable is the Foundling Hoſpital, endowed in 1764 by the preſent empreſs, and ſupported by voluntary contributions and legacies, and other charitable gifts. In order to encourage donations, her majeſty grants to all benefactors ſome valuable privileges, and a certain degree of rank in proportion to the extent of their liberality. Among the principal contributors muſt be mentioned a private merchant, named Dimidof*, a perſon of great wealth, who has expended in favour of this charity above £100,000. The hoſpital, which is ſituated in a very airy part of the town upon a gentle aſcent near the river Moſkva, is an immenſe pile of building of a quadrangular ſhape, part of which was only finiſhed when we were at Moſcow. It contained, at that time, 3000 foundlings; and, when the whole is completed, will receive 8000.

The children are brought to the porter's lodge, and admitted without any recommendation. The rooms are lofty and large; the dormitories, which are ſeparate from the work rooms, are very airy, and the beds are not crouded: each foundling, even each infant, has a ſeparate bed; the bedſteads are of iron; the ſheets are changed every week, and the linen three times a week. In going over the rooms, I was particularly ſtruck with their neatneſs; even the nurſeries being uncommonly clean, and without any unwholeſome ſmells. No cradles are allowed, and rocking is particularly forbidden. The infants

* The anceſtors of this gentleman firſt diſcovered and worked the richeſt mines of Siberia; from whence his family acquired immenſe riches.

are

are not ſwaddled according to the cuſtom of the country, but looſely dreſſed. CHAP. VI.

The director obligingly favoured us with his company, and ſhowed us the foundlings at their reſpective works. Immediately upon his appearance the children crouded round him; ſome took hold of his arm; ſome held by his coat; others kiſſed his hand, and they all expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction. Theſe natural and unfeigned marks of regard were the moſt convincing proofs of his mildneſs and good-nature; for children, when ill uſed, naturally crouch before thoſe who have the management of them. I could be no judge merely in viſiting the hoſpital, whether the children were well inſtructed, and the regulations well obſerved; but I was perfectly convinced, from their behaviour, that they were in general happy and contented, and could perceive from their looks that they were remarkably healthy. This latter circumſtance muſt be owing to the uncommon care, which is paid to cleanlineſs both in their perſons and rooms.

The foundlings are divided into ſeparate claſſes, according to their reſpective ages. The children remain two years in the nurſery, when they are admitted into the loweſt claſs; the boys and girls continue together until they are ſeven years of age, at which time they are ſeparated. They all learn to read, write, and caſt accounts. The boys are taught to knit; they occaſionally card hemp, flax, and wool, and work in the different manufactures. The girls learn to knit, net, and all kinds of needle-work; they ſpin and weave lace; they are employed in cookery, baking, and houſe-work of all ſorts.

At the age of fourteen the foundlings enter into the firſt claſs; when they have the liberty of chuſing any particular branch of trade; and for this purpoſe there are different ſpecies of manufactures eſtabliſhed in the hoſpital, of which the principal are embroidery, ſilk ſtockings, ribbands, lace, gloves,

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buttons, and cabinet-work. A ſeparate room is appropriated to each trade. Some boys and girls are inſtructed in the French and German languages, and a few boys in the Latin tongue; others learn muſic, drawing, and dancing. About the age of twenty, the foundlings receive a ſum of money, and ſeveral other advantages, which enable them to follow their trade in any part of the empire; a very conſiderable privilege in Ruſſia, where the peaſants are ſlaves, and cannot leave their village without the permiſſion of their maſter.

In another viſit which I paid to this hoſpital I ſaw the foundlings at dinner: the girls and boys dine ſeparately. The dining rooms, which are upon the ground-floor, are large and vaulted, and diſtinct from their work rooms. The firſt claſs ſit at table; the reſt ſtand; the little children are attended by ſervants; but thoſe of the firſt and ſecond claſs alternately wait upon each other. The dinner conſiſted of beef and mutton boiled in broth, with rice; I taſted both, and they were remarkably good: the bread was very ſweet, and was baked in the houſe, chiefly by the foundlings. Each foundling has a napkin, pewter-plate, a knife, fork, and ſpoon: the napkin and table-cloth are clean three times in the week. They riſe at ſix, dine at eleven, and ſup at ſix. The little children have bread at ſeven, and at four. When they are not employed in their neceſſary occupations, the utmoſt freedom is allowed, and they are encouraged to be as much in the air as poſſible. The whole was a lovely ſight; and the countenances of the children expreſſed the utmoſt content and happineſs.

In the hoſpital there is a theatre in which all the decorations are the work of the foundlings: they conſtructed the ſtage, painted the ſcenes, and made the dreſſes. I was preſent at the repreſentation of the *Honnete Criminel*, and the comic opera, *Le Devin du Village*, both tranſlated into the Ruſſian

tongue. Not underſtanding the language, I could be no judge whether they ſpoke with propriety; but I was ſurprized at the eaſe with which they trod the ſtage, and was pleaſed with the gracefulneſs of their action. There were ſome agreeable voices in the opera. The orcheſtra was filled with a band by no means contemptible, which conſiſted entirely of foundlings, excepting the firſt violin, who was their muſick-maſter. On this occaſion the play was not, as uſual, concluded with a ballet, becauſe the principal performer was indiſpoſed, which was no ſmall diſappointment, as we were informed that they dance ballets with great taſte and elegance. The empreſs, I am told, is induced to countenance theatrical repreſentations in a ſeminary of this kind, from a deſire of diffuſing among her ſubjects that ſpecies of entertainment, which ſhe conſiders a means of civilization, and of enriching the Ruſſian theatres with a conſtant ſupply of performers. CHAP. VI.

Many and great are the advantages of this excellent charity. It diffuſes a knowledge of the arts among the people; increaſes the number of free ſubjects; and above all has conſiderably diminiſhed the horrid practice of deſtroying infants, ſo prevalent in theſe parts before the inſtitution of the hoſpital.

We were unwilling to quit this part of the country without paying a viſit to Troitſkoi Kloſter, or the monaſtery of the Holy Trinity, which is diſtinguiſhed in the annals of this country as the aſylum for the Ruſſian ſovereigns in caſes of inſurrection and danger, and is more particularly known to foreigners for the refuge it afforded to Peter the Great, when he put an end to the adminiſtration of his ſiſter Sophia *.

The diſtance from Moſcow to the monaſtery being forty miles, we ordered poſt-horſes to be ready at five in the morning, with an intention of viewing the convent, and returning to this city by night. We thought that we ſhould eaſily have

* See Chap. VIII.

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made this excurſion in the time propoſed; but obſtacles continually occur in foreign countries, unforeſeen by thoſe who are not ſufficiently acquainted with the manners of the natives; and the moſt trivial circumſtances, which, if known, are readily obviated, produce, when unknown, conſiderable embarraſsments. Some petty diſtreſſes of this deſcription lengthened our expedition from one to three days.

We roſe at five in the morning, but were detained by the want of poſt-horſes, which we found great difficulty in procuring, notwithſtanding that our orders for them were ſigned by the governor of the province and the governor of the city, and although we importuned the poſt-maſter with repeated meſſages. The caſe is, that as the price for the hire of horſes is very inconſiderable, the owners can employ them in other ſervices to greater advantage: and on this account a ſtranger, unleſs he is accompanied with a Ruſſian ſoldier to quicken the expedition of thoſe who furniſh the poſt, muſt neceſſarily meet with infinite delays in travelling through this country. We were, indeed, ſtrongly adviſed by ſome of our acquaintance to uſe this precaution; but, thinking that we ſhould have no occaſion for it during ſo ſhort a journey, we imprudently omitted it, to our great inconvenience, as we ſoon experienced.

After waiting nine hours we at length thought ourſelves fortunate in ſeeing the poſt-horſes make their appearance about two in the afternoon; and ſet off with an expectation of proceeding without interruption to Bretofſhina, where we knew that a relay was waiting for us. But our drivers ſtopped at a village only four miles from Moſcow, and peremptorily refuſed to carry us any farther. In vain we produced our order for horſes; they contended that it authorized us only to take them from village to village; and upon the ſtrength of that conſtruction returned without further ceremony to Moſcow. Two hours more were now employed, and much broken

Ruſſian ſpoken by our Bohemian interpreter, before we were able to prevail upon the inhabitants of the place to ſupply us with horſes, who depoſited us in a village about the diſtance of three miles; where all the old proceſs of altercation, threats, and promiſes, were again renewed. In this manner we continued wrangling and proceeding from village to village, which unfortunately lay very thick in this part of the country, until near midnight, when we found ourſelves at Kliſma, only ſeventeen miles from Moſcow, where we took up our lodging in a peaſant's cottage. Our Bohemian ſervant having fortunately devoted great part of the night to rambling to different houſes, and adjuſting the difficult negotiation for freſh horſes, we were able to depart almoſt by day-break; and had the ſtill farther ſatisfaction to paſs over the *immenſe* ſpace of ſeven miles without either halt or delay; ſo that by eight in the morning we reached, much to our ſurprize, Bretoffſhina, which ſtands about half-way between Moſcow and the convent. Here we found a Ruſſian ſerjeant, whom prince Volkonſki had obligingly ſent forwards to procure the horſes, which he had promiſed we ſhould find in this place, and to accompany us during the remainder of our journey: the experience of the preceding day had taught us the value of this military attendant.

At Bretoffſhina we viewed a palace built by Alexèy Michaelovitch, in which he frequently reſided: it is a long wooden building, painted yellow, only one ſtory in height, containing a ſuite of ſmall and low rooms. This palace (if it deſerves that name) has long been uninhabited. The empreſs, pleaſed with the beauty of the ſituation, and reſpecting a place which had once been the favourite reſidence of Peter the Great's father, purpoſed to build a large brick palace near the ſite of the old manſion; and part of the materials were already collected for that purpoſe. Upon our return to the village we ordered the

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the horſes, and were pleaſed to find our order obeyed almoſt as ſoon as it was iſſued: we had, indeed, a very ſucceſsful agent in our friend the ſerjeant; for the peaſants, who were beginning to wrangle among themſelves, and to make their uſual altercations, were inſtantaneouſly diſperſed by his cudgel, whoſe eloquence was more perſuaſive than the moſt pathetic remonſtrances. The boors were certainly accuſtomed to this ſpecies of rhetorick; for they bore it patiently, and with perfect good humour; and, the moment they were ſeated upon the box, began whiſtling and ſinging their national ſongs as uſual. We now continued our route, and arrived at the convent, though diſtant from Bretoffhina about twenty miles, without once ſtopping to change horſes.

Troitſkoi Sergief Kloſter, or the monaſtery of the Holy Trinity, is ſo large as at a little diſtance to have the appearance of a ſmall town; and, like many convents in this country, is ſtrongly fortified, according to the antient mode of defence, being ſurrounded with high brick walls, ſtrengthened with battlements and towers. The parapet is roofed with wood, and the walls and towers are provided with holes for muſkets and cannon: the whole is ſurrounded by a deep ditch. This place ſtood ſeveral ſieges; and particularly baffled all the efforts of Ladiſlaus prince of Poland, who attacked it with a large army.

Beſide the convent or habitation for the monks, the walls encloſe an imperial palace, and nine large churches conſtructed by different ſovereigns. The convent is a large range of building encircling a court, and is far too ſpacious for the preſent inhabitants: it formerly contained 300 monks, and a proportionate number of ſtudents; and was the richeſt eccleſiaſtical foundation in Ruſſia. The fraternity poſſeſſed conſiderable eſtates which contained at leaſt 100,000 peaſants: theſe eſtates, as well as all the other church-lands, being now annexed

annexed to the crown, the members receive ſmall penſions. With their revenues their number has been greatly diminiſhed, and they ſcarcely amount at preſent to 100 monks. Their habit is black, with a veil of the ſame colour; they eat no meat, and the diſcipline of the order is very ſtrict. Within the convent is a ſeminary for the education of perſons intended for the clergy; which contained, as we were informed, about 200 ſtudents. CHAP. VI.

The imperial palace, which was much frequented when the ſovereign reſided at Moſcow, is ſmall; one of the apartments is ornamented with repreſentations in ſtucco of the principal actions of Peter the Great. The churches are like all the churches which fell under my obſervation, ſuperb and ſplendid, and extremely rich in gold and ſilver ornaments, and coſtly veſtments. The principal church has a cupola and four domes; the former is of copper gilt, the latter of tin or iron painted green. We aſcended a new belfry, built by the empreſs Elizabeth, which is not an inelegant piece of architecture: it commands a fine view of the adjacent country, which is gently waving, richly cultivated, producing much grain, and thickly ſtrewed with villages. The archimandrite or abbot of the monaſtery being abſent, we could not obtain permiſſion to ſee the library, which occaſioned ſome regret, becauſe, according to Buſching, it contains a curious collection of books *.

In the principal church a few tombs drew my attention.

The firſt was that of Maria queen of Livonia, probably the only perſon who ever bore that title, an empty honour, which ſhe may truly be ſaid to have purchaſed at a dear rate. Maria, lineally deſcended from Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. was a relation of Ivan II. as will plainly appear by the following genealogical table.

* Buſching's Erd-beſchreibung. v. I. p. 852.

Ivan

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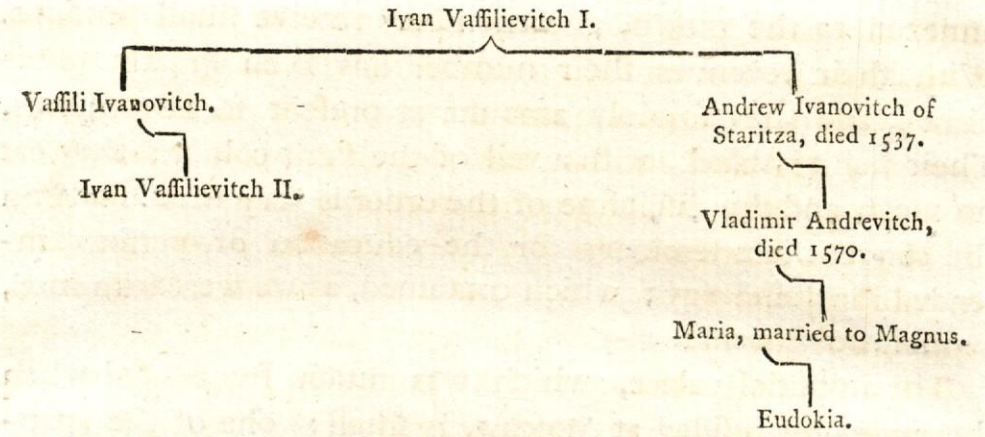

She eſpouſed in 1573 Magnus duke of Holſtein *, at that time titular king of Livonia, who was raiſed to that dignity by Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. in a very extraordinary manner. Livonia, bordering upon Ruſſia, Sweden, and Poland, and reciprocally claimed and poſſeſſed by thoſe three powers, was, in the middle of the ſixteenth century, partly free, partly ſubject to Poland, and partly to the Swedes, when the tzar made an irruption into that province, and conquered a ſmall portion. Well acquainted, however, with the averſion of the natives to the Ruſſian ſceptre, he declared, that he had entered their country with no intereſted views; that he had no other ambition than to reſcue them from the Swediſh yoke; that he himſelf renounced all right of conqueſt, would ſtyle himſelf their protector: and propoſed that they ſhould elect for their ſovereign Magnus, whoſe brother, Frederic II. king of Denmark, had ſome pretenſions to Livonia. This propoſal being chear-

* This Magnus was ſon of Chriſtian III. king of Denmark; and is known in hiſtory by ſeveral different appellations. He is ſometimes ſtyled king of Livonia, from his mock-ſovereignty in that country; ſometimes duke of Holſtein, from his inheriting a portion of that duchy upon the deceaſe of his father; and biſhop of Æſel, from his exchanging his part of Holſtein for the biſhopricks of Æſel and Courland, which he ſecularized. Holberg, the Daniſh hiſtorian, mentions a bond for 1500 marks, which was thus ſigned. "We Magnus, by the grace of God, Lord of "Æſel and Wick, Biſhop of Courland, Ad-"miniſtrator of the biſhoprick of Reval, "Heir of Norway, Duke of Schleſwick, Hol-"ſtein, Stormar, and Ditmarſh, Count of "Oldenburgh and Delmenhurſt." Titles, as the hiſtorians remark, which could not procure him a ſmall ſum of money without his bond. Holberg. V. II. p. 488.

fully

fully complied with by a great party among the natives, the tzar diſpatched an embaſſy to Magnus, who accepted the proffered crown, repaired without delay to Moſcow, where he was formally inſtalled in his new dignity, upon condition of eſpouſing Maria, and of paying an annual tribute to the tzar.

Magnus, however, was ſtill only a titular ſovereign, being oppoſed by the Swedes, who maintained a large army in Livonia, and not unanimouſly acknowledged even by the natives. After a fruitleſs attempt to take poſſeſſion of his crown, he continued to diſplay his mock dignity at Moſcow. At length, in 1577, being eſcorted to Livonia by the tzar, at the head of 50,000 troops, he obtained his portion of the province, the town of Wenden and the adjacent territory, the remainder being reſerved to Ruſſia.

Magnus was ſcarcely admitted into Wenden, where he was received with great demonſtrations of joy, than, deſpiſing a precarious and dependant ſovereignty, he was prevailed upon by his new ſubjects, ever averſe to the Ruſſian yoke, to form a ſecret alliance with the king of Poland, and to counteract the tzar's progreſs in Livonia. Ivan, apprized of this negotiation, determined to chaſtiſe the perfidy of Magnus, by precipitating him from that throne, which he had ſo lately aſſiſted him in aſcending. With this view he laid immediate ſiege to Wenden with ſo numerous an army, that the inhabitants, finding all oppoſition ineffectual, propoſed to capitulate. Magnus himſelf carried the terms of capitulation, and, advancing to ſupplicate the incenſed monarch, threw himſelf at his feet, and interceded for the town. The tzar, ſpurning at him with his foot *, and ſtriking him in the face, loaded him with reproaches

* Henning, author of the Livonian Chronicle, relates this tranſaction more to the honour of Ivan. He is thus quoted by the authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory, vol. XXXV. p. 242. "The tzar laid ſiege to the place, "till, at the earneſt requeſt of the citizens, "Magnus, with only a few attendants, went "into the tzar's camp, and, falling on his "knees, begged pardon for himſelf and the "city. Baſilowitz no ſooner ſaw the king "of

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proaches for his ingratitude, and ordered him to priſon; then entering the town, his troops committed every ſpecies of horror and devaſtation. Many of the principal inhabitants, retiring into the cltadel, determined to defend it to the laſt extremity; but ſoon perceiving all reſiſtance to be fruitleſs, and expecting no quarter, they calmly aſſembled, received the ſacrament, and then deſtroyed themſelves by blowing up the citadel. Thus ended the kingdom of Livonia four years after it had been erected into a ſovereignty. Magnus, who thought himſelf extremely fortunate to obtain his enlargement upon paying a conſiderable ſum of money, repaired, with his conſort Maria, to Pilten in Courland, where he died in 1583, in extreme diſtreſs *. After the death of her huſband, Maria, the titular queen of Livonia, was enticed into Ruſſia, and thrown into a nunnery with her only daughter Eudokia †. She was never releaſed from her confinement, and the time of her deceaſe is uncertain. The remains, both of the queen and her daughter, were depoſited in the convent of the Holy Trinity.

In the ſame church repoſe the aſhes of Boris Feodorovitch Godunof, who, upon the demiſe of Feodor Ivanovitch in 1597, was raiſed from a private ſtation to the throne of Ruſſia. It is a circumſtance extremely favourable to a virtuous conduct, that a ſovereign cannot commit one flagrant offence

" of Livonia thus proſtrate before him, than " he diſmounted from his horſe, and deſired " him to riſe, returned him his ſword, and, " after reproaching him with the ingratitude " of his late conduct, freely pardoned him " and the city, and aſſured them of his pro- " tection. At this inſtant a cannon ball from " the caſtle narrowly miſſed killing the tzar; " which ſo incenſed him, that he mounted " his horſe and rode away directly, ſwearing " by St. Nicholas, that for this freſh inſtance " of perfidy, every perſon in Wenden ſhould " ſuffer death. Magnus was then put under " an arreſt in a farm-houſe, and obliged to " ſign an obligation, by which he engaged " to pay the tzar 40,000 Hungarian florins " by the next Chriſtmas, as a ſatisfaction for " the money taken from Polubenſki; and in " caſe of failure of payment at that time, to " forfeit double the ſum, and remain a pri- " ſoner at Moſcow till the whole ſhould be " diſcharged." I have followed the principal hiſtorians of Sweden and Denmark, alſo Heidenſtein, and Oderborg, who ſeem to have given the moſt probable account of this event.

* Holberg, Vol. II. p. 488.

† Fletcher's State of Ruſſia, Chap. V.

without

without the imputation of many others; and that ſuppoſitious cruelties are always added to acts of real tyranny. This has been the fate of Boris Godunof, who, having deſervedly acquired the deteſtation of poſterity by the perpetration of one crime, has been unjuſtly branded with infamy, even for thoſe actions which merit the higheſt applauſe.

Boris Godunof was deſcended from a Tartar anceſtor, who came into Ruſſia in 1329, and, having embraced Chriſtianity, aſſumed the name of Zachary. From Simon Godun, one of his deſcendants, the family was known by the ſurname of Godunof, and became greatly diſtinguiſhed by the elevation of the perſonage who is now under conſideration.

Boris, ſon of Feodor Ivanovitch, a nobleman of the Ruſſian court, was born in 1522; and in the 20th year of his age was appointed, by Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. to attend the perſon of his ſon prince Ivan: being ſucceſſively promoted to higher offices, and obtaining additional influence by the marriage of his ſiſter Irene with Feodor Ivanovitch, he was, upon that monarch's ſucceſſion to the throne, created privy counſellor, maſter of the horſe, and inveſted with the ſole direction of affairs. His authority was ſo abſolute, that his reign may be dated from the acceſſion of Feodor; he wanted only the title of tzar; and all the acts of government muſt be attributed to him.

Upon the death of Feodor without iſſue, the election fell unanimouſly upon Boris Godunof, who owed his elevation to the high opinion which all parties entertained of his capacity and wiſdom, to the influence of his ſiſter Irene, and to the artful manner with which he affected to decline, while he was moſt ambitious to poſſeſs, the crown. He deſerved his elevation by his conſummate abilities and popular manners; and, for his political and civil deportment, he is juſtly ranked among the greateſt ſtateſmen of his age.

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Happy would it have been for himſelf and his country, if he had united moderation and humanity to theſe ſplendid qualities. His perſecution of ſeveral noble families, who ſtood in the way of his ambitious deſigns, and ſtill more the aſſaſſination * of Demetrius, brands his character with indelible infamy. But while we allow and deteſt in this inſtance the full extent of his guilt, let not our horror at this tranſaction lead us to miſrepreſent his moſt laudable actions. Let us not aſſert with his enemies, that in order to turn the attention of the people from the cataſtrophe of the prince, and to ingratiate himſelf in their favour by an act of public munificence, he purpoſely ſet fire to ſeveral parts of Moſcow, that he might rebuild them at his own expence. Nor let us, no leſs abſurdly, accuſe him of privately inviting the khan of the Tartars to invade Ruſſia, that he might occupy the public with a foreign war, and acquire freſh glory by repelling the enemy.

We may add to the liſt of his ſuppoſititious crimes, that he poiſoned Feodor †, for the tzar had long laboured under a declining ſtate of health ‡; and, the year before his death, had requeſted a phyſician from England §. Even his paternal attention and unbounded generoſity towards his ſubjects during a famine, which, ſoon after his elevation to the throne, deſolated Moſcow, has been turned againſt him; for prejudice has

* It is not here the place to inquire whether Demetrius was really aſſaſſinated, or whether he eſcaped, for the crime of Boris was the ſame, whether his orders were carried into execution, or eluded. See the next chapter.

† I am at a loſs to know where the compiler of the article of Ruſſia, in the Univerſal Hiſtory, obtained the following anecdote. "Theodore died, after a reign of twelve "years, not without ſuſpicion of having "been poiſoned by his brother-in-law. The "czarina ſeemed ſo ſenſible of this, that ſhe "ſtrongly reproached her brother, Boris "Godunof, with the murder of her huſband, "and would never ſpeak to him afterwards." Vol. XXXV. p. 273. For all authentick hiſtorians agree, that his elevation to the throne was finally owing to the poſitive recommendation of his ſiſter the tzarina, whoſe interceſſion overcame his affected refuſal of the crown.

‡ Fletcher ſays of Feodor, that he was inclining to a dropſy.

§ As appears from a letter in the Ruſſian archives.

not been wanting to insinuate, that, from an absurd delicacy, he would not permit foreigners to supply the Russians in their extreme distress with corn; and that he joined several banditti in plundering the houses of the rich *; calumnies which have been ably and unanswerably refuted by Muller. But the highest splendour of abilities, and even the most upright use of power, will not compensate for the ill means of acquiring it; and the time arrived, when Boris paid the price for the assassination of Demetrius. The death and character of Boris Godunof are thus delineated by an impartial historian †. CHAP. VI.

"The party of the pretended Demetrius increased daily, "and the Russians flocked to him from all quarters. This "circumstance, joined to the inactivity of the Russian army, "had such an effect upon Boris, that, driven to despair, he "swallowed poison ‡. The accounts are false, which attribute "his death to poison given to him by one Peter Bosmanof; "or which relate that while he was giving audience to "some foreign embassadors, he was seized with a violent colic, "and soon afterwards the blood gushed from his mouth, nose, "and ears. He felt the first effects of the poison at dinner, "and the symptoms were so violent, that he had scarcely time to "enter into the monastic order before he expired. According "to the Russian custom, he changed his name from Boris to "Bogolep. His decease happened on the 13th of April, or "the 24th, according to the new style, 1605, after a reign of "eight years and two months.

"It must be allowed that his death was a great loss to "Russia; for if we except the unjustifiable means by which

* This report, Mr. Muller conjectures, arose from his compelling the bishops and nobles, who had a superfluity of corn, to dispose of it to the poor at an under price. S. R. G. V.

† Muller, Ibid. p 247.

‡ Captain Margaret says, that he died of an apoplexy. Etat de la Russie, p. 118.

"he

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" he raiſed himſelf to the throne, and the cruelty with " which he perſecuted ſeveral illuſtrious families, particularly " the houſe of Romanof, he muſt be eſteemed an excellent ſo- " vereign. Ambition and revenge were his principal vices; on " the contrary, his penetration and ſagacity, his affability and " munificence, his political knowledge, his diligence in the " adminiſtration of affairs, his aſſiduity in introducing into " Ruſſia the improvements of foreign nations, in a word, his " unwearied attention to promote the advantage of his coun- " try, and the welfare of his ſubjects, were conſpicuous parts " of his character. We are apt to overlook the vices of a ſo- " vereign in conſideration of his princely virtues, and in this " reſpect Boris is entitled to our eſteem. When we add to " theſe conſiderations the long chain of calamities which ſuc- " ceeded his death, his loſs could not but be ſenſibly felt." His remains were at firſt depoſited in the Imperial ſepulchre at Moſcow; but were afterwards removed to the convent of the Holy Trinity *.

* For the hiſtory of Boris Godunof, ſee Muller, S. R. G. vol. V. p. 27 to 249.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Inquiry into the hiſtory and adventures of the tzar who reigned under the name of Demetrius.—*His reception in* Poland.—*Invaſion of* Ruſſia.—*Acknowledged as the ſon of* Ivan Vaſſilievitch II.—*Seats himſelf upon the throne.*—*His character.*—*Conſpiracy againſt him.*—*Is aſſaſſinated.*—*Various opinions concerning him.*—*Called an impoſtor by the* Ruſſian *hiſtorians.*—*By* Petreius.—*Teſtimony of* Margaret *in his favour.*—*Grounds for ſuppoſing him to be the real* Demetrius.

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AMONG the tombs in the cathedral of St. Michael I had occaſion to mention that of a child, called by the Ruſſians Dmitri, or Demetrius, whoſe intricate and controverted hiſtory was reſerved for a ſeparate narrative.

Ivan* Vaſſilievitch II. left two ſons; Feodor, who ſucceeded to the throne; and Demetrius, an infant, who was educated at Uglitz under the care of his mother the tzarina Maria Feodorofna, and in the eighth year of his age was ſaid to have been

* I had entirely finiſhed this chapter before the publication of L'Eveſque's Hiſtoire de Ruſſie. That ingenious author has, in his account of the perſon who ſtyled himſelf Demetrius, advanced many plauſible arguments to ſhew, that he was probably not an impoſtor; and though they appear to me unanſwerable, and it is eaſy to perceive that he entirely leans to that opinion, yet he candidly concludes with aſſerting, "Pluſieurs objections que j'ai hazardées contre l'impoſture d'Otrèpief me paraiſſent d'une grande force, je n'oſerai cependant décider la queſtion." See Hiſ. de Ruſſ. V. III. p. 226 to 236. It may ſerve, perhaps, as an additional proof in favour of Demetrius, that two foreigners, who had viſited Ruſſia, both unbiaſſed by any national prejudices, and without the leaſt communication with each other, ſhould hold nearly the ſame opinion upon ſo intricate a ſubject. I have inſerted into the notes a few of his remarks, which ſeemed to me the moſt important. I am alſo informed, that the learned profeſſor Schloetzer of Gottingen has ſtrongly ſupported this ſide of the queſtion, in his Nordiſche Geſchichte.

aſſaſſinated

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aſſaſſinated by order of Boris Godunof*. The real circumſtances of this aſſaſſination, being purpoſely with-held from the public, are variouſly related; and the following particulars can alone be unqueſtionably depended upon. A body, ſuppoſed to be that of the young prince, was found weltering in its blood; certain perſons, conſidered as the aſſaſſins, were inſtantaneouſly put to death by the inhabitants of Uglitz. When the account of the cataſtrophe was tranſmitted to Moſcow, Boris Godunof, having firſt ſpread a report that Demetrius had, in a violent fit of phrenzy, put a period to his own life, diſpatched his creatures Vaſſili Shuiſki and Cletchnin to make inquiries into the circumſtances of the prince's death. Theſe perſons, having examined the body of the deceaſed, declared it to be that of Demetrius, and confirmed the former report which had been circulated by Boris Godunof. Maria Feodorofna, accuſed of groſs inattention to her ſon's ſecurity, was compelled to aſſume the veil, and confined in a convent; many inhabitants of Uglitz, who ſpoke freely upon the murder, were capitally puniſhed, ſome were impriſoned, and others were baniſhed.

Boris Godunof managed this horrid tranſaction with ſuch art and ſecrecy, that ſcarcely any ſuſpicions were entertained

* Muller relates from a Ruſſian manuſcript, that twelve perſons were privy to the murder, amongſt whom were the prince's nurſe and her ſon, who perpetrated the deed; that it was committed at mid-day in the court-yard of the palace, and that a bell-ringer, who was upon the top of an adjoining cathedral, ſaw the whole tranſaction. Petreius aſſerts, that the prince was murdered during the confuſion of a fire, purpoſely occaſioned by one of the aſſaſſins. Margaret and Grevenbuck ſay that the aſſaſſin was ſon of the tzarina Maria's ſecretary; and it is generally affirmed, that it happened at midnight.—The Ruſſian authors naturally prefer the firſt account, becauſe it was more difficult at mid-day to ſubſtitute a child. We need not be ſurprized at theſe contradictory opinions, when we conſider, as L'Eveſque has juſtly expreſſed himſelf, "que "Boris ſupprima tous les détails de cet hor-"rible affaire; qu'il trompa le tzar et le "public. Le public fut donc alors mal in-"ſtruit des circonſtances de cet événement, "et le temps n'a pu y ajouter que de nou-"velles obſcurités. D'ailleurs, comme le "dit Margaret, on obſervait en Ruſſie un "ſecret ſi profond ſur toutes les affaires, "qu'il etait fort difficile d'apprendre la vé-"rité de ce qu'on n'avait pas vu de ſes "yeux." V. III. p. 228.

againſt

againſt him, until thirteen years afterwards a perſon made his appearance who declared himſelf to be Demetrius; he gave out that his mother, ſuſpicious of the attempts againſt her ſon's life, had taken the precaution to remove him from Uglitz, and to ſubſtitute another child, who was aſſaſſinated in his place; and that, being educated in a convent, and concealed from the knowledge of his perſecutors, he had eſcaped from Ruſſia into Poland. Being there admitted into the ſervice of Wieſnovitſki, a Pole of great diſtinction, he diſcovered himſelf to that nobleman; who, convinced, or pretending to be ſo, that he was the ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. warmly eſpouſed his cauſe. Boris Godunof, having received intelligence of this unexpected claimant of his throne, diſſeminated a report, that the impoſtor who aſſumed the name of Demetrius, was a monk ſtyled Gregory or Griſka Otrepief; and ſpared neither threats nor bribes to obtain poſſeſſion of his perſon; but, when theſe expedients failed of ſucceſs, he diſpatched his emiſſaries into Poland to aſſaſſinate him. CHAP. VII.

Wieſnovitſki, alarmed for the ſafety of his fugitive, recommended him to the protection of the ſenator George Mniſhek palatine of Sendomir, a nobleman of the largeſt eſtate and greateſt conſequence of Poland. Demetrius (if I may be allowed to call him by that name) being acknowledged by him as the rightful heir of the Ruſſian throne, ſoon afterwards betrothed himſelf in marriage to the palatine's daughter Maria; and, in the beginning of the year 1603, was introduced to Sigiſmond III. king of Poland. Being admitted to a public audience before the diet, he excited the compaſſion of that aſſembly by the affecting manner in which he related his extraordinary adventures; and though Sigiſmond and the diet regretted that the ſituation of their country prevented them from openly ſeconding his pretenſions, yet they teſtified the moſt cordial attachment to his intereſts, and laid no prohibi-

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tion on thoſe nobles who might be diſpoſed to engage in his ſupport. By the aſſiſtance of his two patrons, Wieſnovitſki and the palatine of Sendomir, Demetrius entered Ruſſia in the month of Auguſt, 1604, at the head of about 4000 Poles, and being ſoon joined by many Ruſſians, particularly by the Coſſacs of the Don, advanced almoſt without oppoſition to Novogorod Severſkoi, and routed in December an army of 40,000 men; but was himſelf not long afterwards defeated, with great ſlaughter, by prince Vaſſili Shuiſki general of Boris Godunof. Eight thouſand of his followers were either killed or taken priſoners; all his artillery and colours fell into the hands of the enemy; his horſe was wounded under him, and he himſelf eſcaped with difficulty.

This overthrow occaſioned the almoſt total defection of the Poliſh troops; and Demetrius himſelf was ſo diſmayed with his loſs, that he would have retreated precipitately into Poland, if he had not been diſſuaded by the importunities of his Ruſſian adherents, many of whom believed him to be the true Demetrius, and all dreaded the vengeance of Boris Godunof. Overcome by their ſuggeſtions, he continued his march, and, notwithſtanding his late diſcomfiture, ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of a numerous army of Ruſſians, who flocked to his ſtandard from all quarters. Not only the populace, ever prone to credulity, but even men of the higheſt birth and quality, gave credit to his pretenſions: not only the diſtant provinces ſupported his cauſe, but the people roſe even at Moſcow, and publickly proclaimed that Demetrius had eſcaped from his aſſaſſins, and claimed allegiance as their rightful ſovereign. This inſurrection was indeed immediately quelled; but an almoſt univerſal belief ſpread itſelf through all ranks, that the pretender to the throne was the real ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. although Boris Godunof inflicted the ſevereſt puniſhment upon his adherents, though the patriarch publiſhed a ban of excom-

excommunication againſt him and his party, and though Vaſſili Shuiſki openly affirmed that he had himſelf examined the body of the deceaſed prince at Uglitz. CHAP. VII.

The ſudden death of Boris Godunof, which happened in the mouth of April, 1605, haſtened the ſucceſs of Demetrius. Feodor Boriſovitch was ſcarcely declared ſucceſſor to his father by the patriarch and nobles who were preſent at Moſcow, before he was deſerted by the principal generals of the Ruſſian army, and by many perſons of diſtinction. His troops at this inauſpicious juncture were ſuddenly attacked and defeated, and thoſe who eſcaped were perſuaded to ſwear fealty to his rival, who, ſtrengthened by this acceſſion, advanced by haſty marches towards the capital without the leaſt oppoſition: the highways were lined with people; the towns opened their gates with every demonſtration of joy; while Demetrius ſupported the prepoſſeſſion of the Ruſſians in favour of his birth by the affability of his demeanour, and the gracefulneſs of his perſon. Having publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he held out to the inhabitants of Moſcow offers of clemency and favour on their return to their duty, they roſe in arms, ſtormed the palace, depoſed and ſtrangled Feodor Boriſovitch, and recognized his title. On the 30th of June the new tzar entered Moſcow in triumph, and took poſſeſſion of the throne with univerſal approbation. His pretenſions to the crown, as real ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. were ſtill further confirmed by the public teſtimony of Maria Feodorofna, whom Boris Godunof had impriſoned in a diſtant monaſtery, and whom Demetrius, at his acceſſion, inſtantly releaſed from her confinement. Upon her approach to Moſcow, on the 8th of July, he rode to meet her at the head of a numerous proceſſion; and at the firſt appearance of her carriage, alighted from his horſe, and ran to embrace her. The tenderneſs and affection which both parties diſplayed on this intereſting occaſion drew tears from

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the ſpectators; and the ſtrong expreſſions of tranſport with which the tzarina openly acknowledged him for her ſon, ſeemed to afford a poſitive confirmation of the reality of his imperial lineage. Soon after this interview he was crowned with the uſual pomp and magnificence, and ſeemed now firmly ſeated upon the throne; in the poſſeſſion of which he would have maintained himſelf, whether he were the real Demetrius or an impoſtor, by a proper conformity to the manners of his ſubjects, and by a prudent deference to their civil and religious eſtabliſhment. But his avowed contempt of the Ruſſian cuſtoms, and, above all, his publick neglect of their religious ceremonies, ſoon alienated the affections of his ſubjects, and precipitated him from the throne as rapidly as he had aſcended it.

Margaret, who had frequent acceſs to the perſon of Demetrius, has ſketched his portrait in the following ſhort, but lively manner. "He had no beard, was of a middle ſtature, "and of dark complexion, his limbs were ſtrong and nervous, "and he had a wart under his right eye. He was active, ſpi- "rited, and merciful, ſoon offended, and as ſoon appeaſed; "liberal, ambitious, and deſirous of making himſelf known "to poſterity; in a word, he was a prince who loved honour, "and recommended it by his own example *." If we ſhould allow that Margaret has concealed many of his defects, and has placed his virtues in the moſt advantageous light, yet the acrimony and injuſtice which appear in many parts of the following extracts from his character, as drawn even by Mr. Muller the moſt candid of his opponents, will prevent every impartial perſon from giving implicit credit to the repreſentations of his enemies.

"The falſe † Demetrius was of a middle ſize, dark com- "plexion, and had one of his arms ſhorter than the other.

* Margaret, p. 141. † S. R. G. vol. V. p. 302, &c.

"He

" He would have been eſteemed not deficient in wiſdom if CHAP. VII.
" he had not been ſo precipitate in his conduct, and if he had
" conformed his behaviour to the diſpoſition and temper of
" his ſubjects. In Poland he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of
" languages, arts, and ſciences; he converſed in Latin * and
" Poliſh with fluency; he was well acquainted with hiſtory,
" and particularly with that of Ruſſia and the neighbouring
" kingdoms; he was well verſed in muſick, and poſſeſſed
" other liberal accompliſhments. On account of his addreſs
" and good fortune in obtaining the crown, he was eſteemed
" a magician. Warlike exerciſe and hunting were his principal
" amuſements. He had ſome knowledge of engineering and
" artillery, was fond of caſting cannon; and ſhot with ſuch
" ſkill and addreſs as to ſurprize the moſt dextrous marksmen.
" He was anxious to improve the diſcipline of his army, for
" which purpoſe he would often review his troops, inſtruct
" them in different manœuvres, ſtorm ramparts and fortifica-
" tions; and as he was always foremoſt, and the moſt eager
" among the aſſailants, he frequently was rudely handled in
" the fray.

" Deſirous to be eſteemed a patron of juſtice, he put to
" death ſeveral judges who had been convicted of iniquitous
" practices. But was not this mode of proceeding rather a
" proof of his inclination to cruelty? and might it not ariſe
" from a deſire of ſtriking terror into his ſubjects †?

" He has been praiſed for his munificence, but it was
" both extravagant and ill-placed; he heaped bounties upon
" Poliſh muſicians and other minions, and drained the treaſury

* His underſtanding Latin has been urged againſt him as a proof that he was educated by the Jeſuits. Margaret, however, poſitively aſſerts, that he was not in the leaſt acquainted with that language. Il eſt très certain qu'il ne parloit nullement Latin, j'en puis temoigner, moins le ſçavoit il lire et ecriré. Ibid. p. 163.

† A ſuppoſition, which ſhows a ſtrong diſpoſition in the oppoſite party to miſrepreſent the moſt favourable parts of his conduct.

" by

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" by the moſt enormous expences *. Like all voluptuaries he " was fickle and impetuous. All his actions proved an extra- " ordinary proneneſs to prefer his own precipitate reſolutions " to the moſt prudent advice, and to adopt the raſheſt meaſures. " His ſudden elevation rendered him inſolent; he was ſo am- " bitious, that even the Ruſſian empire appeared too ſmall to " ſatisfy his luſt of dominion; and he extended his views to " the reduction of Turkey and Tartary. His ebriety and in- " continence were his moſt notorious vices, which frequently " expoſed him in the eyes of the public. Beſide the princeſs " Irene, the daughter of Boris Godunof, all who pleaſed him " were ſacrificed to his deſires, without the leaſt regard to rank " or age †.

" Upon his firſt acceſſion to the throne he was eaſy of acceſs, " but he gradually became ſuſpicious of his ſubjects; he had a " foreign guard; he often refuſed audience to the Ruſſian no- " bility, when he admitted the Poles without reſerve. He " ſeemed to ſummon the privy-counſellors only for the pur- " poſe of turning them to ridicule. If a Ruſſian lodged a " complaint againſt a Pole, he could never obtain juſtice, and " inſult was even added to injury. Probably this inſolence " was the chief cauſe of his ſubſequent misfortunes; and his

* The accounts of his extravagance were groſsly exaggerated. He is ſaid to have given orders for a throne of maſſy ſilver, ſupported with ſix lions of the ſame coſtly materials; and for a footſtool of pure gold, for the ceremony of his coronation: the latter was ſtudded with 600 diamonds, 600 rubies, 600 ſapphires, 600 emeralds, 600 Turkiſh ſtones, all of a large ſize, but ſome of the latter were as big as half a pigeon's egg. It muſt be remarked, that this footſtool was already in the treaſury when Demetrius aſcended the throne; and had been preſented from the Sophy of Perſia to Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. S. R. G. vol. V. p. 335. Many ſimilar ornaments employed at his coronation had been uſed by the former ſovereigns, who were crowned with Aſiatic magnificence.

† Theſe parts of his conduct were alſo greatly miſrepreſented. L'Eveſque aſſerts, with great appearance of probability, that theſe reports of his incontinence were not founded in truth, and particularly denies that the princeſs Irene was ſacrificed to his deſires. " On a écrit, qu'elle avoit été reſervée pour " ſervir aux plaiſirs brutaux du bourreau de " ſa famille; mais cette accuſation, dictée " par la haine, n'eſt ni vraiſemblable ni con- " firmée par l'ancienne chronique que nous " ſuivons, et qui parait fidele. On peut en " croire que Dmitri fut un impoſteur; mais " rien ne fait ſoupçonner, qu'il fut adonné " à de ſales debauches." V. III. p. 202.

" fall

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" fall would at leaſt have been retarded, if he had endeavoured " to conciliate the affection of the principal nobles. But the " circumſtance which principally contributed to his loſs of " popularity, was the little reverence which he profeſſed for " the ceremonies of the Greek church. Upon his firſt arrival " at Moſcow he entered the two cathedrals with drums beating " and trumpets ſounding; he paid no reſpect to the clergy; " he made no diſtinction between faſts and feſtivals; would " neither bow nor croſs himſelf before the ſacred paintings; " he profaned the churches by admitting foreigners at the " time of divine ſervice, and ſtill more by the number of " dogs which followed him upon the ſame occaſion.

" He was not only ſo much attached to the Poliſh cuſtoms " and dreſs as to prefer them upon all occaſions; but he even " ridiculed the Ruſſian manners, and in every inſtance deviated " from the examples of the tzars his predeceſſors. Inſtead " of ſhowing himſelf to the people ſeldom, and only upon " extraordinary occaſions with a large retinue, he was accuſ- " tomed to traverſe the ſtreets without any ſuite but a few " ſervants; he commonly rode, and, as he was an excellent " horſeman, he was generally mounted upon the moſt fiery " ſteeds; he hunted frequently; he had muſick at his re- " paſts; he never ſlept at mid-day; he never bathed. " Theſe trifling circumſtances were at that time regarded in " ſo ſerious a light, that the omiſſion of them rendered him " the object of general hatred; and it was commonly reported, " that the perſon who could ſhow ſuch a diſtaſte for the cuſ- " toms of his country, could never be deſcended from the " race of its ancient ſovereigns. It was an obvious inference, " to conſider the deſpiſer of his ſubjects as their enemy. Under " ſuch circumſtances his deſtruction ſeemed inevitable*;

" and

* Mr. Muller, in this place, relates an account of a match with ſnow-balls between the Ruſſian ſoldiers and the Poles; when the latter were ſaid, at the command of Demetrius, to have filled their ſnow-balls with ſand and ſtones, by which the Ruſſians (blaue Augen

und

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" and yet near a year elapſed before any tumult broke out " againſt him. At length his marriage with a foreign lady " cloſed the ſcene; and it would have been a wonder if he " had continued any longer upon the throne."

Having in Poland betrothed himſelf to Marina, the daughter of the palatine Mniſchek, he diſpatched a ſplendid embaſſy into that country to demand her in marriage. The eſpouſals were performed at Cracow; and the bride, having made her entry into Moſcow, accompanied with a large ſuite of Poles, was lodged in a nunnery until the ſolemnization of the nuptials: during this interval he diſturbed the devotion of the holy ſiſterhood with repeated feaſts, concerts, and balls, whereby he excited public horror, as the ſacrilegious violator of religious diſcipline. By this infatuated behaviour he inflamed the diſaffection of his ſubjects to ſuch a degree, that a regular conſpiracy was concerted againſt him. The leader of this conſpiracy was prince Vaſſili Ivanovitch Shuiſki, the ſame perſon who had owed his life to the lenity of Demetrius; and on whom this act of clemency had no other effect than to render

und blutige Koepfe bekamen) received many black eyes and bloody heads. Such abſurd accuſations do not merit any ſerious refutation. Many other idle tales are alſo gravely related againſt him; and indeed every circumſtance of his conduct ſeems to have been malevolently interpreted. Among the public diverſions which he gave in honour of his marriage was a fire-work, in which a dragon was repreſented with three heads ſpitting out flames. Such a ſpectacle, being uncommon in the country, affrighted the Ruſſians; and it was reported, that the tzar had contrived it on purpoſe to alarm his ſubjects. The Poles were not wanting upon this and all other occaſions in ridiculing the ignorance and ſimplicity of the Ruſſians, which increaſed the hatred againſt them and the ſovereign who protected them. A wooden tower was alſo conſtructed near the city, which, upon a certain day, was to be attacked with a cannonade and ſtormed. After the aſſaſſination of Demetrius, Vaſſili Shuiſki publicly aſſerted in a manifeſto, that it was the intention of Demetrius to have taken the opportunity, which the ſtorming of this tower preſented, of maſſacring many inhabitants of Moſcow. The gates of the city were to be ſuddenly ſhut; the cannon to be fired among the people aſſembled upon the occaſion; and thoſe who eſcaped were to be hewn in pieces by the Coſſacs and Strelitz. At the ſame time the Ruſſian nobles were to be murdered by the Poliſh troops. This account, ſo improbable in itſelf, is only ſupported by the ſuppoſed confeſſion of two Poliſh nobles, to whom Demetrius is ſaid to have revealed it a day or two before his aſſaſſination; but we may more juſtly believe it to have been a calumny, invented by Vaſſili Shuiſki, to render the memory of his rival more odious. See S. R. G. vol. V. 342—346.

him more cautious in his ſubſequent machinations againſt his benefactor. Demetrius had frequently received intimations from different quarters of a projected inſurrection. The popular odium betrayed itſelf by the moſt alarming ſymptoms. Perſons were heard crying in the ſtreets, "The tzar is an "heretic worſe than a Turk, and not the ſon of Ivan Vaſſili-"evitch." But, either from natural magnanimity that braved all danger, or from the inconſiderate levity of his character, which will not attend to it, he was inſenſible to all theſe prognoſtics; and by obſtinately perſevering in his obnoxious and unpopular mode of conduct, ſeemed almoſt to invite the deſtruction which awaited him. CHAP. VII.

The inſurrection broke out early in the morning on the 27th of May. The conſpirators poſſeſſed themſelves of the principal avenues leading to the city; the great bell in the Kremlin, the common ſignal of alarm, was tolled; and a confuſed cry was ſpread among the people that the Poles were preparing to maſſacre the inhabitants. Vaſſili Shuiſki, who had ſecretly fomented and inflamed the public diſcontents, led the way to the palace, bearing a croſs in one hand, and a ſabre in the other, accompanied by a vaſt multitude armed with the firſt weapons which chance preſented. This party, having overpowered the guards, burſt open the gates of the palace, and ruſhed towards the apartment of Demetrius. The latter, awakened by the tumult, ſummoned the few guards who were immediately about his perſon, and ſallying, without a moment's deliberation, againſt his aſſailants, hewed down ſeveral of the foremoſt: being ſoon overborn by numbers, he attempted to retreat into the interior part of the palace; but, cloſely preſſed by his purſuers, he precipitated himſelf from a window into a court, and diſlocated his thigh with the fall.

Being diſcovered in this deplorable condition, he was con-

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veyed back to the palace, and brought before Vaſſili Shuiſki, who loaded him with reproaches for his impoſture. Not diſmayed, however, with the menaces of his enemy, he perſiſted * in maintaining himſelf to be the real ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. and, as a proof of the truth of his aſſertion, appealed to the teſtimony of his mother, who reſided in the neighbouring convent of Vieſnovitſkoi. The firmneſs and conſiſtency of his aſſeverations made a conſiderable impreſſion upon many of the Ruſſian ſoldiers, who peremptorily declared, that they would protect him from all injury, unleſs Maria Feodorofna formally renounced him as her ſon. On this unexpected declaration, Vaſſili Shuiſki, accompanied with ſome Ruſſian nobles of his party, repaired to the convent, and returned inſtantly with the following anſwer from that princeſs; "That the real Demetrius was ſlain at Uglitz; that the "perſon who at preſent aſſumed his name was an impoſtor; "and that ſhe had been conſtrained by menaces to acknowledge "him for her ſon." Upon the delivery of this meſſage, the unhappy monarch was inſtantly ſacrificed to the fury of his enemies. Neither was their vengeance appeaſed by his death, but extended even to his inanimate corpſe; it was pierced with repeated wounds, ſtripped naked, and expoſed for three days in the ſtreets to the inſults of the populace; it was then depoſited in the public charnel-houſe, and afterwards † reduced to aſhes, from a notion that the earth would be polluted by the interment of ſo unholy a body.

* Mr. Muller ſays, all the Ruſſian writers declare, that he confeſſed his impoſture; but it is certain that he did not; otherwiſe, why did Vaſſili Shuiſki repair to the convent to obtain the tzarina's declaration, when his own confeſſion would have been fully ſufficient?

† It ſeems, by other accounts, that the body was firſt buried without the city; and that the multitude flocked in crouds to the place. "The common people believed that "muſick was heard in the night, and that "ſpectres were ſeen hovering about the place "where he was buried. For theſe reaſons "the body was dug up, and ſhot from the "mouth of a cannon." Schmidt R. G. vol. I. p. 362. The author of the Ruſſian Impoſtor alſo writes, "The people dug up his "poor careaſe out of an obſcure grave; and "after a repetition of barbarities upon him, "they burnt the body, and ſcattered the "aſhes in the air." p. 125.

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The aſſaſſination of Demetrius was followed by a general tumult: the houſes of all the foreigners were pillaged, and not only the Poles, who fell into the hands of the people, but even many Ruſſians who wore the Poliſh dreſs, were maſſacred. Though this ſtate of anarchy laſted only ten hours, yet more than two thouſand perſons loſt their lives. The dreadful ſcene was finally cloſed by the election of Vaſſili Ivanovitch Shuiſki to the throne of Ruſſia. Manifeſtos * were immediately publiſhed, in which the new tzar juſtified his conduct, and detailed the hiſtory and fortunes of his predeceſſor, whom he pronounced an adventurer, whoſe real name was Griſka Otrepief. He aſcribes to him an intention of extirpating the principal Ruſſian nobility, and of introducing the Roman catholic religion into Ruſſia: he accuſes him of holding a correſpondence with the pope for that purpoſe; he inſinuates that he had even promiſed to cede the provinces of Smolenſko and Severia to the king of Poland; he repreſents him as an heretic and a ſorcerer; he diſplays, in the moſt odious colours, his averſion to the manners and cuſtoms of the Ruſſians, his attachment to foreigners; and expatiates with much art upon every part of his character which might excite the public hatred and abhorrence. A few days afterwards a manifeſto appeared in the name of the tzarina Maria Feodorofna, in which ſhe apologizes for having owned the impoſtor for her ſon, and again acknowledges that the real Demetrius was aſſaſſinated at Uglitz; that the impoſtor, upon their firſt interview near Moſcow, firſt accoſted her alone †, and threatened her and her family with the moſt cruel torments, if ſhe refuſed to recognize him as her offspring.

* Mr. Muller found theſe manifeſtos in the archives of Tſherdin. S. R. G. 347. 364. 366.

† Habe mit irh geredet ohne daſs jemand von den Boiaren, oder andern Leuten, dabey ſeyn doerfen. S. R. G. vol. V. p. 367. Margaret, on the contrary, who was probably preſent at this interview, ſays expreſsly, "après conferences d'un quart d'heur, *en "preſence de toûs les nobles et de ceux de la ville*," &c. p. 125.

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All theſe allegations, however, thus urged againſt the pretenſions of Demetrius, could not efface the prepoſſeſſions entertained by the generality of the Ruſſians in favour of his imperial deſcent. A freſh inſurrection was hourly expected; and ſome tranſient tumults took place, in which Vaſſili Shuiſki narrowly eſcaped deſtruction. In this critical ſtate of affairs he had recourſe to the following expedient, for the purpoſe of appeaſing the public ſuſpicions. A rumour being ſpread, that the body of the young prince, formerly murdered at Uglitz, had performed miracles; a deputation of ſeveral biſhops and nobles was ſent to that town, to take up the hallowed corpſe from the ſepulchre, and to tranſport it to Moſcow. "Upon opening the tomb," relates Mr. Muller from the Ruſſian archives, "an agreeable odour filled the whole church: "the body was uncorrupted, and the very clothes entire; one "of his hands graſped ſome nuts that were ſprinkled with "blood, and which the young prince had been eating at the "inſtant of his aſſaſſination. His relics were carried in great "ſtate to Moſcow: on their approach to the city they were "met by Vaſſili Shuiſki, the widow of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. "and a large concourſe of people, and depoſited with much "ſolemnity in the cathedral of St. Michael. During the pro-"ceſſion many troubled with various diſorders were miracu-"louſly reſtored to health: after the body had been placed in "the cathedral, thirteen ſick perſons declared themſelves to "have been relieved of their complaints by the interpoſition "of the ſaint; and the ſame number were healed on the "enſuing day *."

Let us contraſt this account with the relation of the oppoſite party. "On the 4th of June a diſpute concerning Deme-"trius aroſe between the Strelitz and the people, who aſſerted "that he was not an impoſtor. The tzar and the boyars cry

* S. R. G. vol. V. p. 371.

"out,

" out, The people ſhall have ocular conviction that the true " Demetrius was killed at Uglitz; his body is now removing " to Moſcow, and has performed many ſtupendous miracles. " The boyars procured a poor man's child, about thirteen years " of age, cut its throat, and having committed it for a few days " to the ground, conveyed it to Moſcow, ſhowed it to the peo- " ple, and declared this was the true Demetrius, whoſe body, " although ſo long interred, was ſtill uncorrupted, which the " fooliſh multitude believed, and were appeaſed *." CHAP. VII.

The reader will judge which of theſe two accounts is moſt likely to be true.

Theſe are the principal circumſtances in the adventures of the perſon, who ſeated himſelf upon the Ruſſian throne under the name of Demetrius. His hiſtory is greatly involved in contradiction and obſcurity: unbiaſſed, however, by the prejudices of either party, let us compare with candour their oppoſite repreſentations; and endeavour to aſcertain, whether he were an impoſtor, or the real ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II.

They who contend that he was an impoſtor, thus relate his hiſtory. He was of the family of Otrepief; his real name was George, which, upon his aſſuming the monaſtic habit in the fourteenth year of his age, he changed into Gregory, and was generally known by the appellation of Griſka † Otrepief: for ſome time he reſided at Suſdal, and having afterwards wandered from convent to convent, was conſecrated deacon in the monaſtery of Tchudof at Moſcow, where he was employed by the patriarch in tranſcribing books for the ſervice of the church. It is not aſcertained, even from theſe accounts of his life, at what period he firſt ſtyled himſelf Demetrius. Some report, that while he continued in the monaſtery of

* Payerne in Schmidt Ruſſ. Geſſ. vol. I. p. 364.

† Griſka, in the Ruſſian tongue, ſignifies little Gregory. He was called alſo Roſtriga, or Deſerter, from having quitted his convent.

Tchudof,

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Tchudof, he obtained the moſt minute information relative to the perſon and character of the prince, and even began to aſſume his name, for which he was deemed inſane, and excited the laughter of the monks. Others relate, that he was in poſſeſſion of ſeveral jewels which had formerly belonged to Demetrius; and, having one day declared that he ſhould aſcend the throne of Ruſſia, he was confined, by order of Boris Godunof, in a diſtant monaſtery, from whence he eſcaped into Poland; his adventures in which country have been already delineated. On the contrary, Margaret, who aſſerts that he is the true Demetrius, gives the following detail.

Demetrius, being reſcued from aſſaſſination by the ſubſtitution * of another child, was ſecretly educated in Ruſſia until the

* The principal objection againſt the account of Margaret ariſes from the difficulty of ſubſtituting a child in the place of Demetrius, particularly if the ſon of his nurſe was one of the aſſaſſins; and as Vaſſili Shuiſki is ſaid to have examined the body of the deceaſed, ſoon after the ſuppoſed aſſaſſination. In anſwer to this it may be ſaid, that his mother had ſufficient reaſons to be upon her guard againſt the attempts of Boris Godunof; and it is evident that ſuch attempts had been made previous to the aſſaſſination, from the following paſſage in Fletcher, who was at Moſcow in the beginning of Feodor's reign. "Beſides the emperor that now is, who hath "no child, nor ever like to have, there is "but one more, a child of ſix or ſeven years "old, in whom reſteth all the hope of the "ſucceſſion, and the poſterity of that houſe. "He is kept in a remote place from Moſko, "under the tuition of his mother, and her "kindred of the houſe of the Nagaies; *yet* "*not ſafe* (as I have heard) *from attempts of* "*making away by practice of ſome that aſpire* "*to the ſucceſſion, if this emperor die without* "*iſſue.*" Fletcher's Ruſſia, Chap. V.

"Il eſt aſſez à preſuppoſer," as Margaret juſtly obſerves, "que la mere & les autres, "&c. voyant ce but où le dit Boris tendoit, "eſſayerent par tous moyens à delivrer l'enfant du danger où il eſtoit. Or je ſcay et "je crois que l'on confeſſera qu'il n'y avoit "nul autre moyen que de le changer et en "ſuppoſer un autre en ſa place, et le faire "nourrir ſecretement, en attendant ſi le "temps ne changeroit ou empécheroit point "les deſſeins du dit Boris Federvits. Ce "qu'ils effectuerent ſi bien que nuls, fors "ceux de la partie n'en ſcurent rien," &c. p. 154.

With reſpect to the privity of the nurſe, and her ſon, the witneſs of the bell-ringer, and the teſtimony of Vaſſili Shuiſki, L'Eveſque makes the following judicious obſervations.

"Mais ces circonſtances ſont elles bien "confirmées. Tous les aſſaſſins du tzaré"vitch furent maſſacrés preſqu' auſſi-tôt qu'ils "eurent commis ce crime. Ils n'ont point "été interrogés, on n'a rien ſu de leur bouche. "Un ſonneur de la cathedrale fut temoin du "meurtre de Dmitri. Mais qui a reçu ſon "témoignage? Eſt il même certain que ce "temoin ait exiſté? Si les aſſaſſins furent "trompés, n'ait il pas pu l'être lui même, et "prendre pour le tzarévitch un enfant du "même age! Ne convient-on-pas que Boris, "&c. Mais Chouiſki mais Clechnin furent "envoyés à Ouglitch par Boris; ils virent et "reconnurent le corps du tzarévitch et lui "rendirent les honneurs funebres. Eh! fait

"on

the election of Boris Godunof, when he was conveyed into Poland under the care of the monk Griſka, which afterwards gave riſe to the report that Griſka had perſonated Demetrius. As a proof that they were two diſtinct perſons, he informs us, that Boris Godunof ſent repeated expreſſes to his guards upon the frontiers, to prevent all travellers from quitting the country, even ſhould they be provided with paſſports, for there were *two traitors* who were endeavouring to eſcape into Poland. Margaret adds, Griſka was thirty-five years of age, and Demetrius ſcarcely twenty-four; he accompanied the new tzar to Moſcow, and was ſeen by many in that city, being a perſon well known, and having a brother who poſſeſſed an eſtate near Galitz: he was notorious before his flight into Poland for his inſolence and drunkenneſs, and, on account of his miſconduct, was baniſhed by Demetrius to Yaroſlaf. Margaret, moreover, was informed by an Engliſh merchant of Yaroſlaf, well acquainted with Griſka, that the latter, upon the news of the tzar's death, and even after the election of Vaſſili Shuiſki, ſolemnly proteſted that the ſaid Demetrius was the real ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch; and that he himſelf was Griſka Otrepief, who had conducted the prince into Poland. Soon afterwards Griſka was conveyed to Moſcow by order of Vaſſili Shuiſki, and totally diſappeared *.

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If this narrative is authentic, according to the confeſſion of Mr. Muller, it completely refutes the repreſentation of the oppoſite party. In what manner then does this ingenious

" on ce qu'ont vu ces deux émiſſaires de Bo-
" ris, ce qu'ils lui ont rapporté en ſecret ?
" Le corps même qu'ils examinerent, defiguré
" par des bleſſures, et gardé long-temps ſans
" être embaumé, devait être meconnaiſſable.
" On ignore abſolument ce qu'ils ont décou-
" vert, et ce qu'ils ont penſé. S'ils ont dé-
" bité à leur retour une fable concertée en-
" tr'eux et le miniſtre, ils n'ont pu dans le
" ſuite faire connâitre la verité, ſans avouer
" qu'ils avoient été des fourbes vendus à un
" ſcélérat," &c. Vol. III. p. 227.—In a word, the belief that a child was ſubſtituted in the place of Demetrius, though liable to many objections, is yet attended with much fewer difficulties, than the notion that the tzar who reigned under the name of Demetrius was an impoſtor.

* Margaret, 152 to 157.

author

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author attempt to diſcredit the poſitive teſtimony of Margaret; for upon this the whole queſtion ſeems to turn? "But how," ſays he, "can we imagine, that any one could ever hold two "perſons to be the ſame individual, at a time when the con- "trary could be ſo eaſily proved?" The contrary indeed could be eaſily proved during the reign of Demetrius, when Griſka was at Moſcow or at Yaroſlaf, and at a time when few Ruſſians doubted the fact; but the aſſertion was not ſo eaſy to be refuted when Griſka was ſent no one knows where, and when no perſon durſt contradict the manifeſto of Vaſſili Shuiſki. "Let us ſuppoſe," adds Mr. Muller, "that the oppoſite party, "in defiance of all truth, had firſt invented ſo groundleſs a "fable; let us ſuppoſe that Griſka was immediately baniſhed, "as ſoon as the enemies of Demetrius had made the latter "paſs for that monk; how does it happen that no writer, "beſide Margaret *, has taken notice of ſo remarkable a cir- "cumſtance?" It is generally allowed that one good evidence ought to outweigh a croud of prejudiced witneſſes, ſo that if Margaret's credibility is ſuperior to that of his opponents, we muſt, though he ſtands ſingle, aſſent to the truth of his account. And who are the writers whoſe authority is preferred to that of Margaret? The native hiſtorians, who wrote after the acceſſion of Vaſſili Shuiſki.—But their teſtimony cannot be admitted in this caſe; for could any Ruſſian venture to contradict the manifeſto of the ſovereign, or call in queſtion the ſanctity of the relics eſtabliſhed by a decree of the church †?

It

* Margaret, however, does not ſtand ſingle in ſuppoſing Griſka and him who paſſed for Demetrius to be diſtinct perſons. For, among others, Conrad Buſſau, who was preſent at Moſcow during the troubles, aſſerts, that Demetrius was the natural ſon of Stephen Bathori king of Poland, which is ſufficient to ſhow that the report was rife at that time of Griſka and the other being different perſons. S. R. G. vol. V. p. 191.

† It may perhaps be thought by many too bold to ſet aſide the authority of all the Ruſſian hiſtorians, who may be ſuppoſed to have obtained better intelligence than foreigners. But Mr. Muller calls in queſtion the teſtimony of a Ruſſian embaſſador in favour of Demetrius, becauſe he wrote at a time when the latter was upon the throne, and acknowledged by the whole nation: for the ſame reaſon,

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It muſt be confeſſed, however, that there is one author who is not liable to theſe ſuſpicions. "Petreius," continues Mr. Muller, "has given, in many inſtances, the moſt exact intel-"ligence; and he has demonſtrated the impoſture of the falſe "Demetrius with many proofs. Is it poſſible, therefore, to "ſuppoſe him ignorant that Demetrius and Griſka were two "different perſons, if that fact had been well grounded?" Here then the teſtimony of Petreius is put in the ſcale with that of Margaret, both foreigners, both preſent at Moſcow at the time of the inſurrection, and both ſuppoſed to be unbiaſſed by the civil and religious prejudices of the Ruſſians, and yet both of different ſentiments. Let us therefore examine their character and ſituation, and conſider whether there are any circumſtances which render one writer more worthy of credit than the other. Margaret was a Frenchman, who entered the Ruſſian ſervice in the reign of Boris Godunof, was preſent in the army which was ſent out againſt Demetrius, and always acted with approved bravery and fidelity. Afterwards, when Demetrius aſcended the throne, he was continued in his ſervice as captain of the guards. He poſſeſſed, therefore, many opportunities of inveſtigating his real hiſtory; and he has recorded it in a work which, upon his return to France, he publiſhed at the command of Henry IV. *

Mr. Muller, however, objects to the authenticity of Mar-

reaſon, therefore, we muſt ſet aſide the evidence of the Ruſſians who wrote after his aſſaſſination, and at a time when his being an impoſtor was made an article of the public faith.

And, indeed, if it is conſidered from what ſuſpicious memorials the Ruſſian authors muſt have drawn their materials, this mode of proceeding will not appear unjuſtifiable. Of all the Ruſſian writings relating to the hiſtory of Demetrius, cited by Mr. Muller, the principal are the manifeſtos of Shuiſki, and a manuſcript account of the troubles, compiled by order of the tzar Michael, and ſent to the king of France as a juſtification of the war entered into againſt Sweden. But ſuch documents iſſuing from government muſt in this inſtance be allowed to be very exceptionable records.—In all affairs, wherein the national prejudices are not concerned, the evidence of a native is to be preferred to that of foreigners; but the teſtimony of the latter becomes ſuperior, when the former are warped by fear or prejudice.

* Eſtat de l'Empire de Ruſſie, &c. Par le Capitaine Margaret.

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garet's narrative in the following words. "A witneſs of this "ſort would not be admitted in any court of juſtice, and cannot, in this inſtance, merit our belief. His judgement might "be warped, partly from conſidering it as a diſgrace to have "engaged in the ſervice of an impoſtor, and partly from not "being well uſed by the oppoſite party after the death of the "falſe Demetrius. Hence he might be enticed, from motives "of reſentment, to brand with infamy the enemies of Demetrius, and to treat as mere falſehoods all the reports of the "impoſtor's real origin. We muſt, therefore, accuſe Margaret "either of having advanced a falſehood, or ſuppoſe that he "had heard of another Otrepief, who was at that time preſent "at Moſcow, and whom he ſtrangely confounds with Griſka*." This is the only objection which even the ingenuity of Mr. Muller can urge againſt Margaret.

Petreius, whoſe authority is ſo fondly preferred to that of Margaret, was miniſter † from Charles IX. king of Sweden to the court of Moſcow in the reigns of Boris Godunof, Demetrius, and Vaſſili Shuiſki. The cloſe connection of Demetrius with Sigiſmond king of Poland, the inveterate enemy of Charles IX. induced the latter to tender his aſſiſtance to Boris Godunof, upon the firſt entrance of the new claimant into Ruſſia. Charles is alſo repreſented as greatly alarmed at the ſucceſs of Demetrius, and immediately after his aſſaſſination entered into a treaty of the ſtricteſt amity with Vaſſili Shuiſki. It was therefore the intereſt of the Swediſh court to repreſent Demetrius as an impoſtor, and Petreius, as Swediſh miniſter, was obliged to countenance the report patronized by his maſter. But if we ſhould even allow that Petreius was not influenced in his judgement by the politics of his own court, yet as an author, he is liable to great exception; for the numberleſs

* S. R. G. vol. V. p. 182 and 193.

† Dalin's Geſchichte von Schweden, vol. IV. p. 475.

fictions and groſs miſrepreſentations, which he retails in his Chronicle, prove his extreme proneneſs to credulity *. Whereas, on the contrary, the credibility of Margaret ſtands unimpeached, and even the penetrating ſagacity of Mr. Muller himſelf can only diſcover in his work a few trifling errors which are of no moment. It appears then, that both as to character and ſituation, the teſtimony of Margaret is preferable to that of Petreius; and if the queſtion is to be ultimately decided by one of theſe two writers, whoſe authority is the moſt unqueſtionable, the tzar who reigned under the name of Demetrius was no impoſtor, but the real ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II.

I ſhall now throw together a number of particulars, which, in addition to thoſe already enumerated, induce me to eſpouſe the opinion that the tzar was no impoſtor.

1. The conduct of Boris Godunof. 2. Suppoſed reſemblance between the real Demetrius and the perſon who reigned in his name. 3. His ſucceſs and conduct upon the throne. 4. Teſtimony of Maria Feodorofna. 5. Arguments uſed by the Ruſſians to prove the impoſture.

1. The conduct of Boris Godunof plainly demonſtrates that he thought him the real Demetrius. For otherwiſe, why did he not produce Maria Feodorofna, the mother of Demetrius, and obtain her public avowal that her ſon was not

* Mr. Muller has noticed and corrected innumerable errors relative to the moſt important tranſactions in the Chronicle of Petreius. It would be endleſs to mention them. I ſhall therefore only relate one, which will unqueſtionably prove the credulity of Petreius. "Feodor Ivanovitch," ſays that author, "upon his death-bed, being requeſted "by the nobility to name a ſucceſſor, an-"ſwered, 'That perſon to whom I ſhall de-"liver my ſceptre ſhall be tzar after me.' "Soon afterwards he offered it to Feodor "Nikititch Romanof; but he delivered it to "his brother Alexander, who gave it to a "third called John, who preſented it to a "fourth called Michael. The latter paſſed "it to another nobleman: at laſt the tzar "threw the ſceptre from him, crying out in "a paſſion, 'Take it who will;' upon which "Boris took it up, and the tzar died imme-"diately." This idle fable is contradicted by the moſt authentick records, by the whole hiſtory of the ſubſequent election of Boris Godunof; and yet this is the writer whoſe authority is oppoſed to Margaret. See S. R. G. vol. V. p. 64, &c.

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alive *! Her teſtimony at that time would have unqueſtionably aſcertained the impoſture of the perſon, who claimed the throne as her offspring. Probably Boris Godunof examined her privately; and, finding her to perſiſt in her aſſertion, that Demetrius had eſcaped from Uglitz, he removed her to a convent at a conſiderable diſtance from Moſcow, that ſhe might not give a ſanction to the pretenſions of his rival.

2. The ſuppoſed reſemblance between the prince Demetrius, who was educated at Uglitz, and the perſon who reigned under his name, comes next under conſideration. This reſemblance conſiſted in a wart under the right eye, and in one arm ſhorter than the other. "But how is it known," ſays Mr. Muller upon this head, "that the prince had theſe de-"fects? for they are not mentioned in the Ruſſian narratives, "but are only related by foreigners, who had never ſeen him. "May we not therefore ſuppoſe them mere inventions, cal-"culated to diſplay ſome reſemblance between the true and "falſe Demetrius †?" In anſwer to this we may reply, that the Ruſſian accounts, evidently compiled long after the period in queſtion, and chiefly taken from the manifeſtos of government, would never record any circumſtance which might tend, in the ſlighteſt degree, to favour any likeneſs between a perſon whom they ſtyled an impoſtor, and the young prince. And it may be added, that if the tzar alledged the wart under his right eye, and the ſhortneſs of his arm, as proofs of his being the real Demetrius, who can ſuppoſe that the prince had not theſe defects, when there were ſo many perſons of the firſt diſtinction who could contradict the truth of the report? "But "even allowing the fact," continues Mr. Muller, "the conclu-"ſion by no means follows, as the ſtrongeſt reſemblance has "been frequently obſerved between two different perſons;

* "Puis tant de fauſſes allegations pour "perſuader de peuple, qu'il eſtoit un impoſ-"teur, ſans que jamais Boris vouluſt inter-"roger la mere en public, pour temoigner "de ce qui en eſtoit." Margaret, p. 171.

† S. R. G. vol. V. p. 190.

"and

" and it is likewiſe poſſible, that the falſe Demetrius might CHAP. VII.
" have imitated a wart in his face, and have feigned a defect
" in his arm." It is poſſible, indeed, to account for theſe circumſtances in this manner; ſtill, however, they muſt be conſidered, though not as poſitive, yet as ſtrong preſumptive evidence in his favour, eſpecially when joined to many other collateral proofs.

3. The ſucceſs of his enterprize, and his conduct upon the throne, ſeem to prove that he was the real Demetrius. He entered Ruſſia with an inconſiderable force, which increaſed as he advanced; and although totally defeated, and almoſt deſerted by the Poles, yet his army was ſoon recruited, and became more formidable than before his diſcomfiture. Perſons of the firſt diſtinction joined him from all quarters; and the more he became perſonally known to the Ruſſians, the greater number of partizans flocked to his ſtandard. Nor did this ſeem owing to any want of popularity in Boris Godunof, whoſe adminiſtration was greatly reſpected for its vigour and wiſdom; it rather proceeded from a general conviction that he was Demetrius. When he was ſeated upon the throne he did not act like an impoſtor. Had he been one, he would ſcarcely have pardoned Vaſſili Shuiſki, who had thrown doubts upon the reality of his deſcent. Inſtead of diſbelieving, as he did, the ſtrongeſt reports of an impending inſurrection, he would have given a ready ear to the ſlighteſt rumours of plots and machinations, and have taken every precaution againſt them. In a word, his general character was as thoughtleſs and inconſiderate as it was open and ſincere; and, above all, his freedom from ſuſpicion and jealouſy were incompatible with the principles of an uſurper *.

4. The

* " Puis parlons," ſays Margaret, " de ſa " clemence, envers un chacun après qu'il fut " receu en Moſco, et principalement envers " Vacilli Choutſqui, lequel fut convaincu de " trahiſon, &c. et meſmes fut ledit Deme- " trius prié par tous les aſſiſtans de la faire " mourir,

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4. The conduct of Maria Feodorofna muſt be admitted as ſupporting the ſame ſide of the queſtion. After having openly acknowledged him for her ſon, ſhe is ſaid to have publicly diſowned him. If both the avowal and denial were equally public, they both might equally have been extorted by fear; and her teſtimony muſt be conſidered as null. For what credit can that woman deſerve who could at one time admit a perſon to be her ſon, and at another reject him as ſuch? We may obſerve, however, this difference, that in the former inſtance ſhe owned him in perſon; in the latter, ſhe was not confronted with him, but her anſwer was brought by Vaſſili Shuiſki *, who was moſt intereſted to prove him an impoſtor. It therefore follows, that if (as ſeems to be the caſe) her avowal was public, and her denial was not, the former is more to be depended upon than the latter, and her teſtimony muſt be admitted in his favour †?

5. The very arguments advanced by the Ruſſians to aſcertain his impoſture, ſtrongly eſtabliſh the contrary poſition. For how was the reality of his imperial deſcent invalidated by

" mourir, vu qu'il s'eſtait toujours trouvè " perturbateur du repos public. Je parle " comme ayant ouy et veu le tout de mes " oreilles. Ce non obſtant il luy pardonna, " combien que Demetrius ſçavoit bien que " nul n'oſoit aſpirer à la couronne que la dite " maiſon de Chouitſqui. Il pardonna auſſi " à pluſieurs autres; car il eſtoit ſans ſoup- " çon," p. 171.

" Si il ſe fut ſente coupable en aucune " choſe, il euſt eu juſte ſujet de croire les ma- " chinations et trahiſons complottées et tram- " mées contre ſa perſonne, des quelles il etoit " aſſez adverty, et y euſt pû remedier avec " grande facilité," p. 174.

* Mr. Muller ſays, Vaſſili Shuiſki *took the trouble of repairing himſelf* to the convent. Gab ſich ſelbſt die muehe.

† The Ruſſian authors aſſert, that at the time when the relics were conveying to Moſcow, ſhe publickly retracted the former teſtimony which ſhe had given in his favour, upon their firſt interview near Moſcow; confeſſing, that ſhe had been induced by threats, as well as from a deſire of procuring her liberty, to acknowledge an alien for her ſon. But how are we certain that ſhe really made this public confeſſion? Its truth entirely reſts upon the Ruſſian papers, which cannot, in this inſtance, be eſteemed authentic records. But why was her public recantation poſtponed to ſo late a period? and why was ſhe not confronted with the tzar, when he ſo repeatedly appealed to her teſtimony as the ſtrongeſt proof of his being the real Demetrius? Have we not every reaſon to conclude, either that ſhe did not publicly retract her former aſſeverations in his favour; or that, being in Vaſſili Shuiſki's power, ſhe had been finally compelled to act in ſubſerviency to his mandate?

his

his being a ſorcerer, an heretic, or a muſician, by his predilection to the Poles, not bowing to the image of St. Nicholas, not bathing, eating veal, and ſuch frivolous accuſations *. Does not the adoption of theſe nugatory inſinuations beſpeak a great deficiency of ſatisfactory arguments? they may incline, indeed, the Ruſſians to believe him an uſurper, but do not prove him one in the eyes of diſpaſſionate judges. The truth ſeems to be, that as he began to loſe the affection of his ſubjects by his inconſiderate contempt of their cuſtoms and religion; theſe, and many other unfavourable reports, calculated to raiſe and increaſe the popular odium, were circulated by the intrigues of Vaſſili Shuiſki, who, upon his aſſaſſination, was raiſed to the throne. CHAP. VII.

The ſame remarks extend, with ſtill greater force, to the aſſertion, that the body interred at Uglitz was that of the real Demetrius from its uncorrupted ſtate, and the miracles it performed. For the uncorrupted ſtate of that body, when it was firſt conveyed to Moſcow, evidently prove it to have been ſuppoſititious; and the miracles it is ſaid to have performed will convert no proſelytes without the pale of the Ruſſian church. When every other expedient failed of convincing the generality of the Ruſſians, that the late tzar was an impoſtor, recourſe was finally had to pretended miracles and ſacred relics. And it muſt be allowed, that this method of convincing an ignorant and ſuperſtitious people who doubted (and there were many who doubted) was a ſtroke of the moſt conſummate policy; as by theſe means the aſſertions of Vaſſili Shuiſki were ſanctified by an eccleſiaſtical decree; and the impoſture of his rival became an article of public faith. Indeed, ſuch is the ſuperſtition with which the uſurpation of Griſka is ſtill main-

* Many Ruſſians, while they confeſſed that he was the real ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch, denied his right to the throne, becauſe his mother being the ſeventh wife of that tzar, he was illegitimate. Margaret, p. 171.

tained,

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tained, that even at this diſtance of time no Ruſſian hiſtorian could venture to hint that Demetrius was not aſſaſſinated at Uglitz, and that the perſon who aſſumed his name was not Griſka: for it would be contradicting a fundamental principle of belief, and rejecting the relics of a ſaint much revered in this country.

But it is time to finiſh this inquiry, which is already too long. I ſhall, therefore, conclude in a few words, that having endeavoured to examine the hiſtory of the tzar Demetrius without prejudice or partiality, I am ſtrongly inclined to believe that he was not an impoſtor, but the real perſonage whoſe name he aſſumed *.

* For the hiſtory of Demetrius, ſee Petreius Moſcov. Chron. Margaret's Eſtat de la Ruſſie, p. 18 and 19.—111—175. Payern in Schmidt. Ruſſ. Geſ. vol. II. and particularly Muller's S. R. G. vol. V. p. 181 to 380. That ingenious author has drawn together, in one point of view, the principal events of this troubleſome æra, and has reconciled, as much as poſſible, the contradictory accounts of the different writers: and though he has entirely adopted the Ruſſian prejudices, yet he has given the arguments of the oppoſite party with as much candour as could be expected from an author who wrote in Ruſſia.

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CHAP. VIII.

Of the princeſs Sophia Alexiefna.—*Her character miſrepreſented—and from what cauſes.—Her power and influence during the reign of* Feodor Alexievitch.—*Upon his demiſe excluded from all ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs.—* Peter *appointed tzar to the prejudice of his brother* Ivan.—*Proofs that he was not raiſed to the throne by the nomination of* Feodor, *and that his election was not unanimous.—Inſurrection of the* Strelitz.—*Tumult and maſſacre.*—Ivan *and* Peter *declared joint ſovereigns, and* Sophia *regent.—Probable cauſes of that revolution.—The conduct of* Sophia *juſtified from various aſperſions.—Her fall and impriſonment.—Unjuſtly accuſed of attempting to aſſaſſinate* Peter.—*Rebellion of the* Strelitz.—*Defeated.—Fruitleſs attempts to convict* Sophia *of a correſpondence with the rebels.—She aſſumes the veil.—Her death.*

THERE is ſcarcely any portion in the annals of this country more important than the minority of Peter the Great, and no character more groſsly miſrepreſented than that of his ſiſter Sophia Alexiefna, who governed Ruſſia during that period. This illuſtrious princeſs united, in a very extraordinary degree, a variety of perſonal and mental accompliſhments; but as ſhe headed a party in oppoſition to Peter, the idolatry, which has been univerſally paid to his extenſive genius, has greatly contributed towards diminiſhing the luſtre of her adminiſtration. CHAP. VIII.

I was led into theſe reflections from a viſit which I paid to the nunnery of Devitz, in the ſuburbs of Moſcow, where

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Sophia was confined during the laſt ſeventeen years of her life; and as we have ſcarcely any knowledge of her character but through the medium of her adverſaries, I ſhall throw together a few particulars, which induce me to ſee her conduct in a favourable light; and ſhall endeavour to reſcue her name from that obloquy, which has ſo unjuſtly perſecuted her memory *.

Sophia

* Three foreign writers have principally contributed to render the character of Sophia extremely odious.

1. The firſt of theſe writers is Gordon, in his Life of Peter the Great. But his teſtimony is in this inſtance extremely exceptionable, as well on account of his notorious partiality to Peter, as becauſe he was particularly prejudiced againſt prince Vaſſili Galitzin, Sophia's prime miniſter, for having degraded his relation and patron general Patrick Gordon. See Korb Diarium, p. 216.

2. The ſecond author is La Neuville, in his Relation de la Moſcovie, who dignifies himſelf with the title of envoy from the king of Poland to the court of Moſcow; and is generally ſuppoſed to have been reſident in that city at the time of Sophia's fall. His authority, therefore, is deemed unqueſtionable; and the enemies of this princeſs have not failed to cite it in proof of their aſſertions. Any perſon, however, in the leaſt converſant with the hiſtory of Ruſſia, will perceive in this work the groſſeſt contradictions, and the moſt abſurd tales. The author, after loading the portrait of Sophia with more deceit and cruelty than ever diſgraced a Tiberius, or a Cæſar Borgia, affects the moſt perfect knowledge of all the ſecret cabals between her and prince Galitzin: he declares their intention of marrying; of re-uniting the Greek and Latin churches; of compelling Peter to aſſume the monaſtic habit, or, if that failed, of aſſaſſinating him; of declaring the children of Ivan illegitimate; and of ſecuring the throne to themſelves and their heirs. And as if this chimerical project had been thought ſure of ſucceſs, he adds, that prince Galitzin had ſtill further views: he hoped, that by re-uniting Ruſſia to the Roman catholic church, he ſhould be able to obtain the pope's permiſſion (if, as he flattered himſelf, he ſhould ſurvive Sophia) to appoint his own legitimate ſon his ſucceſſor to the throne, in preference to thoſe whom he ſhould have by the princeſs, while his wife was alive. But ſuch abſurd accounts carry their own refutation, and the writer who retails them muſt ſurely deſerve no degree of credit, even ſhould he be "le temoin oculaire," as Voltaire ſtyles him, "de ce qui "ſe paſſa." But the truth is, that this envoy to Moſcow is a ſuppoſititious perſon: the author was one Adrien Baillet, who ſtyled himſelf de la Neuville, from a village of that name, in which he was born, and was never in Ruſſia. The Relation de la Moſcovie was publiſhed at the Hague in 1699; and was probably compiled by the author from the vague accounts of ſome of Peter's adherents, who accompanied that monarch into Holland in the year 1697. I ſhall have occaſion to mention further proofs againſt the authenticity of this performance.

See Menkeni Bibliotheca, where La Relation de la Moſcovie is mentioned among the works of Adrien Baillet. For an account of that author, ſee Niceron Hommes Illuſtres; article Ad. Baillet.

3. Voltaire has contributed more than any other writer to ſpread reports injurious to Sophia; but the truth of his narrative of her riſe, adminiſtration, and fall, is liable to the ſtrongeſt objections: he draws many facts, urged againſt Sophia, from the work of the ſuppoſed Poliſh envoy, La Neuville, which has been juſt ſhown to be of no authority; and extracts the remainder almoſt ſolely from certain memoirs, which being tranſmitted to him by order of the empreſs Eliſabeth, Peter's daughter,

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Sophia was born in the month of October, 1658. Her father, Alexèy Michaelovitch, the ſecond ſovereign of the houſe of Romanof, was twice married; firſt to Maria Ilinitchna of the family of Milolaſſki; ſecondly, to Natalia Kirilofna, of that of Nariſkin: by the former he had Feodor, Ivan, and ſeveral princeſſes, among whom was Sophia; by the latter, Peter the Great. During Maria's life, her family was diſtinguiſhed by Alexèy, and enjoyed a conſiderable influence; but after her deceaſe, and upon his marriage with Natalia, their power was eclipſed by the ſuperior aſcendancy of the Nariſkins, who ſucceeded to the confidence and favour of their ſovereign. Hence two parties were formed in the court; and perpetual quarrels took place between the children of Alexèy by his firſt wife, and their ſtep-mother Natalia. During this period, Ivan Michaelovitch Milolaſſki, the head of that family, endeavoured ſecretly to undermine the Nariſkins: he attributed to their influence that the taxes were increaſed; that the pay was with-held from the ſoldiery; and, in a word, reproached them as the authors of all the grievances which were urged againſt the government of Alexèy. By theſe and other artifices he laboured to render them unpopular; and having gained over to his party a large body of Strelitz *, waited for a favourable opportunity of executing his deſigns †.

daughter, would naturally throw the ſevereſt cenſures upon Sophia, and adopt all the miſrepreſentations of her adverſaries.

But the violent prepoſſeſſions conceived againſt the memory of this unfortunate princeſs begin to ſubſide. Muller has ventured to juſtify her character in ſome inſtances; the author of the Antidote to the Abbé de Chappe's Journey into Siberia, ſpeaks of her in a favourable manner; and L'Eveſque has evidently ſhown, that her character has been groſsly miſrepreſented, that ſhe was a princeſs of great merit, and by no means deſerving of the reproaches which have been caſt upon her conduct. I had already finiſhed this chapter, as well as the laſt, before his hiſtory made its appearance; and though the arguments of that judicious hiſtorian had no ſhare in forming, they certainly confirmed my opinion in favour of Sophia.

* The Ruſſian regiment of guards were called Strelitz, or Streltſi, until they were ſuppreſſed, and the name aboliſhed, by Peter the Great.

† Sumorokof's Aufruehr der Strelitzen, p. 4.

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Upon the acceſſion of Feodor to the throne, his relations, the family of Milolaſki, re-aſſumed their former importance, and the Nariſkins were excluded from all ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs.

Sophia had gained the eſteem and affection of her brother Feodor, by the ſuperiority of her underſtanding, her inſinuating addreſs, and unwearied attention during the long illneſs which at length brought him prematurely to the grave. To her that weak prince, whoſe infirmities rendered him unfit to govern, reſigned the abſolute direction of affairs; and, at her ſuggeſtion, placed his ſole confidence in prince Vaſſili Galitzin, a nobleman who had greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, under the reign of Alexèy Michaelovitch, for his political abilities.

Upon the demiſe of Feodor without iſſue, on the 27th of April, 1682, Ivan his brother, and rightful heir of the throne, was excluded from the ſucceſſion on account of his incapacity, and his half-brother Peter was declared tzar. In regard to this event, the partizans of Peter endeavour to eſtabliſh two poſitions: 1. That he was raiſed to this dignity in conſequence of Feodor's expreſs appointment; and, 2. By the unanimous voice of the nation.

1. With reſpect to the firſt poſition, that Peter was nominated tzar in conſequence of Feodor's * expreſs appointment, when we conſider, that Feodor was entirely governed by Sophia and his own family, it is not probable, that he ſhould act in direct oppoſition to their intereſts, and enſure, by the nomination of Peter, the adminiſtration of affairs to the Nariſkins; and this ſtate of the caſe has been lately eſtabliſhed by an hiſtorian † of unqueſtionable authority, who informs us, after the moſt authentic records, that Peter did not owe his

* Feodor avant d'expirer, voyant que ſon frère Ivan, trop diſgracié de la nature, était incapable de regner, nomma pour héritier des Ruſſes ſon ſecond frère Pierre, &c. Voltaire.

† Prince Sherebatof. See Bach. Ruſſ. Bib. vol. V. p. 502.

elevation to any declaration of Feodor in his favour, but merely to the ſuffrages of thoſe perſons in whom the right of nominating the ſucceſſor was veſted. CHAP. VIII.

2. In regard to the ſecond poſition, the unanimity of Peter's election, Muller, who has explored the Ruſſian archives with a view of aſcertaining this point, can ſupply us with no better proofs than the following information *.

" Soon after the death of Feodor, all the ſervants of the " court, the officers, and eccleſiaſtics, who were then at Moſ- " cow, aſſembled in the palace and the court-yard to kiſs the " hand of the deceaſed monarch; after which ceremony they " alſo kiſſed the hands of the two princes Ivan and Peter, the " former of whom was ſixteen, and the latter ten years of " age. The ill health of Ivan, the hopeful appearance of " Peter, and the well-known prudence and virtue of his mo- " ther †, induced all who were preſent to prefer the younger " to the elder brother, and unanimouſly to raiſe Peter to the " throne. The aſtoniſhing quiet and unanimity with which " this important affair was accompliſhed, ſeems to prove, that " it was preconcerted by the patriarch and principal nobility. " The patriarch Joachim, deſcended from a noble family, " was at the head of this tranſaction. As ſoon as the prin- " cipal courtiers, eccleſiaſtics, nobles, officers, merchants, and " a great concourſe of people, were aſſembled before the im- " perial palace, he demanded of them, whom they would no- " minate tzar, Ivan or Peter? The queſtion *was extremely* " *unuſual*, but, being juſtified by the circumſtances, was im- " mediately anſwered in favour of Peter. Probably the party " of Ivan had not foreſeen that a younger prince, who was a " minor, would be preferred to his elder brother, *and were*

* Von Peter's des Groſſen erſtern Gelangung zum Thron. in Jour. Pet. for 1780.

† This princeſs was then ſcarcely 24 years of age, and had hitherto given no proofs of her prudence and wiſdom.—L'Eveſque more juſtly ſtyles her " jeune princeſſe qui n'avoit " pu ſe faire encore aucune reputation."

" *therefore*

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" *therefore not prepared to make any oppoſition to the appoint-*
" *ment of Peter.*

" Two contradictory accounts of this nomination are given " in two of the moſt authentic records in the archives of Moſ- " cow. The firſt informs us that Ivan, as the eldeſt, publickly " renounced his right to the crown, before it could be con- " ferred upon Peter: the ſecond makes no mention of this " renunciation, but aſcribes the nomination of Peter to the " general wiſhes of the nation."

The firſt record in the office for foreign affairs thus relates the tranſaction.

" And the patriarch Joachim, and the metropolitans and " archbiſhops, and all the clergy, and the Siberian and Kaſſi- " movian princes, and the Boiars and Okolnitſhi, and the " Doumnie-Diaki, and the Stolnics and Straeptſhi, and the no- " bility of Moſcow, and the Shilitſi, and the nobles from the " country, and the ſoldiers and Goſti, and the merchants and " people, entreated the princes, Ivan and Peter, that one of " them would pleaſe to aſcend the hereditary throne of " Ruſſia," &c. And the Tzarovitch Ivan ſaid, " It being ad- " vantageous for the public that my brother the Tzarovitch " and great-duke Peter ſhould aſcend the throne of Ruſſia, *be-* " *cauſe his mother the tzarina Natalia is alive:* I, therefore, the " tzarovitch and great-duke Ivan reſign the throne to the " tzarovitch and great-duke Peter. And the tzar and great- " duke Peter aſcended the throne," &c.

According to the other record, which is in the Koſrad's Buch [or a Journal of Occurrences at Court,] " the patriarch de- " mands of the perſons aſſembled for the nomination of the " new ſovereign, whom they would chuſe tzar, Ivan or Peter. " And the Stolnics and Straeptſhi, and the nobles, and the " Diaki, and the Shilitſi, and the Dietiboiarſki, and the Goſti, " and the merchants, and the other people of different ranks,

" anſwered

" anſwered unanimouſly, that the throne of all the kingdoms " of the great Ruſſian empire belonged to Peter Alexievitch : " and then the patriarch addreſſed the Boiars, Okolnitchi, privy " counſellors, and principal perſons belonging to the court; and " the Boiars, &c. anſwered unanimouſly, The tzarovitch and " great duke Peter is, by the choice of all the ſtates and peo- " ple of the Moſcovite empire, tzar and great-duke of all " Great, Little, and White Ruſſia," &c. &c. CHAP. VIII.

We may remark upon theſe extracts, that being evidently compiled by the friends of Peter, even if they did not contradict each other, their authority would be exceedingly exceptionable; nor could their ſilence, with reſpect to any oppoſition, be conſidered as a ſufficient teſtimony that the ſuffrages in favour of Peter were unanimous, becauſe his adherents would never record any particulars tending in the ſmalleſt degree to invalidate his pretenſions, or to ſupport thoſe of Ivan. Beſides, when we recollect the power of the family of Milolaſlki during the reign of Feodor, the influence which prince Vaſſili Galitzin muſt have acquired from his office of prime miniſter, and particularly the inſinuating manners and popularity of Sophia, all of whom were bound, not only by the ſtrongeſt ties of intereſt, but even for their common ſecurity, to ſupport the cauſe of Ivan, we cannot, with any degree of probability, ſuppoſe that the nomination of Peter was as unanimous as it is repreſented. And indeed it is certain *, that a nobleman, named Sumbalof, abſolutely objected to the invalidity of the election, becauſe the younger brother was preferred to the elder; that his remonſtrance was followed by thoſe of many others; and that even the patriarch Joachim, who is eſteemed by Mr. Muller a ſtrong advocate of Peter, ſoon afterwards embraced the party of Ivan: theſe circumſtances ſeem to imply that Peter was not raiſed to the throne by the

* Sumorokof, p. 55—57.

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unanimous voice of the nation, and that the ſuffrages of the aſſembly had been *ſurprized* by the ſecret machinations of the Nariſkins.

Peter, however, by whatſoever means his nomination was obtained, received, as ſole ſovereign, the fealty of his ſubjects, and the government was entruſted to his mother Natalia. But this ſtate of affairs was of no long duration: the party in oppoſition to Peter was ſtrong and powerful; his election was not as yet confirmed by the whole body of Strelitz, who, to uſe the ſpirited expreſſion of a Ruſſian author, poſſeſſed above 14,000 armed votes *; and their peculiar ſituation at this important juncture rendered them fit inſtruments of a new revolution.

Juſt before Feodor's demiſe, and even while that monarch was at the point of death, nine of theſe regiments, quartered at Moſcow, having tumultuouſly aſſembled, demanded redreſs of the ill-treatment they pretended to have received from their colonels, and an inſtant diſcharge of all their arrears. Prince George Dolgorucki, their chief, ordered one of the ringleaders to be ſeized, and having condemned him to be ſtripped for the infliction of the knoot, an immediate inſurrection was the conſequence; the executioners were inſulted, and the priſoners reſcued †. On the day ſubſequent to the interment of Feodor, the ſoldiers proceeded in a large body to the Kremlin, and preſented a petition againſt nine of their colonels, who being delivered to them by the miniſtry, as the only means of appeaſing the tumult, they were publicly whipped and diſcharged ‡. Ivan Milolaſlki inflamed the diſcontents of this mutinous body; and though he was confined to his chamber by a pretended ſickneſs, he yet contrived to hold ſeveral interviews with the ringleaders, who aſſembled at night in his palace. Sophia is alſo accuſed of being preſent at theſe

* 14198 bewaffnete ſtimme. Sumorokof, p. 19.

† Gordon, p. 70.

‡ Ibid. p. 72; and Voltaire.

meetings;

meetings; of diſtributing money to the principal inſurgents; and of exaſperating them againſt the family of Nariſkin. CHAP. VIII.

On the morning of the 15th of May, a report being ſpread that Peter was not unanimouſly elected, the drums beat to arms by order of Ivan Milolaſſki, and the Strelitz being tumultuouſly aſſembled, two perſons of his party entered their quarters, crying, "The hour of vengeance is at hand, Ivan "Alexievitch is aſſaſſinated, and the Nariſkins are maſters of "Ruſſia. Revenge the murder of the tzarovitch." The ſoldiers, being inflamed to fury by theſe exclamations, marched inſtantaneouſly with drums being and colours flying to the Kremlin, tolled the great bell, ſurrounded the palace, and demanded the traitors who had aſſaſſinated Ivan: although the tzarina immediately produced both Ivan and Peter, yet they were not appeaſed, but vehemently called aloud for the execution of the Nariſkins, whoſe ambition and tyranny would entail ruin upon their country; adding, that although Ivan had hitherto eſcaped their machinations, he was yet in danger of being aſſaſſinated at ſome future period; and their fury was ſtill further augmented by a rumour induſtriouſly circulated, than Ivan Nariſkin, the brother of the tzarina, had ſeized the diadem and royal robes. In the midſt of this tumult, one of the officers ventured to harangue the ſoldiers: he aſſured them, that Ivan Alexievitch was in perfect ſafety; that all their grievances ſhould be redreſſed; and exhorted them to diſperſe. This harangue ſeemed to make a ſenſible impreſſion, and the tumult was ſubſiding; when prince Dolgorucki imprudently threatened them with the ſevereſt puniſhment for their mutiny and rebellion: inflamed by this ill-timed menace, they ſeized the prince, hurled him into the air, received him upon their pikes, and hewed his body to pieces. This aſſaſſination was but the prelude to a more general maſſacre, which took place in the Kremlin, and in different parts of Moſcow, and conti-

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nued during three days without intermiſſion. It would be needleſs, as well as ſhocking to humanity, to enter upon a detail of all the murders committed by this lawleſs rabble; it is ſufficient to obſerve, that not only the two brothers of the tzarina, and a few others moſt obnoxious to the inſurgents, fell victims to their fury, but ſeveral perſons, by no means unpopular, were ſacrificed amidſt the general confuſion; and as the ſoldiers were rouſed almoſt to madneſs by intoxication, the houſes of many citizens were plundered, and the city underwent a general pillage.

In order to cloſe this horrid ſcene, the principal nobles aſſembled on the 18th of May, and, by a compromiſe between the two parties, Ivan and Peter were declared joint ſovereigns; but as Ivan was judged incapable of governing, and Peter was in his minority, the adminiſtration of affairs was veſted in the hands of Sophia. Hence concluſions have been drawn unfavourable to that princeſs: ſhe is accuſed of having for ſome time maintained a ſecret intelligence with the ringleaders of the Strelitz; of exciting them by falſe reports to revolt, of ordering money and ſpirituous liquors to be diſtributed among the ſoldiers, and even of delivering to them a liſt * of forty nobles whom ſhe had proſcribed. All her actions are malignantly interpreted: when Ivan Nariſkin was led to execution, ſhe publicly accompanied the tzarina and the patriarch to intercede for his life, placed the image of the Virgin Mary in his hands to ſtop the fury of the Strelitz, and endeavoured, though in vain, to ſooth his aſſaſſins †. They who judge unfavourably of her conduct, ſay, that this compaſſion was

* "Enfin Sophie," ſays Voltaire, "fait "remettre entre leurs mains une liſte de "quarante ſeigneurs qu'elle appelle leurs "enemis, et ceux de l'Etat et qu'ils doivent "maſſacrer." I cannot give credit to this liſt of forty nobles, which Voltaire reſembles "aux proſcriptions de Sylla et des triumvirs "de Rome." Whoever will attentively peruſe the account of the enſuing maſſacre in Gordon, or even in Voltaire, will find that the fury of the Strelitz, except againſt the Nariſkins, was more directed by chance than by deſign.

† Gordon, p. 81.

only feigned, and that ſhe ſecretly encouraged his aſſaſſination, though ſhe outwardly affected to intercede for him *. Upon this ſuppoſition the whole conduct of Sophia implies ſuch a deep-laid ſcheme of hypocriſy, artifice, and revenge, as ſeems rather adapted to a politician grown grey in iniquity, and long practiſed in the arts of ſedition, than to a princeſs like Sophia, only in the 25th year of her age.

Upon reviewing the cauſes which led to this revolution, they may be traced from ſeveral events in the reign of Alexèy Michaelovitch, long before Sophia had the leaſt influence in political affairs, and particularly from the domeſtick feuds in the imperial family: it appears alſo that the firſt inſurrection of the Strelitz was caſual; that it was occaſioned by the arrears of pay, and the unpopularity of the colonels, and cannot, with the leaſt degree of probability, be imputed to the intrigues of Sophia; and that therefore ſhe can only be accuſed, even by the moſt malignant interpretation of her conduct, of availing herſelf of that mutiny to procure the election of Ivan. But there is ſurely a wide difference between aſſerting the injuſtice of his excluſion from the throne, or, under the maſk of moderation and candour, inflaming to madneſs the fury of a diſaffected ſoldiery, and calmly leading them from aſſaſſination to aſſaſſination †. And if any unjuſtifiable cabals were really employed on this occaſion; why ſhould the whole blame be laid upon Sophia? and why are her faults alone handed down to us with ſo many heavy aggravations?

But is it not more reaſonable to ſuppoſe that Ivan Milolaſſki, who, as we have before obſerved, had formed a ſtrong party againſt the Nariſkins, even during the reign of Alexèy Michaelovitch, ſhould, in conjunction with his family, take advantage of this ſedition of the Strelitz, with whom he had

* Sumorokof.

† Tandis que les Strelitz commençaient ainſi à ſe faire craindre, la princeſſe Sophie, *qui les animait ſous main, pour les conduire de crime en crime*, &c. Voltaire.

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long entertained a ſecret intelligence; and that Sophia was but the oſtenſible inſtrument of their deſigns? In a word, that ſhe was raiſed to the regency by the cabals of a powerful party, who foreſaw their own ruin and the advancement of their rivals in the nomination of Peter; and who held forth the unalienable rights of Ivan to this licentious body in the midſt of an inſurrection. Examples were not wanting to prove that the incapacity of Ivan was no bar to his election: a memorable inſtance was exhibited in the perſon of Feodor Ivanovitch, who, notwithſtanding his abſolute imbecility, was raiſed to the throne, and a regency entruſted with the adminiſtration of affairs *: and it muſt alſo be conſidered, that Peter, then only in his eleventh year, had not afforded any inſtances of that vaſt ſuperiority of underſtanding, which afterwards marked his character; and that his mother, who was to ſway the reins of empire, was a perſon of no experience, and extremely unpopular. Nor is it matter of ſurprize that the care of Ivan and the government ſhould be committed to Sophia. The victorious family would naturally chooſe a regent devoted from intereſts and inclination to their party, a perſon of imperial lineage, popular manners, reſpectable character, and great abilities; and all theſe requiſites centered in Sophia.

However authors may have cenſured the ambitious deſigns of Sophia, they unanimouſly concur in delineating her engaging manners, the beauties of her perſon †, the vigour and wiſdom

* S. R. G. vol. V. p. 19.

† Weber, the Hanoverian envoy at St. Peterſburgh in the beginning of this century, ſays of Sophia, "The tzar was frequently "heard to declare, that, excepting her inor-"dinate ambition, ſhe was a princeſs of *great* "*perſonal* and mental accompliſhments." Ver. Ruſſ. Vol. I. p. 143.

Voltaire, in a very ſpirited portrait, cloſes it by ſaying, "une *figure agréable* relevoit tous "ſes talens." Perry deſcribes her, at the time of the revolution, as a *handſome* young lady, then upwards of 23. He came into Ruſſia in 1702, two years before her death; and though he never ſaw her himſelf, on account of her impriſonment, he muſt have known many perſons who had been perſonally acquainted with her. Perry's State of Ruſſia, p. 143.

Sumorokof ſays of her, that ſhe poſſeſſed a "good

wiſdom of her adminiſtration, and her extenſive plans of reformation for the advantage of her country.

Sophia repoſed her principal confidence in prince Vaſſili Galitzin, commonly known by the name of the Great Galitzin, a moſt able miniſter, and conſummate politician. The ſcandalous chronicle of thoſe times, or rather of a later period, attributed her partiality for this miniſter to a ſofter paſſion, though he was above ſixty years of age; and her enemies have not even ſcrupled to declare * that ſhe had formed the plan of aſſaſſinating the two tzars, uſurping the throne, and of eſpouſing prince Galitzin, who was to obtain a divorce from his wife: but this calumny, as it is not founded on the leaſt ſubſtantial evidence, deſerves not to be refuted.

Sophia † has been alſo accuſed, not only of neglecting the education of Peter, but of introducing him into the company of the moſt profligate young men, and of encouraging his propenſity to every ſpecies of exceſs which might enervate his frame, weaken his underſtanding, and render him averſe to buſineſs. This calumny, however, has been amply refuted by Mr. Muller ‡, who has ſhewn from unqueſtionable authority, that Ivan and Peter had two different courts; that the education of the latter was ſolely entruſted to his mother; and that if improper perſons were placed about him, the blame muſt fall upon her, and not upon Sophia. With reſpect to his propenſity to drinking, that vice was extremely com-

good underſtanding and *great beauty*. "Sie "beſats groſſen verſtand und groſſe ſchoen-"heit," p. 10.

Many other authors might be quoted to the ſame purpoſe, but as there is nothing which party-malice will not invent to depreciate an obnoxious character, the ſuppoſitious Poliſh envoy La Neuville has miſrepreſented her perſon as much as her conduct, in the following extraordinary paſſage: "Sophie dont l'eſprit & le merite ne tien-"nent rien de la *difformité de ſon corps, etant "d'une groſſeur monſtreueuſe, avec une-tête large "comme un boiſſeau, du poil au viſage, des loups "aux jambes* & au moins 40 ans; mais au-"tant *que ſa taille eſt large, courte, & groſſiere*, "autant ſon eſprit eſt fin, delié & politique "& ſans avoir jamais lû Machiavel, elle poſ-"ſede naturellement toutes ſes maximes," &c. p. 151.

* Gordon, p. 86.

† Voltaire.

‡ Journal of St. Pet. Mar. 1778, p. 168, 169.

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mon in Ruſſia, and prince Vaſſili * Galitzin alone was as remarkable for his ſobriety as the favourites of Peter, Le Fort, and Boris Galitzin, were notorious for their intemperance. "Le Fort," ſays a writer, who was in Livonia when the tzar and his ſuite paſſed through that country in his firſt journey to Holland, "is a man of a good underſtanding; very perſonable, engaging, and entertaining; a true Swiſs for probity and bravery, but *chiefly for drinking*. Open tables are kept every where with trumpets and muſick, attended with feaſting and exceſſive drinking, as if his tzariſh majeſty had been another Bacchus. I have not yet ſeen ſuch hard drinkers; it is not poſſible to expreſs it, and they boaſt of it as a mighty qualification †."

Thus then it appears that Peter had examples of intemperance in his own houſhold, and it will hardly be ſuppoſed that Le Fort was the creature of Sophia. The evident falſehood of ſuch virulent accuſations ſhould induce us not to give credit to other calumnies, and particularly to the charge that ſhe attempted to deſtroy Peter by poiſon, which, though it failed of its intended effect, diſordered his conſtitution, and occaſionally produced a ſpecies of melancholy and deſpair that bordered upon madneſs. This report took its riſe from his proneneſs to epileptic fits, a diſorder common in his family, to which he was ſubject from his infancy, which gradually diminiſhed as he grew ſtronger, but never entirely forſook him. Previous to an attack, the natural vehemence and ſavageneſs of his temper broke out with redoubled violence, and rendered him the terror of all who approached him. The rancour with which the enemies of Sophia have calumniated her memory, is from

* "Galitzin was the only man of quality "in Ruſſia who could entertain, without "forcing his company to drink to exceſs. "Brandy, the liquor which flowed at every "other table, was ſeldom ſeen at his, who "never drank any himſelf, but took much "delight in rational and ingenious converſation." Mottley's Life of Peter.

† Account of Livonia, p. 293.

no

no inſtance more evident than from this abſurd imputation, that the brutal ferocity and ſanguinary diſpoſition of Peter was owing to the effects of poiſon adminiſtered by her *.

But it is time to trace the principal cauſes which contributed to the fall and impriſonment of Sophia. That princeſs, to whom Ivan had ſurrendered the abſolute direction of affairs, aſſumed ſome exterior marks of homage, which ſeem to have been hitherto appropriated only to the ſovereigns of Ruſſia. While the heads of her two brothers were impreſſed on one ſide of the coins, her image, arrayed with the crown, ſceptre, and imperial robes, was ſtamped upon the reverſe; in all the public acts her name was added to the ſignature of the two tzars †, and ſhe appeared in proceſſions decorated with all the enſigns of royalty ‡: circumſtances which naturally gave umbrage to the rival family, and afforded a ſpecious pretence for inveighing againſt her ambitious deſigns.

Peter, as he advanced in years and felt himſelf born for empire, could not, without great diſſatisfaction, behold all the power lodged in the hands of a rival party: ſtill further en-

* "Il prenoit quelquefois des accès d'humeur chagrine, ou il ſemblait frappé de "l'idée noire qu'on voulait attenter à ſa perſonne, et ou ſes amis les plus familiers "craignaient ſes emportemens. CES ACCES "ETAIENT UN RESTE FATAL DU POISON, "QU'IL RECUT DE SON AMBITIEUSE SOEUR "SOPHIE. On en connaiſſait l'approche à "certains *mouvemens convulſifs de ſa bouche.* "L'Imperatrice était avertie. Elle venait "lui parler; le ſon de cette voix le calmait "à l'inſtant. Elle le faiſait aſſeoir, et s'emparait en le cajolant de ſa tête, qu'elle "grattait doucement. C'était comme un "charme, qui *l'aſſoupiſſait* en peu de minutes. "Pour ne pas troubler ſon *ſommeil*, elle ſoutenait ſa tête ſur ſon ſein, ſans ſe rémüer "*pendant deux ou trois heures.* Alors il ſe reveillait, entierement raſſis et rémis au lieu "qu'avant qu'elle eût étudié cette manière "ſi ſimple de le ſoulager, ces accès etaient la "terreur de ceux qui l'approchaient, aïant "cauſé dit on quelques malheurs, et êtant "ſuivi de *maux de tête affreux, qui duraient des* "*journées entieres.*" Baſſevitz in Buſ. H. M. IX. p. 294.

Strange effects of poiſon given in his infancy. Thoſe who have been uſed to ſee perſons in epileptic fits, will eaſily diſcover all the effects of that diſorder from the words in Italics. Biſhop Burnet ſays, "that he "was ſubject to convulſive motions all over "his body, and that his head ſeemed to be "affected with theſe."

† She did not ſign her name in the public decrees until 1687. Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. v. I. p. 9.

‡ Theſe circumſtances cannot imply a deſign of uſurping the ſovereign authority; for ſhe was only accuſed even by her enemies of ſecretly conſpring againſt Peter, and not of an open attempt to ſeize the crown.

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couraged by his mother and her adherents, he claimed a ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs; and took his ſeat, for the firſt time, in the privy council, on the 25th of January, 1688, and in the eighteenth year of his age. Sophia, though unwilling to reſign any part of her authority, could not withhold her conſent; but as Peter's ſpirit was above controul, ſhe availed herſelf of ſome violent altercations which paſſed between them, and contrived to exclude him, for the future, from a ſeat in the council. From this period the diſſentions between them aroſe to ſo great an height, as to threaten an open rupture; and the fall of one ſeemed neceſſary to the ſecurity of the other *.

Things remained in this ſtate of jealouſy and variance, until the month of September, 1689; when the aſpiring genius of Peter acquired the aſcendancy, and ſecured his undivided authority by the fall and impriſonment of Sophia. By the advice of Boris Galitzin and the Nariſkins, Peter reſolved to arreſt his ſiſter, and to ſeize the reins of government: and it is aſſerted by his adherents †, that Sophia and prince Vaſſili Galitzin, apprized of his intentions, determined to prevent their own ruin by his aſſaſſination; that they had gained over the chief of the Strelitz and a corps of 600 men, and had actually commiſſioned them to perpetrate that infamous deed. Peter had retired to ſleep at his palace of Preobaſhenſki near Moſcow, when two ‡ of the conſpirators, it is ſaid, ſtruck with horror at their crime, quitted their companions, and haſtened to the young tzar with the information that a body of Strelitz were upon their march to aſſaſſinate him. The ſame accounts add, that Peter refuſed to give credit to their report, until it was confirmed by Boris Galitzin and one of his uncles, whom

* Journ. of St. Pet. for 1778, p. 175, 176.

† Gordon.

‡ It is remarkable, that this ſame ſtory of two conſpirators who were engaged to aſſaſſinate Peter, but, repenting, diſcovered the plot, is again related as happening in 1697. Schmidt. Ruſſ. Geſ. v. II. p. 90.

he immediately diſpatched to reconnoitre; and that the conſpirators were already ſo near, that he had ſcarcely time to make his eſcape *. He inſtantly proceeded to the convent of the Holy Trinity; where his danger being ſpread abroad, troops flocked to him from all quarters, and in ſuch numbers, that in the ſpace of three days he had an army of 60,000 men under his command, and found himſelf in a ſituation to give law to the oppoſite party.

In the mean time Sophia, in a ſtate of the utmoſt conſternation, denied all intercourſe with the conſpirators, expreſſed the utmoſt horror at their attempt; diſpatched repeated meſſages to her brother to juſtify her conduct; and even ſet off in perſon to aſſert her innocence; but was ordered to return without delay to Moſcow, and to deliver the ringleaders of the mutiny. Soon afterwards Peter himſelf repaired to the capital: the principal conſpirators, being tortured in his preſence, confeſſed a deſign againſt his life, and ſuffered the ſevereſt puniſhment. Vaſſili Galitzin † was baniſhed into Siberia; and Sophia was impriſoned for life in the Devitza nunnery: Peter alone aſſumed the reins of government, and found ſufficient ſcope for his vaſt and enterprizing genius; while the name of Ivan was ſtill inſerted, as a matter of formality, in the public acts until his death, which happened in 1696.

Such are the principal circumſtances of this extraordinary revolution; but we muſt conſider, that this is the account given by the victorious party; and that the cauſe of Sophia

* Voltaire, though convinced of Sophia's intention to aſſaſſinate Peter, and notwithſtanding the intelligence he received from the court of Peterſburgh, can only give us the following ſcanty information: "La Neuville "*reſident alors à Moſcow, et temoin oculaire de* "*ce qui ſe paſſa, pretend que* Sophie et Galitzin "engagerent le nouveau chef des Strèlitz à "leur ſacrifier leur jeune czar: il parait au "moins que ſix-cent de ces Strelitz devaient "s'emparer de ſa perſonne. Les memoires "ſecrettes que la cour de Ruſſie m'a confiés, "aſſurent que le parti etoit pris de tuer "Pierre Premier: le coup allait être porte, "et la Ruſſie etait privé à jamais de la nouvelle exiſtence, qu'elle," &c.

† This able miniſter ſurvived his fall 24 years; he died in priſon at Pooſtozerk in 1713. L'Eveſque, vol. IV. p. 107.

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never underwent a candid examination. It may be impoſſible to exculpate that princeſs entirely from ambitious views; ſhe might be extremely unwilling to relinquiſh a power which ſhe had long enjoyed, and which ſhe exerciſed with great ability; ſhe might eſteem the right of Ivan to the throne as ſuperior to that of Peter; and might conſider Peter's acquiſition of the ſole ſovereignty as the certain prelude to her own deſtruction: but we have no poſitive evidence * which ſhould induce us to believe that ſhe conſpired againſt her brother's life; and perhaps the whole ſtory of the intended aſſaſſination was feigned by Boris Galitzin † and her enemies. Had ſhe been really guilty of that attempt, ſhe wanted not opportunities of eſcaping from Ruſſia; and ſhe never would have imprudently demanded admittance into Peter's preſence, in order to aſſert her innocence, if the proofs of her guilt had been as ſtrong as her adverſaries pretended ‡. In a word, the conflict between Peter and Sophia was the conflict of two rivals impatient of controul, and ſtriving for pre-eminence; the cauſe of the ſucceſsful party would neceſſarily be deemed juſt and equitable; and the vanquiſhed faction was ſure to be loaded with every ſpecies of guilt and enormity.

* We have no certain proofs that any of the conſpirators accuſed Sophia of being privy to any deſign upon Peter's life; and, even if they did name her as an accomplice, their evidence, as it was extorted by the rack, is by no means to be depended upon.

† It appears from the following paſſage that the diſcovery of Sophia's deſigns came from that quarter. "Prince Boris Galitzin, "a faithful ſubject of the tzar Peter, coming "timely to penetrate into his kinſman's "prince Baſil's deſigns, put the tzar upon "his guard, adviſing him, without delay, to "take the goverment into his hands." Gordon, v. I. p. 89.

‡ "Avait elle," as L'Eveſque judiciouſly remarks, "comme on l'en accuſe, formé "le deſſein d'ôter la vie à Pierre? voulait-"elle ſeulement l'enlever, et le faire depoſer? "Fut-elle même complice de l'entrepriſe de "Stchéglovitoi? c'eſt ce que nous n'oſerions "prononcer. Il faudrait avoir des pieces "authentiques pour juger ce grand procés. "Les hiſtoriens l'accuſent; aucun ne dit "qu'elle ait été nommée par les coupables. "Pierre devait la craindre, il ſavait qu'elle "etoit aimée des Strélits et de leur chefs: "Elle tenait les rênes du gouvernment; elle "ne voulait pas les lâcher, et il voulait s'en "ſaiſir: elle etoit déteſtée de Natalie, & de "tous les parents de cette Princeſſe: On "l'accuſait d'intrigues; elle en formait ſans "doute, et ſans ceſſe il s'en formait contre "elle: elle en fut la victims, et la Calomnie "devait la pourſuivre long-tems encore aprés "ſa diſgrace, & même audela du tombeau." Vol. IV. p. 103.

The

CHAP. VIII.

The reſtleſs ſpirit of Sophia, brooding in the ſolitude of a convent, is ſaid to have excited freſh troubles and inſurrections; and, during her life, no conſpiracy was undertaken againſt Peter, in which ſhe was not ſuſpected of being concerned. She was more particularly accuſed of being privy to the rebellion which broke out in 1697; when 8000 Strelitz ſeized the opportunity of Peter's abſence upon his travels to riſe in arms upon the frontiers of Lithuania, and to march towards Moſcow. The rebels were attacked and defeated by the addreſs and courage of general Patrick Gordon; many were put to the ſword, and the remainder ſurrendered at diſcretion. The tzar received at Vienna the account of the mutiny and defeat of the Strelitz, and inſtantly haſtened to Ruſſia, that he might examine the delinquents in perſon.

Peter, upon his arrival at Moſcow, was particularly anxious to diſcover the cauſes of the rebellion, to learn by whoſe intrigues it was excited; and, above all, to convict Sophia, whom he charged with fomenting the public diſcontents, and with holding a correſpondence with the rebels. But as no perſons could give immediate and pertinent anſwers to all his queſtions, he entertained ſuſpicions of all his courtiers, and determined to erect a court of inquiry at his palace of Preobraſhenſki, where the inſtruments of the queſtion were brought. The tzar himſelf examined the accuſed, urged them to confeſſion, and ordered thoſe who maintained ſilence to be racked in his preſence. The cruelty of the tortures employed on this occaſion was inexpreſſibly dreadful: human nature ſhudders at the recital, but it is neceſſary to mention them in juſtification of Sophia. Some of the rebels were repeatedly whipped; others had their ſhoulders diſlocated by a cord and pulley, and in that painful poſture received the ſtrokes of the knoot; many after undergoing the knoot were roaſted over a ſlow fire, the raw parts being expoſed to the

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flame *. Phyſicians were preſent to aſcertain the degree of pain the unhappy convicts were capable of ſupporting, and to recover thoſe who had fainted away, that the application of freſh tortures might recommence upon the renewal of their ſtrength. This dreadful inquiſition was continued, without the leaſt intermiſſion, through the whole month of October. Not only every ſpecies of puniſhment, the moſt refined which human cruelty could deviſe, was inflicted in order to extort an accuſation of Sophia, but promiſes of pardon, and even of great promotion, were offered for the ſame purpoſe to the wretched ſufferers in the midſt of the moſt excruciating agonies †.

At

* It appears from Olearius, and other travellers into Ruſſia, that theſe tortures were ordinarily uſed in that country for the purpoſe of forcing confeſſion.

† This account is extracted from the Diary of Korb, ſecretary of the Auſtrian embaſſy to Ruſſia in the year 1697, and who was preſent at Moſcow during theſe horrid proceedings. He received information of theſe dreadful tortures from ſeveral German officers in the ſervice of Peter, who were eye-witneſſes to their infliction upon the Strelitz. Korb's authority is alſo the more to be depended upon in this inſtance, becauſe he ſpeaks highly in favour of Peter, and condemns the ambition of Sophia. Gordon alſo, though ſo partial to Peter, informs us, that the rebels were tortured and examined in his preſence. Vol. I. p. 129.

"Prima," ſays Korb, in the 164th page of his Diary, "poſt adventum ſollicitudo de re-
"bellione fuit; quomodo compoſita? quid
"animi tumultuantibus fuiſſet; quibus au-
"thoribus tantum nefas auſi? cùm autem
"nemo eſſet, qui ad omnia puncta accuratè
"reſpondere poſſet, his ſuam ignorantiam,
"illis Streliziorum pertinaciam obtendenti-
"bus, omnium fidem ſuſpectam habere &
"novæ inquiſitioni cogitationes ſuas admo-
"vere cœpit. Qui in vicinis variis locis cuſ-
"toditi aſſervabantur rebelles, ii omnes per
"quatuor militum pretorianorum regimina
"ad quæſtionem novam, & torturam retra-
"hebantur. Bebrafchentſko reductis carcer,
"tribunal fuit, & equuleus. Nulla dies
"quæſitoribus vacua faſta aut nefaſta, omnes
"ad torquendum idonei licitique viſi. Quot
"rei, tot knuttæ, quot quæſitores, tot car-
"nifices. Princeps Feudor Jurowiz Roma-
"donowſki, quantùm cæteris ſeverior, tan-
"tùm præſtabat inquirendi aptitudine. Ip-
"ſemet Magnus Dux ob conceptam in ſuos
"diffidentiam, inquiſitoris officio functus eſt.
"Ipſe interrogatoria ponebat, examinabat
"reos, non confitentes urgebat, pertinaci-
"oris etiam ſilentii Strelizios crudeli jubebat
"ſubjici torturæ, jam multa faſſi, de pluribus
"quærebantur, quos tormentorum exceſſus
"viribus, mente, et ipſis vix non ſenſibus
"deſtituit, medicorum induſtria priſtinis ſuis
"viribus per novos cruciatus denuo ener-
"vandis cogebatur reſtituere. Totus men-
"ſis October reorum tergoribus per knuttas
"& ignes excarnificandis inſumebatur: nulla
"die à flagris, aut flammis fuêre immunes,
"quàm quà vel rotâ fractos, ad furcam
"actos, vel ſecuri interemptos vita ipſa reli-
"querat."

And again, "Inaudita fuit adhibitæ tor-
"turæ immanitas: flagris ſæviſſimè cæſi, ſi
"pertinaciam ſilentii nondum rumperent,
"ſaucia reorum tergora ſanie, & tabo fluen-
"tia igni admovebantur, ut per lentam cutis
"& carnis morboſæ aduſtionem acuti dolores,
"ad ima oſſium, & extrema ſenſuum cum
"atrociſſimis cruciatibus deſcenderent. Hæc
"tormentorum

At length a few of the Strelitz, overcome by the ſeverity of the torments, or ſeduced by hopes of pardon and the promiſe of promotion, confeſſed, that it was their intention to ſet fire to the ſuburbs of Moſcow, to maſſacre all foreigners, to baniſh or aſſaſſinate the principal nobility, to raiſe the tzarovitch Alexèy to the throne, and to appoint Sophia regent during his minority; while others declared that the ringleaders had actually drawn up a petition, which they intended to preſent to that princeſs, praying her to accept the adminiſtration of affairs. CHAP. VIII.

Although none of the rebels charged Sophia with being acceſſory to their inſurrection, yet Peter was ſo prejudiced againſt her, that he put to the torture one of her female attendants; and when no evidence of her guilt could be procured by that horrid expedient, he even repaired to the nunnery of Devitz, and examined her in perſon. The princeſs, whoſe high ſpirit was ſubdued by her misfortunes *, and worn out by a long confinement, could not refrain from weeping at the ſight of her obdurate brother, and ſhe even extorted tears from Peter himſelf, though without melting his reſentment †. But neither this, nor every other effort that was employed to convict her, was attended with ſucceſs; and the only proof of her carrying on a ſecret correſpondence with the rebels was derived from the confeſſion of a boy belonging to an officer of the Strelitz, who declared, that letters encloſed in loaves of bread had paſſed between Sophia and his maſter ‡.

" tormentorum viciſſitudo unâ & alterâ vice " repetebatur. Horrenda viſu, & auditu " tragœdia. Ultra triginta in aperti campi " planitie funeſtiſſimi collucebant ignes, ubi " miſerrimi inquiſiti cum ejulatu terribili " torrebantur; parte ex alia reſonabant cru- " deliſſimi flagrorum ictus, ut ex jucundiſſimâ " terræ viciniâ ſæviſſima hominum carnificina " facta ſit." Diarium Itineris in Moſcoviam, &c. p. 162.

* " Quorundam pertinaciâ demum victa." Korb.

† " Ad monaſterium Neo-virginum diſ- " ceſſit tzarus, ut ſororem ſuam Sophiam, " dicto monaſterio incluſam examinaret; " publice enim nuperi tumultus vulgo rea ha- " bebatur: primus utriuſque introitus uber- " rimas amborum lacrymas exciviſſe dicitur." Korb.

‡ Gordon, vol. I. p. 129—130.

BOOK III.

The latter, however, peremptorily denied the fact even upon the rack; and he was led to execution perſiſting to the laſt moment in this aſſeveration. The caſe ſeems to be, that the innovations of Peter created a large number of malcontents; that the introduction of the European diſcipline, and the partiality which he ſhowed to the foreign regiments, inflamed the diſaffection of the Strelitz to ſuch a degree as to account for their rebellion, without the ſuppoſition of any cabals on the part of Sophia; that this princeſs had long been the object of affection to all the enemies of Peter, and was naturally the perſon to whom they would have conſigned the adminiſtration of affairs, if the revolt had been attended with ſucceſs.

Peter was ſo greatly exaſperated againſt Sophia, that he had once determined to put her to death; but, having changed his reſolution, he compelled her to aſſume the veil. In order to ſtrike her with terror, and to announce to the public that he thought her privy to the rebellion, two hundred and thirty Strelitz were hanged within ſight of the nunnery in which ſhe was confined; and three of the ringleaders were ſuſpended upon a gibbet erected cloſe* to the window of her apartment: they held in their hands petitions ſimilar to that which, according to the confeſſion juſt mentioned, was to have been preſented to Sophia.

From this period hiſtory is ſilent in relation to Sophia: ſhe was confined under a ſtrict guard in the monaſtery until her death, which happened in the month of July, 1704. She was interred in the church of the convent; the tomb is covered with a black cloth, and contains the following inſcription: "A. M. 7212 (or 1704 of the Chriſtian æra) on the

* Gordon, p. 95—130.

Korb, who ſaw them hanging, ſays, "Tam prope ad ipſas Sophiani cubiculi "feneſtras, ut Sophia eoſdem manu facile "poſſet attingere."

On this occaſion above 2000 Strelitz ſuffered capital puniſhment. Peter broke at the ſame time the whole body of Strelitz, and aboliſhed their name.

"third

CHAP. VIII.

" third of July * died Sophia Alexiefna, aged 46 years, nine " months and ſix days: her monaſtick name was Suſanna. " She had been a nun five years, eight months and twelve " days: ſhe was buried the 4th in this church, called the " Image of Smolenſko. She was daughter of Alexèy Mi- " chaelovitch, and of Maria Ilinitchna," &c.

Although Peter always ſuſpected the intrigues of his ſiſter, yet he never failed paying a juſt tribute to her genius and abilities. " What a pity," he was frequently heard to ſay, " that ſhe perſecuted me in my minority, and that I cannot " repoſe any confidence in her: otherwiſe, when I am em- " ployed abroad, ſhe might govern at home †."

One ſtriking feature in Sophia's character, which I had no opportunity of mentioning, while my inquiry was chiefly confined to her political conduct, muſt not be omitted in this place. She deſerves the veneration of poſterity for the patronage which ſhe afforded to perſons of genius and learning, and for encouraging, by her own example, the introduction of polite literature into Ruſſia, then plunged in the deepeſt ignorance. At a period, when there was no national theatre, and when the loweſt buffooneries, under the name of *moralities*, were the ſole dramatick repreſentations even at court; this elegant princeſs tranſlated the *Medecin malgré lui* of Moliere into her native tongue, and performed one of the characters herſelf. She alſo compoſed a tragedy, probably the firſt extant in the Ruſſian language; and ſhe compoſed it at a time, when the moſt violent cabals were excited againſt her miniſtry, and when the moſt weighty affairs ſeemed to engroſs her ſole attention.

* O. S. the 14th, N. S.

† This anecdote, which I received from a Ruſſian nobleman of great diſtinction, is confirmed by the following paſſage in Perry's State of Ruſſia. " I remember, that upon a " certain occaſion, when mention was made " of her [i. e. Sophia], the czar himſelf gave " her this character, that ſhe was a princeſs " endowed with all the accompliſhments of " body and mind to perfection, had it not " been for her boundleſs ambition and in- " ſatiable deſire of governing." Vol. I. p. 138.

TRAVELS

INTO

RUSSIA.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

Departure from Moſcow.—*Arrival at* Tver.—*Hiſtory and deſcription of that town.*—*Productions of the neighbouring country.*—*Quadrupeds.*—*Birds.*—*Fiſh.*—*Deſcription of the* Sterlet.—*Continuation of the journey.*—Torſhok.—Viſhnèi-Voloſhok.—Valdai *hills and lake.*—Bronitza.—*Wooden road, how formed.*—*Further account of the peaſants.*—*Their cottages, manners and cuſtoms.*—*Of the* Yamſhics, *who furniſh poſt horſes.*—*Singing extremely common among the* Ruſſians.—*On the ſubject of their ſongs*, &c. &c.

BOOK IV. WE quitted Moſcow on the 14th of September, and traverſed a gently riſing country, ſome part of it open, and the reſt overſpread with foreſts. We paſſed the night at the ſmall village of Parſki, as uſual, in a peaſant's cottage, and changed

changed horſes the next morning at Klin, ſituated upon the Seſtra, a broad rivulet; this village had been lately burnt, and the peaſants were engaged in rebuilding their huts: near it we obſerved a ſaw pit, which, in this country, was too curious an object not to attract our notice. Beyond Savidof we croſſed a ſmall river, and ſoon afterwards reached the banks of the Volga, which we coaſted to Gorodna. The next morning the ſprings of our carriage being ready to ſtart, and one of the wheels being in a crazy ſtate, we ſent it on ſlowly, under the care of our ſervants, and hired for ourſelves the carts of the country, called *kibitkis*, which we filled with hay, and arrived, after a conſiderable degree of jolting, at Tver, which is magnificently ſituated upon the elevated banks of the Volga. CHAP. I.

Tver * owes its origin to Vlodimir Georgivitch great-duke of Volodimir, who in 1182 raiſed a ſmall fortreſs upon the point where the Tvertza falls into the Volga, in order to protect his territories againſt the incurſions of the inhabitants of Novogorod. Afterwards, in 1240, the great-duke Yaroſlaf II. built another citadel upon the ſpot now occupied by the preſent fortreſs, and laid the foundation of a new town, which ſoon encreaſed in population and wealth to ſo great a degree, as to become the metropolis of an independent ſovereignty, called from the town the duchy of Tver. Yaroſlaf III. ſon of Yaroſlaf II. and brother of Alexander Nevſki, received this duchy as his inheritance, and tranſmitted the ſucceſſion to a long train of deſcendants. The laſt ſovereign of this hereditary line was Michael Boriſovitch, whoſe ſiſter Maria was married to the great-duke Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. The harmony which had for ſome time ſubſiſted between theſe two neighbouring princes was at firſt ſtrengthened by this alliance; but in the courſe of a few years, either mutual jealouſies, or the ambitious views of Ivan, produced an open rupture; and in 1486 the latter

* See Hiſt. Geog. Beſchreibung der Stadt Twer, &c. Journ. Pet. for November, 1780.

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beſieged Tver with a large army. Michael, unable to reſiſt ſo formidable an antagoniſt, abandoned the town, and fled into Lithuania, where he died in extreme indigence. Upon his retreat the inhabitants ſurrendered Tver to Ivan Vaſſilievitch, who beſtowed it and the duchy as a fief upon his eldeſt ſon Ivan; that prince dying in 1490, the great-duke annexed the duchy to his other dominions in the form of a province, and it has never been again diſmembered.

Tver is divided into the old and new town: the former, ſituated on the oppoſite ſide of the Volga, conſiſts almoſt entirely of wooden cottages; the latter, about fifteen years ago, was, a few buildings excepted, ſcarcely ſuperior; but being, in 1763, fortunately deſtroyed by a dreadful conflagration, it has riſen with luſtre from its aſhes. The empreſs was no ſooner informed of this calamity, than ſhe ordered a regular and beautiful plan of a new town to be ſketched by an eminent architect, and enjoined, that all the houſes ſhould be re-conſtructed in conformity to this model. She raiſed, at her own expence, the governor's houſe, the biſhop's palace, the courts of juſtice, the new-exchange, the priſon, and ſeveral other publick edifices: and offered to every perſon, who would engage to build an houſe with brick, a loan of £300. for twelve years without intereſt. The money advanced by her majeſty upon this occaſion amounted to £60,000; and ſhe has ſince remitted one third of this ſum. The ſtreets, which are broad and long, iſſue in a ſtraight line from a ſquare, or rather an octagon, in the center: the houſes of this octagon and of the principal ſtreets are of brick ſtuccoed white, and form a very magnificent appearance. Part only of the new town, when we paſſed through it, was finiſhed; when it is completed, it will conſiſt of two octagons, with ſeveral ſtreets leading to them, and interſecting each other at right angles, and would be

be no inconſiderable ornament to the moſt opulent and civilized country. CHAP. I.

There is an eccleſiaſtical ſeminary at Tver, which is under the iuſpection of the biſhop, and admits 600 ſtudents. In 1776 the empreſs inſtituted a ſchool for the inſtruction of 200 burghers' children: they are taught to read, write, and caſt accounts, and a few of them are trained to handicraft trades. In June, 1779, an academy was alſo opened in this town, for the education of the young nobility of the province, at the charge of the ſame imperial patroneſs. It admits 120 ſtudents; who are inſtructed in foreign languages, arithmetick, geography, fortification, tacticks, natural philoſophy, muſick, riding, dancing *, &c.

Tver is a place of conſiderable commerce; and both the Volga and the Tvertza were covered with boats. It owes its principal trade to its advantageous ſituation, being near the conflux of thoſe two rivers, along which are conveyed all the goods and merchandize ſent by water from Siberia and the ſouthern provinces towards Peterſburgh.

The Volga, the largeſt river in Europe, riſes in the foreſt of Volkonſki, about the diſtance of eighty miles from Tver, and begins to be navigable a few miles above the town. It is there about the breadth of the Thames at Henley, but exceedingly ſhallow; it is, however, conſiderably increaſed by the junction of the Tverza, which is broader, deeper, and more rapid. By means of the Tverza, a communication is made between the Volga and the Neva, or, in other words, between the Caſpian and the Baltic, as will be explained in a future chapter. The number of barges which paſſed by the town in 1776 amounted to 2537; in 1777 to 2641; and the average number is generally computed at about 2550. The boats are flat-bottomed on account of the frequent ſhoals

* Ibid.

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in the Volga, and other rivers which compoſe this long inland navigation. They are conſtructed with new planks, which ſhrink and leave wide intervals, that are ſometimes filled up with thin ſlips of wood cramped with iron, and not unfrequently ſtopped with tow. The rudders of theſe veſſels have a very ſingular appearance: the handle is a tree about 50 feet long; at the further end whereof is a pole which deſcends perpendicularly to the water, where it is fixed to a broad piece of timber, which floats upon the ſurface. The pilot ſtands upon a kind of ſcaffold at the diſtance of about 30 or 40 feet from the ſtern, and turns the rudder by means of its long handle. Theſe boats are only built for one voyage; for, upon their arrival at Peterſburgh, they are taken to pieces and ſold for fuel.

I have already had occaſion to mention the prodigious waſte of wood ariſing from the prevailing cuſtom of forming planks with the axe. This practice, extremely detrimental to the foreſts of the empire, was no leſs uſual among the ſhipwrights than among the peaſants; and the former, either from ignorance, or prejudice, could only be reconciled to the uſe of the ſaw by the following expedient. Orders were iſſued from government, that each veſſel, paſſing by Tver, in which there was one plank faſhioned with the hatchet, ſhould pay a fine of £6. In conſequence of this decree the officer, who was ſent to levy the fine, collected the firſt year £6000; the ſecond £1500; the third £100; and the fourth nothing. By this judicious regulation the uſe of the ſaw has been introduced among the Ruſſian ſhipwrights, and will probably in time recommend itſelf to the carpenters and peaſants.

The riſing ſpirit of commerce has added greatly within theſe few years to the wealth and population of the town. It contains at preſent at leaſt 10,000 ſouls; and the number of inhabitants in the government of Tver has increaſed in a very

very ſurpriſing degree; a circumſtance which ſhews the advantages ariſing from her preſent majeſty's new code of laws. Tver was the firſt province of this empire which was newly modelled according to that code; and it has already experienced the beneficial effects of theſe excellent regulations. CHAP. I.

Tver being a large town, we concluded that we ſhould find no difficulty in obtaining the neceſſary repairs for our carriage, ſo as to enable it to carry us two or three days at leaſt without requiring any further aſſiſtance. Truſting, therefore, to the workmanſhip of a Ruſſian ſmith, we ſet off about ſix in the evening with the expectation of reaching the next poſt, where we purpoſed to paſs the night, in about four hours; but we had ſcarcely proceeded ten miles, before we perceived that the wheel, inſtead of being ſtrengthened, had been weakened by the ſmith's unſkilfulneſs, and ſeemed every inſtant in danger of coming to pieces. In this ſituation we ſtopped at a ſmall village, where it was not poſſible to procure any accommodation, not even a candle to ſmear the wheel, which required a conſtant ſupply of greaſe to prevent it from taking fire; and as the next place in our route, likely to afford a new wheel, was above ſixty miles diſtant, we thought it moſt prudent to return to Tver. I conſoled myſelf readily for this delay, as it gave us an opportunity to pay more attention to the town and its environs than our tranſient ſtay had hitherto permitted us. We took up our abode at the ſame houſe we had juſt quitted: it was an inn kept by a German, and was one of the new magnificent brick edifices lately conſtructed, but almoſt totally without furniture or beds.

On the following day we made an agreeable excurſion into the adjacent country: we firſt croſſed the Volga over a bridge of boats, and the Tvertza over a raft, and rode between the banks of thoſe two beautiful rivers. We then left the Volga to purſue its courſe towards the Caſpian Sea, watering, as it paſſes,

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paſſes, ſome of the moſt fertile provinces of Ruſſia, and bathing the walls of Caſan and Aſtracan; and we made a circuit in the environs of Tver: we frequently ſtopped to admire ſeveral delightful views of the new town magnificently ſeated upon the ſteep bank of the Volga, the country gently ſloping towards the river.

Tver lies in the midſt of a large plain, interſpered here and there with gentle acclivities, which can hardly be called hills; the country produces in great abundance wheat, rye, barley, oats, buck-wheat, hemp and flax, and all ſorts of vegetables. Its foreſts yield oak, birch, alder, poplar, mountain-aſh, pines and firs, junipers, &c. The quadrupeds, which rove in the neighbouring country, are elks, bears, wolves, and foxes; wild-goats, hares, and rabbits; alſo badgers, martens, weaſels, ermines, ferrets, ſquirrels, and marmottes, &c. The principal birds obſerved in this diſtrict are eagles and falcons, cranes, herons, ſwans, wild geeſe and ducks, partridges, quails, woodcocks and ſnipes, black-game, alſo crows and ravens, magpies and black-birds, ſparrows and ſtarlings, together with nightingales, linnets, larks and yellow-hammers. The fiſh which are caught in the Volga are ſalmon, ſterlet, tench, pike, perch, groundlings, gudgeons, and ſometimes, but rarely, ſturgeon and beluga.

The ſterlet being a very uncommon fiſh, and probably peculiar to the northern parts of the globe, I am induced to give a deſcription of it, and to enumerate the principal rivers of Ruſſia in which it is found. The ſterlet, the *acipenſer ruthenus* of Linnæus, is a ſpecies of ſturgeon, and is highly eſteemed for the flavour and delicacy of its fleſh, and for its row, from which the fineſt caviare is made. It is diſtinguiſhed from the other ſturgeons by its inferior ſize *, being ſeldom

* This deſcription is chiefly taken from Lepekin's Reiſe, in his account of the fiſhery of Sinbirſk upon the Volga, vol. II. p. 154.

more than three * feet in length, and by its colour. The top of the head and the back are of a yellowiſh grey; the ſides of the body whitiſh, and the belly white mixed with roſe-colour, eſpecially towards the mouth and vent. The eyes are of a ſky-blue, encircled with white. The ſnout is long and pointed, compreſſed and fluited. The mouth is tranſverſe with thick prominent lips, which it has the power of drawing inwards, with a beard, conſiſting of four ſmall and ſoft *cirrhi*, or wattles. It has five rows of pointed bony imbricated ſcales, one upon its back, two along its ſides, and two under its belly. The row upon its back begins from the neck and reaches to the dorſal fin. Their number †, by which Linnæus aſcertains the ſpecies, and fixes at 15, varies from 14 to 17. The two ſide rows begin from the upper angle of the gill-covers, and reach to the middle of the tail: their form is flat in the middle, with dentated margins turning towards the tail; their number varies from 60 to 70. The two rows, which lie under the belly, begin from the pectoral and reach towards the ventral fins: they are four-ſided, much ſmaller than thoſe upon the back, and thicker than thoſe on the ſides. Beſide theſe five rows, there are alſo ſome adipous bony-ſcales between the tail and the vent; their number is invariably five. The reſt of the ſkin is totally without ſcales, but is extremely rough to the touch. It has, like moſt other fiſh, two pectoral fins, two ventral, one anal, one dorſal, and its tail is forked ‡. Many authors have erred in ſuppoſing this fiſh to be peculiar to the

* Mr. Pallas ſays, that the ſterlets of the Irtiſh are, next to thoſe of the Oby, the largeſt in Ruſſia, being frequently "ueber "anderthalb ellen long," or an ell and an half long. By an ell, I ſuppoſe, is meant an arſhime = 26 inches, and then the length of theſe will be 3 feet 1 inch. See Pallas' Reiſe. Part II, p. 446. Lepekin ſays, that the ſterlets of the Volga are ſeldom more than two feet in length.

† Acipenſer Ruthenus cirris 4. ſquamis dorſalibus 15. Muſ. Fred. I. p. 54. and Faun. Sue. 272.—In the Syſt. Nat. p. 403, he defines it, Acipenſer ordinibus 5. ſquamarum oſſearum, intermedio oſſiculis 15.

‡ The reader will find an engraving of the ſterlet in the Muſeum Fred. I. of Linnæus, in Le Bruyn's Travels, vol. I. p. 89; and in Lepekin's Reiſe, Tab. 9.

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Volga and the Caſpian ſea; for they frequent many other rivers, lakes, and ſeas, of the Ruſſian empire. Muller informs us, that they are caught in the Dnieper, and ſeveral rivers falling into the Frozen Ocean, particularly the Lena *. Lange aſſerts, that they are found in the Yeniſei; Pallas deſcribes them as inhabiting the Irtiſh, Oby, and Yaik; Georgi mentions them among the fiſh of the lake Baikal, and ſometimes in the Angara.—We learn from Linnæus, that by order of Frederic I. king of Sweden, ſome live ſterlets, procured from Ruſſia, were thrown into the lake Mæler, where they propagated †. They have been ſometimes caught in the Gulf of Finland, and even in the Baltick; yet they are ſuppoſed not to have been natives of thoſe ſeas, but ſtray fiſh, which eſcaped from ſome veſſels that were beat to pieces in paſſing the falls of the river Maſta ‡.

Sept. 19. Having obtained the valuable acquiſition of a new wheel, we proceeded on our journey in the afternoon, and were enabled to reach, before the cloſe of the evening, Torſhok, which is ſituated upon the banks of the Tvertza. It is a large ſtraggling place, conſiſting chiefly of wooden buildings, intermixed with a few publick ſtructures and houſes of brick, lately erected at the empreſs's expence.

Although Torſhok was only forty miles diſtant from Tver, we eſteemed it a fortunate circumſtance that, during that ſpace, no accident had happened to our carriage. But we were not ſo ſucceſsful on the enſuing day; for the axle-tree breaking about ſix miles from Vidropuſk, we walked to that village;

* S. R. G. IX. p. 4. Haygold's Ruſsland, vol. II. p. 416. Pallas Reiſe, P. I. p. 284. P. II. p. 446. Georgi Reiſe, vol. I. p. 177.

† Habitat in lacu Mælero, quem potentiſſimus Rex Sueciæ Fredericus I. ex Ruſſiâ allatum in hoc lacu plantari curavit. Faun. Sue. No. 272.

‡ Bruce relates, in his Memoirs, that "ſome veſſels going for Peterſburgh with live "fiſh, called Sterlit, in paſſing the falls of "Ladoga were beat to pieces, by which ac- "cident the fiſh regained their liberty; and "ſome of them were afterwards taken at "Cronſtadt, and one catched at Stockholm, "which were conſidered as great curioſities, "as none of them had ever been ſeen in thoſe "ſeas before." p. 112.

and having procured a temporary axle-tree to ſupport our infirm vehicle, we again proceeded in *kibitkis* as far as Viſhnei-Voloſhok, a place remarkable for the canal, which, by uniting the Tvertza and the Maſta, connects the inland navigation between the Caſpian and the Baltick.

Viſhnei-Voloſhok, one of the imperial villages enfranchiſed by the empreſs, and endowed with conſiderable privileges, has already reaped many benefits from its new immunities. The inhabitants, raiſed from the ſituation of ſlaves to that of freemen, ſeem to have ſhaken off their former indolence, and to have caught a new ſpirit of emulation and induſtry: they have turned their attention to trade; and are awakened to a ſenſe of the commercial advantages poſſeſſed by the place of their abode. The town is divided into regular ſtreets, and is already provided with a large range of ſhops and warehouſes, which line each ſide of the canal. All the buildings are of wood, excepting the court of juſtice erected at the charge of the empreſs, and four brick houſes belonging to a rich burgher. During our ſtay at Viſhnei-Voloſhock, we did not fail to examine, with great attention, every part of the celebrated canal, of which an account will be given in a future chapter *.

Having procured a new axle tree, we quitted on the 21ſt Viſhnei-Voloſhok, croſſed the river Shlina, and continued along a timber road, carried over extenſive moraſſes, and abounding with innumerable ſmall bridges, without railing, and moſtly in a ſhattered ſtate. I obſerved ſeveral villages, as well as fields and gardens, ſurrounded with wooden paliſadoes, about twelve feet in height, which preſented a pictureſque appearance. This cuſtom of encircling villages in this country with ſtakes is very antient: for among the earlieſt laws of Ruſſia we find one which enjoins † the peaſants, under pain

* On the inland navigation of Ruſſia in the next volume.

† Haygold, vol. I. p. 357.

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of the knoot, to ſurround the towns and villages with paliſadoes. Theſe encloſures were probably intended as a kind of defence againſt the deſultory incurſions of the Tartar hordes before the invention of gunpowder; and the practice has been preſerved, though no longer of uſe, among a people remarkably tenacious of old uſages.

The country continued for ſome way a bog, covered with foreſt, and the villages were built upon eminences of ſand riſing out of the moraſs. We paſſed the night at Kholiloff, a ſmall village, which had alſo lately been conſumed by fire. We need not wonder at theſe repeated inſtances of conflagration which ſo frequently occur in this country, when we conſider that the cottages are built with wood, and that the greateſt part of the peaſants, like thoſe in Poland, uſe, inſtead of candles, long ſlips of lighted deal, which they carry about the houſe, and even into hay-lofts, without the leaſt precaution. The next morning, the bad roads having ſhattered our new wheel, which was aukwardly put together, and began already to diſplay ſymptoms of premature decay, we ſtopped to repair: but the repairs were as treacherous as the original fabrick; for, before the end of the ſtage, it again came to pieces, and we were again delayed ſome hours at Yedrovo before we could venture to continue our journey, when we thought ourſelves bleſſed with the aſſiſtance of a very maſterly mechanick, as his workmanſhip laſted to Zimagor, a ſmall village, prettily ſituated upon the borders of the lake Valdai. The country around Valdai is the moſt agreeable and diverſified we traverſed ſince our departure from Moſcow. It riſes agreeably into a variety of gentle eminences, and abounds with beautiful lakes, prettily ſprinkled with woody iſlands, and ſkirted with foreſt, corn-fields, and paſtures. The largeſt of theſe lakes is called Valdai, and ſeemed to be about twenty-miles in circumference: in the middle is an iſland containing a convent, which

which riſes with its numerous ſpires among cluſters of ſurrounding trees. Valdai, which gives its name to the lake, and to the range of hills in the midſt of which it is ſituated, contains ſeveral new brick-buildings; and even the wooden houſes are more decorated than the generality of Ruſſian cottages: it lies upon an agreeable ſlope, and commands a pleaſant view of the lake. The Valdai hills, though of no conſiderable elevation, are the higheſt in this part of the country; and ſeparate the waters which flow towards the Caſpian from thoſe which make towards the Baltick. From their foot, there was no longer a beautiful diverſity of hills and dales, enlivened with lakes; but the country preſented, for a conſiderable way, an uniform flat, with a vaſt extent of moraſs.

On the 24th, in the afternoon, we arrived in good time at Bronitza, a village upon the Maſta, within twenty miles of Novogorod. We took up our abode for the night in the houſe of a Ruſſian prieſt, which in no wiſe differed from the other buildings either in ſize or goodneſs. It was very clean, however, and comfortable, having a chimney and being provided with a large plenty of wooden and earthen utenſils. The prieſt, not being attired in his clerical habits, was dreſſed like the peaſants, and was only diſtinguiſhed from them by his hair, which hung looſe over his ſhoulders to a conſiderable length. He, his wife, and the reſt of the family, were buſily employed in extracting the row from large quantities of fiſh, which are caught in the Maſta, and with which an excellent caviare is prepared. Having procured from our landlady ſome of the choiceſt of theſe fiſh, and having purveyed in the village, by means of our ſervant, a brace of ptarmigans, a bird of the partridge ſpecies, we ſauntered out, while ſupper was preparing, towards a neighbouring hill, which ſtrongly attracted our attention.

About two miles from the village, in the middle of a vaſt

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plain, riſes an inſulated hill of a circular form, a compound of ſand and clay; the lower part, and upwards, to about half its height, is thickly ſtrewed with detached pieces of red and grey granite, ſimilar to many others which make their appearance about the adjacent country. I meaſured one of theſe maſſes, and found it to be twelve feet broad, eight thick, and five above the ſurface of the ground, but how deep it was buried I could not aſcertain. Naturaliſts greatly differ concerning the origin of theſe granitical maſſes, and by what means they were thus diffuſed about the face of the earth. Some conjecture, that they were brought and left there by the waters; others ſuppoſe them to have originally made parts of the primitive rocks which exiſted in many places of the globe, and which by lapſe of time, or by violent convulſions, have crumbled or been broken to pieces, and have left every where theſe vaſt fragments as monuments of their prior exiſtence *.

Upon the ſummit of this hill is a brick white-waſhed church, which is a pleaſing object from the adjacent grounds. From its top we had a very ſingular and extenſive proſpect. Immediately at its foot the country, for three or four miles, is ſomewhat open, and divided into large encloſures of paſture and corn. Towards the ſouth riſe the Valdai hills, ſkirting an immenſe plain, which ſtretches towards the north, eaſt, and weſt, as far as the eye can reach; a vaſt expanſe without a ſingle hillock to obſtruct the view: it ſeemed little more than an endleſs foreſt, dotted with a few ſolitary wooden villages, which appeared ſo many points in a boundleſs deſert. Beyond, at a great diſtance, we obſerved the ſpires of Novogorod, and the lake Ilmen ſcarcely diſcernible through the thick gloom of the trees.

* See ſome curious conjectures upon theſe granite ſtones of Bronitza, in Pallas's Travels; and alſo in Hiſtoire des Decouvertes dans pluſieurs contrées de la Ruſſie, &c. Vol. I. p. 42, &c.

The

The forwardneſs of the harveſt in this northern climate has been already mentioned*: it had been ſome time taken in, and the new corn was already ſpringing up in many places: that vegetable remains, during winter, buried under the ſnow; at the melting of which, in ſpring, it ſhoots up ſpeedily in theſe countries, where vegetation, upon the returning warmth of the ſeaſon, is very quick in all its operations. But as the ſhortneſs of the ſummer does not always allow the grain time to ripen, the peaſants uſe the following method of drying it. They conſtruct a wooden building, ſomewhat ſimilar to the ſhell of their common cottages, without windows, and with only a ſmall door: under this ſtructure is a large cavity, in which, a fire being made, the new-cut corn, in the ear, is laid upon the floor and dried; it is then hung upon frames in the open air, and afterwards threſhed.

In this part of our journey we paſſed by numberleſs herds of oxen, moving towards Peterſburgh for the ſupply of that capital. Moſt of them had been brought from the Ukraine, the neareſt part of which country is diſtant 800 miles from the metropolis. During this long progreſs the drivers ſeldom enter any houſe; they ſtop to feed their cattle upon the ſlips of paſture which lie on each ſide of the road; and they themſelves have no other covering in bad weather but what is afforded by the foliage of the trees. In the evening the ſtill ſilence of the country was interrupted by the occaſional lowing of the oxen, and the carols of the drivers, while the ſolitary gloom of the foreſt was enlivened by the glare of numerous fires, ſurrounded by different groups of herdſmen in various attitudes; ſome were ſitting round the flame, ſome employed in dreſſing their proviſions, and others ſleeping upon the bare ground. They reſembled, in their dreſs and manners, a rambling horde of Tartars.

* P. 223.

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The route from Moſcow to Peterſburgh is continued during a ſpace of 500 miles, almoſt in a ſtraight line cut through the foreſt, and is extremely tedious: on each ſide the trees are cleared away to the breadth of forty or fifty paces; and the whole way lies chiefly through endleſs tracts of wood, only broken by villages, round which, to a ſmall diſtance, the grounds are open and cultivated.

The road is of an uniform breadth, and is formed in the following manner: trunks* of trees are laid tranſverſely in rows parallel to each other, and are bound down in the center, and at each extremity, by long poles, or beams, faſtened into the ground with wooden pegs; theſe trunks are covered with layers of boughs, and the whole is ſtrewed over with ſand or earth. When the road is new, it is remarkably good; but as the trunks decay or ſink into the ground, and as the ſand or earth is worn away or waſhed off by the rain, as is frequently the caſe for ſeveral miles together, it is broken into innumerable holes, and the jolting of the carriage over the bare timber can better be conceived than deſcribed. In many places the road may be conſidered as little elſe than a perpetual ſucceſſion of ridges; and the motion of the carriage a continual concuſſion, and much greater than I ever experienced over the rougheſt pavement.

The villages which occaſionally line this route are extremely ſimilar to each other; they uſually conſiſt of a ſingle ſtreet, with wooden cottages; a few only being diſtinguiſhed by brick houſes. The cottages in theſe parts are far ſuperior to thoſe

* Mr. Hanway makes the following curious calculation of the number of trees employed to make a road of 150 verſts, or 100 miles. "Allowing one tree with another to "be 9 inches diameter, and the length 23 "feet, and ſuppoſing the foundation and ſides "to be only half ſo many more as the bridge "is compoſed of, and the road to be 46 feet "wide, here is an expence of 2,100,000 "trees." Hanway's Travels, vol. I. p. 92.

If we extend this calculation over the whole extent of the Ruſſian empire, reaching 4000 miles in length, and take in the different croſs-roads, the expence of wood muſt be amazing; but the foreſts are alſo boundleſs and inexhauſtible.

we

we obſerved between Tolitzin and Moſcow: they ſeemed, indeed, well ſuited to a rigorous climate; and although conſtructed in the rudeſt and moſt artleſs manner, are very comfortable habitations. The ſite of each building is an oblong ſquare, which ſurrounds an open area, and, being encloſed within an high wooden wall with a penthouſe roof, looks on the outſide like a large barn. In one angle of this encloſure ſtands the houſe fronting the ſtreet of the village, with the ſtair-caſe on the outſide, and the door opening underneath the penthouſe roof. In contains one, or at moſt two rooms, one whereof is occupied by the whole family.

I have frequently had occaſion to obſerve, that beds are by no means uſual in this country; inſomuch, that in all the cottages I entered in Ruſſia, I only obſerved two, each of which contained two women at different ends with their clothes on. The family ſlept generally upon the benches, on the ground, or over the ſtove *; occaſionally men, women, and children, promiſcuouſly, without any diſcrimination of ſex or condition, and frequently almoſt in a ſtate of nature. In ſome cottages I obſerved a kind of ſhelf, about ſix or ſeven feet from the ground, carried from one end of the room to the other; to which were faſtened ſeveral tranſverſe planks, and upon theſe ſome of the family ſlept with their heads and feet occaſionally hanging down, and appearing to us, who were not accuſtomed to ſuch places of repoſe, as if they were upon the point of falling to the ground. The number of perſons thus crouded into a ſmall ſpace, and which ſometimes amounted to twenty, added to the heat of the ſtove, rendered the room intolerably warm, and produced a ſuffocating ſmell, which nothing but uſe enabled us to ſupport. This inconvenience was ſtill more diſagreeable in thoſe cottages which were not pro-

* The ſtove is a kind of brick oven; it occupies almoſt a quarter of the room, and is flat at top.

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vided with chimnies, when the ſmoke, being confined in the room, loaded the atmoſphere with additional impurities. If we opened the lattices during the night, in order to relieve us from this oppreſſion by the admiſſion of freſh air, ſuch an influx of cold wind ruſhed into the room, that we preferred the heat and effluvia to the keenneſs of theſe northern blaſts.

In the midſt of every room hangs from the cieling a veſſel of holy water, and a lamp, which is lighted only on particular occaſions. Every houſe is provided with a picture of ſome ſaint coarſely daubed upon wood, which frequently reſembles more a Calmuc idol, than the repreſentation of a human head: to this the people pay the higheſt marks of veneration. All the members of the family the moment they roſe in the morning, and before they retired to ſleep in the evening, never omitted ſtanding before the ſaint; they croſſed themſelves during ſeveral minutes upon the ſides and on the forehead; bowed very low, and ſometimes even proſtrated themſelves on the ground. Every peaſant alſo, upon entering the room, always paid his obeiſance to this object of worſhip before he addreſſed himſelf to the family.

The peaſants, in their common intercourſe, are remarkably polite to each other: they take off their cap at meeting; bow ceremoniouſly and frequently, and uſually exchange a ſalute. They accompany their ordinary diſcourſe with much action and innumerable geſtures, and are exceedingly ſervile in their expreſſions of deference to their ſuperiors: in accoſting a perſon of conſequence, they proſtrate themſelves, and even touch the ground with their heads. We were often ſtruck at receiving this kind of eaſtern homage, not only from beggars, but frequently from children, and occaſionally from ſome of the peaſants themſelves.

In the appearance of the common people, nothing ſurprized us more than the enormous thickneſs of their legs, which

we at firſt conceived to be their real dimenſions, until we were undeceived by the frequent exhibition of their bare feet, and by being admitted to their *toilets* without the leaſt ceremony. The bulk, which created our aſtoniſhment, proceeded from the vaſt quantity of coverings with which they ſwaddle their legs in ſummer, as well as in winter. Beſide one or two pair of thick worſted ſtockings, they envelop their legs with wrappers of coarſe flannel or cloth ſeveral feet in length; and over theſe they frequently draw a pair of boots, ſo large as to receive their bulky contents with the utmoſt facility. CHAP. I.

The peaſants are well clothed, comfortably lodged, and ſeem to enjoy plenty of wholeſome food. Their rye-bread, whoſe blackneſs at firſt diſguſts the eye, and whoſe ſourneſs the taſte of a delicate traveller, agrees very well with the appetite; as I became reconciled to it from uſe, I found it at all times no unpleaſant morſel, and, when ſeaſoned with hunger, it was quite delicious: they render this bread more palatable by ſtuffing it with onions and groats, carrots or green corn, and ſeaſoning it with ſweet oil. The other articles of their food I have enumerated on a former occaſion *; in this place I ſhall only obſerve that muſhrooms are ſo exceedingly common in theſe regions, as to form a very eſſential part of their proviſion. I ſeldom entered a cottage without ſeeing great abundance of them, and in paſſing through the markets, I was often aſtoniſhed at the prodigious quantity expoſed for ſale: their variety was no leſs remarkable than their number; they were of many colours, amongſt which I particularly noticed white, black, brown, yellow, green, and pink. The common drink of the peaſants is quaſs, a fermented liquor, ſomewhat like ſweet-wort, made by pouring warm water on rye or barley-meal; and deemed an excellent antiſcorbutick. They are extremely fond of whiſky, a ſpirituous liquor

* P. 226.

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diſtilled from malt, which the pooreſt can occaſionally command, and which their inclination often leads them to uſe to great exceſs.

The backwardneſs of the Ruſſian peaſants in all the mechanical arts, when compared with thoſe of the other nations of Europe, is viſible to the moſt ſuperficial obſerver. As we approached, indeed, towards Peterſburgh, and nearer the civilized parts of Europe, we could not fail to remark, that the villagers were ſomewhat more furniſhed with the conveniences of life, and ſomewhat further advanced in the knowledge of the neceſſary arts, than thoſe who fell under our notice between Tolitzin and Moſcow. The planks were leſs frequently hewn with the axe, and ſaw-pits, which we had long conſidered as objects of curioſity, oftener occurred: the cottages were more ſpacious and convenient, provided with larger windows, and generally had chimnies; they were alſo more amply ſtored with houſhold furniture, and with wooden, and ſometimes even earthen utenſils. Still, however, their progreſs towards civilization is very inconſiderable; and many inſtances of the groſſeſt barbariſm fell under our obſervation, during the daily intercourſe we neceſſarily maintained with the peaſants. One inſtance I ſhall mention, becauſe it will ſerve to ſhow into what a wretched ſtate of ignorance the common people are ſtill plunged, when even the ſmalleſt trace of ſuch immoral practices ſtill ſubſiſts amongſt them. In many families the father marries his ſon, while a boy of ſeven, eight, or nine years old, to a girl of a more advanced age, in order, as it is ſaid, to procure an able-bodied woman for the domeſtick ſervice: he cohabits with this perſon, now become his daughter-in-law, and frequently has ſeveral children by her. In my progreſs through Ruſſia, I obſerved in ſome cottages, as it were, two miſtreſſes of a family, one the peaſant's real wife, who was old enough to be his mother, and the other,

who was nominally the ſon's wife, but, in reality, the father's concubine. Theſe inceſtuous marriages, ſanctified by inveterate cuſtom, and permitted by the pariſh-prieſts, were formerly more common than they are at preſent; but as the nation becomes more refined, and the prieſts ſomewhat more enlightened, and as they have lately been diſcountenanced by government, they are daily falling into diſuſe; and it is to be hoped, will be no longer tolerated *.

Thoſe peaſants who furniſh poſt horſes are called *yamſhics*, and enjoy ſome peculiar privileges. They are obliged to ſupply all courtiers and travellers at a moſt moderate price, namely, in the deareſt parts at $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ and in many other parts at $\frac{1}{2}d.$ per verſt † for each horſe; and, in compenſation, they are exempted from the payment of the poll-tax, and from being enliſted as ſoldiers; notwithſtanding theſe immunities, the price they receive for their horſes is ſo inconſiderable that they always produce them with the greateſt reluctance. The inſtant a traveller demands a ſupply of freſh horſes, the yamſhics aſſemble in crouds, and frequently wrangle and quarrel to ſuch a degree, as to afford amuſement to a perſon who is not impatient to depart. Their ſquabbles and diſputes upon this occaſion are ſo remarkable as to have ſtruck all travellers who have given any account of this country. Chanceler, the firſt Eng-

* The truth of this fact, which fell under my own obſervation, and which I authenticated by repeated inquiries from all ranks of people, is ſtill further confirmed by the following paſſage in the Antidote to the Journey into Siberia, although the author gives another reaſon for thoſe early marriages. "The "peaſants and common people not only "marry their ſons at fourteen and fifteen "years of age, but even at eight or nine, "and that for the ſake of having a work-"woman the more in the perſon of the ſon's "wife: by the ſame rule, they try to keep "their daughters ſingle as long as poſſible, "becauſe they don't chuſe to loſe a work-"woman. Theſe premature marriages are "of very little uſe to the ſtate; for which "reaſon, methods to get the better of this "cuſtom have been ſought for, and I hope "will ſoon take place: the biſhops are at-"tentive to prevent theſe marriages as much "as poſſible, and have of late ſucceeded "greatly in their endeavours. It is only the "inhabitants of ſome of the provinces in "Ruſſia that ſtill retain this bad cuſtom." P. 323. Antidote.

† Three quarters of a mile.

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liſhman who landed at Archangel, and went from thence to Moſcow, could not fail to obſerve this circcumſtance, which equally prevailed at that period as at preſent *. "Expreſſe "commandement was given, that poſt-horſes ſhould bee gotten "for him, and the reſt of his company, without any money. "Which thing was, of all the Ruſſes in the reſt of their "journey, ſo willingly done, that they began to quarrel, yea, "and to fight alſo, in ſtriving and contending which of them "ſhould put their poſt-horſes to the ſledde."

In this deſcription, however, Chanceler has made a ludicrous miſtake; for the object of their ſquabbles was not to obtain, but to decline, the honour of furniſhing him with horſes. The ſame ſcene is frequently renewed at preſent; as I have occaſionally obſerved that an hour's unremitted altercation produced no effect, and that the poſt-maſter at length obliged the yamſhics to ſettle the intricate conteſt by drawing lots. Indeed, as I have before remarked †, it is abſolutely neceſſary for any foreigner, who wiſhes to travel with expedition, not only to be provided with a paſſport, but alſo to be accompanied with a Ruſſian ſoldier. The latter, immediately upon his arrival at the poſt-houſe, inſtead of attending to the arguments of the peaſants, or waiting for the ſlow mediation of the poſt-maſter, ſummarily decides the buſineſs by the powerful interpoſition of his cudgel. The boors, quickly *ſilenced* by this *dumb mode* of *argumentation* ‡, find no difficulty in adjuſting their pretenſions, and the horſes almoſt inſtantly make their appearance.

In our route through Ruſſia I was greatly ſurprized at the propenſity of the natives to ſinging. Even the peaſants, who acted in the capacity of coachmen and poſtilions, were no ſooner mounted than they began to warble an air, and continued it, without the leaſt intermiſſion, for ſeveral hours. But

* Hackluyt's Voyages, vol. I. p. 247. † P. 317. ‡ Argumentum Baculinum.

what ſtill more aſtoniſhed me was, that they performed occaſionally in parts; and I have frequently obſerved them engaged in a kind of muſical dialogue, making reciprocal queſtions and reſponſes, as if they were chanting (if I may ſo expreſs myſelf) their ordinary converſation. The poſtilions *ſing*, as I have juſt obſerved, from the beginning to the end of a ſtage; the ſoldiers *ſing* continually during their march; the countrymen *ſing* during the moſt laborious occupations; the public-houſes re-echo with their carols; and in a ſtill evening I have frequently heard the air vibrate with the notes from the ſurrounding villages.

An ingenious author *, long reſident in Ruſſia, and who has turned his attention to the ſtudy of the national muſick, gives us the following information upon this curious ſubject. The general muſick that prevails among the common people in Ruſſia, from the Duna to the Amoor and the Frozen Ocean, conſiſts in one ſpecies of ſimple melody, which admits of infinite variation, according to the ability of the ſinger, or the cuſtom of the ſeveral provinces in this extenſive empire. The words of the ſongs are moſtly in proſe, and often extempore, according to the immediate invention or recollection of the ſinger; perhaps an antient legend, the hiſtory of an enormous giant, a declaration of love, a dialogue between a lover and his miſtreſs, a murder, or the deſcription of a beautiful girl: ſometimes they are merely letters and ſyllables taken from ſome old accidence, metrically arranged, but ſeldom in rhyme, and adapted to this general air. Theſe latter words are chiefly uſed by mothers in ſinging to their children, while boors, at the ſame time, perform their national dance to the ſame tune, accompanied with inſtrumental muſick. I have been alſo informed, that the ſubject of the ſong frequently alludes to the

* Staehlin. See his Nachrickhten von der Muſik in Ruſsland, in Haygold's Beylagen, v. II. p. 60 to 65; where ſpecimens of this air are given.

former

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former adventures of the ſinger, or to his preſent ſituation; and that the peaſants adapt the topicks of their common diſcourſe, and their diſputes with each other, to this general air; which, altogether, forms an extraordinary effect; and led me to conjecture, as I have before expreſſed myſelf, that they chanted their ordinary converſation.

CHAP. II.

Novogorod.—*Its antiquity, power, grandeur, independence, decline, ſubjection, and downfal.—Its preſent ſtate.—Cathedral of* St. Sophia.—*Early introduction of painting into* Ruſſia.—*Price of proviſions at* Novogorod.—*Incidents of the journey to* Peterſburgh.

AT Bronitza we croſſed the Maſta upon a raft compoſed of ſeven or eight trees rudely joined together, and which ſcarcely afforded room for the carriage and two horſes. We then continued our route, through a level country, to the banks of the Volkovetz or Little Volkof, which we paſſed in a ferry; and, after mounting a gentle riſe, deſcended into the open marſhy plain of paſture, which reaches, without interruption, to the walls of Novogorod: that place, at a ſmall diſtance, exhibited a moſt magnificent appearance; and if we might judge from the great number of churches and convents, which on every ſide preſented themſelves to our view, announced our approach to a conſiderable city; but upon our entrance our expectations were by no means realized.

No place ever filled me with more melancholy ideas of fallen grandeur than the town of Novogorod. It is one of the moſt

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moſt antient cities in Ruſſia; and was formerly called *Great* Novogorod, to diſtinguiſh it from other Ruſſian towns of a ſimilar appellation *. According to Neſtor, the earlieſt of the Ruſſian hiſtorians, it was built at the ſame time with Kiof, namely, in the middle of the fifth century, by a Sclavonian horde, who, according to Procopius, iſſued from the banks of the Volga. Its antiquity is clearly proved by a paſſage in the Gothick hiſtorian, Jornandes, in which it is called Civitas Nova, or New Town †. We have little inſight into its hiſtory before the ninth century, when Ruric the firſt great-duke of Ruſſia reduced it, and made it the metropolis of his vaſt dominions. The year ſubſequent to his death, which happened in 879, the ſeat of government was removed, under his ſon Igor then an infant, to Kiof; and Novogorod continued, for above a century, under the juriſdiction of governors nominated by the great-dukes, until, in 970, Svatoſlaf, the ſon of Igor, created his third ſon Vladimir duke of Novogorod: the latter, ſucceeding his father in the throne of Ruſſia, ceded the town to his ſon Yaroſlaf, who, in 1036, granted to the inhabitants very conſiderable privileges, that laid the foundation of that extraordinary degree of liberty which they afterwards gradually obtained. From this period Novogorod was for a long time governed by its own dukes: theſe ſovereigns were at firſt ſubordinate to the great-dukes, who reſided at Kiof and Volodimir; but afterwards, as the town increaſed in population and wealth, they gradually uſurped an abſolute independency ‡.

But while they thus ſhook off the yoke of a diſtant lord, they were unable to maintain their authority over their own ſubjects. Although the ſucceſſion was allowed to continue in the ſame family; yet, as the dukes were elected by the in-

* Niſhnei Novogorod and Novogorod Severſkoi.

† Sclavini a Civitate Novâ et Sclavino Rumunenſe et lacu qui appellatur Muſianus, &c. This lake is the Ilmen, and the Civitas Nova, Novogorod. S. R. G. vol. V. p. 383.

‡ S. R. G. vol. V. p. 397.

habitants,

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habitants, they gradually bartered away, as the price of their nomination, all their moſt valuable prerogatives. They were too ſo frequently depoſed, that, for near two centuries, the liſt of the dukes reſembles more a calendar of annual magiſtrates, than a regular line of hereditary princes: and, in effect, Novogorod was a republick under the juriſdiction of a nominal ſovereign. The privileges enjoyed by the inhabitants, however unfavourable to the power of the dukes, greatly befriended the real intereſts of the town: it became the great mart of trade between Ruſſia and the Hanſeatick cities; and made the moſt rapid advances in opulence and population. At this period its dominions were ſo extenſive*, its power ſo great, and its ſituation ſo impregnable, as to give riſe to a proverb, *Quis contra Deos et Magnam Novogardiam?* Who can reſiſt the Gods and Great Novogorod?

It continued in this flouriſhing ſtate until the middle of the 15th century, when the great-dukes of Ruſſia, whoſe anceſtors had reigned over this town, and who ſtill retained the title of dukes of Novogorod, having tranferred their reſidence from Kiof to Volodimir and afterwards to Moſcow, laid claim to its feudal ſovereignty, a demand which the inhabitants ſometimes put off by compoſition, ſometimes by reſiſtance, but were ſometimes compelled to acknowledge. At length, in 1471, Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. having ſecured his dominions againſt the inroads of the Tartars, and having extended his empire by the conqueſt of the neighbouring principalities, ventured to aſſert his right to the ſovereignty of Novogorod, and enforced his pretenſions by a formidable army: he vanquiſhed the troops of the republick oppoſed to him in the field; and, having forced the citizens to acknowledge his claims, appointed a governor, who was permitted to reſide in the town, and to

* Its territory extended to the North as far as the frontiers of Livonia and Finland, and compriſed great part of the province of Archangel, and a large diſtrict beyond the north-weſtern limits of Siberia.

exerciſe

exerciſe the authority formerly veſted in their own dukes *. This power, however, being exceedingly limited, left them in the entire poſſeſſion of their moſt valuable immunities: they retained their own laws; choſe their own magiſtrates; and the governor never interfered in publick affairs except by appeal. CHAP. II.

Ivan, however, by no means contented with this limited ſpecies of government, watched a favourable opportunity of extending his authority; and, as a pretence is never wanting to a powerful aggreſſor, he, in 1477, laid ſiege to the town. His deſigns being abetted by the internal feuds and diſſentions which had long prevailed in this independent republick, the inhabitants were conſtrained to ſubſcribe to all the conditions impoſed by the haughty conqueror. The gates were thrown open; the great-duke entered the place in the character of ſovereign; and the whole body of people, tendering the oath of allegiance, delivered into his hands the charter of their liberties, which unanimity would ſtill have preſerved inviolate. One circumſtance, recorded by hiſtorians as a proof of the unconditional ſubjection of the town, was the removal of an enormous bell from Novogorod to Moſcow, denominated by the inhabitants *eternal*, and revered as the ſymbol of their liberty and the palladium of their privileges. It was ſuſpended in the market-place; its ſacred ſound drew the people inſtantly from the moſt remote parts, and tolled the ſignal of foreign danger or inteſtine tumult. The great-duke peremptorily demanded this object of publick veneration, which he called "*The larum of ſedition*;" and the inhabitants conſidered its ſurrender as the ſure prelude of departing liberty †.

* Its government was ſimilar to that of the German republicks, who acknowledge the emperor as their liege-lord, but are under the juriſdiction of their own magiſtrates.

† "Devenue ſujette," ſays L'Eveſque with great ſpirit, "elle va chaque jour perdre de "ſon domaine, de ſa population, de ſon com- "merce, des ſes richeſſes, &, dans moins "d'un ſiécle, à peine ſera-t-elle une ville "importante: tant le ſouffle du pouvoir ar- "bitraire eſt brûlant & deſtructeur." Hiſtoire de Ruſſie, Tom. II. p. 327.

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From this period the great-duke became in effect abſolute ſovereign of Novogorod, although the oſtenſible forms of its government were ſtill preſerved; in order to enſure the obedience of his new ſubjects, he tranſplanted at once above a thouſand of the principal citizens to Moſcow and other towns, and ſecured the Kremlin, in which he generally reſided when he came to Novogorod, with ſtrong walls of brick. Notwithſtanding the deſpotiſm to which the inhabitants were ſubject, and the oppreſſion which they experienced from Ivan and his ſucceſſors, yet Novogorod ſtill continued the largeſt and moſt commercial city in all Ruſſia, as will evidently appear from the following deſcription of Richard Chanceler, who paſſed through it in 1554 in his way to Moſcow. "Next "unto Moſcow, the city of Novogorode is reputed the chiefeſt "of Ruſſia; for although it be in majeſtie inferior to it, yet "in greatneſſe it goeth beyond it. It is the chiefeſt and "greateſt marte towne of all Moſcovie; and albeit the em- "peror's ſeate is not there, but at Moſco, yet the commodi- "ouſneſſe of the river, falling into that gulfe which is called "Sinus Finnicus, whereby it is well frequented by merchants, "makes it more famous than Moſco itſelf *."

An idea of its populouſneſs, during this period, when compared with its preſent declined ſtate, is manifeſt from the fact, that in 1508 above 15,000 perſons died of an epidemical diſorder †; more than double the number of its preſent inhabitants. In its moſt flouriſhing condition it contained at leaſt 400,000 ſouls ‡. Under the reign of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. the proſperity of Novogorod experienced a moſt fatal downfal, from which it never recovered: that monarch having, in 1570, diſcovered a ſecret correſpondence between ſome of the principal inhabitants and Sigiſmond Auguſtus king of Poland,

* Hackluyt, vol. I. p. 251.

† S. R. G. vol. V. p. 494.

‡ It now contains ſcarcely 7000.

relative

relative to a ſurrender of the city into his hands, inflicted the moſt exemplary and inhuman vengeance upon them. He repaired in perſon to Novogorod, and appointed a court of inquiry, juſtly denominated the *tribunal of blood*. Contemporary hiſtorians relate, that its proceedings continued during the ſpace of five weeks; and that on each day of this fatal period more than 500 inhabitants fell victims to the vengeance of incenſed deſpotiſm. According to ſome authors, 25,000, according to others, more than 30,000 perſons periſhed in this dreadful carnage. Thoſe writers, who were the tzar's enemies, have probably exaggerated the number of theſe executions; and it is but juſtice to add, that ſome * circumſtances in their relations are proved to be unqueſtionably falſe; but though we ought not to give implicit credit to all the accounts recorded by his adverſaries, yet, even by the confeſſion of his apologiſts, there ſtill remains ſufficient evidence of his ſavage ferocity in this barbarous tranſaction, which equals, if not ſurpaſſes, in cruelty, the maſſacre at Stockholm under Chriſtian II. CHAP. II.

This horrid cataſtrophe and the ſubſequent oppreſſions which the town experienced from that great though ſanguinary prince, ſo impaired its ſtrength, that it is deſcribed as a place of ruin and deſolation by Uhlfield, the Daniſh embaſſador, who ſoon afterwards paſſed through it. But although the ſplendour of this once flouriſhing town received a very conſiderable diminution, yet it was not totally obſcured until the foundation of Peterſburgh, to which favourite capital Peter

* Both foreign and Ruſſian authors relate that many of the condemned were thrown from the bridge into the river, and that perſons were placed in boats, who prevented them from eſcaping by ſwimming, but they do not conſider that this fact is ſaid to have paſſed in winter, when the rivers in Ruſſia are all frozen. L'Eveſque ſoftens this account, but without ſufficient authority, by ſaying, "Il fit ouvrir les glaces du Volkhof, "& l'on y précipitait les citoyens par centaines." Hiſt. de Ruſſie II. p. 482. Other hiſtorians relate, that he aſſembled in one ſpot the principal inhabitants of the town, that he rode amongſt them, accompanied by his ſon, and pierced the unfortunate victims of his fury with his own hands, until, fatigued with the maſſacre, he ordered his guards to complete the butchery. But ſuch exaggerated accounts do not deſerve much credit.

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the Great transferred all the commerce of the Baltick, which before centered in Novogorod.

The preſent town is ſurrounded by a rampart of earth, with a range of old towers at regular diſtances, forming a circumference of ſcarcely a mile and an half; and even this inconſiderable circle includes much open ſpace, and many houſes which are not inhabited. As Novogorod was built after the manner of the antient towns of this country in the Aſiatick ſtyle, this rampart, like that of the Semlainogorod at Moſcow, probably encloſed ſeveral interior circles: without it was a vaſt extenſive ſuburb, which reached to the diſtance of ſix miles, and included within its circuit all the convents and churches, the antient ducal palace and other ſtructures, that now make a ſplendid, but ſolitary appearance, as they lie ſcattered in the adjacent plain.

Novogorod ſtretches on both ſides of the Volkof, a beautiful river of conſiderable depth and rapidity, and ſomewhat broader than the Thames at Windſor. This river ſeparates the town into two diviſions, the Trading Part, and the Quarter of St. Sophia, which are united by means of a bridge, partly wooden, and partly brick.

The firſt diviſion, or the Trading Part, is, excepting the governor's houſe, only a rude cluſter of wooden habitations, and in no other reſpect diſtinguiſhed from the common villages, than by a vaſt number of brick churches and convents, which ſtand melancholy monuments of its former magnificence. In all parts I was ſtruck with theſe remains of ruined grandeur; while half-cultivated fields encloſed within high paliſadoes, and large ſpaces covered with nettles, atteſted its preſent deſolate condition. Towards its extremity a brick edifice, and ſeveral detached ſtructures of the ſame materials, erected at the empreſſes expence, for a manufacture of ropes and ſails, exhi-

bited a moſt ſplendid figure when contraſted with the ſurrounding wooden hovels in the town. CHAP. II.

The oppoſite diviſion, denominated the Quarter of St. Sophia, derives its appellation from the cathedral of that name, and comprehends the fortreſs or Kremlin, conſtructed for the purpoſe of curbing the inhabitants, and of preventing the frequent inſurrections occaſioned by the riſing ſpirit of oppreſſed liberty. It is of an irregularly oval form, and ſurrounded by an high brick wall, ſtrengthened with round and ſquare towers: the wall is ſimilar to that which encloſes the Kremlin at Moſcow; and was conſtructed in 1490 by the Italian architect Solarius of Milan, at the order of Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. ſoon after his conqueſt of Novogorod. The fortreſs contains the cathedral of St. Sophia, the old archiepiſcopal manſion with its ſtair-caſe on the out-ſide, part of a new palace which was not yet finiſhed, a few other brick buildings, but the remaining ſpace is a waſte, overſpread with weeds and nettles, and covered with ruins.

The cathedral of St. Sophia is probably one of the moſt antient churches in Ruſſia: it was begun in 1044 by Vladimir Yaroſlavitch duke of Novogorod, and completed in 1051 *. It was probably conſtructed ſoon after Chriſtianity was firſt propagated in Ruſſia by the Greeks, and was called St. Sophia, from the church of that name in Conſtantinople. It is a high ſquare building, with a gilded cupola, and four tin domes. We entered this venerable pile through a pair of brazen gates, ornamented with various figures in alto relievo, repreſenting the Paſſion of our Saviour, and other ſcriptural hiſtories. The prieſt informed me, that, according to tradition, theſe gates of braſs were brought from the antient town of Cherſon †, where

* S. R. G. vol. V. p. 398. A wooden church of the ſame name had been firſt conſtructed about the year 1000 by Joachim, the firſt biſhop of Novogorod, on the ſpot, where this cathedral now ſtands. Ibid. p. 394.

† Now Kerſh, in Crim Tartary.

Vladimir

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Vladimir the Great was baptized, and are ſuppoſed to be of Grecian workmanſhip: they are in conſequence of this perſuaſion called Korſunſkie Dveri, the doors of Cherſon. But if we admit the truth of this tradition, how ſhall we account for the following Latin characters, which I obſerved upon them?

p. e. WICMANNVS MEGIDEBVRGENSIS
ALEXANDER epe DEBLVCICH.
AVE MARIA GPACIA PLEHS DHS EECVGI.

The firſt part of this inſcription ſeems to prove rather, that they came from Magdeburgh in Germany; and it is a circumſtance by no means improbable, as the inhabitants of Novogorod, through their commercial connections, maintained, even in thoſe early times, a no leſs frequent intercourſe with Germany than with Greece.

In the inſide of this cathedral are twelve maſſy pillars white-waſhed, which, as well as the walls, are thickly covered with the repreſentations of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, and of various ſaints. Some of theſe paintings are of very high antiquity, and probably anterior to the revival of the art in Italy. The following reaſons induce me to adopt this opinion. Many of theſe figures are in a *hard flat ſtyle* of colouring upon a *gold ground*, and exactly ſimilar to thoſe of the Greek artiſts, by whom, according to Vaſari, painting was firſt introduced into Italy in the following manner.

Towards the latter end of the 13th century ſome Greek artiſts were invited to Florence to paint the chapel of the Gondi in that city. Although their deſign and colouring were very *hard and flat*, and they chiefly repreſented the figures on *a field of gold*; yet their productions were much admired in that ignorant century. Cimabue, who was then a boy, was ſo ſtruck with their performance, that he was accuſtomed to paſs all the time he could ſteal from ſchool in contemplating

templating the progreſs of their work. His enthuſiaſm being thus kindled, he turned his whole attention to the ſtudy of an art to which his natural genius ſeemed inclined. His firſt compoſitions had all the defects of the maſters whom he imitated; but he gradually improved as he advanced, and laid the firſt rude foundation of that aſtoniſhing excellence which the ſchools of Italy afterwards attained. CHAP. II.

As painting was thus brought into Italy from the Greek empire, when there was ſcarcely any connection between thoſe two countries, we may be well aſſured that it was introduced at a more early period into Ruſſia, from the ſame quarter; not only becauſe a conſtant intercourſe had been long maintained between the great-dukes and the emperors of Conſtantinople; and becauſe the patriarch of that city was formerly the head of the church eſtabliſhed in Ruſſia; but likewiſe becauſe the Ruſſians, being converted to Chriſtianity by the Greeks, were accuſtomed, after their example, to decorate their temples with various figures, and muſt have received from them many portraits of ſaints, which form in their religion a neceſſary part of divine worſhip. We may conclude, therefore, that the cathedral of St. Sophia, which was built in the 11th century, and is one of the moſt antient churches of Ruſſia, was neceſſarily ornamented with the figures of ſaints by ſome Greek artiſts, which the great-dukes of Novogorod drew from Conſtantinople. The daubings in queſtion, indeed, are ſo indifferent, as not to have deſerved a particular inquiry, if they had not aſſiſted in illuſtrating the progreſs of the liberal arts, and in aſcertaining the early introduction of painting into this country, at a period when it was unknown even in Italy *.

Several princes of the ducal family of Ruſſia are interred

* Jam diu pingunt Rutheni, et quis credat? ſeculo duodecimo, ſays Falconi.—See Eſſai ſur la Bib. &c. p. 19.

in

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in this cathedral. The firſt is Vladimir Yaroſlavitch, who was born in 1020, died in 1051 *, and was buried in this church, which he himſelf had founded, and juſt lived to ſee completed. Beſide his tomb, are thoſe of his mother Anne, daughter of the eaſtern emperor Romanus, his wife Alexandra, his brother Micſliſlaf, and, laſtly, of Feodor, brother of Alexander Nevſki, who died in 1228. The moſt antient of theſe ſepulchres are of carved wood gilt and ſilvered, and ſurrounded with iron rails; the others are of brick and mortar. Within the ſanctuary the walls are covered with curious Moſaick compartments, of coarſe workmanſhip, and ſeemingly very antient.

Our landlord was a German; and his inn, though ſmall, was one of the moſt commodious we had hitherto met with in Ruſſia: it was neatly furniſhed, and afforded us beds, a great article of luxury in this country, which we had no ſmall difficulty to procure even in the city of Moſcow.

By the aſſiſtance of our landlord we obtained the following liſt of the price of proviſions in theſe parts:

	s. d.	s. d.
Butcher's meat per Ruſſian pound †	1½	to 0 2
Black bread per ditto	½	
White common ditto	1	
French ditto	2	
Butter ditto	4	
Ten eggs from	1½	to 0 5
Pair of fowls from	1 3	to 1 8
Fatted gooſe	1	
Couple of wild ducks	6	
Tame ditto	1 3	
Brace of partridges	10	
Black game, cock and hen	1 6	
Hare	7½	
Quart of milk	1½	
Beſt ſpirituous liquors per quart	1 5½	

* S. R. G. vol. V. p. 399. † A Ruſſian pound = 14¾ Engliſh ounces.

Worſt

	s.	d.
Worſt ſort		8¾
Pair of peaſants leather ſhoes	1	3
Boots	4	10
Round hat	1	3
Peaſant's ſhirt, no collar or wriſtband, and very ſhort	1	3

Our coach was ſo ſhattered by the bad roads, that we thought it moſt prudent to leave it at Novogorod, and we continued our journey in the common carriages of the country, called *kibitkis*. A *kibitki* is a ſmall cart, capable of containing two perſons abreaſt, while the driver ſits upon the further extremity cloſe to the horſes' tails. It is about five feet in length, and the hinder half is covered with a ſemicircular canopy, open in front like the top of a cradle, made of laths interwoven and covered with birch or beech-bark. There is not a piece of iron in the whole machine. It has no ſprings, and is faſtened by means of wooden pins, ropes, and ſticks, to the four wheels, the boxes of which are of an extraordinary length, and project above a foot beyond the orbit of the wheels. The Ruſſians, when they travel in theſe carriages, place a feather-bed in the bottom, admirably calculated to break the intolerable jolts and concuſſions, occaſioned by the uneven timber roads. With this precaution a *kibitki*, though inferior in ſplendour, equals in comfort the moſt commodious vehicle. The traveller ſtretches himſelf at his length upon the feather-bed, and, if inclined, may doſe away the journey in perfect tranquillity. But being novices as to the beſt method of equipping this ſpecies of conveyance, we ſuffered a layer of trunks and other hard baggage to be ſubſtituted in the place of feather-beds; theſe ſubſtances, ſo much more bulky, and ſo much leſs yielding than down, obliged us either to ſit under the canopy in a ſloping poſture, or upon the narrow edge of the carriage; in the alternate enjoyment of which delectable poſitions, we paſſed twelve hours without intermiſſion, and with no refreſh-

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ment. Thoſe who have ever regaled themſelves amidſt a pile of looſe trunks and boxes in the baſket of a heavy-laden ſtage coach, over the rougheſt pavement, would eſteem that mode of conveyance luxury to what we experienced. Our impatience, however, to reach Peterſburgh beguiled in ſome meaſure the bruiſes we received from our *kibitkis* and their contents; and induced us to perſevere in our route till after ten at night, when, upon our being depoſited in a ſmall village, I had ſcarcely ſtrength remaining to crawl to ſome freſh ſtraw ſpread for our beds in the corner of an unfurniſhed inn: with the comforts of this delightful place of repoſe I was ſo enamoured, that I could not be prevailed upon to relinquiſh it even for a few minutes, for the enjoyment of an excellent ragout prepared by our ſervant, and which a conſtant faſting ſince nine in the morning tended greatly to recommend.

A tolerable night's reſt, and the proſpect of only fifty miles between us and Peterſburgh, induced us to reaſſume our former ſtations, and to brave a repetition of our fatigue.

The country we paſſed through was ill calculated to alleviate our ſufferings by transferring our attention from ourſelves to the objects around us. Excepting the environs of Novogorod, which were tolerably open, the road made of timber, as deſcribed on a former occaſion, and as ſtraight as an arrow, ran through a perpetual foreſt, without the leaſt intermixture of hill or dale, and with but few ſlips of cultivated ground. Through the dreary extent of 110 miles, the gloomy uniformity of the foreſt was only broken by a few ſolitary villages at long diſtances from each other, without the intervention of a ſingle houſe. Itchora, the laſt village at which we changed horſes, though but 20 miles from the capital, was ſmall and wretched, and the adjacent country as inhoſpitable and unpeopled as that we had already paſſed. About ten miles from Itchora we ſuddenly turned to the right, and the ſcene inſtantaneouſly

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Thos. Kitchin Senr. Sculpt.

ſtantaneouſly brightened: the woods gave way to cultivation; the country began to be enlivened with houſes; the inequalities of the timber road were ſucceeded by the level of a ſpacious cauſeway equal to the fineſt turnpikes of England; the end of each verſt* was marked with ſuperb mile-ſtones of granite and marble; and a long avenue of trees was cloſed at the diſtance of a few miles with a view of Peterſburgh, the object of our wiſhes, and the termination of our labours. CHAP. II.

* Throughout all the high roads of Ruſſia, each verſt (or three quarters of a mile) is marked by a wooden poſt, about twelve feet in height, painted red.

CHAP. III.

Juſtification of Peter the Great *for transferring the ſeat of empire from* Moſcow *to* St. Peterſburgh.—*Deſcription of the new metropolis.—Its foundation and progreſs.—Circumference and population.—Inundations of the* Neva.—*Remarkable flood in the year* 1777.—*Bridge of pontoons.—Plan for a bridge of a ſingle arch acroſs the* Neva.—Coloſſal *ſtatue of* Peter the Great.—*Account of the pedeſtal, and of its conveyance to* Peterſburgh.—*General obſervations on the weather at* St. Peterſburgh *during the winter of* 1778.—*Precautions againſt the cold.—Diverſions and winter ſcenes upon the* Neva.—*Ice-hills.—Annual fair upon its frozen ſurface.*

SAINT Peterſburgh is ſituated in the latitude of 59° 26′ 23″ north, and longitude 30° 25′ eaſt, from the firſt meridian of Greenwich. It ſtands upon the Neva, near the Gulf of Finland, and is built partly upon ſome iſlands in the mouth of that river, and partly upon the continent. Its principal

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diviſions are as follow: 1. The Admiralty quarter; 2. The Vaſſili Oſtrof *; 3. The fortreſs; 4. The Iſland of St. Peterſburgh; and 5. The various ſuburbs, called the ſuburbs of Livonia, of Moſcow, of Alexander Nevſki, and of Wiburgh. Their peculiar ſituation, with reſpect to each other, will be better explained by the annexed plan of the town, than by the moſt elaborate deſcription.

Peter the Great has incurred conſiderable cenſure for transferring the ſeat of empire from Moſcow to Peterſburgh: it has been urged, with ſome degree of plauſibility, that he was in effect more an Aſiatick than an European ſovereign; that Moſcow, lying nearer to the center of his dominions, was better calculated for the imperial reſidence; and that, by removing his capital, he neglected the interior provinces, and ſacrificed every other conſideration to his predilection for the ſettlements upon the Baltick.

But it by no means appears, that although Peterſburgh was thus ſituated at the extremity of Ruſſia, that therefore he neglected any other part of his vaſt dominions. On the contrary, he was no leſs attentive to his Aſiatick than to his European provinces: his repeated negotiations with the Chineſe, his campaigns againſt the Turks, and his conqueſt of the Perſian provinces which border upon the Caſpian, prove the truth of this aſſertion. It is no leſs obvious, that Europe was the quarter from whence the greateſt danger to his throne impended, that the Swedes were his moſt formidable enemies, and that from them the very exiſtence of his empire was threatened with annihilation. It was not by leading his troops againſt the deſultory bands of Turks or Perſians, that he was able to acquire a ſolid military force; but by training them to endure the firm attack of regular battalions, and to learn to conquer at laſt by repeated defeats: with this deſign, the nearer he fixed

* Oſtrof ſignifies Iſland.

his

his ſeat to the borders of Sweden, whoſe veterans had long been the terror of the north, the more readily his troops would imbibe their military ſpirit, and learn, by encountering them, their well-regulated manœuvres. Add to to this, that the protection of the new commerce, which he opened through the Baltick, depended upon the creation and maintenance of a naval force, which required his immediate and almoſt continual inſpection. To this circumſtance alone is owing the rapid and reſpectable riſe of the Ruſſian power, its preponderance in the north, and its political importance in the ſcale of Europe. In a word, had not Peter I. transferred the ſeat of government to the ſhores of the Baltick, the Ruſſian navy had never rode triumphant in the Turkiſh ſeas; and Catharine II. had never ſtood forth what ſhe now is, the arbitreſs of the north, and the mediatrix * of Europe. CHAP. III.

Thus much with reſpect to the political conſequence which Ruſſia derived from the poſition of the new metropolis: its internal improvement, the great object of Peter's reign, was conſiderably advanced by approaching its capital to the more civilized parts of Europe; by this means he drew the nobility from their rude magnificence and feudal dignity at Moſcow to a more immediate dependence upon the ſovereign, to more poliſhed manners, to a greater degree of ſocial intercourſe. Nor was there any other cauſe, perhaps, which ſo much tended to promote his plans for the civilization of his ſubjects, as the removal of the imperial ſeat from the inland provinces to the ſhores of the Gulf of Finland. For the nearer the reſidence of the monarch is brought to the more poliſhed nations, the more frequent will be the intercourſe with them, and the more eaſy the adoption of their arts; and in no other parts could

* It muſt be remembered, that Catharine II. mediated the peace of Teſchen, in 1779, between the emperor of Germany and the king of Pruſſia.

the

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the influx of foreigners be ſo great as where they were allured by commerce.

In oppoſition to the cenſurers of Peter, we cannot but eſteem this act one of the moſt beneficial of his reign: and one might even venture to aſſert, that if, by any revolution of Europe, this empire ſhould loſe its acquiſitions on the Baltick; if the court ſhould repair to Moſcow, and maintain a fainter connection with the European powers before any eſſential reformation in the manners of the people ſhould have taken place; Ruſſia would ſoon relapſe into her original barbariſm; and no traces of the memorable improvements introduced by Peter I. and Catharine II. would be found but in the annals of hiſtory.

As I walked about this metropolis I was filled with aſtoniſhment upon reflecting, that ſo late as the beginning of this century, the ground on which Peterſburgh now ſtands was only a vaſt moraſs occupied by a few fiſhermens' huts. The firſt building of the city is ſo recent as to be almoſt remembered by ſome perſons who are now alive; and its gradual progreſs is accordingly traced without the leaſt difficulty. Peter the Great had no ſooner wreſted Ingria from the Swedes, and advanced the boundaries of his empire to the ſhores of the Baltick, than he determined to erect a fortreſs upon a ſmall iſland in the mouth of the Neva, for the purpoſe of ſecuring his conqueſts, and opening a new channel of commerce *. As a prelude to this undertaking, a ſmall battery was immediately raiſed on another iſland of the Neva, upon the ſpot now occupied by the Academy of Sciences, and it was commanded by Vaſſili Demitrievitch Kotſhmin. All the orders of the emperor ſent to this officer were directed Vaſſili na Oſtrof, to Vaſſili

* See Hiſt. Geog. and Top. Beſchreibung der Stadt S. Pet. in the Journal of St. Pet. for 1779.

upon

upon the Iſland; and hence this part of the town was called Vaſſili Oſtrof, or the Iſland of Vaſſili. CHAP. III.

The fortreſs was begun on the 16th of May, 1703; and, notwithſtanding all the obſtructions ariſing from the marſhy nature of the ground, and the inexperience of the workmen, a ſmall citadel ſurrounded with a rampart of earth, and ſtrengthened with ſix baſtions, was completed in a ſhort ſpace of time. An author *, who was in Ruſſia at that period, informs us, "that the labourers were not furniſhed with the "neceſſary tools, as pick-axes, ſpades and ſhovels, wheel-"barrows, planks, and the like; notwithſtanding which, the "work went on with ſuch expedition, that it was ſurprizing "to ſee the fortreſs raiſed within leſs than five months, "though the earth, which is very ſcarce thereabouts, was, for "the greater part, carried by the labourers in the ſkirts of "their clothes, and in bags made of rags and old mats, the uſe "of wheel-barrows being then unknown to them."

Within the fortreſs a few wooden habitations were erected. For his own immediate reſidence Peter alſo ordered, in the beginning of the year 1703, a ſmall hut to be raiſed in an adjacent iſland, which he called the iſland of St. Peterſburgh, and from which the new metropolis has taken its name: this hut was low and ſmall; and is ſtill preſerved in memory of the ſovereign who condeſcended to dwell in it. Near it was ſoon afterwards conſtructed another wooden habitation, but larger and more commodious, in which prince Menzikof reſided, and gave audience to foreign miniſters. At a ſmall diſtance was an inn, much frequented by the courtiers and perſons of all ranks; to which Peter himſelf, on Sundays after divine-ſervice, frequently repaired, and would there drink with his ſuite and thoſe who happened to be preſent, as ſpectators

* Perry's State of Ruſſia, vol. I. p. 300.

of

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of fire-works and other diverſions, which were exhibited by his orders.

On the 30th of May, 1706, Peter ordered the ramparts of earth to be demoliſhed, and began the foundation of the new fortreſs on the ſame ſpot. In 1710 Count Golovkin built the firſt edifice of brick; and in the following year the tzar, with his own hand, laid the foundation of an houſe, to be erected with the ſame materials *. From theſe ſmall beginnings roſe the preſent metropolis of the Ruſſian empire; and in leſs than nine years after the firſt wretched hovels of wood were erected, the ſeat of empire was transferred from Moſcow to Peterſburgh.

The deſpotick authority of Peter, his zeal for the improvement of the new capital, and his endeavours to make it reſemble the other cities of Europe, will appear from the following orders iſſued by his command. In 1714 a mandate was put forth, that all buildings upon the Iſland of St. Peterſburgh, and in the Admiralty Quarter, particularly thoſe upon the banks of the Neva, ſhould be conſtructed after the German manner with timber and brick; that each of the nobility and principal merchants ſhould be obliged to have an houſe in Peterſburgh; that every large veſſel navigating to the city ſhould bring 30 ſtones, every ſmall one 10, and every peaſant's waggon three, towards the conſtruction of the bridges and other public works: that the tops of the houſes ſhould be no longer covered with birch-planks, and bark, ſo dangerous in caſe of fire, but ſhould be roofed with tiles, or clods of earth. In 1716 a regular plan † for the new city was approved and publiſhed by Peter. According to which the principal part of the new metropolis was to be ſituated in the Vaſſili Oſtrof; and, in imitation of the Dutch towns, canals were to to be cut through the principal ſtreets, and to be lined with avenues of

* Journal St. Pet. for 1779.

† The reader will find a delineation of this plan in Perry's State of Ruſſia.

trees.

trees. This plan, however, was never carried into execution. Under the empreſs Anne the imperial reſidence was removed to the Admiralty Quarter. The nobility ſoon followed the example of the ſovereign; and at preſent, if we except ſome of the publick edifices, and the row of houſes fronting the Neva, the Vaſſili Oſtrof is the worſt part of the city, and alone contains more wooden buildings than all the other quarters.

Succeeding ſovereigns have continued to embelliſh Peterſburgh, but none more than the preſent empreſs; who may, without exaggeration, be called its ſecond foundreſs. Notwithſtanding, however, all theſe improvements, it bears every mark of an infant city, and is ſtill, as Mr. Wraxall * juſtly obſerves, "only an immenſe outline, which will require future "empreſſes and almoſt future ages to complete." The ſtreets in general are broad † and ſpacious; and three of the principal ones, which meet in a point at the Admiralty, and reach to the extremities of the ſuburbs, are at leaſt two miles in length. Moſt of them are paved; but a few are ſtill ſuffered to remain floored with planks. In ſeveral parts of the metropolis, particularly in the Vaſſili Oſtrof, wooden houſes and habitations, ſcarcely ſuperior to common cottages, are blended with the publick buildings; but this motley mixture is far leſs common than at Moſcow, where alone can be formed any idea of an antient Ruſſian city.

The brick houſes are ornamented with a white ſtucco, which has led ſeveral travellers to ſay that they are built with ſtone; whereas, unleſs I am greatly miſtaken, there are only two ſtone ſtructures in all Peterſburgh. The one is a palace, building by the empreſs upon the banks of the Neva, called the marble-palace; it is of hewn granite, with marble columns

* Wraxall's Tour, p. 231.

† They are moſtly as broad as Oxford-Street: thoſe with canals much broader.

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and ornaments; the other is the church of St. Iſaac, conſtructed with the ſame materials, but not yet finiſhed.

The manſions of the nobility are many of them vaſt piles of building, but are not in general upon ſo large and magnificent a ſcale as ſeveral I obſerved at Moſcow: they are furniſhed with great coſt, and in the ſame elegant ſtyle as at Paris or London. They are ſituated chiefly on the ſouth-ſide of the Neva, either in the Admiralty Quarter, or in the ſuburbs of Livonia and Moſcow, which are the fineſt parts of the city.

The views upon the banks of the Neva exhibit the moſt grand and lively ſcenes I ever beheld. That river is in moſt places broader than the Thames at London: it is alſo deep, rapid, and as tranſparent as chryſtal; and its banks are lined on each ſide with a continued range of handſome buildings. On the north ſide the fortreſs, the Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Arts are the moſt ſtriking objects; on the oppoſite ſide are the Imperial palace, the Admiralty, the manſions of many Ruſſian nobles, and the Engliſh line, ſo called becauſe (a few houſes excepted) the whole row is occupied by the Engliſh merchants. In the front of theſe buildings, on the ſouth ſide, is the Quay, which ſtretches for three miles, except where it is interrupted by the Admiralty; and the Neva, during the whole of that ſpace, has been lately embanked, at the expence of the empreſs, by a wall parapet and pavement of hewn granite, a moſt elegant and durable monument of imperial munificence.

Peterſburgh, although it is more compact than the other Ruſſian cities, and has the houſes in many ſtreets contiguous to each other, yet ſtill bears a reſemblance to the towns of this country, and is built in a very ſtraggling manner. By an order lately iſſued from government, the city has been encloſed within a rampart, the circumference whereof is 21 verſts, or 14 Engliſh miles.

The

The average population of Peterſburgh may be collected from the following liſt of births and deaths during ſeven years. CHAP. III.

	Births.			Deaths.		
1771	Males	2459	=4781	Males	3137	=4779
	Females	2322		Females	1642	
1772			=4759			=4727
1773			=5483			=5031
1774	Males	2839	=5437	Males	2899	=4458
	Females	2598		Females	1559	
1775			=4961			=3107
1776	Males	2816	=5397	Males	2694	=4463
	Females	2581		Females	1769	
1777	Natives.			Natives.		
	Males	2717	5854	Males	3117	5660
	Females	2618		Females	2043	
	Foreigners.			Foreigners.		
	Males	265		Males	265	
	Females	254		Females	235	
Total of births for 7 years			36,672	Total of deaths		32,165
Annual average of births, omitting ſmall fractions			5238			
of deaths			4594			

By multiplying the births 5238 by 25, the ſum is 134,950; and the deaths 4594 by 26, the ſum is 119,444. By taking the medium, therefore, between theſe two ſums, we have 126,697 for the number of inhabitants *.

Peterſburgh, from its low and marſhy ſituation, is ſubject to inundations, which have occaſionally riſen ſo high as to threaten the town with a total ſubmerſion. Theſe floods are chiefly occaſioned by a weſt or ſouth-weſt wind, which, blow-

* Sufslick eſtimates the population of Peterſburgh at 133,196, by multiplying the births with 28; and 132,990 by multiplying the deaths by 26; neither of which numbers differs eſſentially from the average number in the text: he adds, that Peterſburgh is the only large town in which there are more births than deaths. Upon the whole, the population of Peterſburgh may be eſtimated in round numbers at 130,000 of ſouls. See Sufslick Gottliche Ordnung. Vol. III. p. 650.

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ing directly from the gulf, obſtructs the current of the Neva, and cauſes a vaſt accumulation of its waters. On the 16th of November we had nearly perſonal experience of this dreadful calamity: being invited to a maſquerade at the Cadet's in the Vaſſili Oſtrof, on our approach to the bridge, we perceived that a ſtormy weſt wind had already ſo much ſwelled the river as conſiderably to elevate the pontoons; and the tenſion of the bridge was ſo great as to endanger its being broken to pieces. Inſtead, therefore, of repairing to the maſquerade, we returned home, and waited for ſome hours in awful expectation of an immediate deluge. Providentially, however, a ſudden change of wind preſerved Peterſburgh from the impending cataſtrophe, and the inhabitants from an almoſt univerſal conſternation, which their recent ſufferings had impreſſed upon their minds. I allude to the flood which overwhelmed the town in the month of September, 1777, and whoſe effects are thus deſcribed: "* In the evening of the 9th, a violent "ſtorm of wind blowing at firſt S. W. and afterwards W. "raiſed the Neva and its various branches to ſo great an "height, that at five in the morning the waters poured over "their banks, and ſuddenly overflowed the town, but more "particularly the Vaſſili Oſtrof and the iſland of St. Peterſ-"burgh. The torrent roſe in ſeveral ſtreets to the depth of "four feet and an half, and overturned, by its rapidity, various "buildings and bridges. About ſeven, the wind ſhifting to "N. W. the flood fell as ſuddenly; and at mid-day moſt of "the ſtreets, which in the morning could only be paſſed in "boats, became dry. For a ſhort time the river roſe 10 feet "7 inches above its ordinary level †."

The

* Journ. St. Pet. Sept. 1777.

† Mr. Kraft, profeſſor of experimental philoſophy to the Imperial Academy of Sciences, has written a judicious treatiſe upon the inundation of the Neva, from which the following obſervations are extracted. Theſe floods are leſs alarming than formerly, as the ſwelling of the river to about ſix feet above its uſual level, which uſed to overflow the whole town, have no longer any effect, excepting

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The oppoſite diviſions of Peterſburgh, ſituated on each ſide of the Neva, are connected by a bridge on pontoons, which, on account of the large maſſes of ice driven down the ſtream from the Lake Ladoga, is uſually removed * when they firſt make their appearance; and for a few days, until the river is frozen hard enough to bear carriages, there is no communication between the oppoſite parts of the town.

The depth of the river ſeems to render it impoſſible to build a ſtone bridge; and even if one could be conſtructed, it muſt neceſſarily be deſtroyed by the vaſt ſhoals of ice, which

cepting upon the lower parts of Peterſburgh; a circumſtance owing to the gradual raiſing of the ground by buildings and other cauſes.

Upon tracing the principal inundations, the profeſſor informs us, that the moſt antient, of which there is any tradition, happened in 1691, and is mentioned by Weber, from the account of ſome fiſhermen inhabiting near Nieſchants, a Swediſh redoubt upon the Neva, about three miles from the preſent fortreſs of Peterſburgh. At that period the waters uſually roſe every five years; and the inhabitants of that diſtrict no ſooner perceived the particular ſtorms which they had been taught from fatal experience to conſider as forerunners of a flood, than they took their hovels to pieces, and, joining the timbers together in the form of rafts, faſtened them to the ſummits of the higheſt trees, and repaired to the mountain of Duderof, which is diſtant ſix miles from their place of abode, where they waited until the waters ſubſided.

The higheſt inundations, excepting the laſt of 1777, were thoſe of the 1ſt of November, 1726, when the waters roſe 8 feet 2 inches; and on the 2d of October, 1752, when they roſe 8 feet 5 inches.

From a long courſe of obſervations the profeſſor draws the following concluſion. The higheſt floods, namely, thoſe which riſe about ſix feet, have generally happened in one of the four laſt months of the year: no ſenſible effect is ever produced by rain or ſnow; a ſwell is ſometimes occaſioned by the accumulation of maſſes of ice at the mouth of the Neva; but the principal cauſes of the overflowing of that river are derived from violent ſtorms and winds blowing S. W. W. or N. W. which uſually prevail at the autumnal equinox; and the height of the waters is always in proportion to the violence and duration of thoſe winds. In a word, the circumſtances moſt liable to promote the overflowings of the Neva, are when, at the autumnal equinox, three or four days before or after the full or new moon, that luminary being near her perigæum, a violent N. W. wind drives the waters of the Northern Ocean, during the influx of the tide, into the Baltick, and is accompanied, or inſtantaneouſly ſucceeded by a S. W. wind in that ſea and the Gulf of Finland. All theſe circumſtances concurred at the inundation of 1777: it happened two days before the autumnal equinox, four before the full moon, two after her paſſing through the perigæum, and by a ſtorm at S. W. which was preceded by ſtrong W. winds in the Northern Ocean, and ſtrong N. winds at the mouth of the Baltick.

See Notices et Remarques ſur les debordemens de la Neva à St. Peterſbourg accompagnées d'une carte repreſentant la crue et la diminution des eaux, &c.—In Nov. Ac. Pet. for 1777, P. II. p. 47. to which excellent treatiſe I would refer the curious reader for further information.

* When I was at Peterſburgh, the bridge which had been taken away was replaced, and continued during the whole winter.

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in the beginning of winter are hurried down the rapid ſtream of the Neva. In order to remedy this inconvenience, a Ruſſian peaſant has projected the ſublime plan of throwing a wooden bridge of a ſingle arch acroſs the river, which in its narroweſt part is 980 feet in breadth. The artiſt has executed a model 98 feet in length, which I examined with great attention, as he kindly explained its proportion and mechaniſm.

The bridge is upon the ſame principle with that of Schaffhauſen, excepting that the mechaniſm is more complicated, and that the road is not ſo level. I ſhall attempt to deſcribe it by ſuppoſing it finiſhed, as that will convey the beſt idea of the plan. The bridge is roofed at the top, and covered at the ſides: it is formed by four frames of timber, two on each ſide, compoſed of various beams or truſſes, which ſupport the whole machine. The road is not, as is uſual, carried over the top of the arch, but is ſuſpended in the middle.

The following proportions I noted down with the greateſt exactneſs at the time when they were explained to me by the artiſt.

Length of the abutment on the north end	658 feet.
Span of the arch	980
Length of the abutment on the ſouth end	658
Length of the whole ſtructure, including the abutments	2296
The plane of the road upon its firſt aſcent makes an angle of five degrees with the ordinary ſurface of the river.	
Mean level of the river to the top of the bridge in the center	168
Ditto to the bottom of the bridge in the center	126
Height of the bridge from the bottom to the top in the center	42
Height from the bottom of the bridge in the center to the road	7
Height from the bottom of ditto to the water	84
Height from the water to the ſpring of the arch	56

So that there is a difference of 35 feet between the road at the ſpring of the arch, and the road at the center; in other words, an aſcent of 35 feet in half 980, or in the ſpace of 490 feet, which is little more than eight-tenths of an inch to

a foot *. The bridge is broadeſt towards the ſides, and diminiſhes towards the centre. CHAP. III.

In the broadeſt part it is	168 feet.
In the center or narroweſt	42
The breadth of the road is	28

The artiſt informed me, that to complete the bridge would require 49,650 iron nails, 12,908 large trees, 5,500 beams to ſtrengthen them, and that it would coſt 300,000 roubles, or £60,000. He ſpeaks of this bold project with the uſual warmth of genius; and is perfectly convinced that it would be practicable. I muſt own that I am of the ſame opinion, though I hazard it with great diffidence. What a noble effect would be produced by a bridge ſtriking acroſs the Neva, with an arch 980 feet wide, and towering 168 feet from the ſurface of the water. The deſcription of ſuch a bridge ſeems almoſt chimerical; and yet, upon inſpection of the model, we become reconciled to the idea. But whether the execution of this ſtupendous work may be deemed poſſible or not, the model itſelf is worthy of attention, and reflects the higheſt honour on the inventive faculties of that unimproved genius: it is ſo compactly conſtructed, and of ſuch uniform ſolidity, that it has ſupported 3540 pood, or 127,440 pounds, without having in the leaſt ſwerved from its direction, which I am told is far more, in proportion to its ſize, than the bridge if completed would have occaſion to ſuſtain from the preſſure of the carriages added to its own weight.

The perſon who projected this plan is a common Ruſſian peaſant; and, like the Swiſs carpenter who built the bridge of Schaffhauſen †, poſſeſſed of but little knowledge in the theory of mechanicks. This extraordinary genius was apprentice to a ſhopkeeper at Niſhnei Novogorod: oppoſite to his dwelling

* The aſcent of the road of the bridge at Schaffhauſen is barely four-tenths of an inch in a foot.

† For the account of the bridge of Schaffhauſen, ſee the Sketches on the State of Swiſſerland. Letter II.

was

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was a wooden clock, which excited his curioſity. By repeated examinations he comprehended the internal ſtructure, and, without any aſſiſtance, formed one exactly ſimilar in its proportion and materials. His ſucceſs in this firſt eſſay urged him to undertake the conſtruction of metal clocks and watches. The empreſs, hearing of theſe wonderful exertions of his native genius, took him under her protection, and ſent him to England; from whence, on account of the difficulties attending his ignorance of the language, he ſoon returned to Ruſſia. I ſaw a repeating watch of his workmanſhip at the Academy of Sciences: it is about the bigneſs of an egg; in the inſide is repreſented the tomb of our Saviour, with the ſtone at the entrance, and the centinels upon duty; ſuddenly the ſtone is removed, the centinels fall down, the angels appear, the women enter the ſepulchre, and the ſame chant is heard which is performed on Eaſter-eve. Theſe are trifling, although curious performances; but the very planning of the bridge was a moſt ſublime conception. This perſon, whoſe name is Kulibin, bears the appearance of a Ruſſian peaſant; he has a long beard, and wears the common dreſs of the country. He receives a penſion from the empreſs, and is encouraged to follow the bent of his mechanical genius.

One of the nobleſt monuments, as my ingenious friend Mr. Wraxall obſerves, of the gratitude and veneration paid to Peter I.* is the equeſtrian ſtatue of that monarch in bronze: it is of a Coloſſal ſize, and is the work of Monſieur Falconet, the celebrated French ſtatuary, caſt at the expence of Catharine II. in honour of her great predeceſſor, whom ſhe reveres and imitates. It repreſents that monarch in the attitude of mounting a precipice, the ſummit of which he has nearly attained. He appears crowned with laurel, in a looſe Aſiatick veſt, and ſitting on a houſing of bear-ſkin: his right hand is

* Wraxall's Tour, p. 224.

ſtretched

ſtretched out as in the act of giving benediction to his people; and his left holds the reins. The deſign is maſterly, and the attitude is bold and ſpirited. If there be any defect in the figure, it conſiſts in the flat poſition of the right hand; and, for this reaſon, the view of the left ſide is the moſt ſtriking, where the whole appearance is graceful and animated. The horſe is rearing upon its hind legs; and its tail, which is full and flowing, ſlightly touches a bronze ſerpent, artfully contrived to aſſiſt in ſupporting the vaſt weight of the ſtatue in due equilibrium. The artiſt has, in this noble eſſay of his genius, repreſented Peter as the legiſlator of his country, without any alluſion to conqueſt and bloodſhed; wiſely preferring his civil qualities to his military exploits *. The contraſt between the compoſed tranquillity of Peter (though perhaps not abſolutely characteriſtick) and the fire of the horſe, eager to preſs forwards, is very ſtriking. The ſimplicity of the inſcription correſponds to the ſublimity of the deſign, and is far preferable to a pompous detail of exalted virtues, which the voice of flattery applies to every ſovereign without diſtinction. It is elegantly finiſhed in braſs characters, on one ſide in Latin, and on the oppoſite in Ruſſian.

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* Monſieur Falconet has ably refuted the cenſures urged againſt his ſtatue on this account. See his Letter to Diderot, in "Pieces "written by Monſ. Falconet," tranſlated by Mr. Tooke, p. 47. The reader will alſo find in that work an engraving of the ſtatue. "I "have endeavoured," ſaid Monſieur Falconet to Mr. Wraxall, "to catch, as far as poſſible, "the genuine feelings of the Muſcovite le-"giſlator, and to give him ſuch an expreſſion "as himſelf would have owned. I have not "decked his perſon with emblems of Roman "conſulage, or placed a marechal's baton in "his hand: an antient dreſs would have "been unnatural, and the Ruſſian he wiſhed "to aboliſh. The ſkin on which he is ſeated, "is emblematical of the nation he refined. "Poſſibly," ſaid M. Falconet, "the czar "would have aſked me why I did not put a "ſabre into his hand; but, perhaps, he "made too great a uſe of it when alive, and "a ſculptor ought only to exhibit thoſe "parts of a character which reflect honour "on it, and rather to draw a veil acroſs the "errors and vices which tarniſh it. A la-"boured panegyrick would have been equally "injudicious and unneceſſary, ſince hiſtory "has already performed that office with im-"partial juſtice, and held up his name to "univerſal regard; and I muſt do her pre-"ſent majeſty the juſtice to ſay, ſhe had "taſte and diſcernment enough perfectly to "ſee this, and to prefer the preſent ſhort in-"ſcription to any other which could be com-"poſed." Wraxall's Tour, p. 225—227.

The ſtatue, when I was at Peterſburgh, was not erected, but ſtood under a large wooden ſhed near the Neva, within a few yards of its enormous pedeſtal. When Falconet had conceived the deſign of his ſtatue, the baſe of which was to be formed by an huge rock †, he carefully examined the environs of Peterſburgh, if, among the detached pieces of granite ‡, which are ſcattered about theſe parts, one could be found of magnitude correſpondent to the dimenſions of the equeſtrian figure. After conſiderable reſearch, he diſcovered a ſtupendous maſs half buried in the midſt of a moraſs. The expence and difficulty of tranſporting it were no obſtacles to Catharine II. By her order the moraſs was immediately drained, a road was cut through a foreſt, and carried over the marſhy ground; and the ſtone, which after it had been ſomewhat reduced weighed at leaſt 1500 tons, was removed to Peterſburgh.

This more than Roman work was, in leſs than ſix months from the time of its firſt diſcovery, accompliſhed by a windlaſs, and by means of large friction-balls alternately placed and removed in grooves fixed on each ſide of the road. In this manner it was drawn, with forty men ſeated upon its top,

* Catharine II. to Peter I.

† "Pour marquer à poſtérité, d'où cet "héros legiſlateur étoit parti, et quels ob- "ſtacles il avoit ſurmonté—Deſcription d'une "Pierre—pour ſervir de Piedeſtal, &c. in "Haygold's." Ruſsland, V. II. p. 211.

‡ The pedeſtal is a reddiſh granite, in which the micæ are very large and reſplendent. This circumſtance induced a perſon, who has publiſhed an account of it, and was willing to make a prodigy where there is none, to give the following ridiculous and exaggerated deſcription upon breaking part of it aſunder.

"Ce qui ſurtout frappa d'étonnement, "c'étoit l'intérieur de la pierre. Un coup "de foudre l'avoit endommagé d'un côté. "On abbattit ce morceau, & l'on vit, au lieu "de parties homogénes, un aſſemblage de "*toutes ſortes de pierres fines & précieuſes.* "*C'étoient des Criſtaux, des Agathes, des Gre-* "*nats, des Topazes, des Cornalines, des Amé-* "*thyſtes,* qui offroient aux yeux des curieux "un ſpectacle, auſſi nouveau que magnifi- "que, & aux phyſiciens un objet de re- "cherches des plus intéreſſans." Ibid. p. 212.

about four miles to the banks of the Neva; there it was embarked in a veſſel conſtructed on purpoſe to receive it, and thus conveyed about the ſame diſtance by water to the ſpot where it now ſtands. When landed at Peterſburgh it was 42 feet long at the baſe, 36 at the top, 21 thick, and 17 high; a bulk greatly ſurpaſſing in weight the moſt boaſted monuments of Roman grandeur, which, according to the fond admirers of antiquity, would have baffled the ſkill of modern mechanicks, and were alone ſufficient to render conſpicuous the reign of the moſt degenerate emperors.

The pedeſtal, however, though ſtill of prodigious magnitude, is far from retaining its original dimenſions, as, in order to form a proper ſtation for the ſtatue, and to repreſent an aſcent, the ſummit whereof the horſe is endeavouring to attain, its bulk has been neceſſarily diminiſhed. But I could not obſerve, without regret, that the artiſt has been deſirous to improve upon nature; and in order to produce a reſemblance of an abrupt broken precipice, has been too laviſh of the chiſſel. Near it was a model in plaſter, to the ſhape of which the workmen were faſhioning the pedeſtal. It appeared to me, that in this model the art was too conſpicuous; and that the effect would have been far more ſublime, if the ſtone had been left as much as poſſible in its rude ſtate, a vaſt unwieldy ſtupendous maſs. And indeed, unleſs I am greatly miſtaken, the pedeſtal, when finiſhed according to this plan, will have ſcarcely breadth ſufficient to afford a proper baſe for a ſtatue of ſuch Coloſſal ſize *.

Having paſſed ſeveral months in Ruſſia, I ſhall here throw

* The ſtatue was erected on the pedeſtal on the 27th of Auguſt, 1782. The ceremony was performed with great ſolemnity, and was accompanied with a ſolemn inauguration. At the ſame time the empreſs iſſued a proclamation, in which, among other inſtances of her clemency, ſhe pardons all criminals under ſentence of death; all deſerters, who ſhould return to their reſpective corps within a limited time; and releaſes all criminals condemned to hard labour, provided they had not been guilty of murder.

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together ſuch facts and obſervations as occurred to me concerning the ſtate of the weather, and the effects of the cold in this ſevere climate.

During our journey from Moſcow to Peterſburgh in the month of September, we found the weather very changeable, the autumnal rains being extremely frequent and heavy *. The mornings and evenings were extremely cold, and, whenever it did not rain, we generally obſerved that the graſs and trees were covered with a white froſt. Upon our arrival at Peterſburgh on the 29th of September N. S. the winter was not yet ſet in: in October the weather, for the firſt twenty days, was the moſt part rainy; and the mercury, in Fahrenheit's thermometer, was ſeldom below freezing point, and moſtly fluctuated between 32 and 44. The firſt ſnow made its appearance in ſleet on the 9th, and the following day it came down in flakes and in large quantities: on the 24th the mercury ſuddenly ſunk to 25; but in the enſuing morning, it roſe above freezing point, there came a ſudden thaw, and all the ſnow diſappeared in a few hours. The ſummer and winter are not, as in our climate, gradually divided by a ſpring and autumn of any length, but ſeem almoſt to ſucceed each other.

* In 30 days it rained 24; and the quantity of water which fell at St. Peterſburgh in the month of September O. S. was equal to 2⅝ Engliſh inches in depth.

From accurate obſervations during fourteen years to aſcertain the quantity of rain and ſnow which fell at St. Peterſburgh, the reſult was, that the average annual duration of ſnowy and rainy weather was equal to 42 times 24 hours, or ſomething leſs than the ninth part of the year. From a courſe of ten years obſervations it appeared, that rain fell during ſome part of 103 days, and ſnow during ſome part of 72; and that if the year was divided into twelve parts, a fourth was fine weather, a third rain, and a fifth ſnow.

The whole quantity of rain and ſnow water, taken together, which fell in the courſe of a year, was in the following proportion:

January	0,979	Inches.
February	0,979	
March	0,801	
April	1,246	
May	1,335	
June	3,116	
July	2,760	
Auguſt	2,671	
September	3,473	
October	2,493	
November	1,513	
December	0,979	
	22,345	

The average quantity of rain which falls in London in the courſe of a year is equal to 19,241.

On

CHAP. III.

On the 15th of November the Neva* was entirely frozen, and ſoon afterwards the Gulf of Finland was covered with ice, and ſledges began to paſs from Peterſburgh to Cronſtadt, the road being marked over the ſurface by rows of trees.

I found, that even during the months of December and January, the weather was extremely changeable, as it ſhifted in a very ſudden manner from a ſevere froſt to a thaw; and the mercury in the thermometer often roſe within the courſe of twenty hours from 20 to 34; and ſunk again as rapidly in the ſame ſpace of time. Although I examined the thermometer every day, yet I did not attempt to form a ſeries of regular obſervations, which I now very much regret. I occaſionally, indeed, made a few remarks, which I ſhall inſert in a note, as I find them ſcattered in my journal; they will tend to confirm

* The freezing of the Neva is not attended with any peculiarities which diſtinguiſh it from other rivers. The following circumſtances, which fell under my obſervation, are extracted from my journal.

Monday morning, Nov. 9. On Saturday the 7th, ſmall pieces of ice, which came from the lake Ladoga, were firſt obſerved floating with the ſtream: the ſame day in the evening the bridge of boats was removed, as in theſe caſes they collect and would carry it away. Yeſterday the pieces of ice were more frequent and maſſy: to-day they are ſmall floating iſlands, which almoſt cover the river; the ſides of the Neva are frozen only a few feet from the banks: all the canals are covered with ice, and people are ſcating upon them.

Nov. 12 and 13. The Neva is frozen above the place where the bridge was ſtationed by the pieces of ice which have united and barred the paſſage: below it the ſtream is perfectly free from any floating maſſes, and the river is open for boats, which are continually paſſing to and fro.

Nov. 13. The bridge of boats is again replaced, as there is no longer any danger of its being carried away by the floating maſſes of ice; and will continue during the whole winter, a circumſtance which has not happened ſince the foundation of Peterſburgh.

Nov. 15. The river about and below the bridge is entirely frozen, and I ſaw perſons walking acroſs it. I am informed that yeſterday the ice was ſtrong enough to bear foot paſſengers; this will convey ſome idea of the ſeverity of the weather in this climate; as the rapid current was open on the 13th, and on the next day was frozen.

Table of the freezing and thawing of the Neva for five ſucceſſive years, from Profeſſor Kraft's Obſervations:

		1773.	1774.	1775.	1776.	1777.
April,	New Style	16	April 21	May 22	May 25	May 30
	Old Style	27	May 2	3	6	11
Nov.		19	7	12	12	Dec. 26
		26	18	25	25	2
		Open 217 days.	200	204	201	210

See Nov. Ac. Pet. for 1777. P. II. p. 73.

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the truth of what I have advanced in relation to the change of weather obſervable at Peterſburgh, and will ſerve to contradict thoſe authors who have aſſerted that, as ſoon as the hard froſt commences, the cold continues with uniform ſeverity, and with little variation, during the whole ſeaſon *.

When the froſt was not very ſevere, namely, when the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer was not below 10, I frequently walked out in a common great coat. When the cold

* Nov. 16. To-day a thaw; the thermometer mounted to 40: in the evening ſharp froſt again; the mercury falling to 20.

Nov. 23. The thermometer at 4, 5, and 6.

Dec. 3. It has been theſe few days moſtly a thaw and changeable weather.

Dec. 6. The thermometer fell almoſt ſuddenly from 33 to 10.

Dec. 11. Thermometer at — 10.

Dec. 14. A ſudden thaw which continued the 15th and 16th.

Dec. 17. Thermometer at — 7.

18. Thermometer at — 5, and a fog at the ſame time.

19. Windy, thaw, thermometer above freezing point.

21. Changeable weather all this week, from ſharp froſt to ſudden thaw.

Jan. 1. 1779. Weather very changeable, the thermometer one morning at — 8, the next above freezing point; this winter it has not as yet been lower than — 13.

Jan. 6. Thermometer at — 14.

9. Thermometer at — $7\frac{1}{2}$; the barometer mounted ſuddenly very high ſince laſt night.

10. Early this morning the thermometer at — 23, and at 11 at — $20\frac{1}{4}$. Barometer at $30\frac{6}{10}$. The ſmoke of the chimnies was preſſed down to the ground.

11. Thermometer at — 28, according to my own obſervation, at ten in the morning: but earlier the mercury had ſunk to — $31\frac{1}{2}$ or $63\frac{1}{2}$ below freezing point.

15. Thermometer, ſince the 11th, roſe gradually; on the 12th in the morning it ſtood at — 13; from thence it fell to 0, to 15; and to-day it is above freezing point.

Meteorological Journal during four months, O. S. from the Obſervations in the Academy of Sciences at St. Peterſburgh, 1778.

Oct.	1	cloudy, ſnow in great quantity	
	2	cloudy, ſnow	
	3	cloudy, ſnow	
	4	partly clear, partly ſnow	
	5	cloudy, ſnow, windy W.	
	6	ſnow	
	7	cloudy, ſnow and rain	
	8		
	9	ſnow, windy S. W.	
	10	ſtormy S. W.	
	11	rain	
	12	cloudy, ſnow, windy S.	
	13	windy N. W.	
	14	cloudy, violent rain, ſtormy S.	
	15	cloudy, ſnow, windy S. W.	
	16	clear	
	17		
	18	ſnow	
	19	cloudy	
	20	cloudy, ſnow	
	21	foggy, rain	
	22	cloudy, rain	
	23		
	24		
	25	clear	
	26	clear	
	27	clear	
	28	cloudy	
	29	cloudy, ſnow	
	30		
	31	cloudy, ſnow	

Nov.

Sorodomof del. C. Ruotte sculpsit.

A RUSSIAN GENTLEMAN in a WINTER DRESS.

Published according to Act of Parliament Jan.y 1.st 1784 by T. Cadell in the Strand.

cold was more intenſe, I imitated the dreſs of the native gentry, and wore, in my daily excurſions through the city, a *peliſſe*, or large fur cloak, fur boots or ſhoes, a black velvet or fur bon-

Nov. 1	windy S. E. ſnow	Nov. 16	cleariſh
2	windy S. E. cloudy	17	windy S. E. cloudy
3	windy S. E. cloudy, ſnow	18	cloudy, rain
4	windyS.cloudy,ſnow in great quant.	19	windy S. E. cloudy, ſnow
5	cloudy, ſnow in great quantity	20	cloudy, ſnow
6	cloudy, ſnow in great quantity	21	cloudy, ſnow
7	cloudy, ſnow	22	cloudy, foggy, ſnow
8	cloudy, ſnow	23	cloudy
9	windy N. W.	24	cloudy, foggy
10	windy N. W. ſnow	25	cleariſh
11	cloudy, ſnow	26	windy S. E. cleariſh
12	windy S. E. cleariſh, ſnow	27	ſtormy S. cloudy
13	cloudy, ſtormy S. W. rain, ſnow	28	cloudy, ſnow
14	cloudy	29	windy 29 N. cleariſh
15	cleariſh	30	windy 30 N. W. cleariſh
Dec. 1	cloudy, ſnow, ſtormy S. W.	Dec. 16	clear, ſtormy W.
2	cloudy, ſnow	17	rain, ſnow
3	cloudy, rain, ſnow	18	rain, ſnow, windy S.
4	cloudy	19	ſnow, windy S.
5	cloudy, much ſnow, windy N. E.	20	much ſnow, windy S. E.
6	windy N. W.	21	cloudy
7	clear	22	windy N. E.
8	cloudy, rain, ſnow, ſtormy S. W. wind ſhifted to E.	23	ſnow, windy W.
		24	cloudy, ſnow
9	cloudy, ſtormy W.	25	cloudy, ſnow
10	cloudy, foggy, ſtormy W.	26	ſnow, ſtormy S. E.
11	windy W.	27	clear
12	ſnow, windy N. W.	28	
13	windy N. W.	29	cloudy, ſnow, windy N. W.
14	windy N. W.	30	clear, ſnow, windy W.
15		31	much ſnow, windy W.
Jan. 1	ſnow, ſtormy S. W.	Jan. 16	cloudy, ſtormy S. W.
2	ſnow	17	cloudy, ſnow, windy S. W.
3	foggy, ſnow	18	cloudy, foggy
4	ſnow	19	cloudy, ſnow, windy W.
5	cloudy, ſnow, windy S. W.	20	cloudy, ſnow, ſtormy S. W.
6	windy N.	21	cloudy, ſnow, windy S. W.
7	ſnow, windy N.	22	ſnow
8	clear	23	foggy
9	foggy, clear	24	cloudy, ſnow
10	clear	25	ſtormy W.
11	clear, foggy	26	cloudy, windy W.
12	foggy	27	ſnow
13	cloudy, windy S.	28	
14	cloudy, ſnow	29	foggy, windy W.
15	cloudy, windy S. W.	30	ſtormy N. W.
		31	clear

net,

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net, that prevented the froſt from nipping my ears, the part which I found the moſt liable to be affected. During three days, namely, on the 9th, 10th, and 11th of January, the froſt was nearly as intenſe * as it had ever been felt at Peterſburgh; the mercury in the thermometer falling at one time to 63 below freezing point, or — 31. This cold, however, did not detain me at home, but I walked out, as uſual, with no other precaution than my *peliſſe*, boots, and cap, and found it by no means unpleaſant, as the ſun ſhone with great brightneſs. As I traverſed the city on the morning of the 12th, I obſerved ſeveral perſons whoſe faces had been bitten by the froſt: their cheeks had large ſcars, and appeared as if they had been ſinged with an hot iron. As I was walking with an Engliſh gentleman, who, inſtead of a fur cap, had put on a common hat, his ears were ſuddenly frozen: he felt no pain, and would not have perceived it for ſome time, if a Ruſſian, in paſſing by, had not informed him of it †, and aſſiſted him in rubbing the part affected with ſnow, by which means it was inſtantly recovered. This, or friction with flannel, is the uſual remedy; but ſhould the perſon in that ſtate approach the fire, or dip the part in warm water, it immediately mortifies and drops off.

The common people continued at their work as uſual, and the drivers plied in the ſtreets with their ſledges ſeemingly unaffected by the froſt; their beards were incruſted with clotted ice, and the horſes were covered with iſicles. The people did not (even during this extreme cold) add to their ordinary cloathing, which is at all times well calculated for the ſeverities of their climate. They are careful in preſerving their extremities againſt the cold, by covering their legs, hands, and head, with fur. Their upper garment of ſheep-ſkin,

* The winter in which profeſſor Braun congeled quickſilver, the cold was ſo intenſe, that De Liſle's Thermometer ſunk to 204 = in Fahrenheit's to — 33, or 65 below freezing point.

† The part frozen always turns quite white, a ſymptom well known, and immediately perceived by the Ruſſians.

with

Scorodomof del. B. Dicmar. Sculpsit.

A RUSSIAN in a WINTER DRESS.

Published according to Act of Parliament. Jan.ʸ 1.ˢᵗ 1784. by T. Cadell in the Strand.

with the wool turned inwards, is tied round the waiſt with a ſaſh, but their neck is quite bare, and their breaſt only covered with a coarſe ſhirt: theſe parts, however, are well guarded by their beard, which is, for that reaſon, of great uſe in this country. I was greatly ſurprized with obſerving, that even at this time ſeveral women, whoſe dreſs differs but little from that of the men, were engaged in waſhing upon the Neva or on the canals. They cut holes in the ice with an hatchet, dipped their linen into the water with their bare hands, and then beat it with flat ſticks. During this operation the ice continually formed again, and they were conſtantly employed in clearing it away. Many of them paſſed two hours without intermiſſion at this work, when the thermometer was at 60 below freezing point; a circumſtance which proves how the human body may be brought to endure all extremes.

It ſometimes happens that coachmen or ſervants, while they are waiting for their maſters, are frozen to death. In order to prevent as much as poſſible theſe dreadful accidents, great fires of whole trees, piled one upon another, are kindled in the court-yard of the palace, and the moſt frequented parts of the town. As the flames blazed above the tops of the houſes, and caſt a glare to a conſiderable diſtance, I was frequently much amuſed by contemplating the pictureſque groups of Ruſſians, with their Aſiatick dreſs and long beards, aſſembled round the fire. The centinels upon duty, having no beards, which are of great uſe to protect the glands of the throat, generally tie handkerchiefs under their chins *, and cover their ears with ſmall caſes of flannel.

Nothing can be more lively and diverſified than the winter ſcenes upon the Neva; and ſcarcely a day paſſed that I did not take my morning walk, or drive in a ſledge upon that river. Many carriages and ſledges, and numberleſs foot paſſengers

* The women uſe alſo this precaution.

BOOK IV.

perpetually croſſing it, afford a conſtant ſucceſſion of moving objects; and the ice is alſo covered with different groups of people, diſperſed or gathered together, and variouſly employed as their fancy leads them. In one part there are ſeveral long areas railed off for the purpoſe of ſcating; a little further is an encloſure, wherein a nobleman is training his horſes, and teaching them the various evolutions of the manage. In another part the croud are ſpectators of what is called a ſledge race. The courſe is an oblong ſpace about the length of a mile, and ſufficiently broad to turn the carriage. It can hardly be denominated a race, for there is only a ſingle ſledge drawn by two horſes, and the whole art of the driver conſiſts in making the ſhaft-horſe trot as faſt as he can, while the other is puſhed into a gallop.

The ice-hills are exceedingly common, and afford a perpetual fund of amuſement to the populace; they are conſtructed in the following manner. A ſcaffolding is raiſed upon the river about thirty feet in height, with a landing place on the top, the aſcent to which is by a ladder. From this ſummit a ſloping plain of boards, about four yards broad and thirty long, deſcends to the ſuperficies of the river: it is ſupported by ſtrong poles gradually decreaſing in height, and its ſides are defended by a parapet of planks. Upon theſe boards are laid ſquare maſſes of ice about four inches thick, which being firſt ſmoothed with the axe and laid cloſe to each other, are then ſprinkled with water: by theſe means they coaleſce, and, adhering to the boards, immediately form an inclined plain of pure ice. From the bottom of this plain the ſnow is cleared away for the length of 200 yards and the breadth of four, upon the level bed of the river; and the ſides of this courſe, as well as the ſides and top of the ſcaffolding, are ornamented with firs and pines. Each perſon, being provided with

with a ſledge *, mounts the ladder; and, having attained the ſummit, he ſeats himſelf upon his ſledge at the upper extremity of the inclined plain, down which he ſuffers it to glide with conſiderable rapidity, poiſing it as he goes down; when the velocity, acquired by the deſcent, carries it above 100 yards upon the level ice of the river. At the end of this courſe, there is uſually a ſimilar ice-hill, nearly parallel to the former, which begins where the other ends; ſo that the perſon immediately mounts again, and, in the ſame manner, glides down the other inclined plain of ice. This diverſion he repeats as often as he pleaſes. I have frequently ſtood for above an hour at the bottom of theſe ice-hills, obſerving the ſledges following each other with inconceivable rapidity; but I never had the courage myſelf to try the experiment. The only difficulty conſiſts in ſteering and poiſing the ſledge as it is hurried down the inclined plain; for if the perſon who ſits upon it is not ſteady, but totters either through inadvertence or fear, he is liable to be overturned, and runs no ſmall riſk of breaking his bones, if not his neck. And, as one failure might have proved fatal, I contented myſelf with ſeeing others engaged in the diverſion without partaking of it myſelf. The boys alſo are continually employed in ſcating down theſe hills: they glide chiefly upon one ſcate, as they are able to poiſe themſelves better upon one leg than upon two. Theſe ice-hills exhibit a pleaſing appearance upon the river, as well from the trees with which they are ornamented, as from the moving objects which, at particular times of the day, are deſcending without intermiſſion.

CHAP. III.

The market upon the Neva is too remarkable to be omitted. At the concluſion of the long faſt which cloſes on the 24th of December, O. S. the Ruſſians lay-in their proviſions for the

* Something like a butcher's tray, as Dr. King juſtly obſerves in his ingenious pamphlet on the effects of cold in Ruſſia.

BOOK IV.

remaining part of the winter. For this purpoſe an annual market, which laſts three days, is held upon the river near the fortreſs. A long ſtreet, above a mile in length, was lined on each ſide with an immenſe ſtore of proviſions, ſufficient for the ſupply of the capital for the next three months. Many thouſand raw carcaſes of oxen, ſheep, hogs, pigs, together with geeſe, fowls, and every ſpecies of frozen food, were expoſed for ſale. The larger quadrupeds were grouped in various circles upright, their hind legs fixed in the ſnow, with their heads and fore legs turned towards each other. Theſe towered above the reſt, and occupied the hindermoſt row; next to them ſucceeded a regular ſeries of animals, deſcending gradually to the ſmalleſt, intermixed with poultry and game hanging in feſtoons, and garniſhed with heaps of fiſh, butter, and eggs. I ſoon perceived that there were no laws for the prohibition of ſelling game in this country, from the profuſion of that article, particularly of partridges, pheaſants, moorfowl, and cocks of the wood. I obſerved alſo the truth of what has been frequently aſſerted, that many of the birds, as well as ſeveral animals, in theſe northern regions, become white in winter, many hundred black cocks being changed to that colour; and ſome, which had been taken before they had completed their *metamorphoſis*, exhibited a variegated mixture of black and white plumage.

The moſt diſtant quarters helped to ſupply this vaſt ſtore of proviſions; and the fineſt veal had been ſent by land-carriage as far as from Archangel, which is ſituated at the diſtance of 830 miles from Peterſburgh; yet every ſpecies of food is ſurprizingly cheap: beef was ſold at 1*d.* the Ruſſian pound *, pork at five farthings, and mutton at 1½*d.*; a gooſe for 10*d.* and a pig for 8*d.* and all other articles as reaſonable in proportion. In order to render this frozen food fit for dreſſing, it is firſt thawed in cold water.

* A Ruſſian pound contains 14 ounces and ½.

CHAP.

Bromton Vinx.t Russia. Chas. Ruotte sculp.t Londini

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Preſentation to the empreſs.—Court.—Balls.—Maſquerades.—Publick entertainments.—Orders of knighthood.—Account of the palace called the Hermitage.*—Diſtribution of the Empreſſes time.*—Ruſſian *nobility.—Their hoſpitality.—Politeneſs.—Aſſemblies.*—Engliſh *merchants.—Club.*

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ON the firſt of October, in the morning, between eleven and twelve, we attended our miniſter, Sir James Harris, to the drawing room, impatient to behold Catharine II. It was luckily the name-day, or, as we term it, the birth-day of the Great-duke, in honour of whom a moſt brilliant court was aſſembled. At the entrance into the drawing room ſtood two centinels of the foot-guards: their uniform was a green coat, with a red cuff and cape, and white waiſtcoat and breeches; they had ſilver helmets faſtened under the chin with ſilver claſps, and ornamented with an ample plume of red, yellow, black, and white feathers. Within the drawing room, at the doors of the paſſage leading to her majeſty's apartments, were two ſoldiers of the knights body-guard; a corps perhaps more ſumptuouſly accoutred than any in Europe. They wore caſques, like thoſe of the antients, with a rich plumage of black feathers, and their whole dreſs was in the ſame ſtyle: chains and broad plates of ſolid ſilver were braided over their uniforms, ſo as to bear the appearance of a rich coat of mail; and their boots were richly ornamented with the ſame metal.

In the drawing room we found a numerous aſſembly of foreign miniſters, Ruſſian nobility, and officers in their different uniforms, waiting the arrival of the empreſs, who was attending

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attending divine ſervice in the chapel of the palace, whither we alſo repaired. Amid a prodigious concourſe of nobles, I obſerved beyond the foremoſt the empreſs ſtanding by herſelf behind a railing, the only diſtinction by which her place was marked. Immediately next to her ſtood the great-duke and ducheſs; and behind an indiſcriminate throng of courtiers. The empreſs bowed repeatedly, and frequently croſſed herſelf, according to the forms uſed in the Greek church, with great expreſſions of devotion. Before the concluſion of the ſervice we returned to the drawing room, and took our ſtation near the door, in order to be preſented at her majeſty's entrance. At length, a little before twelve, the chief officers of the houſhold, the miſtreſs of the robes, the maids of honour, and other ladies of the bed chamber, advancing two by two in a long train, announced the approach of their ſovereign. Her majeſty came forward with a ſlow and ſolemn pace, walking with great pomp, holding her head very high, and perpetually bowing to the right and to the left as ſhe paſſed along. She ſtopped a little way within the entrance of the drawing room, and ſpoke with great affability to the foreign miniſters while they kiſſed her hand. She then advanced a few ſteps, and we were ſingly preſented by the vice-chancellor Count Oſterman, and had the honour of kiſſing her majeſty's hand. The empreſs wore, according to her uſual cuſtom, a Ruſſian dreſs, namely, a robe with a ſhort train, and a veſt with ſleeves reaching to the wriſt, like a Polonaiſe; the veſt was of gold brocade, and the robe was of light green ſilk; her hair was dreſſed low, and lightly ſprinkled with powder: ſhe wore a cap ſet thick with diamonds, and had a great deal of rouge. Her perſon, though rather below the middle ſize, is majeſtick, and her countenance, particularly when ſhe ſpeaks, expreſſes both dignity and ſweetneſs. She walked ſlowly through the drawing room to her apartment, and entered alone. The great-duke

duke and ducheſs followed the empreſs to the door, and then retired to their own drawing room, where they had a levee; but, as we had not yet been preſented to them at a private audience, we could not, according to the etiquette of the Ruſſian court, follow them. The great-ducheſs leaned upon the arm of his imperial highneſs; and they both inclined their heads on either ſide to the company as they paſſed along the line which was formed for them.

In the afternoon, about ſix o'clock, we repaired to a ball at court. The private apartments of the empreſs, as well as thoſe in which ſhe holds her court, are on the third ſtory, and the whole ſuite is remarkably grand and ſplendid. We found the company aſſembled in the anti-chamber, who, as ſoon as the great-duke and ducheſs made their appearance, all entered a ſpacious ball-room.

The great-duke opened the ball by walking a minuet with his conſort; at the end of which his imperial highneſs handed out a lady, and the great-ducheſs a gentleman, with whom they each performed a ſecond minuet at the ſame time. They afterwards ſucceſſively conferred this honour in the ſame manner upon many of the principal nobility, while ſeveral other couples were dancing minuets in different parts of the circle: the minuets were ſucceeded by Poliſh dances; and theſe were followed by Engliſh country-dances. In the midſt of the latter the empreſs entered the room: ſhe was more richly apparelled than in the morning, and bore upon her head a ſmall crown of diamonds.

Upon her majeſty's appearance the ball was inſtantly ſuſpended; while the great-duke and ducheſs, and the moſt conſiderable perſons who were preſent, haſtened to pay their reſpects to their ſovereign: Catharine, having addreſſed a few words to ſome of the principal nobility, aſcended a kind of elevated ſeat; when, the dancing being again reſumed, ſhe,

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after a ſhort time, withdrew into an inner apartment. We, in company with ſeveral courtiers, threw ourſelves into her majeſty's ſuite, and formed a circle round a table, at which ſhe had ſat down to cards. Her party conſiſted of the Ducheſs of Courland, Counteſs Bruce, Sir James Harris, Prince Potemkin, Marſhal Roſomouſki, Count Panin, Prince Repnin, and Count Ivan Tchernichef. The game was Macao; the pieces in circulation were imperials *; and a player might win or loſe two or three hundred pounds.

In the courſe of the evening the great-duke and ducheſs preſented themſelves before the empreſs, and ſtood by the table for about a quarter of an hour, during which time her majeſty occaſionally entered into converſation with them. The empreſs ſeemed to pay very little attention to the cards, converſed familiarly and frequently with great vivacity, as well with the party at play, as with the perſons of rank ſtanding near her. About ten her majeſty retired, and ſoon after the ball concluded.

On the 6th we had the honour of being preſented at a private audience to the great-duke and ducheſs; both of whom converſed with us in the moſt affable and condeſcending manner: according to the etiquette of this court, we kiſſed her imperial highneſſes hand.

There is a drawing room at court every Sunday morning, about twelve o'clock, and on other particular feſtivals, at which the embaſſadors are uſually preſent, and which all foreign gentlemen, who have been once preſented, are permitted to attend: the ceremony of kiſſing the empreſſes hand is repeated every court day by foreigners in the preſence chamber, and by the Ruſſians in another apartment: the latter bend their knee on this occaſion; an expreſſion of homage not exacted from the former. No ladies, excepting thoſe of the

* An imperial = £2.

empreſſes

empreſſes houſhold, make their appearance at the morning levees. CHAP. IV.

On every court day the great-duke and ducheſs have alſo their ſeparate levees at their own apartments in the palace. Upon particular occaſions, ſuch as her own and the empreſſes birth day, &c. foreigners have the honour of kiſſing her imperial highneſſes hand; but upon common days that ceremony is omitted.

In the evening of a court day there is always a ball at the palace, which begins between ſix and ſeven. At that time the foreign ladies kiſs the empreſſes hand, who ſalutes them in return on the cheek. Her majeſty, unleſs ſhe is indiſpoſed, generally makes her appearance about ſeven; and, if the aſſembly is not very numerous, plays at Macao in the ball-room; and the great-duke and ducheſs, after they have danced, ſit down to whiſt. Their highneſſes, after a ſhort interval, riſe, approach the empreſſes table, pay their reſpects, and then return to their game. When the ball happens to be crouded, the empreſs forms her party, as I have before-mentioned, in an adjoining room, which is open to all perſons who have once been preſented.

The richneſs and ſplendour of the Ruſſian court ſurpaſſes all the ideas which the moſt elaborate deſcriptions can ſuggeſt. It retains many traces of its antient Aſiatick pomp, blended with European refinement. An immenſe retinue of courtiers always preceded and followed the empreſs; the coſtlineſs and glare of their apparel, and a profuſion of precious ſtones, created a ſplendour, of which the magnificence of other courts can give us only a faint idea. The court-dreſs of the men is in the French faſhion: that of the ladies is a gown and petticoat, with a ſmall hoop; the gown has long hanging-ſleeves and a ſhort train, and is of a different colour from the petticoat. The ladies wore, according to the faſhion of the winter of

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1777 at Paris and London, very lofty head-dreſſes, and were not ſparing in the uſe of rouge. Amid the ſeveral articles of ſumptuouſneſs which diſtinguiſh the Ruſſian nobility, there is none perhaps more calculated to ſtrike a foreigner than the profuſion of diamonds and other precious ſtones, which ſparkle in every part of their dreſs. In moſt other European countries theſe coſtly ornaments are (excepting among a few of the richeſt and principal nobles) almoſt entirely appropriated to the ladies; but in this the men vie with the fair ſex in the uſe of them. Many of the nobility were almoſt covered with diamonds; their buttons, buckles, hilts of ſwords, and epaulets, were compoſed of this valuable material; their hats were frequently embroidered, if I may uſe the expreſſion, with ſeveral rows of them; and a diamond-ſtar upon the coat was ſcarcely a diſtinction. This paſſion for jewels ſeems to pervade the lower ranks of people, for even private families abound with them; and the wife of a common Ruſſian burgher will appear with a head-dreſs or girdle of pearls, and other precious ſtones, to the value of two or three hundred pounds.

After this general and particular deſcription of the court of Ruſſia, it would be tedious to enumerate every particular time we attended the drawing room. I ſhall therefore only dwell upon ſome days when the ſolemnity of the occaſion added ſome variety to the general ſameneſs which characteriſes a court.

The empreſs, on days of high ceremony, generally wears a crown of diamonds of immenſe value, and appears with the ribbands of the order of St. Andrew and Merit, flung both over the ſame ſhoulder, with the collars of thoſe orders, and the two ſtars emblazoned one above the other upon her veſt.

On certain anniverſaries the empreſs dines in publick; two of theſe days occurred in the courſe of our ſtay at Peterſburgh.

The

The 2d of December being the feaſt of the Iſmailof regiment of guards, her majeſty, who as ſovereign is colonel of the corps, gave, according to annual cuſtom, a grand entertainment to the officers. Being deſirous to be preſent, we repaired to court at twelve. Her majeſty was dreſſed in the uniform of the regiment, which is green trimmed with gold lace, made in the form of a lady's riding habit. As ſoon as all the officers of the regiment had kiſſed her hand, a ſalver of wine was brought in by one of the lords in waiting, and the empreſs preſented a glaſs to each officer, who received it from her hands, and, after a low obeiſance, drank it off. At the concluſion of this ceremony her majeſty led the way, about one o'clock, into an adjoining apartment, in which a ſumptuous dinner was ſpread: ſhe took her place in the middle of the table; and the officers were ranged on each ſide according to their reſpective ranks. The empreſs helped the ſoup herſelf, and paid the greateſt attention to her gueſts during the whole repaſt, which laſted about an hour, when her majeſty roſe from table and withdrew.

On a ſubſequent occaſion we attended another entertainment, given by the empreſs to the knights of the order of St. Andrew. Her majeſty had on a robe of green velvet, lined and faced with ermine, and a diamond collar of the order. The dreſs of the knights was ſplendid, but exceedingly gaudy and inelegant. They wore a green velvet robe, lined with ſilver brocade, a coat alſo of ſilver brocade, waiſtcoat and breeches of gold ſtuff, red ſilk ſtockings, a hat *à la Henry IV.* ornamented with a plume of feathers, and interſperſed with diamonds. As the order of St. Andrew is the moſt honourable in this country, it is confined to a few perſons of the firſt rank and conſequence; and there were only twelve of them at Peterſburgh who ſat down to dinner with the empreſs; theſe were Prince Potemkin, Prince Orlof,

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Marſhal Galitzin, Counts Alexèy Orlof, Panin, Roſomofſki, Ivan Tchernichef, Voronzof, Alexander and Leon Nariſkin, Munich, and Mr. de Betſkoi. The empreſs before dinner, as on the former occaſion, preſented each knight with a glaſs of wine: at the table ſhe was diſtinguiſhed by a chair ornamented with the arms of Ruſſia, and preſided with her uſual dignity and condeſcenſion. The foreign miniſters and a ſplendid train of courtiers ſtood ſpectators of the entertainment, and many of them were occaſionally noticed by the empreſs.

The order of St. Andrew, or the Blue Ribband, the firſt ever known in this country, was inſtituted by Peter I. in the year 1698, ſoon after his return from his firſt expedition into foreign countries *.

That of St. Alexander Nevſki, or the Red Ribband, was created by the ſame ſovereign, but never conferred until the reign of Catharine I. in 1725 †.

The order of St. Anne of Holſtein was inſtituted, in 1735, by Charles Frederick duke of Holſtein, in memory of his wife Anne daughter of Peter the Great, and introduced into Ruſſia by her ſon Peter III. It is in the diſpoſal of the great-duke as ſovereign of Holſtein. The knights wear a red ribband bordered with yellow.

The military order of St. George, called alſo the order of Merit, and which has the precedence over that of St. Anne, was created by the preſent empreſs in 1769. It is appropriated to perſons ſerving by land or by ſea, and is never beſtowed in time of peace. The knights wear a ribband with black and orange ſtripes.

This order is divided into four claſſes;

The knights of the firſt claſs, called the Great Croſs, wear the ribband over the right ſhoulder, and the ſtar upon the left

* Weber's Ver. Ruſſ. Part III. p. 161. † Ibid. p. 38.

ſide.

ſide. Each receives an annual ſalary of 700 roubles = £140. The knights of the ſecond claſs wear the ſtar upon their left breaſt, the ribband with the croſs pendent round their neck. Each receives 400 roubles = £80 *per ann.* The knights of the third claſs wear the ſmall croſs pendent round their neck. Each receives 200 roubles, or £40 *per ann.* This claſs admits 50. The knights of the fourth claſs wear the ſmall croſs faſtened by a ribband to the button-hole like the French Croix de St. Louis. Each receives 100 roubles, or £20 *per ann.*

The fund of this order, aſſigned by the empreſs for the payment of their ſalaries and other expences, is 40,000 roubles = £8,000 *per ann.* Of this 1680 is deſtined for the firſt claſs; and 2000 for each of the remaining three.

The number of knights is unlimited. In 1778 the firſt claſs, which is confined to commanders in chief, contained only four; namely, Marſhal Romanzof, for his victories over the Turks; Count Alexéy Orlof, for burning the Turkiſh fleet at Tcheſme; Count Panin, for the taking of Bender; and Prince Dolgorucki, for his conqueſts in the Crimea. The ſecond claſs compriſed only eight knights: the third 48; and the fourth 237. No perſon can obtain this order without having performed ſome gallant exploit, or having ſerved with credit in the rank of officer 25 years by land, or 18 by ſea*.

There is alſo the order of St. Catharine, appropriated to the ladies; it was inſtituted in 1714 by Peter, in honour of his wife Catharine. The motto of "Love and fidelity" was intended to commemorate the diſplay of thoſe virtues in her behaviour on the banks of the Pruth. This order is extremely honourable, as, beſide the empreſs, the great-ducheſs, and a few foreign princeſſes, only five Ruſſian ladies were decorated with it.

The order of St. Andrew is the firſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed

* See Ukaſe ueber die Stiftung des St. Georg's-Ordens, in Schmidts Beytrage.

of

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of theſe, which, beſide the ſovereign princes and foreigners, compriſed, in 1778, 26 Ruſſians; that of St. Alexander Nevſki 109; and that of St. Anne 208. The empreſs may alſo be ſaid to have the diſpoſal of the Poliſh orders of the White Eagle and of St. Staniſlaus.

Since our departure from Ruſſia her majeſty inſtituted, on the 4th of October, 1782, a new order, called St. Vladimir, in favour of thoſe who ſerve in civil employments; and it is nearly on the ſame footing as that of St. George with reſpect to the ſalaries annexed to the different claſſes. There are to be ten great croſſes, twenty of the ſecond claſs, thirty of the third, and ſixty of the fourth, beſide a fifth for thoſe who have ſerved 35 years, which gives them a right to wear it.

Two or three times in the winter there are maſquerades at court, to which perſons of all ranks are admitted. At one of theſe entertainments which we attended, about eight thouſand tickets were diſtributed; and from the great concourſe I ſhould ſuppoſe that number to have been actually preſent. A magnificent ſuite of twenty apartments were opened on this occaſion, all handſomely illuminated. One of theſe apartments, a large oblong room, the ſame in which the common balls at court are held, had a ſpace in the middle encloſed with a low railing, appropriated to the nobility who danced. A moſt elegant ſaloon of an oval form, called the great-hall of Apollo, nearly as big as the rotunda at Ranelagh, but without any ſupport in the middle, was allotted for the dances of the burghers, and other perſons, who had not been preſented at court. The remaining rooms, in which tea and other refreſhments were ſerved, were filled with card-tables, and crouded with perſons continually paſſing and re-paſſing. All the company had on their maſks, or took them off at their pleaſure. The nobles in general wore dominos; the natives of inferior rank appeared in their own provincial clothes, embelliſhed,

belliſhed, perhaps, with a few occaſional ornaments. An exhibition of the ſeveral dreſſes actually uſed by the different inhabitants of the Ruſſian empire, afforded a greater variety of motley figures than the wildeſt fancy ever invented in the maſquerades of other countries. Several merchants wives were decked with large quantities of valuable pearls, many of which were ſplit in halves for the purpoſe of making more ſhow.

About ſeven the empreſs made her appearance at the head of a ſuperb *quadrille*, conſiſting of eight ladies led by as many gentlemen. Her majeſty and the other ladies of this ſelect band were moſt ſumptuouſly apparelled in Greek habits; and the gentlemen were accoutred in the Roman military garb, their helmets richly ſtudded with diamonds: among the ladies I particularly diſtinguiſhed the Ducheſs of Courland, Princeſs Repnin, and Counteſs Bruce. Among the gentlemen, Prince Potemkin, Marſhal Roſomoffſki, and Count Ivan Tchernichef. The empreſs led the way, leaning upon the arm of Marſhal Roſomoffſki, and, paſſing in great ſtate through the ſeveral apartments, walked two or three times round the hall of Apollo, and then ſat down to cards in one of the adjoining rooms; the company flocked thither in crouds without diſtinction, and arranged themſelves as they could find admittance round the table at a reſpectful diſtance. The empreſs withdrew as uſual before eleven.

A few days before our departure from Peterſburgh, Baron Nolken, miniſter from the court of Stockholm, gave a maſquerade and ball on the birth of a ſon to the preſent king of Sweden, which the empreſs, great-duke and ducheſs, honoured with their preſence. Five hundred perſons of the nobility were invited, together with the embaſſadors, and other foreigners who had been preſented at court. The ball began at ſeven: the great-duke and ducheſs firſt made their appearance with a ſmall ſuite, and ſoon afterwards her imperial ma-

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jeſty arrived at the head of a *quadrille*, conſiſting of nearly the ſame perſons as at that lately deſcribed at court. Madame Nolken conducted her majeſty and her party through the ball-room to an inner apartment, where a rich canopy was erected for the occaſion, under which ſhe ſat down to Macao. At nine a ſmall table was ſpread, with little ceremony, for the empreſs and her *quadrille*, in the ſame room where they were engaged at cards. Her majeſty, who never ſups, took nothing but a piece of bread and a glaſs of wine. At the ſame time a moſt ſplendid entertainment was ſerved in a large ſaloon to the great-duke and ducheſs and the reſt of the company. Their imperial highneſſes were ſeated at a central table, with a party of about thirty perſons; and the remaining gentlemen and ladies were diſtributed at different tables, which ran round the ſides of the room. The chearfulneſs and complacency of the great-duke and ducheſs, the attention and politeneſs of Baron Nolken and his lady, diffuſed an univerſal gaiety throughout the aſſembly, and rendered the entertainment as agreeable as it was ſplendid.

A ſeparate edifice of brick ſtuccoed white, called the Hermitage, communicates with the palace by means of a covered gallery. It takes its appellation from its being the ſcene of imperial retirement, but bears no other reſemblance to an hermitage except in its name, the apartments being extremely ſpacious, and decorated in a ſuperb ſtyle of regal magnificence. To this favourite ſpot the empreſs uſually repairs for an hour or two every day; and on a Thurſday evening ſhe gives a private ball and ſupper to the principal perſons who form her court; foreign miniſters and foreign noblemen being ſeldom invited. At this entertainment all ceremony is ſaid to be baniſhed, as far as is conſiſtent with that reſpect which is paid to a great ſovereign. The attendance of ſervants is excluded, while the ſupper and various refreſhments are preſented on ſmall

ſmall tables, which emerge through trap-doors. Many directions for the regulation of this ſelect ſociety are diſpoſed in the various apartments: the meaning of thoſe written in the Ruſſian tongue was explained to me by a gentleman of the company, and their general tendency was to encourage freedom from etiquette, and to inculcate the moſt unreſtrained eaſe of behaviour. One written in the French language I comprehended and retained. "*Aſſeyez vous où vous voulez, et "quand il vous plaira, ſans qu'on le repete mille fois* *."

This hermitage contains a numerous aſſemblage of pictures, chiefly purchaſed by her preſent majeſty. Its principal ornament was the celebrated collection of Crozat, which devolved by heritage to the Baron de Thieres, upon whoſe death the empreſs purchaſed it from his heirs. The Houghton collection, the loſs of which every lover of the arts in England muſt ſincerely regret, will form a moſt valuable acceſſion.

A winter and ſummer garden, compriſed within the ſite of the building, are ſingular curioſities, and ſuch as do not, perhaps, occur in any other palace in Europe. The ſummer garden, in the true Aſiatick ſtyle, occupies the whole level top of the edifice: at this ſeaſon of the year it was entirely buried under the ſnow, which prevented our viewing it. The winter-garden is entirely roofed and ſurrounded with glaſs frames: it is an high and ſpacious hot-houſe, laid out in gravel walks, ornamented with parterres of flowers, orange trees and other ſhrubs, and peopled with ſeveral birds of ſundry ſorts and various climates, which flitted from tree to tree. The whole exhibited a pleaſing effect, and was the more delightful as being contraſted with the diſmal and dreary ſeaſon of the year.

The ordinary diſtribution of the empreſſes time at Peterſburgh, as far as I could collect from inquiries which I had

* Sit down where you chuſe and when you pleaſe, without its being repeated to you a thouſand times.

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many opportunities of making, as it concerns ſo great a princeſs, cannot be unacceptable to the reader.

Her majeſty uſually riſes about ſix, and is engaged till eight or nine in publick buſineſs with her ſecretary. At ten ſhe generally begins her toilet; and while her hair is dreſſing, the miniſters of ſtate, and her aid-de-camps in waiting, pay their reſpects and receive their orders. Being dreſſed about eleven, ſhe ſends for her grand-children the young princes Alexander and Conſtantine, or viſits them in their own apartment. Before dinner ſhe receives a viſit from the great-duke and ducheſs; and ſits down to table rather before one. She has always company at dinner, uſually about nine perſons, conſiſting of the generals and lords in waiting, a lady of the bed chamber, a maid of honour, and two or three of the Ruſſian nobility, whom ſhe invites. Their imperial highneſſes dine with her three times in the week, on which days the party is encreaſed to eighteen perſons. The lord of the bed chamber in waiting, who always ſits oppoſite to the empreſs, carves one diſh and preſents it to her; an attention, which, after having once politely accepted, ſhe afterwards diſpenſes with. Her majeſty is remarkably temperate, and is ſeldom at table more than an hour. From thence ſhe retires to her own apartment; and about three frequently repairs to her library in the Hermitage. At five ſhe goes to the theatre *, or to a private concert; and, when there is no court in the evening, has a private party at cards. She ſeldoms ſups, generally retires at half paſt ten, and is uſually in bed before eleven.

The great-duke is extremely fond of the manage; and, two or three times in the week, takes the diverſion of a tournament, which is thus deſcribed in my friend Colonel Floyd's Journal: "Count Orlof, having obtained the great-duke's

* An Italian opera, a ſet of Ruſſian and another of French players were, in 1778, maintained at her majeſty's expence, at which the ſpectators were admitted gratis.

"permiſſion

" permiſſion for me to attend the manage of the court, I ac-
" cordingly went this morning to ſee a tournament. His im-
" perial highneſs and eleven of his nobles, dreſſed in uniforms
" of buff and gold, and armed with a lance, ſword, and piſ-
" tols, were aſſembled by nine o'clock, although it was as yet
" duſk. The great-duke drew them up by pairs, and upon
" the ſound of the trumpet, himſelf and the knights immedi-
" ately mounted their horſes, and retired in due order without
" the rails. Two rings were ſuſpended on oppoſite ſides of
" the walls on each ſide of the manage; at each corner was a
" moor's head of paſteboard, or an apple fixed upon a pole,
" and between them two heads with a ſquib in their mouths.
" Theſe were all placed upon ſtands almoſt as high as a man
" on horſe-back, and at ſome paces from the wall; at each end
" was alſo an helmet of paſteboard raiſed upon a ſtand about
" a foot from the ground, and about four from the wall.
" The two judges, with Lord Herbert and myſelf, who were
" the only ſpectators, took our ſtation on the outſide the rail.
" Upon a ſecond ſignal from the trumpet two knights entered
" at oppoſite ends of the manage. A band of muſick played
" a quick air, while each knight, galloping his horſe to the
" right, and making a volt, ſaluted with their lances at the
" ſame time; then, continuing their courſe round the manage,
" each ran with his lance, firſt at the rings ſuſpended from
" the walls, and next at the moor's heads; after which they
" delivered their lances, as they went on, to their ſervants on
" foot. The knights then drew their piſtols, and each mak-
" ing a ſecond volt round the other heads, diſcharged them in
" order to ſet fire to the ſquib; then, purſuing their courſe
" round the manage, they drew their ſwords, and, making a
" third volt round the apple, endeavoured to ſtrike it to the
" ground. They finiſhed their career by ſtooping down and,
" as they galloped by, thruſting their ſwords through the

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" helmets; then poiſing them in the air, they met in the " middle, and, riding towards the judge, ſaluted him, related " the attempts in which they had ſucceeded, and demanded " their prizes: the prize was about four ſhillings for each " atchievement, and an equal value was paid for every failure. " The whole was performed on a continued gallop, and al- " ways to the right. In running at the ring, the head, or the " helmet, it is eſteemed honourable to put the horſe into full " career, which encreaſes the difficulty. The judge having " beſtowed the rewards, or taken the forfeits, ordered the two " knights to retire. The trumpets again ſounding, two others " made their appearance, and performed the ſame manœuvres. " This exerciſe was repeated twice by each pair of knights. " The whole troop then entered at the ſame time, marched, " charged, formed, drew and returned their ſwords, and diſ- " mounted by word of command from the great-duke. At " the concluſion they adjourned to the fire, chocolate was " brought in, and, after a ſhort converſation, the great-duke " bowed and retired."

The Ruſſian nobility of Peterſburgh are no leſs than thoſe of Moſcow diſtinguiſhed for their hoſpitality towards foreigners. We were no ſooner preſented to a perſon of rank and fortune, than we were regarded in the light of domeſtick viſitants. Many of the nobility keep an open table, to which one invitation was conſidered as a ſtanding paſſport of admiſſion. The only ceremony neceſſary to be obſerved on this occaſion was to make inquiry in the morning if the maſter of the houſe dined at home; and if he did, we, without further ceremony, preſented ourſelves at his table. The oftener we appeared at theſe hoſpitable boards, the more acceptable gueſts we were eſteemed; and we always ſeemed to confer, inſtead of receiving, an obligation.

The tables were ſerved with great profuſion and taſte. Though

Though the Ruſſians have adopted the delicacies of French cookery, yet they neither affect to deſpiſe their native diſhes, nor ſqueamiſhly reject the ſolid joints which characterize our repaſts. The plaineſt, as well as the choiceſt viands, were collected from the moſt diſtant quarters: I have frequently ſeen at the ſame time ſterlet from the Volga, veal from Archangel, mutton from Aſtrachan, beef from the Ukraine, and pheaſants from Hungary and Bohemia. Their common wines are chiefly claret, Burgundy, and Champaigne, and I never taſted Engliſh beer and porter in greater perfection and abundance. Before dinner, even in the houſes of perſons of the firſt diſtinction, a ſmall table is ſpread in a corner of the drawing room, covered with plates of caviare, dried and pickled herrings, ſmoked ham or tongue, bread, butter, and cheeſe, together with bottles of different *liqueurs*; and few of the company of either ſex omitted a prelude of this kind to the main entertainment. This practice has induced many travellers to relate, that the Ruſſians ſwallow bowls of brandy before dinner. What are the uſages of the vulgar in this particular I cannot determine; but among the nobility I never obſerved the leaſt violation of the moſt extreme ſobriety: and this cuſtom of taking *liqueur* before dinner, conſidering the extreme ſmallneſs of the glaſſes uſed on this occaſion, is a very innocent refreſhment, and will not convey the faineſt idea of exceſs. Indeed the Ruſſians in no other wiſe differ from the French in this inſtance, than that they taſte a glaſs of *liqueur* before their repaſt, while the latter defer it till after dinner. The uſual hour of dining is at three: their entertainments are moſtly regulated according to the French ceremonial, the wine being circulated during meals; and the diſhes are no ſooner removed than the company retire from table into another room, and are immediately ſerved with coffee. Nor do the gentlemen,

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tlemen, as in England, continue wedded to the bottle, while the ladies withdraw into a ſeparate apartment.

Several of the nobility alſo receive company every evening in the moſt eaſy manner: the parties uſually met about ſeven; ſome ſat down to whiſt, macao, loo, and other games, ſome converſed, and others danced. Amid the refreſhments tea was handed round no leſs frequently than in England. At ten ſupper was brought in, and the party generally broke up between eleven and twelve. It is no exaggeration to ſay, that, during our continuance in this city, not one evening paſſed but we had it in our power to attend an aſſembly of this ſort; and if we had always frequented the ſame, we ſhould always have found the greateſt cordiality of reception. From theſe circumſtances there is perhaps no metropolis in Europe, excepting Vienna, which is rendered more agreeable to foreigners than Peterſburgh.

The houſes of the nobility are furniſhed with great elegance, and the ſuite of apartments in which they receive company is uncommonly ſplendid. They are fitted up in the ſtyle of London and Paris, and the new faſhions make their appearance as ſoon as in thoſe two capitals.

I have, on a former occaſion, deſcribed the modes of ſalutation practiſed by the peaſants and common people; I ſhall here mention thoſe which I obſerved in uſe among perſons of higher rank. The gentlemen bow very low, and the ladies incline their heads inſtead of curtſying. Sometimes the gentlemen kiſs the ladies hands as a mark of reſpect, which is uſual in many countries; if the parties are well acquainted, or of equal condition, or if the lady is willing to pay a compliment, ſhe ſalutes his cheek while he is kiſſing her hand. Frequently, while ſhe ſtoops to touch his cheek, he takes that opportunity of ſaluting her. I have often obſerved this ceremony performed and repeated, as well in the drawing room

at court, as at the different aſſemblies. If the gentleman is a perſon of very high rank, the lady offers firſt to kiſs his hand, which he prevents by ſaluting her on the cheek. The men, and particularly relations, exchange ſalutes in this manner, each kiſſing the other's hand at the ſame inſtant, and afterwards their cheeks.

The Ruſſians, in their uſual mode of addreſs, never prefix any title or appellation of reſpect to their names; but perſons of all ranks, even thoſe of the firſt diſtinctions, call each other by their chriſtian names, to which they add a patronymick. Theſe patronymicks are formed in ſome caſes by adding Vitch * to the chriſtian name of the father, in others by Of or Ef; the former is applied only to perſons of condition, the latter to thoſe of inferior rank. Thus,

Ivan Ivanovitch Ivan Ivanof	is Ivan the ſon of Ivan.	Peter Alexievitch Peter Alexeof	Peter the ſon of Alexèy.

The female patronymick is Efna, or Ofna, as Sophia Alexeefna, or Sophia the daughter of Alexèy; Maria Ivanofna, or Maria the daughter of Ivan.

Great families are alſo in general diſtinguiſhed by a ſurname, as thoſe of Romanof, Galitzin, Sheremetof, &c.

Any ſtranger, who has ever experienced the great politeneſs and taſte, which are conſpicuous, as well in the behaviour and manners of the Ruſſian nobility, as in their entertainments and aſſemblies, muſt naturally be ſurprized that ſcarcely ſixty years ago the following regulations ſhould have been thought neceſſary by Peter the Great †.

Regulations for Aſſemblies at Peterſburgh in 1719.

"Aſſembly is a French term, which cannot be rendered in Ruſſian in one word: It ſig-
"nifies a number of perſons meeting together, either for diverſion, or to talk about their
"own affairs. Friends may ſee each other on that occaſion, to confer together on buſineſs

* Vitch is the ſame as our Fitz, as Fitzherbert, or the ſon of Herbert.

† Perry's State of Ruſſia, vol. I. p. 186.

"or

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" or other ſubjects, to enquire after domeſtick and foreign news, and ſo to paſs their time.
" After what manner we will have thoſe aſſemblies kept, may be learned from what follows.

I. " The perſon, at whoſe houſe the aſſembly is to be in the evening, is to hang out a " bill or other ſign, to give notice to all perſons of either ſex.

II. " The aſſembly ſhall not begin ſooner than four or five in the afternoon, nor conti- " nue later than ten at night.

III. " The maſter of the houſe is not obliged to go and meet his gueſts, to conduct them " out, or to entertain them; but though himſelf is exempt from waiting on them, he " ought to find chairs, candles, drink, and all the neceſſaries aſked for, as alſo to provide " for all ſorts of gaming, and what belongs thereto.

IV. " No certain hour is fixed for any body's coming or going; it is ſufficient if one " makes his appearance in the aſſembly.

V. " It is left to every one's liberty to ſit, walk, or play, juſt as he likes; nor ſhall any " body hinder him, or take exception at what he does, on pain of emptying the Great Eagle " (a bowl filled with wine or brandy). As for the reſt, it is enough to ſalute at coming " and going.

VI. " Perſons of rank, as, for inſtance, noblemen, and ſuperior officers, likewiſe mer- " chants of note, and head-maſters, (by which are underſtood ſhip-builders), perſons em- " ployed in the Chancery, and their wives and children, ſhall have liberty of frequenting " the aſſemblies.

VII. " A particular place ſhall be aſſigned to the footmen (thoſe of the houſe excepted), " that there may be ſufficient room in the apartments deſigned for the aſſembly."

The Engliſh merchants live in a very ſocial and even ſplendid manner. Beſide conſtant meetings at their reſpective houſes, they have, once in a fortnight, a regular aſſembly in a houſe hired for that purpoſe, to which they obligingly invite all their countrymen who happen to be at Peterſburgh, and occaſionally ſome Ruſſian ladies. There is a ball, cards, and ſupper: twelve or fourteen couple uſually dance on this occaſion: and the meeting is perfectly cheerful and agreeable.

During my ſtay at Peterſburgh I dined two or three times at a club, which conſiſts of about 300 members, moſtly Engliſh and Germans. None are admitted who have a rank ſuperior to that of major general; but a member who afterwards attains a higher ſtation is not excluded. Every perſon, upon his admiſſion, pays £5. and afterwards £2. *per ann.* They have a large houſe, which is open day and night, and ſervants

ſervants always attending. It contains billiard tables, a coffee room, apartments for cards, a large apartment, in which there is a ſupper every evening, and a dinner three times in a week. Each meal coſts 2*s.* excluſive of wine, which is ſeparately paid for. Any member may introduce his friend, firſt entering his name in a day-book, and paying his dinner at the ſtipulated rate.

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Deſcription of the fortreſs of Peterſburgh.—*Cathedral of* St. Peter *and* Paul.—*Tomb and character of* Peter the Great, *and thoſe of the imperial family.—Mint.—Hiſtory of the boat called* The Little Grandſire, *which gave riſe to the* Ruſſian *navy upon the* Black Sea.

THE origin of the fortreſs which occaſioned the foundation of this capital has been already related in the general deſcription of Peterſburgh. Its walls of brick, and ſtrengthened with five regular baſtions, encircle a ſmall iſland of about half a mile in circumference, formed by the Great and Little Neva. Within the walls are barracks for a ſmall garriſon, ſeveral wards uſed as a common jail, and dungeons for the confinement of ſtate-priſoners.

In the middle of the iſland ſtands the cathedral of St. Peter and Paul, in a different ſtyle of architecture from that uſually employed in the conſtruction of churches for the ſervice of the Greek religion. Inſtead of domes, it has a ſpire of copper gilt, the higheſt part whereof riſes above 240 feet from the ground. Its interior decorations are much more elegant and leſs gaudy than thoſe in the churches of Novogorod and Moſcow;

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cow; and the paintings are done in the modern ſtyle of the Italian ſchool, and not in the dry manner of the Greek maſters.

In this cathedral are depoſited the remains of Peter the Great, and of all the ſucceſſive ſovereigns, excepting thoſe of Peter II. buried at Moſcow, and of the late unfortunate Peter III. interred in the convent of St. Alexander Nevſki. The tombs are of marble, of the ſame form as thoſe at Moſcow and Novogorod, namely, in the ſhape of a ſquare coffin; and have all, excepting one, an inſcription in the Ruſſian tongue: when I ſaw them they were covered with gold brocade, bordered with ſilver lace and ermine.

I viewed, not without a peculiar kind of veneration and awe, the ſepulchre which contains the body of Peter I. who founded the greatneſs of the Ruſſian empire: the ſternneſs, or rather the ferocity, of whoſe diſpoſition, neither ſpared age nor ſex, nor the deareſt connections; and who yet, with a ſtrong degree of compunction, was accuſtomed to ſay of himſelf, "I can reform my people, but I cannot reform myſelf." A * royal hiſtorian has juſtly obſerved of Peter, that he compenſated the cruelties of a tyrant by the virtues of a legiſlator. We muſt readily allow that he conſiderably reformed and civilized his ſubjects; that he created a navy; that he new-modelled and diſciplined his army: that he promoted the arts and ſciences, agriculture, and commerce; and laid the foundation of that glory which Ruſſia has ſince attained. But, inſtead of crying out in the language of panegyrick,

> Erubeſce, ars! Hic vir maximus tibi nihil debuit:
> Exulta, natura! Hoc ſtupendium tuum eſt †:

We may, on the contrary, venture to regret, that he was not

* Pierre I. mourut dans ces circonſtances, laiſſant dans le monde plûtôt la reputation d'un homme extraordinaire, que d'un grand homme, & *couvrant les cruautes d'un Tiran des vertus d'un legiſlateur.* Hiſt. de la Maiſon de Brandebourg.

† Bluſh, art! this hero owed thee nothing.
Exult, nature! for this prodigy is all thy own.
See Gordon's Life of Peter. Vol. II.

taught

taught the leſſons of humanity; that his ſublime and unruly genius was not controuled and improved by proper *culture*; nor his ſavage nature corrected and ſoftened by the refinements of *art*. And if Peter failed in enlightening the maſs of his ſubjects as much as he wiſhed, the failure was principally occaſioned by his own precipitate temper, by the chimerical idea of introducing the arts and ſciences by force, and of performing in a moment what muſt be the gradual work of time; by violating the eſtabliſhed cuſtoms of his people; and, in contradiction to the dictates of ſound policy, requiring an immediate ſacrifice of thoſe prejudices which had been ſanctified by ages. In a word, his failure was the failure of a ſuperior genius wandering without a guide; and the greateſt eulogium we can juſtly offer to his extraordinary character, is to allow that his virtues were his own, and his defects thoſe of his education and country. CHAP. V.

Peter the Great was born at Moſcow on the 30th of May, O. S. 1672; and died at Peterſburgh on the 28th of January, 1725, in the 53d year of his age, and in the 44th of a glorious reign.

I obſerved near the tomb of Peter ſome Turkiſh colours: they were taken in the naval engagement of Tcheſme, diſplayed during a ſolemn proceſſion in honour of that victory, and then placed by the hand of the preſent empreſs at the tomb of the ſovereign who was the founder of the Ruſſian navy.

Near thoſe of Peter repoſe the aſhes of his ſecond wife and ſucceſſor Catharine I. the beautiful Livonian, who, by a wonderful train of events, was exalted from a cottage to unbounded ſovereignty *.

In the vault of this church, but without any tomb or inſcription, lies Alexèy ſon of Peter I. who fell a ſacrifice to the artifices of the deſigning Mentchikof, and to the reſentment

* See an account of Catharine I. in Chap. VII. of this Book.

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of an inhuman, though, perhaps, juſtly offended father. The recollection of his fate makes a ſtrong impreſſion on a feeling mind; and muſt ſtill more forcibly ſtrike a ſubject of the Britiſh empire; where will is not law; where the heir apparent is as ſecure as the ſovereign himſelf; and where the right of ſucceſſion ſtands irrevocable, not to be altered by the caprice or jealouſy of a reigning monarch. The ſpeculative theoriſt may indeed argue for Peter, that there ſhould be a power inveſted in the ſovereign to exclude an unworthy ſucceſſor, who ſhould threaten to overturn his plans of reformation, and again to plunge his country into the barbariſm from which he had raiſed it with ſo much difficulty. But, in effect, this is nothing leſs than rendering the fate of a whole empire abſolutely dependent upon the will of one perſon, who, during his life, may change his heir as often as he changes his opinion; or who, like Peter, may expire without nominating his ſucceſſor, and leave the crown to be ſeized or diſputed by thoſe who have not the leaſt ſhadow of pretenſion. By this means the throne is open to every claimant who may have a chance of ſecuring the concurrence of the army. If all the evils which might have been expected from this change of the ſucceſſion have not been hitherto experienced in Ruſſia, it muſt be aſcribed to the following conſideration: that notwithſtanding the abſolute power which the ſovereign poſſeſſed of nominating his heir, yet the notions of hereditary right, and the privilege of primogeniture, though annulled by Peter's law, ſtill retained a conſiderable degree of influence in the opinion of the nation. The excluſion, however, of Alexèy, the decree * ſubſequent to his death, and the unſettled ideas concerning

* "In the month of February, 1722, a "proclamation was made by the ſound of "trumpet, requiring every natural-born ſub-"ject of the Ruſſian empire, and all foreign-"ers then reſiding there, to ſwear and ſign "an oath, 'that they will acknowledge, as "ſucceſſor to the empire, the perſon whom "his majeſty ſhall nominate for their ſove-"reign after his death.' This order ſtruck "a damp on the ſpirits of every body, when "they

concerning the right of ſucceſſion neceſſarily introduced by that fatal mandate, have occaſioned frequent revolutions in the government of this country: and the diſpoſal of the ſceptre has in ſome meaſure depended upon the regiments of guards * ſtationed

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" they reflected on the undoubted title of " the young prince Peter, his majeſty's grand- " ſon, and only remaining heir of the impe- " rial family." Bruce's Memoirs, p. 226.

The oath was thus worded: " I do vow " and ſwear before Almighty God, and upon " the Holy Evangeliſts, that I own and ac- " knowledge the decree concerning the ſuc- " ceſſion to the crown of Ruſſia, publiſhed the " 5th of February, 1722, by order of the " moſt illuſtrious and mighty prince, Peter I. " emperor and ſovereign of all Ruſſia, our " moſt gracious lord and maſter: wherein it " is ordained, *that the preſent, or any ſucceeding* " *emperor of Ruſſia, not only may at pleaſure no-* " *minate and appoint a ſucceſſor to the crown,* " *but likewiſe alter the ſucceſſion, as often as he,* " *the preſent, or any other ſucceeding emperor ſhall* " *ſee cauſe, or think fit.* This imperial ordi- " nance, I the under-named do acknowledge " to be juſt and right, and promiſe all due " obedience to the perſon ſo named and ap- " pointed ſucceſſor to the imperial crown of " Ruſſia; I will hold and acknowledge him " to be the only lawful heir, and my only " ſovereign, and accordingly will hazard life " and fortune to maintain him on the throne, " and defeat the deſigns of his enemies. " Moreover, if I ſhall ever be found to act " contrary to this oath, or to put any other " conſtruction upon it, then, and in that " caſe, I will be accounted a traitor, and not " only be liable to an ignominious death, but " alſo to the anathema of the church. In " confirmation of which, I kiſs the Holy " Goſpel and croſs, and hereunto do ſet my " hand."

* The licentious conduct of the guards (ſoon after the acceſſion of Catharine I.), which proceeded from their power of diſpoſing of the crown, was uncontroulable. " Although the empreſs appeared to rule " with an abſolute authority, yet it is certain " that ſhe entirely depended upon the caprice " of the Preobreſhenſky regiment of guards, " and the nobles who had placed her upon " her throne, neither of whom ſhe durſt " contradict or reduce. Catharine, well " aware of her ſituation, endeavoured to " free herſelf from this dependent ſtate, by " declaring all the majors, who had moſt au- " thority, lieutenant-generals; and, under " pretence of theſe promotions, to remove " them from the regiment of guards, and, in " their ſtead, to appoint ſeveral foreigners, " who were officers in the other regiments, " to be majors; but as the captains of the " guards were unanimouſly diſſatisfied with " theſe regulations, ſhe was conſtrained to " place affairs upon the old footing." Auſtrian Envoy in B. H. M. XI. p. 507.

Alſo, upon Elizabeth's acceſſion, Manſtein ſays, " The whole company of grenadiers of " the regiment of Preobreſhenſky were enno- " bled and promoted The private men " had the rank of lieutenants; and the cor- " porals of majors; the armourer and " quarter-maſter that of lieutenant-colonels; " and the ſerjeants that of colonels of the " army. It was called the company of body- " guards. Grunſtein was made adjutant of " this company, with the title of brigadier. " He did not long keep his ground; accuſ- " tomed to the low ambition of a private " ſoldier, his head was too weak to bear a " higher fortune, and growing giddy with " his preferment, he was guilty of all kind " of inſolences, broke out into diſreſpect to " the empreſs herſelf, and ended with un- " dergoing the knout, and being baniſhed to " the lands which the empreſs had given " him when ſhe firſt promoted him.

" This company committed all imaginable " diſorders for the firſt months that the em- " preſs remained at Peterſburgh. The new " noble lieutenants ran through all the dir- " tieſt public-houſes, got drunk, and wal- " lowed in the ſtreets. They entered into

" the

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ſtationed in the capital. Though I do not mean to juſtify the conduct of Alexèy, yet I cannot but aſſent to the opinion of a judicious hiſtorian, that as Peter I. opened by this law an abundant ſource of troubles and confuſion, it had been better for the country if that weak prince, with all his defects, had been ſuffered to reign *. And I may venture to add, that the re-eſtabliſhment of hereditary right may be claſſed among the foremoſt of thoſe excellent regulations, which diſtinguiſh the reign of Catharine II.

In the ſame vault which contains the body of the unfortunate Alexèy is placed that of Charlotte Chriſtina Sophia prin-

" the houſes of the greateſt noblemen, demanding money with threats, and took away, without ceremony, whatever they liked. There was no keeping within bounds, men, who having been all their life-time uſed to be diſciplined by drubbing, could not preſently familiariſe themſelves to a more civil treatment. It muſt have been the work of time to reduce them to good manners. I do not know whether they were ever brought to correct themſelves, but the moſt unruly of them were expelled the corps, and placed as officers in other regiments of the army, where the vacancies were many. An admirable expedient this for procuring excellent officers!" Memoirs of Ruſſia, p. 319, 320.

* "C'eſt à cette imprudente loi, qu'on doit attribuer toutes les revolutions qui ont affligé la Ruſſie. C'eſt Pierre I. qui a ouvert dans ſon empire cette ſource abondante de troubles et de déſolation. Ne valait-il pas mieux qu' Alexis regnât." L'Eveſque, vol. IV. p. 454.

An ingenious author, who has lately publiſhed part of a voluminous work upon Ruſſia, controverts this judicious reflection, juſtifies this decree of Peter, and denies that it had the leaſt bad tendency, or has been the cauſe of any revolutions. See Le Clerc's Hiſt. Moderne de Ruſſie, p. 441 to 445.

His arguments, however, will ſcarcely appear convincing to any perſon who has peruſed with attention the Hiſtory of Ruſſia ſince the demiſe of Peter the Great; and muſt appear of little weight, unleſs the following queries can be anſwered in the negative.

Was not the acceſſion of Catharine I. a revolution? The abolition of deſpotick authority, and the election of Anne, a revolution? The reſumption of deſpotick authority by the ſame empreſs, a revolution? The removal of Biren from the regency, a revolution? The acceſſion of Elizabeth, a revolution? The dethronement of Peter III. and the acceſſion of Catharine (though juſtified by the peculiar ſituation of the empire), a revolution? Were they not all occaſioned by the looſe notions concerning the right of ſucceſſion, and accompliſhed by the intervention of the guards? Were not the execution, ſcourging, and baniſhment of many principal nobles, the confiſcation of eſtates, and the confinement of numberleſs ſtate-priſoners, the fatal conſequences of theſe frequent changes? the laſt excepted, when the lenity of the empreſs ſpared the uſual victims to policy and reſentment. Have not theſe civil feuds, which ſo long convulſed this empire, been diminiſhed by the well-grounded expectation of an unbroken hereditary line in the preſent imperial family? And as the influence of Peter's fatal decree is conſiderably abated, and the moſt diſtant probability of another revolution ſcarcely exiſts, has not the rapid increaſe of commerce and population throughout every part of this vaſt empire proclaimed the beneficial effects of the more ſtable government of Catharine II.?

ceſs

ceſs of Brunſwick, his no leſs unfortunate wife, and whoſe fate is more affecting, becauſe ſhe deſerved it leſs. She was born in 1694, married in 1711 the tzarovitch who had ſeen her at her father's court, and died on the firſt of November, 1715, partly of a broken heart occaſioned by her huſband's ill treatment, and partly by the conſequences of her delivery of Peter II. * CHAP. V.

Among the imperial ſepulchres is that of Anne of Holſtein, eldeſt daughter of Peter and Catharine, who is leſs known, though far more deſerving of notice, than her ſiſter the empreſs Elizabeth, becauſe her virtues were not ennobled by a diadem. Anne is deſcribed † as a princeſs of a majeſtick form and expreſſive features, of an excellent and improved underſtanding, and of irreproachable morals. While ſhe was very young, count Apraxin, a Ruſſian nobleman, paid his addreſſes to her, but was rejected with ſcorn. Not daunted, however, with this repulſe, he continued his courtſhip, and, finding her one day alone, he threw himſelf at her feet, offered his ſword, and entreated her to put an end to his life and miſery. "Give it me," ſaid the princeſs, ſtretching out her hand, "you ſhall ſee that the daughter of your emperor "has ſtrength and ſpirit ſufficient to rid herſelf of a wretch "who inſults her." The count, apprehenſive that ſhe might execute her threat, withdrew the ſword, and demanded inſtant

* See an account of this princeſs in Chap. VIII. of this Book.

† "Anna Petrowna reſſembloit de viſage "et d'humeur à ſon auguſte pere, mais la "nature et l'éducation avoient tout embelli "chez elle. On lui paſſoit plus de cinq "piés de hauteur, en faveur d'une taille "extrémement déliée, et d'une fineſſe par-"faite dans toutes ſes proportions. Rien "de plus majeſtueux que ſon port et ſa "phyſionomie, rien de plus regulier que "ſes traits, et non obſtant cela, des graces "tendres dans le regard et le ſourire; des "cheveux et des ſourcils noirs, un teint "d'une blancheur eclatante, et ce vermil-"lon frais et délicat qui reſtera ſans ceſſe "inimitable au fard; les yeux d'une cou-"leur indéciſe et d'un feu éblouiſant. Bref, "de pied en cap l'envie n'y pouvoit trouver "aucun défaut. Avec cela un jugement "pènêtrant, une vraie candeur et bonté de "caractére, libérale, et magnifique, trés bien "inſtruite, parlant élégamment ſa langue "maternelle, le François, l'Allemand, l'Ita-"lien et le Suedois." Baſſewitz in Buſ. Hiſ. Mag. IX. p. 370, 371.

pardon;

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pardon; and, as the princeſs told the ſtory with great humour, became the deriſion of the court *.

Anne eſpouſed, in 1725, Charles Frederick duke of Holſtein-Gottorp, to whom ſhe had been long betrothed. Bred up with the expectation of two crowns †, ſhe was diſappointed of both; nominated by her mother Catharine I. of the council of regency during the minority of Peter II.; excluded from that council after having only once taken her ſeat, by the deſpotiſm of prince Menzikof, whom ſhe herſelf had promoted with all her influence; driven from Ruſſia by the mandate of

* Baſſewitz, p. 371.

† Thoſe of Sweden and Ruſſia: the former by marriage, and the latter by her father's nomination.

With reſpect to the former, her huſband, the only ſon of Hedwige eldeſt ſiſter of Charles XII. was, upon that monarch's death, the undoubted heir of the Swediſh crown, but was ſet aſide by the Swedes, who preferred Ubrica Eleonora Charles's youngeſt ſiſter. See Genealogical Table of the Houſe of Vaſa, and the chapter on the death of Charles XII. both in the next volume.

As to her expectations of the Ruſſian crown, Baſſevitz, her huſband's miniſter, poſitively aſſerts, that Peter I. had formed the reſolution of raiſing her to the throne. "C'étoit dans les mains de cette princeſſe, "que Pierre le Grand ſouhaitoit de voir "paſſer ſon ſceptre." Buſ. Hiſ. Mag. IX. p. 371.

A ſhort time before his laſt illneſs he explained to her and the duke of Holſtein the ſyſtem he had purſued during his reign, and inſtructed them in the details of government. While he lay upon his death-bed, having recovered his underſtanding by a momentary intermiſſion of the delirium (ſee Chapter VIII. on Catharine I.), he called for Anne to dictate his laſt ſentiments, but upon her arrival he relapſed into his former ſtate of inſenſibility. Ibid. p. 372.

It alſo appears, from the following extracts from Sir Luke Schaube's papers, in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Hardwicke, that Peter had even taken ſome ſteps towards ſettling the crown upon his daughter Anne.

"Le Cardinal [Dubois] ne paroit guere "touchè de l'injuſtice qui ſeroit faite au "fils du czarowitz; et il dit, que ſi le czar "*regleroit la ſucceſſion en faveur de ſa fille*, il "faudroit bien que ceux qui voudroient ſe "lier avec lui de ſon vivant, promiſſent de "la maintenir après ſa mort, après laquelle "toutefois il arriveroit vrayſemblablement "de cette diſpoſition comme ſi elle n'avoit "jamais exiſte." Extract of a letter from Sir Luke Schaube to Lord Carteret, dated Paris Jan. 20, 1722.

"Ce que les miniſtres Moſcovites diſoient "au Monſ. de Campredon que le czar vou-"lut ſe procurer une garantie pour la *ſuc-"ceſſion à ſes etats de la maniere qu'il ſe propoſe "de l'etablir*, paroit fort ſingulier, &c. Par "rapport a *l'excluſion de ſon petit-fils en faveur "de ſa fille*, ſans marquer en même temps à "quel prince il la deſtine." Extract from a Letter of Lord Carteret to the Cardinal du Bois, dated Jan. 1721-2.

The decree which he iſſued in February, 1722, ſeemed a prelude to this appointment, which was probably prevented by the ſuddenneſs of his death.

Catharine I was no leſs inclined to appoint Anne her ſucceſſor, and a ſtrong party was formed in her favour; but that empreſs was prevented from following her inclinations in this inſtance by the ſhortneſs of her reign, and the danger of excluding Peter Alexievitch, who, as the grandſon of Peter the Great, was ſupported by a ſtill more powerful party.

that arrogant miniſter, ſhe retired with her huſband to Kiel, where ſhe died in 1728, in the 22d year of her age, and leaving one ſon, the unfortunate Peter III. CHAP. V.

Her couſin the empreſs Anne *, ſecond daughter of Ivan Alexievitch, lies interred in the ſame cathedral. She was widow of the duke of Courland; and reſided at Mittau when ſhe was unexpectedly called to take poſſeſſion of the empire. Upon the death of Peter II. without iſſue, the ſceptre, according to Catharine's will, ought to have reverted to her grandſon, afterwards Peter III. ſon of Anne of Holſtein; but as hereditary right was aboliſhed by Peter's decree, and no ſucceſſor was appointed by Peter II. a privy council of eight nobles, in whom the regal power was veſted at the deceaſe of the emperor, formed a plan for limiting the enormous prerogative of the crown; leaving the title and pomp of royalty to the reigning monarch, but reſerving to themſelves the whole ſupreme authority. Having, according to this project, drawn up certain conditions to be ratified by the future ſovereign, they choſe the princeſs Anne in preference to the family of Peter the Great, and to her eldeſt ſiſter Catharine of Mecklenburgh, becauſe, having no legal claim, ſhe would more readily be induced to agree to any terms which might ſecure her the ſucceſſion. Anne ſigned the articles without heſitation, only for the purpoſe of breaking them with greater facility; and ſhe had ſcarcely arrived at Moſcow before ſhe was enabled, by the aſſiſtance of the guards, to annul the act of renunciation, to diſſolve the privy council itſelf, and to re-aſſume the imperial au-

* "The czarina is about my height, "but a very large-made woman, very well "ſhaped for her ſize, and eaſy and graceful in her perſon. She has a brown complexion, black hair, dark and blue eyes; "ſhe has an awfulneſs in her countenance "that ſtrikes you at firſt ſight; but when ſhe "ſpeaks, ſhe has a ſmile about her mouth "that is inexpreſſibly ſweet. She talks a "good deal to every body, and has ſuch an "affability in her addreſs, that you ſeem "talking to an equal; and yet ſhe does "not, for one moment, drop the dignity "of a ſovereign. She ſeems to have great "humanity; and is, I think, what one "would call a fine agreeable woman, were "ſhe a private perſon." Letters by a Lady from Ruſſia.

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thority in as unlimited a form as it had ever been enjoyed by any of her predeceſſors. This empreſs reſigned herſelf implicitly to the direction of Biren, a native of Courland, who, from the loweſt extraction, had riſen to be abſolute favourite of his miſtreſs, and regulated all her councils with the moſt arbitrary ſway. Anne has generally been cenſured for her ſeverity, and is ſaid to have ruled the Ruſſians with the knoot in her hand. But the cruelties which tarniſhed her reign muſt be attributed to the brutal temper of Biren. The empreſs herſelf was naturally of an humane diſpoſition; ſhe frequently oppoſed the ſanguinary meaſures of her favourite, and in vain endeavoured to ſoften his mercileſs diſpoſition, by ſubmitting frequently to intreaties, and interceding even with tears, for the unfortunate objects of his reſentment *. But, in effect, the ſovereign who permits cruelties is, and ought to be, equally guilty in the eyes of the world with the ſovereign who commands them; and poſterity juſtly imputes to the miſtreſs the vices of the ſervant who is uncontrouled in his abuſe of power. Anne died on the 17th of October, 1740, after having nominated for her ſucceſſor her nephew Ivan, then an infant, with a view of prolonging the reign of Biren, whom ſhe appointed regent during the minority of that emperor.

As I viewed the tomb of Elizabeth, I recollected the motley character of that indolent and voluptuous empreſs, who, by the revolution of 1741, renewed in her perſon the line of Peter the Great upon the throne of Ruſſia. Elizabeth was

* "J'ai été preſént," writes Count Munich, "lorſque l'impératrice pleuroit à "chaudes larmes ſur ce que Biron fulminoit "& menaçoit de ne vouloir plus ſervir ſi "l'impératrice ne ſacrifioit Volinſki & ainſi "des autres." Ebauche, &c. p. 119.

Mrs. Vigor ſays of her, "I have often "ſeen her melt into tears at a melancholy "ſtory, and ſhe ſhews ſuch unaffected hor"ror at any mark of cruelty, that her mind "to me ſeems compoſed of the moſt amiable "qualities that I have ever obſerved in any "one perſon; which ſeems a particular "mark of the goodneſs of Providence, as "ſhe is poſſeſſed of ſuch power." Letters from Ruſſia, p. 89.

born

born in 1709, and, when arrived at years of maturity, was extremely admired for her great perſonal attractions *. CHAP. V.

Her beauty, as well as her rank and large dowry, occaſioned ſeveral offers, none of which, however, took place, and ſhe died ſingle. During the life of her father Peter I. a negotiation had commenced for her marriage with Louis XV. but although not ſeriouſly adopted by the court of France, it was never relinquiſhed until the daughter of Staniſlaus, titular king of Poland, was publickly affianced to the young monarch. By the will of Catharine, Elizabeth was betrothed to Charles Auguſtus, biſhop of Lubeck, duke of Sleſwick and Holſtein, and brother to the late king of Sweden, but he died before the completion of the ceremony. In the reign of Peter II. ſhe was demanded by Charles Margrave of Anſpach; in 1741 by the Perſian tyrant Kouli Khan; and at the time of the revolution the regent Anne endeavoured to force her to eſpouſe prince Louis of Brunſwick, for whom ſhe entertained a ſettled averſion †. From the period of her acceſſion ſhe renounced all thoughts of the connubial ſtate, and adopted her nephew Peter. Her diſlike to marriage, however, certainly did not proceed from any diſinclination to man; for ſhe would freely and frequently own to her confidents that ſhe was

* Mrs. Vigor thus deſcribes the perſon of Elizabeth in the 24th year of her age. "The princeſs Elizabeth, who is, you know, "a daughter of Peter I. is very handſome. "She is very fair, with light brown hair, "large ſprightly blue eyes, fine teeth, and a "pretty mouth. She is inclinable to be fat, "but is very genteel, and dances better than "any one I ever ſaw. She ſpeaks German, "French, and Italian; is extremely gay, "and talks to every body, in a very proper "manner, in the circle, but hates the cere-"mony of a court."

And again, "She has an affability and "ſweetneſs of behaviour that inſenſibly in-"ſpires love and reſpect. In publick ſhe "has an unaffected gaiety, and a certain air "of giddineſs, that ſeem entirely to poſſeſs "her whole mind; but in private, I have "heard her talk in ſuch a ſtrain of good "ſenſe and ſteady reaſoning, that I am per-"ſuaded the other behaviour is a feint; but "ſhe ſeems eaſy: I ſay *ſeems*, for who knows "the heart? In ſhort, ſhe is an amiable "creature; and though I think the throne "very worthily filled, yet I cannot help "wiſhing ſhe were to be the ſucceſſor at "leaſt." Letters from Ruſſia, p. 73 and 76.

† See Manſtein's Memoirs, p. 25. 285. 309.

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never happy but when ſhe was in love *, if we may dignify by that name a capricious paſſion ever changing its object. The ſame characteriſtick warmth of temper hurried her no leſs to the extremes of devotion: ſhe was ſcrupulouſly exact in her annual confeſſions of the wanderings of her heart, in expreſſing the utmoſt contrition, and in punctually adhering both in publick and private to the minuteſt ceremonies and ordinances of the church.

With reſpect to her diſpoſition and turn of mind, ſhe is generally ſtyled the humane Elizabeth, as ſhe made a vow upon her acceſſion to inflict no capital puniſhments † during her reign; and is reported to have ſhed tears upon the news of every victory gained by her troops, from the reflection that it could not have been obtained without great bloodſhed. But although no criminal was formally executed in publick, yet the ſtate priſons were filled with wretched ſufferers, many of whom, unheard of and unknown, periſhed in the damp and unwholeſome dungeons: the ſtate inquiſition, or ſecret committee, appointed to judge perſons ſuſpected of high treaſon, had conſtant occupation during her reign; many upon the ſlighteſt ſurmizes were tortured in ſecret, many underwent the knoot and expired under the infliction. But the tranſaction which reflects the higheſt diſgrace upon her reign, was the publick puniſhment of two ladies of faſhion; the counteſſes Beſtuchef and Lapookin: each received fifty ſtrokes of the knoot in the open ſquare of Peterſburgh, their tongues were cut out, and they were baniſhed into Siberia. One of theſe ladies, Madame Lapookin, eſteemed the handſomeſt woman in Ruſſia, was accuſed of carrying on a ſecret corre-

† "Elle étoit voluptueuſe à l'excès, née "de ſang voluptueux, & elle diſoit ſouvent à "ſes confidentes, qu'elle n'étoit contente "que tant qu'elle étoit amoureuſe; mais "elle étoit avec cela fort inconſtante & "changeoit ſouvent de favoris." Ebauche, &c. p. 170.

† See Remarks on her celebrated edict, which aboliſhed capital puniſhments, in the chapter on the Penal Laws of Ruſſia in the next volume.

ſpondence

CHAP. V.

ſpondence with the French embaſſador; but her real crime was her having commented too freely on the empreſſes amours. Even the mere relation of ſuch an affecting ſcene, as that of a woman of great beauty and high rank publickly expoſed and ſcourged by the common executioner, muſt excite the ſtrongeſt emotions of horror, and forbid us to venerate the memory of a princeſs, who, with ſuch little regard to her own ſex, could iſſue thoſe barbarous commands. But let us lament the inconſiſtency of human nature; and, in conſidering the character of Elizabeth, let us not deny that her heart, perhaps naturally benevolent, was occaſionally corrupted by power, and ſteeled with ſuſpicion; and that although mercy might predominate whenever it did not interfere with her paſſions and prejudices, yet ſhe by no means deſerves the appellation of humane, the moſt noble * attribute of a ſovereign, when it interpoſes to temper and mitigate the ſeverity of juſtice. Elizabeth died in 1761, in the twenty-firſt year of her reign, and in the 53d of her age: ſhe expired in December, the ſame month in which ſhe was born, and in which ſhe acceded to the throne.

In the fortreſs is a ſmall arſenal, which, among other military ſtores, contains ſome antient cannon, caſt in the middle of the ſixteenth century under the reign of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. and which I was ſurprized to find of ſuch good workmanſhip. I had occaſion to mention in a former chapter, that the art of caſting cannon was introduced into Ruſſia under Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. by Ariſtotle of Bologna. Ivan II. did not fail to imitate the example of his grandfather in procuring, by means of foreign artiſts, the beſt artillery; and it is to this precaution that

* I was informed from undoubted authority, that it was impoſſible to obtain Elizabeth's conſent for the execution of a felon who had even committed the moſt horrid ſpecies of premeditated murder, and that the maſter of the police uſed ſecretly to order the executioner to knoot to death thoſe delinquents who were found guilty of the moſt atrocious crimes. It is a pity that ſhe did not reſerve her humanity, which in this inſtance was cruelty to her people, for more reſpectable objects.

both

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both theſe monarchs were chiefly indebted for their ſucceſſes in war, and for the conqueſt of ſeveral provinces, which they annexed to their hereditary dominions.

In a ſeparate building of the fortreſs is the mint. The gold and ſilver are ſent from the mines of Siberia, and the ſeparation is performed in this laboratory. We ſurveyed the whole proceſs from the firſt ſmelting of the ore to the coining. Among the ſilver we obſerved a large quantity of Dutch dollars, which were melting down in order to be recoined in roubles. Peter I. wanting ſilver for the new coinage, iſſued out a decree, that all the cuſtoms ſhould be paid in Dutch dollars: at preſent half the duties are ſtill diſcharged in that money by all foreign merchants, excepting the Engliſh, who are exempted by treaty. But as the gold and ſilver obtained from the mines of Siberia, with the addition of the dollars, are by no means ſufficient for the money in circulation; a conſiderable quantity of both theſe metals is annually imported. The coinage, in its preſent debaſed ſtate, muſt be very advantageous, as in the gold there is ſo much alloy, that a profit of 48 *per cent.* is gained, and in the ſilver of 37 *. This ſtate of the Ruſſian money renders uſeleſs the prohibition againſt exporting it, and is productive of one miſchievous effect, that it promotes the contraband introduction of falſe coin from foreign countries, upon which a conſiderable profit is acquired.

Among the remarkable objects in the mint, the machine for ſtamping the coin deſerves to be mentioned, becauſe it was invented by her preſent majeſty, and is eſteemed a very ingenious and ſimple piece of mechaniſm.

Within the fortreſs is a four-oared boat, which is ſecured, with great veneration, in a brick building, conſtructed for that

* See Eſſai ſur le commerce de Ruſſie, C. X. where the reader will find a very accurate ſtate of the Ruſſian coinage, in which the difference of the preſent money from that of the former reigns is laid down, as I was informed from good authority, with great exactneſs, p. 254—255.

purpoſe,

purpoſe, and preſerved as a memorial to future ages of its being the origin of the Ruſſian fleet. Peter I. uſed to call it the *Little Grandſire*; and, in the latter part of his reign, ordered it to be tranſported to Peterſburgh: it was conducted in ſolemn proceſſion, in order to excite the admiration of the people, and held up that they might compare in what condition he had found the marine, and to what perfection he had brought it. The hiſtory of this little boat is worthy of notice, as well becauſe it comprehends the firſt riſe of the navy, as becauſe, during the courſe of this narrative, I ſhall be enabled to obſerve ſundry errors which have been advanced by many hiſtorians of Peter the Great; and which, if not duly corrected, will be conſecrated by time, and be admitted as truths.

I ſhall begin by remarking, that there is not the leaſt foundation in the report* that Peter was naturally afraid of the water, and that he had the utmoſt difficulty in ſurmounting this averſion: on the contrary, he ſeems to have always expreſſed a ſtrong attachment to that element. The boat,

* L'Eveſque has adopted this notion, and he cites for his authority a Hiſtory of Peter the Great in the Sclavonian tongue, firſt printed at Venice, and republiſhed at Peterſburgh, with Notes, by prince Sherebatof. He ſeems to cite from the text, and not from the notes. But I may venture to contradict this notion from the undoubted authority of General Patrick Gordon, cited by Mr. Muller, in his Nachricht von der Urſpung, &c. in Journ. of St. Pet. for 1778, p. 241.

General Gordon was a native of Scotland, and was born in 1635: having ſerved with glory in the Swediſh and Poliſh armies, he entered into the Ruſſian ſervice in 1661, in which he continued to the end of his life: He wrote his Journal in the Engliſh tongue: it is now in the archives at Moſcow, and has never been printed. Mr. Muller, who has made great uſe of it in ſome of his writings, propoſed to extract and publiſh all the circumſtances relating to Ruſſia; but, to the great regret of all lovers of hiſtory, has been prevented by other occupations from carrying his deſign into execution.

I find, from Bachmeiſter's Ruſſ. Bibl. for 1782, that a German tranſlation of it is given in Part IV. of the Journal of St. Peterſburgh for 1782, which I have not yet ſeen.

Gordon died in 1699, ſo much regretted by the tzar, that, to uſe the words of his relation, "His majeſty viſited him five times "during his illneſs, was preſent the moment "he expired, and ſhut his eyes with his own "hand."

The ſame author alſo ſays of him, greatly to his honour, "General Gordon was a "ſober man, in a country where drinking "is much in faſhion; and though he uſed "to be much in the tzar's company, his ma-"jeſty, knowing his inclinations, would never "allow him to be urged. He was ever mind-"ful of his buſineſs, and did great ſervice to "the Ruſſian nation." Gordon's Hiſt. of Peter the Great, vol. I. p. 137, 138.

which

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which has given riſe to this detail, was conſtructed during the reign of Alexèy Michaelovitch, by Karſtens Brandt, a Dutch ſhip-right, whom Alexèy Michaelovitch had invited into Ruſſia. Peter*, about the year 1691, accidentally ſeeing this boat at a village near Moſcow, inquired why it was built in a different manner from all thoſe which he had hitherto obſerved: Timmerman, a foreigner, who taught him fortification, and to whom he addreſſed the queſtion, informed him that it was a veſſel † ſo contrived as to go againſt the wind. Peter's curioſity was roufed by this intelligence, and Brandt, who was ſtill in Ruſſia, being inſtantly ſummoned, repaired it without delay, provided it with a maſt and rigging, and, having launched it upon the Yauſa, ſailed in it, to the ſurprize and aſtoniſhment of the young tzar, who immediately embarked in it himſelf, and, under the direction of Brandt, ſoon learned to comprehend the management of the veſſel.

Having repeated theſe experiments upon the Yauſa, as well as upon a neighbouring lake, to which it was tranſported, he ordered Brandt to build a yacht ‡ upon the banks of the Moſkva, which was launched in 1691, and in which Peter embarked and ſailed as far as Columna. Animated with the ſucceſs of this expedition, he commanded the ſame ſhipwright to conſtruct, upon the lake of Periſlaf, ſeveral ſmall veſſels carrying guns, in which the tzar ſailed on the 8th of February, the 3d of March, and the 5th of April, of the following year. On the 1ſt of May another veſſel was launched, and on the 9th Peter returned to Moſcow. The death of Brandt, which ſoon followed, ſeems to have interrupted the increaſe of this

* This part is taken from L'Eveſque, who cites for his authority the Life of Peter, by the archbiſhop Theophanes, with Notes, by prince Sherebatof. Hiſt. de Ruſſie, vol. IV. p. 111.

† L'Eveſque ſays, from the authority of Prince Sherebatof, that it was une chaloupe Angloiſe; but we muſt prefer the authority of General Gordon, who ſays it was built by Brandt. Perhaps Timmerman might think it an Engliſh veſſel.

‡ From hence I follow implicitly Muller's Extracts from General Gordon's Journal.

little fleet, but did not prevent Peter from continuing his expeditions upon the lake. The following extracts, from General Gordon's Journal, will ſhow with what eagerneſs the young monarch purſued his new occupation, when ſuch trifling incidents as weighing anchor, and ſailing acroſs a lake, are circumſtantially delineated.

"Gordon went on the 11th of Auguſt to Pereſlaf; on the "14th he was entertained in due form and ceremony on "board of the admiral's * ſhip; on the 18th," he adds. "we "ſailed from one ſide of the lake to the oppoſite bank; on the "21ſt we got under way, and ſailed to the other ſide, where "we again came to an anchor; on the 24th Gordon attended "the tzar on ſhip-board; on the 28th we departed from Pe-"reſlaf, and on the 31ſt reached Alexeyfſk." But as the confined limits of a lake were become too inadequate to the riſing ideas of the tzar, he hurried to Archangel, where he arrived in the month of June, 1693. "On the 17th," ſays Gordon, "the poſt brought the news that the tzar had been upon the "White Sea, and was happily arrived into port, and on the "11th of October he came back to Moſcow. In the begin-"ning of May, 1694, he returned to Archangel, and continued "in thoſe parts until September, during which time he made "frequent expeditions upon the ſea, and improved his know-"ledge of navigation."

Theſe little adventures, which ſeemed nothing more than mere youthful amuſements, were, however, ſoon afterwards productive of the moſt glorious event which diſtinguiſhed the reign of Peter. When the tzar, in his campaign of 1695 againſt the Turks, beſieged Azof, he found it impoſſible to take the town without blocking up the harbour, and as he did not at that time poſſeſs one ſhip, he was compelled to raiſe the ſiege.

* Mr. Muller conjectures that Le Fort was the admiral of this little ſquadron.

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His ſpirit being excited, rather than extinguiſhed, by this diſappointment, he gave orders for the immediate conſtruction of ſeveral veſſels: ſome were framed at Occa, and tranſported over land to the Don; but the greateſt part were built at Veronetz. In leſs than a year he renewed the ſiege of Azof, and brought before it, to the infinite ſurprize of the Turks, two men of war, 23 gallies, two galleots, and four fire-ſhips *. With this little ſquadron, which ſailed down the Don into the Black Sea, he blockaded the harbour, gained a naval victory over the Turkiſh gallies, and took Azof. He ſignalized this wonderful event by a triumphal entry into Moſcow, and by a medal repreſenting the taking of Azof, with a motto in Ruſſian, "Victor by thunder and the waves." This ſucceſs was only the prelude to ſtill greater atchievements; and as the ſecurity of his new conqueſts upon the Black Sea ſeemed to depend upon a powerful navy, the tzar having collected from all quarters the moſt expert ſhip-builders, and himſelf ſuperintended the neceſſary preparations at Veronetz, Azof, and Taganroc, ſet out upon his firſt expedition into foreign parts. In 1699, ſoon after his return, he was preſent at a naval review upon the Black Sea, in which ten frigates were engaged, the largeſt carrying fifty, and the ſmalleſt twenty-ſix guns †: and the Ruſſian navy, in the harbours of the Euxine, conſtructed and upon the ſtocks, is deſcribed, only three years after the firſt preparations, as conſiſting of nine ſhips of 60 guns, ten of 50, ten of 48, two of 42, fourteen of 34, two of 32, three of 30, one of 26, one of 24, four of 18, three of 14, and four of 8 guns; beſide 18 triremes, 100 brigantines, and 300 boats in the Dnieper. This ſtupendous account would be almoſt incredible if it was not recorded by the ſecretary ‡ to the Auſtrian embaſſy, then reſident at Moſcow.

* S. R. G. vol. II. p. 226.

† Ibid. p. 184.

‡ Korb Diarium. The reader will find, in p. 236, a catalogue of the names of all theſe

cow. It is ſcarcely paralleled by the naval exertions of the Romans in the firſt Punick war.

The rapidity with which Peter created his fleet for the Black Sea, was equalled by ſimilar exertions upon the Baltick after the acquiſition of Cronſtadt and the foundation of Peterſburgh. But to return to the boat which occaſioned this intereſting detail, and which, according to Peter I. was the original cauſe of the Ruſſian navy. In 1723 Peter, at the cloſe of the Perſian expedition, ordered it to be tranſported from Moſcow to the new metropolis, and gave a publick entertainment, which was called the *Conſecration of the Little Grandſire*. The fleet, conſiſting of twenty-ſeven men of war, was ranged at Cronſtadt in the form of an half-moon, when his majeſty embarked in this boat, himſelf ſteering, while three admirals and prince Mentchikof performed the office of rowers: being then towed by two ſloops, it made a ſmall circuit in the Gulf, and, returning by the fleet, the ſhips, as it paſſed along, ſtruck their flags and ſaluted with all their guns, while the *Little Grandſire* returned each ſalute by a diſcharge of three ſmall pieces. It was then brought into the harbour, and ſurrounded by the men of war. A few days afterwards the *Little Grand-*

theſe veſſels, together with the breadth, length, depth, number of guns, and complement of men.

Le Bruyn, who was at Veroneta in 1703, mentions the ſhipping in the following words: "With regard to the ſhips here, we ſaw fifteen in the water, four men of war, the biggeſt of 54 guns, three victuallers, two fire-ſhips, and ſix bomb-ketches. On ſhore, and ready to be launched, were five men of war, after the Dutch faſhion, from 60 to 64 guns, two after the Italian from 50 to 54, a galeaſs after the Venetian, and four gallies, beſides 17 gallies at Sieſofskie, two verſts from the town. Beſides all this, they were at work upon five men of war after the Engliſh built, two bored for 74 guns, and two for 60 or 64; the fifth, which is called after his majeſty, becauſe he had the direction of her upon the ſtocks, is bored for 86 guns. They were at work alſo upon a packet-boat; and aſhore, on the other ſide of the river, were about 200 brigantines, moſt of them built at Veronis; and at this time there were 400 ſtout brigantines upon the Nieper, and the Boryſthenes, in the neighbourhood of Crim Tartary; and 300 flat-bottomed veſſels upon the Volga; beſides 18 men of war at Aſoph, a bomb veſſel, and a yatcht. The czar has ſeveral other ſhips, the largeſt of which is of 66 guns, four from 41 to 50, five of 36, two of 34, and others ſmaller, the leaſt of 28 guns." Le Bruyn's Travels, vol. I. p. 62.

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ſire was conveyed to St. Peterſburgh, where its arrival was ſolemnized by a maſquerade upon the water *. This memorable boat, freighted with the emperor, proceeded to the fortreſs, and was conducted, Peter himſelf aſſiſting in the ceremony, under the diſcharge of all the artillery, to the place where it was depoſited as a memorial to poſterity, and where it now remains enſhrined.

From the fortreſs we took water, and landed at an adjacent ſpot in the Iſland of Peterſburgh, near a wooden hovel, which is dignified by its having ſerved for the habitation of Peter the Great while the fortreſs was conſtructing. It ſtill exiſts in its original ſtate; and ſtands under a brick building, purpoſely erected to preſerve it from deſtruction. The houſe is no more than a ground floor, and conſiſts of three rooms, which I had the curioſity to meaſure. They are only eight feet in height: the apartment for the reception of company, as it was called, is 15 feet ſquare; the dining-room is 15 by 12; and the bed-chamber ten feet ſquare. Near this houſe is another four-oared boat, the work of Peter's own hands, and which has been erroneouſly called the *Little Grandſire*, an honourable appellation due only to that juſt deſcribed.

* Conſett's preſent State of Ruſſia, p 218.

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Palace and gardens of Tzarſkoe-Selo.—Oranienbaum.—*Hiſtory of Prince* Menzikof. —*Fortreſs.*—*Apartments of* Peter III. —*Palace and gardens of* Peterhof.—Dutch *houſe built by* Peter the Great.—Schluſſelburgh.—*Origin, hiſtory, and deſcription of the fortreſs.*

AS, upon our arrival at Peterſburgh, the ſeaſon of the year was far advanced, we had no time or opportunity to viſit many places in the neighbourhood of that capital. We contrived, however, before the approach of winter, to make excurſions to Tzarſkoe-Selo, to Oranienbaum and Peterhof, and, laſtly, to Schluſſelburgh; an account of which places forms the ſubject of the preſent chapter. CHAP. VI.

Tzarſkoe-Selo, an imperial palace, about fifteen miles from Peterſburgh, is the favourite ſummer reſidence of the empreſs, where ſhe lives in a more retired manner than when ſhe is at Peterhof. This palace, which was built by Elizabeth, is a brick edifice ſtuccoed white; is of diſproportionate length, and in a moſt heavy ſtyle of architecture. The capitals of the outſide pillars, many other exterior ornaments, and the ſeries of wooden ſtatues which ſupport the cornice and adorn the roof, are all gilded, and exhibit a moſt tawdry appearance. The apartments are large and magnificent: ſome are fitted up in the old ſtyle of gaudy profuſion: others in a leſs ſplendid, but more elegant taſte, by her preſent majeſty. One room is much admired, being richly incruſted with amber, a preſent from the king of Pruſſia.

Having viewed the palace, we walked round the gardens, which

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which are laid out in the Engliſh taſte, and are prettily diverſified with lawn, wood, and water. Among ſeveral bridges, we were particularly ſtruck with one built after the model of Lord Pembroke's Palladian bridge at Wilton. It is exactly of the ſame ſize, but more magnificent, the lower part being of granite, and the colonade of marble. The latter was hewn and worked in Siberia by an Italian artiſt, who employed nine years in completing it. From Siberia it was tranſported by water to Peterſburgh, and from the capital to Tzarſkoe-Selo by land. It was a pleaſing ſatisfaction to obſerve our works of taſte introduced into theſe diſtant and, formerly, inhoſpitable regions. Several buildings were ſcattered about the gardens, many of which were raiſed in honour of thoſe perſons who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the imperial ſervice: among theſe I remarked a triumphal arch to Prince Orlof, for repairing to Moſcow in order to check the progreſs of the plague, which raged with great violence in that city; a building to Count Alexèy Orlof, in memory of the naval victory at Tcheſme; and an obeliſk to Marſhal Romantzof, for his ſucceſſes againſt the Turks.

Our next excurſion was to Peterhof, Oranienbaum and Cronſtadt *.

The road lay at a ſmall diſtance from the Gulf of Finland, at firſt through a flat country, chiefly marſhy, producing paſture and little corn. On our left ran a ridge of low hills, which once formed the boundary of the Gulf, when it ſpread over a larger ſpace than it covers at preſent. We aſcended this ridge, obſerved on our left the convent of St. Sergius, and on our right the palace of Strelna, begun by Elizabeth, but never finiſhed. About four miles further we paſſed by Peterhof,

* Cronſtadt will be deſcribed in the chapter which treats of the Ruſſian navy. See Book VI. in the next volume.

terhof, and proceeded to Oranienbaum, through a country co- CHAP. VI.
vered with foreſt.

The palace of Oranienbaum, which ſtands near the ſhore of the Gulf of Finland, about the diſtance of 27 miles from Peterſburgh, was erected by Prince Menzikof, while he was in the meridian of a power, to which ſcarcely any ſubject but himſelf has ever arrived. The riſe of this extraordinary man is variouſly related by different authors. Some aſſert that he was apprentice to a paſtry-cook, and ſold pies in the ſtreets of Moſcow; that Peter, once ſtopping to converſe with him, was ſo ſtruck with his ready wit and quick repartees, that he took him into his ſervice, and advanced him, by rapid promotions, to the height of favour which he afterwards enjoyed: others declare, that he was the ſon of a groom belonging to the court, and was caſually placed about the perſon of the emperor *. Both theſe accounts, however contradictory to each other, ſufficiently ſhow the lowneſs and uncertainty of his origin; and indeed we need not wonder that the genealogy of an upſtart favourite ſhould not be exactly traced. The earlieſt account upon record concerning him is, that, in the year 1687, he was one of the youths † whom Peter I. formed into a corps, and diſciplined after the European manner. The young tzar was only fifteen years old, and Menzikof, then known by the name of *Alexaſca*, or Little Alexander, about the ſame age; and as the latter was remarkably active in his exerciſe, he was obſerved by Le Fort, and by him recommended to Peter. Several perſons of this company were afterwards promoted very high in the Ruſſian ſervice, and many circumſtances concurred to forward the advancement of Menzikof. He rendered himſelf

* The former opinion, that he was a paſtry-cook's boy, ſeems to be the moſt probable, as it is preferred by Weber, Manſtein, Bruce.

† Muller's Nachricht von der Urſprunge des Preobaſchenkiſchen, &c. in Journal of St. Peterſburgh for March, 1778, p. 173. Furſt Menzikow war einer den erſten Poteſchnii. See alſo Manſtein, p. 11.

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remarkably uſeful to the tzar in his plans of reformation; he paid a particular attention to foreigners, whom Peter was continually drawing into his ſervice; he ſtudied his maſter's character and temper, and knew how to ſubmit to the groſſeſt inſults. "The tzar," ſays Gordon, who was himſelf an eye-witneſs, "often kicked him publickly, and beat him like a "dog; ſo that the by-ſtanders concluded him undone; but "always next morning the peace was made up, which people "believed could not proceed but from ſome preternatural "cauſe *."

One inſtance of his implicit obedience to the commands of the tzar, and his dexterity in performing them, is recorded by Korb, ſecretary to the Auſtrian embaſſy. It is a well-known fact, that Peter was accuſtomed to aſſiſt at the examination of the priſoners who were accuſed of high treaſon; that he would be preſent at the tortures inflicted upon them in order to force confeſſion; that he would frequently attend at their execution; that he would ſometimes himſelf perform the office of executioner †; and would occaſionally conſign that taſk to his favourites and principal nobles ‡. Korb relates, that, ſoon after

* Gordon's Life of Peter, vol. II. p. 278. Korb alſo ſays, "Alexaſcam verò favoritam ſuum, gladio accinctum inter tripudia deprehendens, deponendi gladii morem inflicto colapho docuit; cujus impetum ſanguis ex naribus abundè defluus ſatis teſtatus eſt." p. 84.

† "Quinque rebellium capita *à nobiliſſimâ Moſcoviæ manu* ſecuri eſſe amputata." Korb Diarium, p. 170.

L'Eveſque makes the following judicious remarks upon this remarkable circumſtance.

"Peut être ces ſortes d'executions, dont "les grands étaient les miniſtres, et aux "quelles le prince lui-même prenait part, "étaient-elles fondées ſur quelque uſage "ou ſur quelque loi dont on a perdu le "ſouvenir. Elles étoient réſervées, ſans "doute, pour ces grandes rebellions qui "menaçaient l'etat et le ſouverain. La "nobleſſe, en frappant elle-même les coupables, prouvait qu'elle avoit horreur de "leur complot; et le prince griévement offenſé, ſe réſervait quelque part à la vengeance. Ce qui ſemble confirmer ce ſentiment, c'eſt que Pierre punit les Strelits "de la même maniere, que le tſar Ivan s'etait "vengè des nobles qui lui étaient ſuſpects. "Ce rapport entre le crime et la punition "prouve qu'elle ne dependait ſeulement du "caprice du ſouverain. Pierre, dirait-on, "devait abolir cet uſage. Mais pouvait-il "changer ſi promptement les coutumes, les "loix, ſa nation & luimême." Vol. IV. p. 147.

‡ Gordon mentions the ſame circumſtance, but he only ſays "that ſeveral of the great "men, whom the tzar ſuſpected to have "been

after the inſurrection of the Strelitz in 1698, Peter ſcornfully reproached many of the nobles who trembled at being compelled to behead ſome rebels, adding, in a ſtrain of ſanguinary juſtice, "that there was no victim more acceptable to the Deity "than a wicked man." Menzikof, however, does not ſeem to have laboured under ſuch delicate feelings; for, as a prelude to the execution of 150 Strelitz, he drove about the ſtreets of Moſcow in a ſledge brandiſhing a naked ſword *, and boaſted of his adroitneſs in cutting off twenty heads. It was not merely by acts of buffoonery and cruelty that he acquired the eſteem and confidence of Peter, but by his ſuperior abilities, both as a ſtateſman and a ſoldier †. Being choſen for the companion of his travels into foreign parts, he was, in 1706, created prince of the German empire, and was rapidly elevated to the higheſt employments both in the civil and military line. On particular occaſions he was even permitted to perſonate his ſovereign, by giving publick audience to foreign embaſſadors;

"been engaged in this conſpiracy, he cauſed "to take the axe into their hands, and obliged "them to cut off the heads of ſome others "of the conſpirators." Vol. I. p. 130. Korb mentions, among others, the names of Blumberg and Le Fort, whom the tzar deſired to become executioners, but who excuſed themſelves.

"Quotquot Bojarinorum & magnatum "concilio intererant, quo contra rebelles "Strelizios certamen decretum eſt, hodier-"nus dies ad novum vocavit tribunal: ſingulis "ſinguli rei propoſiti: quemvis oportebat "ſententiam, quam dictaverat, ſecuri exequi. "Princeps Romadonowſki, antequam tu-"multuarentur, quatuor regiminum dux "quatuor Strelizios, urgente majeſtate, eo-"dem ferro ad terram proſtravit; *crudelior "Alexaſca de viginti decuſſis capitibus gloria-"batur*; infelix Gallizin, quòd malè feri-"endo dolores damnati multùm adauxerit. "330. Unà ſimul educti ad feralem ſecuris "ictum latè patentem planitiem civili qui-"dem, ſed impio ſanguine purpurârunt. "Ad idem lictoris officium cum Barone de "Blumberg Generalis Lefort invitabatur; "ſed excuſantes, id domi ſuæ moris non "eſſe, auditi ſunt. Ipſemet tzarus in ſellâ "ſedens totam tragœdiam, tamque horren-"dam tot hominum lanienam ſiccis oculis "inſpectabat, hoc unum indignatus, quòd "Bojarinorum plurimi inſueto huic muneri "tremulas manus admoviſſent; cum tamen "nulla pinguior victima Deo mactari poſſit, "quàm homo ſceleratus." p. 88, 89.

And again: "Quivis incertum librabat "ictum, novo et inſolito muneri tremulas "manus admovens. Infeliciſſimè omnium "feriebat Bojarinorum ille, qui aberrantem à "collo gladium in tergus miſerat, et Stre-"lizio ſic in medium fermè diſſecto, dolores "ad deſperationem auxiſſet, *niſi Alexaſca "ſecuri melius infelicis rei collum tetigiſſet.*" Ibid p. 172.

* *Oſtendit adhuc eo veſpere ſæpe dictus Alexander, carpento per omnia urbis compitia vectus, creberrimâ nudi enſis oſtentatione, quam ſanguinolentam craſtini diei tragœdiam expectaret.*

† At the battle of Pultawa he had three horſes ſhot under him.

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while Peter, averſe to the pomp of royalty, appeared as a private perſon in his ſuite. So great indeed was the aſcendancy which this favourite acquired over the emperor (an aſcendancy confirmed and maintained by the influence of Catharine *), as to give riſe to a report among the Ruſſians, that he had faſcinated by witchcraft the mind of his maſter.

Upon the death of Peter his power was ſtill more unbounded. Catharine, who was chiefly indebted to his intrigues and abilities for her elevation to the throne, gratefully reſigned to him the ſole adminiſtration of affairs, and ſhe may be called the oſtenſible, while he was the real ſovereign †. His authority continued undiminiſhed to the moment of her deceaſe; and the clauſe in her will ‡, by which ſhe ordered her ſucceſſor Peter II. to eſpouſe the prince's daughter, was at once a proof of his aſcendancy, and her gratitude.

His intrigues and power, his ambition and arrogance, his diſreſpectful behaviour to Peter II. § and the peculiar circumſtances of his diſgrace, are all related in the Memoirs of Manſtein ||, a book which cannot be too highly commended as an authentick and impartial work. Two days before his fall the prince repaired to his palace of Oranienbaum for the dedication of a chapel, having previouſly invited Peter II. to be preſent at the ceremony; the latter however excuſing himſelf, under pretence of indiſpoſition, the chapel was conſecrated; and it

* Catharine more than once prevented Menzikof's diſgrace, which had been inevitable without her interceſſion. Baſſevitz in Buſc. H. M. IX. p. 294.

† "Le gouvernement," ſays Count Munich, "n'étoit autre choſe que le *vouloir* "*deſpotique du Prince Menſchikow.*" Ebauche, &c. p. 63.

‡ Gordon ſuppoſes that this will was forged by prince Menzikof: a ſuppoſition for which there is not the leaſt proof. We muſt diſtinguiſh between thoſe parts of Gordon's hiſtory, which relate to events while he was in Ruſſia, and the others which he wrote after he quitted that country in 1711. He ſpeaks worſe of prince Menzikof than he ſeems to deſerve, and particularly arraigns his courage.

§ Munich gives, amongſt others, the following inſtances of his arrogance: "Lorſ-"qu'il écrivoit au jeune empereur il le trai-"toit de fils et ſous-ſignoit la lettre: Votre "Pere Menſchikow. Aux egliſes il ſe met-"toit à la tribune de l'Empereur," &c. Ebauche, &c. p. 67.

|| P. 2. to p. 13.

did

did not eſcape notice, that Menzikof ſeated himſelf on a throne which had been raiſed for the emperor. Being arreſted, in the month of September, 1727, he was impriſoned at Bereſof, a ſmall town upon the river Oby, in a wooden hovel encloſed with paliſadoes, where he ended his days. He is ſaid to have ſupported his diſgrace with firmneſs and reſignation *: he received a daily allowance of ten roubles †, from which he even ſaved a ſufficiency to build a wooden church, and amuſed himſelf by aſſiſting the workmen in its conſtruction. He ſurvived his fall about two years and five months, dying in the month of November, 1729, of an apoplexy ‡.

The wife of Prince Menzikof was ſo affected with her huſband's diſgrace, that ſhe became blind with weeping, and expired on the road to Bereſof. His daughter, who had been betrothed to the emperor, died before her father in priſon; and the remaining part of his family, conſiſting of a ſon and a daughter, were releaſed on the acceſſion of the empreſs Anne. The daughter was married to Guſtavus Biren, brother to the duke of Courland; and the ſon was promoted in the army by the ſame empreſs. A grandſon of prince Menzikof is now living: he is an officer in the Ruſſian army, and inherits only the name, but none of the riches or power of his grandfather.

Soon after the fall of Menzikof, his palace was converted into an hoſpital for ſailors; but was afterwards choſen by Peter III. for his favourite reſidence. The middle part of the

* Manſtein, p. 10. Weber, on the contrary, aſſerts, that he was wretched and impatient, and became ſo weary of his exiſtence, as to refuſe all nouriſhment, and could be prevailed upon to ſwallow nothing but water. Having continued in this ſtate a few days without uttering a ſingle word, he expired on the 2d of November, 1729. The authority of Manſtein, however, is in this inſtance to be preferred to that of Weber; as he had frequent opportunities during his reſidence in Ruſſia of making inquiries concerning the death of prince Menzikof, after his family had been releaſed by the empreſs Anne. Whereas Weber had quitted Ruſſia before that period; and he inſerts his account of the prince's death merely as a report, "und "man meldete damals," &c. Ver. Ruſſ. v. III. p. 178.

† £2.

‡ See Schmidt Materialien, &c. who has collected every thing relating to prince Menzikof, p. 248, &c.

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edifice is the ſame as erected by Menzikof, and conſiſts of two ſtories, containing a range of ſmall apartments: the emperor added the wings, which are long buildings of one ſtory.

Having paſſed through the palace, in which there was nothing worthy of remark, we went to the fortreſs. In our way we did not omit obſerving a model in miniature of a citadel, which Peter III. when he firſt contracted a fondneſs for military ſtudies, ordered to be made for the purpoſe of learning practical fortification. A little further we came to the fortreſs, which is ſurrounded with a ditch and rampart, and ſtrengthened with baſtions. It was raiſed by the late emperor when he was great-duke, and contains a building called by him the governor's houſe, which he generally inhabited himſelf, and into which he admitted only his officers and favourites, while his court reſided in the palace. Near it were barracks for a ſmall garriſon, a few wooden houſes for the principal officers, and a ſmall Lutheran chapel, where his Holſtein ſoldiers aſſembled for divine ſervice. The governor's houſe is a brick building ſtuccoed, ſeven or eight windows in front, conſiſting of about eight ſmall rooms. It remains exactly in the ſame ſtate as during the life-time of the emperor, neither the furniture nor the bed in which he ſlept the night preceding his depoſition being removed. It had a white ſattin coverlet, and was on a large four-poſt bedſtead, with curtains of pink and ſilver brocade, and ornamented at the top with a plume of red and white feathers. Adjoining to this apartment is a neat cabinet, hung with light brown ſilk, upon which were ſeveral figures worked by the empreſs.

From the fortreſs we were conducted to a large gallery of pictures, collected by the ſame emperor. Among ſeveral portraits of that unfortunate prince, one was pointed out to us as a ſtriking reſemblance: he is painted in his Holſtein uniform; the complexion is fair, and the hair light; there is no expreſ-

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ſion in the features, and the countenance has a very effeminate look. CHAP. VI.

In the garden is an elegant pavilion, conſtructed by order of the empreſs when ſhe was great-ducheſs; it contains eighteen apartments, each furniſhed in different taſtes, namely, the Greek, Turkiſh, Chineſe, &c. and is ſituated in the midſt of a thick wood: its approaches being circular, we had not the leaſt glimpſe until we arrived at it; and as it generally cauſes an emotion of ſurprize, it has, for that reaſon, received the appellation of *Ha!*

Peterhof is at the diſtance of about ſeven miles from Oranienbaum, and twenty from the capital: the palace was begun by Peter I. and finiſhed by Elizabeth. It is ſeated upon an eminence, and commands a ſuperb view of Cronſtadt, Peterſburgh, the intervening gulf, and the oppoſite coaſt of Carelia: it is magnificently furniſhed; and the ſuite of apartments princely. The preſence-chamber is ornamented with the portraits of the ſovereigns of the houſe of Romanof, who have reigned over Ruſſia ſince the year 1613. The moſt conſpicuous amongſt them was a whole length of the preſent empreſs, as ſhe made her triumphant entry into Peterſburgh the evening of the revolution which placed her upon the throne. She is repreſented dreſſed like a man in the uniform of the guards, with a branch of oak in her hat, a drawn ſword in her hand, and mounted upon a white ſteed.

The gardens of Peterhof have been celebrated for their taſte and elegance, and from the number of jet d'eaus, fountains, baſons, caſcades, parterres, &c. they have been compared to thoſe of Verſailles; and indeed in one reſpect they are far ſuperior; for the water-works of the latter only play upon particular occaſions, while thoſe of Peterhof are perennial. Theſe gardens, which, at the time of their formation, were greatly admired in this country, though not

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congenial to the taſte of the empreſs, are ſuffered to remain in their preſent ſtate; as during ſummer her majeſty principally reſides at Tzarſkoe-Selo, where the grounds are diſpoſed in a more modern and pleaſing manner. I ſhall not detain the reader with a deſcription of the ſilver dolphins and gilded ſtatues, which are ſcattered in great profuſion; but I cannot omit mentioning thoſe of two gladiators placed in a baſon of water; they are repreſented, not with the antient weapons, the ſword and buckler, but with the more modern inſtruments of war, a brace of piſtols, which as they point to each other in threatening attitudes, the water guſhes impetuouſly from the barrels.

Part of the garden lies between the palace and the gulf, and contains, among other buildings, one ſituated cloſe to the water, which is worthy of particular obſervation, becauſe it was the favourite retreat of Peter I. As the houſe and furniture have been preſerved with a kind of religious veneration exactly in their original ſtate, we can form ſome idea of the plain and frugal ſimplicity in which that monarch was accuſtomed to live. This houſe was built ſoon after his return from Holland, and fitted up in the taſte of that country, for which reaſon it was known by the appellation of the Dutch houſe: He uſed alſo to call it *Monplaiſir*, the name by which it is now diſtinguiſhed. Being ſubject to fevers, he was prepoſſeſſed that the air * from the water was the moſt wholeſome

* "Le czar prit à Riga une forte attaque "de fièvre chaude. Pour s'en rémettre, il "ſe logea une huitaine de jours dans un vaiſ-"ſeau. A ſon avis, l'air des eaux reſtaurait "la ſanté. Peu de journées paſſées ſans le "reſpirer. Se lévant au point du jour, et "dinant à onze heures du matin, il avait "coutûme de faire un ſommeil après le répas. "Un lit de répos pour cet uſage êtait dreſſé "dans la frégatte, et il y allait en toute ſai-"ſon. Même lorſqu'il ſejournait en été à "Peterſhoff, l'air des vaſtes jardins de ce pa-"lais lui ſemblait étouffé, et il couchant à "*Monplaiſir*, maiſon, dont les flots de la mer "lavent un coté, et dont l'autre confine au "grand parc de Peterſhoff. C'êtait ſa ré-"traite favorite. Il l'avait meublée de ta-"bleaux flamans, répréſentant des ſcénes "champètres et maritimes, plaiſantes pour "la plûpart." Baſſevitz, in B. H. M. IX. p. 339.

for

for his conſtitution; and for that reaſon conſtructed this ſmall houſe cloſe to the Gulf of Finland. It is of brick, of one ſtory, and roofed with iron: the windows reach from the ground to the top; which, added to the length and lowneſs of the building, give it the appearance of a green-houſe. The habitable part conſiſts of an hall and ſix ſmall rooms, which are all furniſhed in the neateſt and plaineſt manner. The mantle pieces are ornamented with curious old porcelaine, which he greatly prized as being brought into Ruſſia when the communication was firſt opened with China. The bed-room is ſmall, white-waſhed, and the floor covered with a coloured ſail-cloth. It contains a barrack-bedſtead without curtains; and I obſerved that the ſheets were remarkably fine. The galleries on each ſide, and two ſmall rooms, are hung with pictures of the Dutch and Flemiſh ſchools; among theſe were ſeveral portraits of himſelf under the character of maſter Peter when he worked at Sardam; and one of his favourite miſtreſs the beautiful Dutch girl.

In the gardens of Peterhof is a very extraordinary building, denominated the Mountain for Sledges, and called alſo by ſome travellers the Flying Mountain. It ſtands in the middle of an oblong area, encloſed by an open colonade with a flat roof, which is railed for the convenience of holding ſpectators. The circumference of this colonade is at leaſt half a mile. In the middle of the area ſtands the flying mountain, ſtretching nearly from one end to the other. It is a wooden building, ſupported upon pillars, repreſenting an uneven ſurface of ground, or a mountain compoſed of three principal aſcents, gradually diminiſhing in height with an intermediate ſpace to reſemble valleys: from top to bottom is a floored way, in which three parallel grooves are formed. It is thus uſed: a ſmall carriage, containing one perſon, being placed in the center groove upon the higheſt point, goes with great rapidity down

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down one hill; the velocity which it acquires in its deſcent carries it up a ſecond; and it continues to move in a ſimilar manner until it arrives at the bottom of the area, where it rolls for a conſiderable way on the level ſurface, and ſtops before it attains the boundary: it is then placed in one of the ſide grooves, and drawn up by means of a cord fixed to a windlaſs. To a perſon unacquainted with the mechaniſm, this entertainment would appear tremendous; but as the grooves always keep the carriage in its right direction, there is not the leaſt danger of being overturned. At the top of the mountain is an handſome apartment for the accommodation of the court and principal nobility; there is alſo room for many thouſand ſpectators within the colonade and upon its roof. Near the flying mountain * is a ſpacious amphitheatre, in which tournaments are uſually exhibited.

As I was anxious to viſit every remarkable place in the neighbourhood of this city, I did not fail repairing to Schluſſelburgh, a fortreſs often mentioned in the Ruſſian hiſtory, and celebrated for the number and rank of the ſtate priſoners who have been there confined.

Schluſſelburgh lies at the diſtance of 40 miles from Peterſburgh; the road runs the whole way by the ſide of the Neva, which flows with a full ſtream in a broad and winding channel; its banks, which are ſteep and high, are ſtudded with many villages, and ſeveral country houſes prettily diſperſed and hanging over the hedge of the water. The village of Schluſſelburgh, which is ſituated on each ſide of the Neva, contains about 300 wooden houſes, and about 2800 inhabitants.

The fortreſs is built upon a ſmall iſland of the Neva, at the point where that river iſſues from the lake Ladoga. The

* Dr. King, in his Eſſay on the Effects of Cold, has deſcribed another kind of Flying Mountain, which was erected at Tzarſkoe-Selo: it was taken down when I ſaw the place, her preſent majeſty not being ſo fond of theſe diverſions as the late empreſs.

breadth

breadth of the ſtream in that part is about three quarters of a mile, and the current is remarkably rapid. CHAP. VI.

The origin of this fortreſs is thus traced by the Ruſſian hiſtorians. In 1324 George Danilovitch, great-duke of Moſcow, being upon an expedition againſt Wiburgh, built a ſmall fortreſs in the middle of this iſland, which was then called, from its oblong ſhape, Orekoffki Oſtrof, or Nut Iſland; from this appellation the fortreſs took its name of Orekovetch, which was corrupted into Oreſhek. Being beſieged and taken by Magnus king of Sweden, the Swedes tranſlated the name into their own language, and called it Noteborg. It again came into the poſſeſſion of the Ruſſians, who retained it until 1614, when Guſtavus Adolphus forced the garriſon to capitulate. It was probably ſince this laſt period, that the Swedes encircled the whole iſland with a wall and battlements, the ſame which ſubſiſt at preſent.

In 1702 Peter advanced to the frontiers of Sweden with a conſiderable army; and, having made ſeveral ineffectual attempts againſt Noteborg, he ſent prince Galitzin, colonel of the guards, at the head of a ſelect corps, to take it by ſtorm. That officer having, by means of rafts, landed his ſoldiers cloſe to the fortifications, which advance almoſt to the edge of the water, they were received with ſuch cool intrepidity by the garriſon, and expoſed to ſo dreadful a carnage, that Peter, conceiving the aſſault to be impracticable, ſent immediate orders for the Ruſſians to retire: Prince Galitzin, however, refuſed to obey. "Tell my ſovereign," added he, "that I am no longer his "ſubject; having thrown myſelf under the protection of a "power far ſuperior to him." Then, turning to his troops, he animated them by his voice and example, and, leading them to the attack, ſcaled the walls and took the fortreſs. Peter was ſo much ſtruck with this exploit, that, upon his next interview with Galitzin, he ſaid to him, "Aſk what you chuſe,

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"except Moſcow and Catharine." The prince, with a magnanimity which reflects the higheſt honour upon his character, inſtantly requeſted the pardon of his antient rival prince Repnin, who had been degraded by Peter from the rank of marſhal to that of a common ſoldier: he obtained his requeſt, and with it the confidence of his ſovereign, the eſteem of Repnin, and the applauſe of the publick *.

Peter changed the name of the fortreſs into Schluſſelburgh, its preſent appellation, becauſe, from the importance of its ſituation, he conſidered it as the *key* † of his conqueſts. From this period it has continued in the poſſeſſion of the Ruſſians: but, ſince the boundaries of the empire have been conſiderably extended, it is no longer of that importance as it was when it was ſituated upon the frontiers of the Swediſh territory; and for its great ſtrength and inſulated ſituation, it has been chiefly uſed for a ſtate-priſon.

The iſland, which lies juſt midway between the oppoſite banks, is, as I have before obſerved, of an oblong ſhape, ſcarcely more than 600 yards in length, and 260 in its greateſt breadth. The walls, which ſkirt almoſt its whole circumference, are conſtructed with ſtone and brick, about fifty feet in height, and from eleven to twenty thick, and are ſtrengthened, according to the antient mode of fortification, with battlements and eight round towers. We paſſed over a drawbridge into the fortreſs, which we examined, but without being permitted to enter any of the wards wherein the priſoners are confined. A range of corridors, open on the inner ſide, encloſes a large area, and contains ſeveral dungeons for the priſoners. We obſerved the windows of theſe dungeons cloſed with brick, leaving towards their top only a vacant

* I received this anecdote from one of the deſcendants of Prince Galitzin, and its truth was confirmed by many Ruſſian noblemen.

† Schluſſel in German ſignifies a key; and Peter affected to give many places a German appellation.

ſpace

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ſpace of a few inches ſquare, which admits ſo little light, that the unfortunate inhabitants have only a kind of twilight gloom. In the middle of the area is the governor's houſe, and a ſmall wooden cottage, wherein a ſtate priſoner was confined. Further on we entered through a portcullis-gate into the interior fortreſs, which was built by George Danilovitch in the year 1324: it is about 140 feet ſquare, open at top, with ſtone walls remarkably high. Within we obſerved a brick houſe of one ſtory, which reaches from one ſide to the other, and contains eleven rooms, each about ſeventeen feet by twelve. It is ſtill unfiniſhed, the floors not being laid down, and has never been inhabited. This houſe was built by order of the late emperor Peter III. with ſuch expedition, that it was begun and brought to its preſent ſtate in leſs than ſix weeks; but his depoſition put an immediate ſtop to its progreſs. The conſtruction of ſo large a building in ſo ſecure a place, and in ſuch a ſmall ſpace of time, has always beeh deemed a myſtery; but there is every reaſon to ſuppoſe that he intended it for his conſort the preſent empreſs, whom it is now well known he had determined to divorce and impriſon. That miſguided and unfortunate prince came a few weeks before his depoſition to Schluſſelburgh, to ſee prince Ivan, when he examined this houſe with great attention, and ſeemed ſatisfied with the expedition of the workmen *.

Several ſtate priſoners of high rank have been confined in this fortreſs; amongſt the moſt remarkable are the following: Maria †, ſiſter of Peter the Great; Eudocia ‡, firſt wife of the ſame

* Buſching ſuppoſes that Peter conſtructed a houſe for prince Ivan in the fortreſs of Schluſſelburgh. This can mean no other houſe than that deſcribed in the text, which I am convinced was deſigned for the empreſs; but Buſching probably did not know that Ivan was removed to Kexholm the beginning of June. Buſching, vol. VI. p. 531. See the account of prince Ivan in Book V. Chap. II. in the next volume.

† Maria was impriſoned upon ſuſpicion of being concerned with Alexèy; was again releaſed, and died at Peterſburgh in 1723.

‡ Eudocia was married, in 1689, to Peter the Great, then only in the 18th year of his age; and was delivered of Alexèy in 1690.

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ſame monarch, who was *here* impriſoned in one of the moſt gloomy cells. Count Piper, miniſter to Charles XII. who was taken at the battle of Pultava, died *here* after a lingering captivity. Biren duke of Courland, favourite of the empreſs Anne, and regent of Ruſſia, *here* exchanged the pomp of palaces for a loathſome dungeon; and the ill-fated Ivan, after an impriſonment of three and twenty years, *here* ſuffered an untimely death.

Theſe melancholy ideas, heightened by the dreadful gloom, the dead ſilence, and the awful appearance of a few ſolitary centinels, communicated ſuch an impreſſion as will not eaſily be obliterated; and even at this diſtance of time and place, I ſhudder at the recollection of a Ruſſian ſtate-priſon.

Her oppoſition to Peter's plans of reformation, and her repeated remonſtrances againſt his incontinence, occaſioned her divorce, which took place in 1696; when ſhe was compelled to aſſume the veil, and was confined in a convent at Suſdal. During her reſidence in that convent, ſhe is reported to have contracted a connection with a general Glebof, and even to have entered into a contract of marriage by exchanging rings with him. Encouraged by the predictions of the archbiſhop of Roſtof, who, from a dream, announced to her the death of Peter, and her immediate return to court under the reign of her ſon Alexèy, ſhe re-aſſumed her ſecular dreſs, and was publickly prayed for in the church of the convent under the name of the empreſs Eudocia. Being brought to Moſcow in 1718, and examined, ſhe was, by order of her inhuman huſband, ſcourged by two nuns, and impriſoned in the convent of New Ladoga, without being ſuffered to ſee any one but the perſons who brought her food, which ſhe dreſſed herſelf, for ſhe had no ſervant to do the moſt ſlaviſh offices, nor more than one cell for her perſon. See Letters from a Lady in Ruſſia, p. 46. From thence ſhe was removed to the fortreſs of Schluſſelburgh. Being releaſed upon the acceſſion of her grandſon Peter III. ſhe repaired to Moſcow, was preſent at his coronation, as well as that of the empreſs Anne, and expired in the nunnery of Devitz, where ſhe held her court, in 1731, in the 59th year of her age *.

This princeſs, though certainly a weak woman, perhaps was not ſo guilty as ſhe was repreſented by Peter. Mrs. Vigor, who ſaw and converſed with her at Moſcow in the year 1731, aſſures us, that Glebof "underwent "ſuch repeated tortures, as it was thought "no creature could have borne, with great "conſtancy, perſiſting in his own and her "innocence during his torments. At laſt "the czar himſelf came to him, and offered "him pardon if he would confeſs. He ſpit "in the czar's face, and told him, he ſhould "diſdain to ſpeak to him, but he thought "himſelf obliged to clear his miſtreſs, who "was as virtuous a woman as any in the "world," &c. See Ibid. p. 44. See Voltaire, Schmidt, &c.

* Schmidt, Gen. Tab. in his Ruſſ. Geſ.

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CHAP. VII.

Of Catharine I.—*Her origin and early adventures.*—*Married to a* Swediſh *dragoon.*—*Captured by the* Ruſſians.—*Becomes the miſtreſs, conſort, and ſucceſſor of* Peter the Great.—*Death of that monarch without appointing his ſucceſſor.*—*Hiſtory of* Catharine's *elevation to the throne.*—*Her death and character.*

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MANY authors have expreſſed great ſurprize at the contradictory reports relative to the origin of ſo extraordinary a perſonage as Catharine I. But when we conſider the lowneſs of her extraction, the variety of uncommon adventures which befel her during the early period of her life, her equivocal ſituation with general Bauer and prince Menzikof, before her connection with Peter the Great; and that ſhe did not excite the publick curioſity until ſhe became the favourite of that emperor, when ſhe and her friends could prevent, as much as poſſible, all inquiries into her former ſituation; I am ſo far from being ſurprized that we know ſo little, that I rather wonder we know ſo much about her birth and early adventures. To expect that the hiſtory of a perſon of low extraction, who gradually roſe to the moſt exalted ſtation, ſhould contain no uncertain and diſcordant accounts, is to expect impoſſibilities. All that remains, therefore, is, without prejudice or partiality, to examine and compare the various hiſtories of Catharine I. and to collect from the whole the moſt rational and probable narrative.

Catharine

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Catharine was the natural daughter * of a country girl; and

* I ſhall here ſay a few words concerning the authors from whom I have principally extracted this account of Catharine I. The firſt and moſt authentick of theſe is Weber.

1. Weber was the Hanoverian reſident at Peterſburgh during part of the reign of Peter I. and took extraordinary pains to obtain the beſt information relative to the origin of Catharine. He learnt the Ruſſian language of Wurmb, who had been tutor to Gluck's children at the time when Catharine was in that miniſter's houſe at Marienburgh, and who was at Peterſburgh in 1714: from him, therefore, he was able to obtain the moſt authentick intelligence. Can we wiſh for more accurate information? Weber may poſſibly have been miſtaken in a few trifling incidents, but his narrative upon the whole is to be depended upon. See Verandertes Rufsland, Vol. III. p. 7—10.

2. La Motraye, in his Travels, has given a ſhort account of Catharine's family, &c. Among other intelligence, he collected much information from a Livonian girl, who had been ſold by the Ruſſians to the Turks, and whom he bought in Turkey of the Janizaries: this girl knew Catharine at Marienburgh, and told him ſeveral particulars relating to her, which were afterwards confirmed to him in Livonia. The account of La Motraye correſponds with that of Weber in the principal events, differing only in a few trifling points.

3. Bruce has alſo given an account of the origin of Catharine in his Memoirs lately publiſhed, which he relates as he heard it told by thoſe who knew her from her infancy. His narrative correſponds, upon the whole, with that of Weber in all eſſential circumſtances. In the courſe of this inquiry I ſhall point out one or two immaterial inſtances wherein they differ.

Theſe three perſons are the principal authors who were in Ruſſia towards the beginning of this century, and who collected information upon the ſpot: we may therefore rely upon them with more ſafety than upon later authors; and they all agree in confirming the lowneſs of her birth and her marriage with the Swediſh dragoon.

Voltaire, in his Life of Peter I. has ſlightly paſſed over the early adventures of Catharine: he mentions nothing of her birth, her marriage with the Swediſh ſoldier, as circumſtances derogatory from the honour of the mother of the empreſs Elizabeth, by whoſe deſire he wrote the Life of Peter the Great. But, willing to ennoble the family of Catharine I. he records a ſtrange ſtory, which has all the air of a romance, of a brother of Catharine, named Scavronſki, who was found to be the ſon of a gentleman of Lithuania. Voltaire cites for his authority "le manuſcrit curieux d'un homme qui "etait alors au ſervice du czar & qui parle "comme temoin;" but without mentioning his name.

From Voltaire many ſucceeding authors have advanced that Catharine was of the family of Scavronſki; and it is certain that the empreſs Elizabeth acknowledged that family as her relations, and conferred ſeveral honours upon its members.

This anecdote concerning Scavronſki is poſitively contradicted by a paſſage in Baſſevitz, who aſſiſted Menzikof in raiſing Catharine to the throne, and who muſt have known if any brother of Catharine had been at Peterſburgh during the life of Peter. He aſſerts, that Catharine did not produce any of her relations during Peter's life: that after his death a perſon made his appearance at Peterſburgh as her brother, under the name of count Hendrikof; that he lived in obſcurity during the reigns of Peter II. and Anne; and that Elizabeth made his ſon a chamberlain. Buſching IX. p. 295.

Weber alſo upon this head relates, "that a "near relation of Catharine came to Peterſ-"burgh with his family, conſiſting of three "ſons and two daughters. He was called "count Ikavoronſki" [certainly the ſame as Scavronſki]; "the eldeſt daughter Sophia "was taken by the empreſs to be her maid "of honour; the other children were edu-"cated by their father. The arrival of *theſe* "*ſtrangers* gave riſe to many reports concern-"ing the origin of Catharine; that her fa-"ther, whoſe name was ſaid to be John Rabe,

and was born at Ringen, a ſmall village upon the Lake Virtcherve, CHAP. VII.

" was a quarter-maſter in a Swediſh regi-
" ment; that her mother was the daughter
" of a town-ſecretary of Riga, and was deli-
" vered in 1682 of Catharine. The widow,
" after her huſband's death, went to her re-
" lations at Riga, but dying ſoon afterwards,
" Gluck took the foundling into his family.
" Theſe reports, which began to circulate,
" occaſioned a public decree, forbidding all
" perſons, upon pain of death, from uttering
" diſreſpectful expreſſions againſt the late
" emperor, or the reigning empreſs and her
" family." Ver. Ruſſ. vol. III. p. 76.

We may indeed take it for granted, that if Catharine's family had been nobly deſcended, the ſecret would have been diſcovered during the life of Peter, and have been favourably received by that emperor, who was prevented by the *obſcurity of her birth* from carrying her with him to Paris, not willing to expoſe her to any inſult: " Il ne voûloit pas
" l'expoſer, dit-on, aux rebuts qu'il craignait
" pour elle, *vû l'obſcurité de ſa naiſſance*, de
" la délicateſſe Francaiſe." Baſſevitz in Buſ. Mag. IX. p. 316.

An Auſtrian envoy, who was at Peterſburgh in 1725, and wrote an account to his court of her acceſſion to the throne, ſays, " that ſhe was a natural daughter of a Livo-
" nian nobleman, whoſe name was Alvendhel;
" that her mother afterwards married a rich
" peaſant, from whom ſhe had a ſon and a
" daughter; that the former was put to
" death by Peter, for openly declaring himſelf
" to be the brother of Catharine; and that
" the ſiſter received for ſome time a penſion
" of 300 roubles from the empreſs, but was
" afterwards confined in a houſe of correc-
" tion during the reign of Peter I. by Catha-
" rine's deſire." He adds, " that Catharine
" was brought up in Gluck's houſe; that
" ſhe became the miſtreſs of Tiefenhouſen, a
" captain of a Swediſh troop, by whom ſhe
" had a ſon; that he afterwards gave her in
" marriage to a dragoon of his troop, with
" whom ſhe lived three years, until ſhe was
" taken priſoner at Narva by the Ruſſians."
But this miniſter, who is well informed in what relates to the latter part of Catharine's life, and the means by which ſhe aſcended the throne, ſeems to have retailed many idle reports about her family and early hiſtory. Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. XI. p. 48.

Before I cloſe this note I muſt neceſſarily mention the opinion of Buſching, who, during his reſidence at Peterſburgh, collected a conſiderable degree of authentick information upon the various parts of the Ruſſian hiſtory: amongſt others, he has given anecdotes of Catharine I. which he opens by ſaying, " all
" the accounts which writers have hitherto
" given, or rather conjectured, of the birth
" and family of Catharine I. are falſe." Ibid. III. p. 190. He ſays, that her family was from Lithuania, her father's name was Samuel, her brother was count Charles Scavronſki, one ſiſter was Chriſtina married to count Simon Hendrikof, and the other, whoſe name was Anne, to Michael Yeſimoſki. He confirms her marriage with the Swediſh dragoon, but places the ſcene at Frauſtadt in Poland, and not at Marienburgh. He informs us, that he obtained this information from an old lady whoſe name he conceals, who died lately at Peterſburgh, and who knew Catharine from her firſt appearance in Ruſſia, and was greatly in that empreſſes favour. He adds alſo, an account of an officer who brought Catharine's ſiſter Anne from Lithuania to Peterſburgh. With great deference, however, to ſo reſpectable an authority, we cannot, merely upon this hearſay evidence, ſet aſide the teſtimonies of Weber, La Motraye, and Bruce: this ſtory ſeems, in effect, the ſame flying report as that in Voltaire; and the lady who gave the intelligence to Buſching might have been willing to ratify the current report in Elizabeth's time in honour of her friend and patroneſs Catharine I. It appears, however, as well from this intelligence as from the information of Weber and Baſſevitz, that ſome real or pretended relations of Catharine I. made their appearance at Peterſburgh during her reign, that they were acknowledged and promoted by her, and afterwards by Elizabeth, not unwilling, perhaps, to believe, without inquiry, her mother's family to have been nobly deſcended.

Schmidt,

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cherve, near Dorpt, in Livonia. The year of her birth is uncertain; but, according to her own account *, ſhe came into the world on the 5th of April, 1689. Her original name was Martha, which ſhe changed for Catharine when ſhe embraced the Greek religion. Count Roſen, a lieutenant-colonel in the Swediſh ſervice, who owned the village of Ringen, ſupported, according to the cuſtom of the country, both the mother and the child, and was, for that reaſon, ſuppoſed by many perſons to have been her father. She loſt her mother when ſhe was but three years old; and, as count Roſen died about the ſame time, ſhe was left in ſo deſtitute a ſituation, that the pariſh-clerk of the village received her into his houſe. Soon afterwards Gluck, Lutheran miniſter of Marienburgh, happening, in a journey through thoſe parts, to ſee the foundling, took her under his protection, brought her up in his family, and employed her in attending his children. In 1701, and about the fourteenth year of her age †, ſhe eſpouſed a dragoon of the Swediſh garriſon of Marienburgh ‡. Many different accounts are given of this tranſaction: one author § of great credit affirms that the bride and bridegroom remained together eight days after their marriage; another ||, of no leſs authority, aſſerts, on the contrary, that, the morning of the nuptials her huſband being ſent with a detachment for Riga, the marriage was never conſummated. Thus much is certain, that the dragoon was abſent when Marienburgh ſurrendered to the Ruſ-

Schmidt, in his Materialien, &c. has collected in one point of view great part of the intelligence which relates to Catharine I. and to him I am greatly obliged for abridging the trouble neceſſary in ſuch a complicated inquiry.

* Baſſevitz in Buſching IX. p. 375. Some ſay ſhe was born ſo early as 1683. Buſching IX. 481.

† Weber ſays in her eighteenth year; but if, according to her own account, ſhe was born in 1689, ſhe was only thirteen.

‡ Wurmb aſſured Weber, that during her reſidence at Marienburgh ſhe was a pattern of virtue and good behaviour; which contradicts the report, that ſhe had been a common woman in Livonia.

§ Weber.

|| Bruce, p. 74.

ſians; and Catharine, who was reſerved for a higher fortune, never ſaw him more *.

General Bauer †, upon the taking of Marienburgh, ſaw Catharine among the priſoners; and, being ſmitten with her youth and beauty, took her to his houſe, where ſhe ſuperintended his domeſtick affairs, and was ſuppoſed to be his miſtreſs. Soon afterwards ſhe was removed into the family of prince Menzikof, who was no leſs ſtruck with the attractions of the fair captive: with him ſhe lived until 1704, when, in the ſeventeenth year of her age, ſhe became the miſtreſs ‡ of Peter the Great, and won ſo much upon his affections, that he eſpouſed § her on the 29th of May, 1711. The

* What became of her huſband is unknown.

Weber ſays, that Catharine, for ſome time after ſhe lived with prince Menzikof, uſed to inquire about her huſband, and that ſhe ſent him occaſionally, though privately, ſmall preſents; and that, in 1705, he was killed in a ſkirmiſh.

Gordon ſays, that on the day of his marriage he was killed in an encounter, for from that time he was never heard of. Vol. II. p. 255.

Motraye, who made many inquiries about him, concludes by ſaying, he could be aſſured of nothing from the common report of the country concerning the fate of this new-married man, it being ſo variouſly related.

† Weber relates, that marſhal Sheremetof was the general who firſt brought Catharine into Ruſſia. I ſhould certainly have ſubmitted to his authority, if Bruce had not aſſerted that general Bauer was the perſon.

Bruce begins his narrative by ſaying, "as "general Bauer was the perſon by whoſe "means the empreſs Catharine arrived after-"wards to ſo great an height:" and Bruce's authority muſt be preferred in this inſtance, becauſe he probably obtained his information from his uncle general Bruce, who was intimately acquainted with general Bauer, and could not be miſtaken in this fact.

Perhaps this contradiction may be reconciled by conſidering, that although marſhal Sheremetof commanded the Ruſſian army in Livonia, yet, as general Bauer was the next in command, he might either have headed the party which entered Marienburgh, or have taken the fair priſoner under his protection. Perſons have doubted whether ſhe were really the miſtreſs of general Bauer: but when Bruce ſays general Bauer "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," p 75. We can have no doubt of the fact, as otherwiſe a general would hardly place a girl under ſixteen at the head of his houſhold.

‡ Weber writes, that the emperor firſt ſaw her as ſhe was carrying ſome diſhes through the hall: the Auſtrian miniſter ſays ſhe was laundreſs to prince Menzikof; that at the cloſe of an entertainment at the prince's, when the emperor and company were intoxicated, ſhe was recommended to Peter, &c. Buſching XI. p. 482.

§ Gordon ſays, that ſhe had ſeveral children by the czar before he eſpouſed her, par-

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The ceremony was ſecretly performed at Jawerof in Poland, in the preſence of general Bruce; and on the 20th of February, 1712, it was publickly ſolemnized with great pomp at Peterſburgh.

Catharine, by the moſt unwearied aſſiduity and unremitted attention, by the ſoftneſs and complacency of her diſpoſition, but, above all, by an extraordinary livelineſs and gaiety of temper, acquired a wonderful aſcendancy over the mind of Peter. The latter was ſubject to occaſional horrors, which at times rendered him gloomy and ſuſpicious, and raiſed his paſſions to ſuch an height, as to produce a temporary madneſs. In theſe dreadful moments Catharine was the only perſon who durſt venture to approach him, and ſuch was the kind of faſcination * ſhe had acquired over his ſenſes, that her preſence had an inſtantaneous effect; and the firſt ſound of her voice compoſed his mind and calmed his agonies. From theſe circumſtances ſhe ſeemed neceſſary, not only to his comfort, but even to his very exiſtence: ſhe became his inſeparable companion on his journeys into foreign countries, and even in all his military expeditions.

The peace of Pruth, by which the Ruſſian army was reſcued from certain deſtruction, has been wholly attributed to Catharine, though ſhe was little more than an inſtrument in procuring the conſent of Peter. The latter, in his campaign of 1711 againſt the Turks, having imprudently led his

ticularly the princeſs Anne. The czar, he adds, was married to her in 1710. Life of Peter, vol. II. p. 258.

Weber only relates, that the marriage, which was before kept ſecret, was made publick in 1711. Voltaire places the ſecret marriage in 1707.

The following paſſage, however, in Bruce's Memoirs, is abſolutely deciſive.

"On the 17th (May, 1711) we arrived at "Warſaw, and at Jawerof on the 29th, "where we found the czar and czarina, and "they were privately married, *at which cere-* "*mony the general 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," p. 36.

* "Elle avait un aſcendant ſur ſes ſens, "qui tenait preſque du prodige." Baſſevitz in Buſch. IX. 294. See alſo the firſt note to p. 367 of this work.

troops

troops into a disadvantageous situation, took the desperate resolution of cutting his way through the Turkish army in the night. With this resolution he retired to his tent in an agony of despair, and gave positive orders that no one should be admitted under pain of death. In this important juncture the principal officers and the vice-chancellor Shaffirof* assembled in the presence of Catharine, and drew up certain preliminaries in order to obtain a truce from the grand vizier. In consequence of this determination plenipotentiaries were immediately dispatched, without the knowledge of Peter, to the grand vizier, and a peace obtained upon more reasonable conditions than could have been expected. With these conditions Catharine, notwithstanding the orders issued by Peter, entered his tent, and prevailed upon him to sign them. Although the honour of this peace, says Gordon, was wholly attributed to Catharine, yet, as he justly remarks, the generals, together with the vice-chancellor Shaffirof, had been the main springs that directed this machine. Catharine, however, by her conduct on this occasion, acquired great popularity; and the emperor particularly specifies her behaviour at Pruth, as one of the reasons which induced him to crown her publickly at Moscow with his own hand. This ceremony† was performed in 1724, and, although designed by Peter only as a proof of his affection, was the principal cause of her subsequent elevation.

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* Motraye attributes the principal success of the negociation with the grand vizier to the vice-chancellor Shaffirof: "It was solely "to his ability, and not to any pretended "presents of the czarina, that the czar owed "his deliverance at Pruth. I was well in-"formed by the Pacha, with whom I was "then, and by other Turks, even enemies to "the vizier, of what passed there, and of the "presents which were there made. All "that the czarina did was to carry to the "czar, when he was retired to his tent, and "would see none but her, the counsels and "methods which that great minister suggested, "in order to a treaty, and to induce him to "agree to them, and to give him a full "power of acting." Motraye's Travels, vol. III. p. 151, note. See also p. 103.

† The reader will find a very circumstantial account of the coronation, with all the ceremonies and entertainments, in Bruce, who was himself present. Bruce's Memoirs, p. 351 to 363.

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Some authors have aſſerted that Peter placed the crown upon her head as a prelude to his future intention in her favour, and even abſolutely appointed her his ſucceſſor; but their aſſertions are without the leaſt foundation; for no traces were ever diſcovered that he had made ſuch a diſpoſition, either by will or otherwiſe: nothing indeed affords a ſtronger proof of the contrary, than the very manifeſto of Catharine's acceſſion, in which ſhe reſts her right ſolely upon her coronation at Moſcow, and upon the reſolutions of the ſenate, the clergy, and the body of the generals *. From theſe conſiderations, let us inquire by what extraordinary means a woman of her low birth could ſucceed in ſetting aſide the grandſon of Peter the Great, who was the lineal heir of the Ruſſian empire; and aſcend the throne, to which ſhe could have no pretenſions but by the expreſs appointment of Peter. Her influence continued undiminiſhed until a ſhort time before the death of that emperor, when ſome circumſtances happened which occaſioned ſuch a coolneſs between them, as would probably have ended in a total rupture if his death had not fortunately intervened. The original cauſe of this miſunder-

* "Be it known to all and every one by "theſe preſents, that it hath pleaſed Al- "mighty God to take, after a violent ſickneſs "of twelve days, from this world, the moſt "ſerene and moſt powerful prince Peter the "Great, emperor, and abſolute ſovereign of "all the Ruſſias, father of his country, and "our moſt gracious lord, in order to raiſe "him to eternal glory.

"*The order of ſucceſſion to the throne of Ruſſia "being regulated by his imperial majeſty of moſt "glorious memory, in his decree, dated the 5th of "February, 1722, which was publiſhed to the "whole nation, and confirmed by the oaths of all "the ſtates aſſembled together; namely, that he or "ſhe, whom it ſhould pleaſe his imperial majeſty "to appoint, ſhould ſucceed to the throne: and "accordingly he was pleaſed that, in the year "1724, his dear conſort, our moſt gracious em- "preſs, Catharine Alexiefna, ſhould receive, as "ſhe did effectually receive, the crown and the "ſacred inauguration, by reaſon of the numberleſs "great and important ſervices which ſhe per- "formed for the advantage of the Ruſſian em- "pire; as was ſufficiently and amply declared in "the manifeſto, dated the 15th of November, "1723.*

"*For which reaſons* the ſenate or council of "regency, and the ſacred ſynod, in conjunc- "tion with the body of generals, have unani- "mouſly ordained, and do notify, by the "preſent printed edict, that all, as well ec- "cleſiaſtical as military and civil, of all ranks "and conditions, be ſubject and faithful to "the moſt ſerene and moſt powerful empreſs "Catharine Alexiefna, abſolute ſovereign of "all the Ruſſias." See Dumont Corps Di- "plom. Vol. VIII. P. II. p. 104.

ſtanding

ſtanding aroſe from the following diſcovery of a ſecret connection between Catharine and her firſt chamberlain, whoſe name was Mons. The emperor, who was ſuſpicious of this connection, quitted Peterſburgh under pretence of removing to a villa for a few days, but privately returned to his winter palace in the capital. From thence he occaſionally ſent one of his confidential pages with a complimentary meſſage to the empreſs, as if he had been in the country, and with ſecret orders to obſerve her motions. From the page's information the emperor, on the third night, ſurprized Catharine in an arbour of the garden with her favourite Mons; while his ſiſter Madame Balke, who was firſt lady of the bed-chamber to the empreſs, was, in company with a page, upon the watch without the arbour. CHAP. VII.

Peter *, whoſe violent temper was inflamed by this diſcovery, ſtruck Catharine with his cane, as well as the page who endeavoured to prevent him from entering the arbour, and then retired without uttering a ſingle word either to Mons or his ſiſter. A few days after this tranſaction theſe perſons were taken into cuſtody, and Mons was carried to the winter palace, where no one had admiſſion to him but Peter, who himſelf brought him his proviſions. A report was at the ſame time circulated, that they were impriſoned for having received bribes, and making their influence over the empreſs ſubſervient to their own mercenary views. Mons being examined by Peter, in the preſence of major-general Uſchakof, and threatened with the torture, confeſſed the corruption which was laid to his charge. He was beheaded; his ſiſter received

* Baſſevitz and Voltaire relate this tranſaction in a different manner, but neither of them would repreſent any circumſtance tending in the leaſt to criminate Catharine. The Auſtrian envoy, from whom the above relation is chiefly extracted, ſays, that he received information of the whole affair from the page ſent by Peter, whoſe name was Drevenich. Buſc. Hiſt. Mag. XI. p. 49.

Baſſevitz himſelf mentions the anecdote of his driving her under the gallows; which ſeems to imply, that Peter certainly thought Catharine guilty of an intrigue with Mons.

five

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five ſtrokes of the knoot, and was baniſhed into Siberia; two of her ſons, who were chamberlains, were alſo degraded and ſent as common ſoldiers among the Ruſſian troops in Perſia. On the day ſubſequent to the execution of the ſentence, Peter conveyed Catharine in an open carriage under the gallows, to which was nailed the head of Mons: the empreſs, without changing colour at this dreadful ſight, exclaimed, "What a "pity it is, that there is ſo much corruption among courtiers*!"

This event happened in the latter end of the year 1724, and as it was ſoon followed by Peter's death, and as Catharine, upon her acceſſion, recalled Madame Balke, it has been ſuſpected that ſhe ſhortened the days of her huſband by poiſon. But, notwithſtanding the critical ſituation for Catharine in which he died, and her ſubſequent elevation, this charge is totally deſtitute of the leaſt ſhadow of proof; for the circumſtances of Peter's diſorder were too well known, and the peculiar ſymptoms † of his laſt illneſs ſufficiently account for his death without the neceſſity of recurring to poiſon.

Peter having, in the year 1724, decreed that the reigning ſovereign ſhould have the power of appointing his ſucceſſor, ought, in common prudence, to have provided one in caſe of

* Baſſevitz in Buſc. Hiſt. Mag. IX. p. 372.

† "Peter," ſays the Auſtrian envoy, "had formerly contracted from one of his "miſtreſſes a complaint, which on account "of his exceſſes was never completely eradi-"cated; and, upon his drinking, at the ri-"diculous election of the mock patriarch ‡, "an enormous quantity of wine, beer, mead, "and brandy, it increaſed to ſuch a degree "as to become incurable; but as there ap-"peared no external ſymptoms of the com-"plaint, the phyſicians conceived the diſorder "to be the ſtone, and treated it accordingly. "By theſe means the virus at length gradu-"ally gained ſuch an height as to form an "abſceſs in the bladder, which, in his laſt "illneſs, brought on a ſtrangury, that ſoon "ended in his death. Upon his death-bed "he grievouſly repented of his ſins, confeſſed "that he had ſhed much innocent blood, ex-"preſſed the greateſt concern for his beha-"viour to his unfortunate ſon, adding, how-"ever, that he hoped God would forgive "his ſins in conſideration of the good he had "conferred on his country." Buſc. Hiſt. Mag. XI p. 496.

Gordon ſays, "he caught cold, which, "with a violent ſtrangury and retention of "urine, occaſioned by an impoſthume in his "bladder, put an end to his life on the 28th "of January, 1725."

‡ See an account of this in Bruce's Memoirs.

his ſudden death; but he was ſeized with his laſt illneſs before he had performed that neceſſary duty. The diſorder with which he was attacked was a ſtrangury, which at firſt did not carry with it any alarming ſymptoms of immediate danger; but ſuddenly increaſing to a violent degree, occaſioned ſuch excruciating tortures, as, in a ſhort time, totally deprived him of his ſenſes. In a lucid interval he demanded pen and paper, and endeavoured to write, but he could only trace characters that were not legible. He then called for his daughter Anne; but before ſhe arrived his ſpeech and his underſtanding entirely forſook him, and he remained in a ſtate of perfect imbecility, but ſtill breathing, for ſix and thirty hours before he expired *. CHAP. VII.

From this account, drawn from the moſt unqueſtionable authorities, it is evident that he did not appoint his heir: and though ſome perſons have concluded that he purpoſed entailing the crown upon his grandſon Peter II.; yet it is moſt probable that he had deſtined his eldeſt daughter Anne to be his ſucceſſor; but was prevented by the ſuddenneſs of his death from carrying that deſign into execution †. But, without dwelling

* Baſſevitz in Buſching IX. p. 373. alſo Weber Ver. Ruſſ. vol. II. p. 199.

† I have already given my reaſons for adopting this opinion. See p. 464 in the note.

Monſieur Le Clerc, in his Hiſtoire, Phyſique, Morale, Civile, et Politique de la Ruſſie Moderne, aſſerts, that Peter I. abſolutely appointed Peter II. his ſucceſſor. As the whole paſſage relative to this *hitherto unknown* anecdote is extremely curious, I ſhall here inſert it, and accompany it with a few obſervations.

" Lorſque ce prince (Pierre I.) vit arriver " l'inſtant de ſa mort, il fit un dernier effort " pour ſe lever de ſon lit, et pour écrire l'or- " dre qui excluoit du Trone Catharine I. et " qui y plaçoit Pierre II fils de l'infortuné " Alexis On verra dans la ſuite de cet ou- " vrage, les raiſons qui determinirent Pierre I. " à exclure Catharine qui lui avoit été ſi " chére. Nous nous bornons ici à dire que " l'ordre étoit écrit lorſqu'il tomba en foi- " bleſſe, et qu'il mourut quelques heures " après.

" Pierre I. mourut entre les bras du prince " Menzikof, des comtes de Roumentzof et " Tolſtoè, et de deux majors de gardes— " a-Pied nommés Mammonof. Avant d'an- " noncer la mort de l'empereur, leur premier " ſoin fut de lire ſes derniéres volontés, et " d'opiner ſur l'uſage qu'ils en devoient faire.

Le prince Tolſtoè porta la parole aux autres, et dit: " Les intentions de Pierre nous " ſont connues; mais prenons garde à ce " que nous allons faire. Pierre II. nous doit " hair, il nous hait; ſi nous le plaçons ſur " le Trône, nous ferons les premiéres victimes " qu'il immolera à la vengeance de ſon père.

" Tolſtoè étoit naturellement eloquent et " perſuaſif;

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dwelling upon facts which are foreign to the preſent hiſtory, let us haſten to the election of Catharine.

While Peter was yet lying in the agonies of death, ſeveral oppoſite parties were caballing to diſpoſe of the crown. At a conſiderable meeting of many among the principal nobility,

" perſuaſif; et dans cette conjuncture, l'elo-
" quence étoit jointe a la verité. On fut
" d'avis de déroger aux intentions de l'empe-
" reur défunt, et de ſupprimer l'ordre d'ex-
" cluſion. Alors les majors de gardes an-
" noncerent la mort de Pierre I. le regne de
" Catharine, et les gardes la proclamérent en
" criant Oura, ſelon l'uſage du pays. Cette
" anecdote ſecrette eſt exacte dans tous ſes
" points." Hiſt. Mod. de Ruſſie, p. 443.

I will frankly own that I muſt ſuſpend my judgement with reſpect to the truth of this ſecret anecdote, exact in all its circumſtances, until the ingenious author ſhall condeſcend to cite his authority. For as it poſitively contradicts the relation of Baſſevitz, who had ſo great a ſhare in raiſing Catharine to the throne; of count Munich, who was ſo well verſed in the political intrigues of the Ruſſian court; and of the Auſtrian envoy, who was preſent at Peterſburgh during the acceſſion of Catharine; it would require ſtronger evidence in favour of its authenticity than the mere affirmation of an hiſtorian, however ingenious, even if it did not contain many circumſtances which ſeem to be falſe.

Can Peter be ſaid to have *excluded* Catharine from the throne by the appointment of Peter II. even ſuppoſing that appointment to have formally taken place? Excluſion implies right; and what right had Catharine but from the nomination of Peter? and it does not appear that he had ever formed the moſt diſtant views of making that nomination.

The ſpeech of Tolſtoè is improbable in itſelf, and contradicted by the moſt poſitive teſtimony. It is improbable: becauſe though we imagine that Tolſtoè, who was a creature of Menzikof, might have hinted to that prince a ſuggeſtion to deſtroy any written appointment of the ſucceſſor, yet we cannot ſuppoſe that he would openly make that propoſal before count Romantzof and the two majors, without having firſt ſounded them, and endeavoured to gain them over to his purpoſe.

It is contradicted by the moſt poſitive teſtimony, becauſe it appears from Baſſevitz, that, during the ſeveral hours in which Peter lay in a ſtate of inſenſibility, and before he expired, Menzikof had taken all the neceſſary precautions for the acceſſion of Catharine.

With reſpect to the *order of the excluſion and the appointment of Peter II.* ſuppoſed to be written by Peter himſelf in the midſt of his laſt illneſs, it is moſt probable that ſuch an order was never written: for the *dernier effort pour ſe lever ſon lit*, &c. is the ſame alluded to by Baſſevitz, from whom it appears that Peter only traced illegible characters; and this ſtate of the caſe is confirmed by the Hanoverian envoy, Weber, who had no connection either with Menzikof or Baſſevitz: Schrieb auch etliche worte, aber ſo unleſerlich, &c. *he wrote a few words, but ſo illegibly, that no one could make out their meaning.* Veran. Ruſſ. vol. II. p. 199.

The Auſtrian envoy alſo ſays, that, " da
" er dann etwas aufſchreiben wollen, aber
" vor Schwachheit nicht gekonnt: *he was*
" *deſirous of writing ſomething, but could not*
" *through weakneſs.*" Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. XI. p. 496.

Baſſevitz aſſerts, that Peter expired in the arms of Catharine.

" L'Empereur expira entre les bras de ſon
" épouſe." Buſ. Hiſt. IX. p. 375.

This is alſo confirmed by Weber, " End-
" lich in der Nacht," &c. " At laſt this
" great monarch expired without making any
" will, while the empreſs threw herſelf upon
" her knees, and cried out, " God open thy
" paradiſe, and take this great ſoul unto
" thyſelf." Ver. Ruſſ. vol. II. p. 199.

Theſe are the reaſons which induce me to doubt whether this ſecret anecdote of Monſ. le Clerc is as exact in all its circumſtances as he affirms it to be.

it was ſecretly determined, on the moment of his diſſolution, to arreſt Catharine, and to place Peter Alexievitch upon the throne *. Baſſevitz, apprized of this reſolution, repaired in perſon to the empreſs, although it was already night. "My "grief and conſternation," replied Catharine, "render me "incapable of acting myſelf: do you and prince Menzi- "kof conſult together, and I will embrace the meaſures which "you ſhall approve in my name." Baſſevitz, finding Menzikof aſleep, awakened and informed him of the preſſing danger which threatened the empreſs and her party. As no time remained for long deliberation, the prince inſtantly ſeized the treaſure, ſecured the fortreſs, gained the officers of the guards by bribes and promiſes, alſo a few of the nobility, and the principal clergy. Theſe partizans being convened in the palace, Catharine made her appearance: ſhe claimed the throne in right of her coronation at Moſcow; ſhe expoſed the ill effects of a minority; and promiſed, that, "ſo far from de- "priving the great-duke of the crown, ſhe would receive it "only as a ſacred depoſit, to be reſtored to him when ſhe "ſhould be united, in another world, to an adored huſband, "whom ſhe was now upon the point of loſing." CHAP. VII.

The pathetick manner with which ſhe uttered this addreſs, and the tears which accompanied it, added to the previous diſtribution of large ſums of money and jewels, produced the deſired effect: at the cloſe of this meeting the remainder of the night was employed in making the neceſſary preparations to enſure her acceſſion in caſe of the emperor's death.

Peter at length expired in the morning of the 28th of January, O. S. This event being made known, the ſenate, the generals, the principal nobility and clergy, haſtened to the palace to proclaim the new ſovereign. The adherents of the Feb. 8, N. S.

* Tant qu'on lui ſavoit un ſouſle de vie, perſonne n'oſoit l'entreprendre. Telle étoit la force du reſpect et de la terreur, qu'imprima ce héros. Baſſevitz, p. 374.

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great-duke ſeemed ſecure of ſucceſs; and the friends of Catharine were avoided as perſons doomed to deſtruction. At this juncture Baſſevitz whiſpered one of the oppoſite party, "The "empreſs is miſtreſs of the treaſure and the fortreſs; ſhe "has gained over the guards and the ſynod, and many of the "chief nobility; even here ſhe has more followers than you "imagine: adviſe therefore your friends to make no oppoſi-"tion as they value their heads." This information being rapidly circulated, Baſſevitz gave the appointed ſignal, and the two regiments of guards, who had been gained by a largeſs * to declare for Catharine, and had already ſurrounded the palace, beat to arms. "Who has dared," exclaimed prince Repnin, the commander in chief, "to order out the troops without "my knowledge!"—"I," returned general Butturlin, "with-"out pretending to diſpute your authority, in obedience to "the commands of my moſt gracious miſtreſs." This ſhort reply was followed by a dead ſilence. In this moment of ſuſpenſe and anxiety Menzikof entered preceding Catharine, ſupported by the duke of Holſtein. She attempted to ſpeak, but was prevented by ſighs † and tears from giving utterance to her words: at length, recovering herſelf, "I come," ſhe ſaid, "notwithſtanding the grief which now overwhelms me, "to aſſure you, that, ſubmiſſive to the will of my departed "huſband, whoſe memory will be ever dear to me, I am ready

* The Auſtrian envoy ſays, that the guards received each £6.

† "The ſame perſon aſſerts, that Catha-"rine, although ſhe ſecretly rejoiced at Peter's "death, played the farce admirably; ſhe "ceaſed not her lamentations and groans; "ſhe repeatedly kiſſed the body; ſcreamed "and ſwooned without ceaſing; ſo that the "by-ſtanders, who were not acquainted with "the real ſtate of the circumſtance, were "moved with compaſſion, while the others "could hardly refrain from laughing." Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. XI. p. 497.

Baſſevitz alſo relates the grief of the empreſs, which he, on the contrary, like a true courtier, affirms to have been real. "In-"ſenſible à tout autre ſentiment, qu'à celui "de l'affliction, l'imperatrice n'avait pas "quittè ſon chévét de trois nuits." And again,

"Catharine, au lieu de hâter ſes pas vers "eux et le ſceptre, embraſſoit vainement ſon "Epoux agoniſant, qui ne la connoiſſoit "plus, et ne pouvoit s'en détacher." Ibid. IX. p. 373. et ſeq.

"to

" to devote my days to the painful occupations of govern-
" ment, until Providence ſhall ſummon me to follow him."
Then, after a ſhort pauſe, ſhe artfully added, " If the great-
" duke will profit by my inſtructions, perhaps I ſhall have the
" conſolation, during my wretched widowhood, of forming for
" you an emperor worthy of the blood and the name of him
" whom you have now irretrievably loſt."—" As this criſis,"
replied Menzikof, " is a moment of ſuch importance to the
" good of the empire, and requires the moſt mature delibera-
" tion, your majeſty will permit us to confer without reſtraint,
" that this whole affair may be tranſacted without reproach, as
" well in the opinion of the preſent age, as in that of poſte-
" rity."—" Acting as I do," anſwered Catharine, " more for
" the publick good than for my own advantage, I am not
" afraid to ſubmit all my concerns to the judgement of ſuch
" an enlightened aſſembly; you have not only my permiſſion
" to confer with freedom, but I lay my commands upon you
" all, to deliberate maturely on this important ſubject; and
" promiſe to adopt whatever may be the reſult of your deci-
" ſions." At the concluſion of theſe words the aſſembly re-
tired into another apartment, and the doors were locked.

It was previouſly ſettled by Menzikof and his party that Catharine ſhould be empreſs; and the guards, who ſurrounded the palace with drums beating and colours flying, effectually vanquiſhed all oppoſition. The only circumſtance, therefore, which remained, was to give a juſt colour to her title, by perſuading the aſſembly that Peter intended to have named her his ſucceſſor. For this purpoſe Menzikof demanded of that emperor's ſecretary, whether his late maſter had left any written declaration of his intentions. The ſecretary replied, " That a little before his laſt journey to Moſcow he had de-
" ſtroyed a will; and that he had frequently expreſſed his
" deſign of making another, but had always been prevented

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" by the reflection, that if he thought his people, whom he " had raiſed from a ſtate of barbariſm to an high degree of " power and glory, could be ungrateful, he would not expoſe " his final inclinations to the inſult of a refuſal; and that if " they recollected what they owed to his labours, they would " regulate their conduct by his intentions, which he had diſ- " cloſed with more ſolemnity than could be manifeſted by any " writing." An altercation now began in the aſſembly, and ſome of the nobles having the courage to oppoſe the acceſſion of Catharine, Theophanes, archbiſhop of Pleſcof, called to their recollection the oath which they had all taken in 1722, to acknowledge the ſucceſſor appointed by Peter; and added, that the ſentiments of that emperor delivered by the ſecretary were in effect an appointment of Catharine. The oppoſite party, however, denied theſe ſentiments to be ſo clear as the ſecretary choſe to inſinuate; and inſiſted, that as their late monarch had failed to nominate his heir, the election of the new ſovereign ſhould revert to the ſtate. Upon this the archbiſhop further teſtified, that, the evening before the coronation of the empreſs at Moſcow, Peter had declared in the houſe of an Engliſh merchant, that he ſhould place the crown upon her head with no other view than to leave her miſtreſs of the empire after his deceaſe. This atteſtation being confirmed by many perſons preſent, Menzikof cried out, " What need have " we of any teſtament! A refuſal to conform to the inclination " of our great ſovereign, thus authenticated, would be both " unjuſt and criminal. Long live the empreſs Catharine!" Theſe words being inſtantaneouſly repeated by the greateſt part of thoſe who were preſent, Menzikof, ſaluting Catharine by the title of empreſs, paid his firſt obeiſance by kiſſing her hand; and his example was followed by the whole aſſembly. She next preſented herſelf at the window to the guards, and to the people, who ſhouted acclamations of " Long live Ca-

"tharine," while Menzikof ſcattered among them handfuls of money *. Thus, ſays a contemporary, the empreſs was raiſed to the throne by the guards, in the ſame manner as the Roman emperors by the prætorian cohorts, without either the appointment of the people or of the legions †. CHAP. VII.

The reign of Catharine may be conſidered as the reign of Menzikof: that empreſs having neither inclination nor abilities to direct the helm of government; and ſhe placed the moſt implicit confidence in a man who had been the original author of her good fortune, and the ſole inſtrument of her elevation to the throne.

During her ſhort reign her life was very irregular: ſhe was extremely averſe to buſineſs; would frequently, when the weather was fine, paſs whole nights in the open air; and was particularly intemperate in the uſe of tokay-wine, in which ſhe often indulged herſelf to exceſs ‡. Theſe irregularities, joined to a cancer and a dropſy, haſtened her end; and ſhe expired on the 17th of May, 1727, a little more than two years

* This account of the election of Catharine is chiefly extracted from Baſſevitz, who aſſiſted prince Menzikof in this revolution, and certainly muſt deſerve credit as far as he choſe to diſcover the ſecret cabals. Some authors relate this event ſomewhat differently; but this difference is eaſily reconciled, and the main facts continue the ſame. Buſching aſſerts, as he was informed by count Munich, that Peter was no ſooner dead, than the ſenate and nobles aſſembled in the palace unknown to prince Menzikof. The latter, being informed of the meeting, repaired to the palace, and was refuſed admittance; upon which he ſent for general Butturlin, with a company of guards; and, burſting open the door of the apartment in which the meeting was held, declared Catharine empreſs. Buſching, vol. I. p. 15; alſo Ebauche, &c. p. 50.

The Auſtrian envoy ſays, that general Butturlin threatened to maſſacre the ſenate if the members did not acknowledge Catharine.

But we have already ſeen, from the authority of Baſſevitz, that many of the nobles, &c. repaired to the palace in oppoſition to prince Menzikof; that general Butturlin had high words with prince Repnin and the oppoſite party; that Menzikof's preſence utterly diſconcerted them; and it is probable that both he and Butturlin might have threatened the nobles, which Baſſevitz might not chuſe to record, as he was willing to make the nomination of Catharine as unanimous as poſſible: although he ſays, "C'eſt "ainſi que Catharine ſaiſit le ſceptre, qu'elle "méritoit à ſi juſte titre."

In a word, theſe three accounts are eaſily reconcileable to each other; they all prove one fact, that Menzikof, either by himſelf or his agents, by bribes, promiſes and threats, forced the nobility to proclaim Catharine.

† Auſtrian envoy in Buſching XI. p. 502.

‡ Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. III. p. 192.

after

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after her acceſſion to the throne, and in about the 39th year of her age.

As the deaths of ſovereigns in deſpotick countries are ſeldom imputed to natural cauſes, that of Catharine has alſo been attributed to poiſon; as if the diſorders which preyed upon her frame were not ſufficient to bring her to the grave. Some aſſert, that ſhe was poiſoned in a glaſs of ſpirituous liquor; others by a pear given her by general Diever. Suſpicions alſo fell upon prince Menzikof, who, a ſhort time before her deceaſe, had a trifling miſunderſtanding with her, and who was accuſed of haſtening her death, that he might reign with ſtill more abſolute power during the minority of Peter II. But theſe reports deſerve not the leaſt credit, and were merely dictated by the ſpirit of party, or by popular rumour.

Catharine was in her perſon under the middle ſize, and in her youth delicate and well-formed, but inclined to corpulency as ſhe advanced in years. She had a fair complexion, dark eyes, and light hair, which ſhe was always accuſtomed to die with a black colour *. She could neither read nor write †; her daughter Elizabeth uſually ſigned her name for her, and particularly to her laſt will and teſtament; and count Oſterman generally put her ſignature to the publick decrees and diſpatches. Her abilities have been greatly exaggerated by her panegyriſts. Gordon, who had frequently ſeen her, ſeems, of all writers, to have repreſented her character with the greateſt juſtneſs, when he ſays, "She was a very pretty well-lookt wo-

* Buſching ſays, "Ihr ſchwarzes haar "war nicht natuerlich, ſondern gefaerbt," &c. Hiſt. Mag. vol. III. p. 190.

"Her black hair was not natural, but "coloured. On her firſt riſe the coarſeneſs "of her hands proved that ſhe had been "uſed to hard labour, but they gradually "grew whiter and whiter." Theſe circumſtances we may readily believe, becauſe the lady from whom Buſching received the information could eaſily know whether Catharine's hair was black, or her hands coarſe, although ſhe might be deceived in what relates to her family.

† Baſſevitz ſays, "Elle n'apprit jamais à "écrire. La princeſſe Elizabeth ſigna tout "pour elle, quand elle fût ſur le trône, "même ſon teſtament." P. 295.

The Auſtrian miniſter ſays, count Oſterman uſed to ſign her name to all the diſpatches. Buſ. XI. p. 481.

"man

" man, of good ſenſe, but not of that ſublimity of wit, or rather " that quickneſs of imagination, which ſome people have be- " lieved. The great reaſon why the tzar was ſo fond of her, " was her exceeding good temper; ſhe never was ſeen peeviſh " or out of humour; obliging and civil to all, and never for- " getful of her former condition; withal, mighty grateful." Catharine maintained the pomp of majeſty with an air of eaſe and grandeur united; and Peter uſed frequently to expreſs his admiration at the propriety with which ſhe ſupported her high ſtation, without forgetting that ſhe was not born to that dignity *. CHAP. VII.

The following anecdotes will prove that ſhe bore her elevation meekly; and was never, as Gordon aſſerts, forgetful of her former condition. When Wurmb, who had been tutor to Gluck's children at the time that Catharine was a domeſtick in that clergyman's family, preſented himſelf before her after her marriage with Peter had been publickly ſolemnized, ſhe recollected and addreſſed him with great complacency, " What " thou good man, art thou ſtill alive! I will provide for thee." And ſhe accordingly ſettled upon him a penſion. She alſo was no leſs attentive to the family of her benefactor Gluck, who died a priſoner at Moſcow: ſhe penſioned his widow; made his ſon a page; portioned the two eldeſt daughters; and advanced the youngeſt to be one of her maids of honour. If we may believe Weber, ſhe frequently inquired after her firſt huſband, and, when ſhe lived with prince Menzikof, uſed ſecretly to ſend him ſmall ſums of money, until, in 1705, he was killed in a ſkirmiſh with the enemy. In a conference with general Schlippenback, who, in 1702, commanded the

* " Son épouſe était avec lui étalant, " conformément à la volonté du monarque, " la pompe impériale, qui le genait, et la " ſoutenant avec un air ſurprenant de gran- " deur et d'aiſance. Le czar ne pouvait ſe " laſſer, d'admirer les talens qu'elle poſſe- " dait, ſelon ſon expreſſion, de ſe créer im- " peratrice, ſans oublier qu'elle ne le nâquit " point." Baſſevitz in Buſ. p. 338.

† Life of Peter, vol. III. p. 258.

Swediſh

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Swediſh army, when ſhe was taken captive by the Ruſſians, ſhe aſked him "whether her ſpouſe John was not a brave "ſoldier?" Schlippenback returning, "am not I one alſo?" her majeſty anſwered in the affirmative: but, repeating the queſtion, he replied, "yes, pleaſe your majeſty; and I may "boaſt to have had the honour of having him under my "command *."

But the moſt noble part of her character was her peculiar humanity and compaſſion for the unfortunate. Motraye has paid an handſome tribute to this excellence. "She had in "ſome ſort the government of all his (Peter's) paſſions; and "even ſaved the lives of a great many more perſons than Le "Fort was able to do: ſhe inſpired him with that humanity, "which, in the opinion of his ſubjects, nature ſeemed to "have denied him. A word from her mouth in favour of "a wretch, juſt going to be ſacrificed to his anger, would "diſarm him; but if he was fully reſolved to ſatisfy that "paſſion, he would give orders for the execution when "ſhe was abſent, for fear ſhe ſhould plead for the victim †." In a word, to uſe the expreſſion of the celebrated Munich, "*Elle étoit proprement la mediatrice entre le monarque et "ſes ſujets* ‡."

* Buſching had the above anecdote from a lady who was preſent at this conference. Hiſt. Mag. vol. III. p. 190.

† Motraye's Travels, vol. III. p. 131.

‡ Ebauche, &c. p. 54. "She was the "mediatrix between the monarch and his "ſubjects."

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CHAP. VIII.

Account of Alexèy Petrovitch.—*Principles by which* Peter *juſtified his excluſion from the throne.—Effects of his bad education.—Dread of his father.—His eſcape from* Peterſburgh. *His trial and condemnation.—Inquiry into the cauſe of his death.—Hiſtory of his wife* Charlotte Chriſtina Sophia *princeſs of* Brunſwick.—*Circumſtances of her death.—Falſe rumours of her eſcape and ſubſequent adventures.*

ALEXE'Y, the ſole fruit of the inauſpicious marriage between Peter the Great and Eudocia Lapukin, was born in the year 1690; and never was the birth of any prince more unfortunate to himſelf, to his parents, and to his country. CHAP. VIII.

I ſhall introduce the account of this perſonage by a tranſlation of a curious letter, written in 1715, from an Auſtrian envoy at Peterſburgh to the prime miniſter at Vienna, which will ſerve to develope the principles upon which Peter attempted to juſtify the excluſion of his ſon from the throne.

" * In my laſt I informed your excellency that I had an " opportunity of penetrating the ſentiments of the tzar; " and I ſhall now acquaint you with the particulars, which " will ſurprize you. Being at dinner laſt Sunday at the " vice-chancellor Shaffirof's, in company with the tzar, his " majeſty did me the honour to converſe with me upon dif- " ferent topics, when, the diſcourſe turning upon the late " king of France, his majeſty ſaid, 'Certainly France was " never governed by a greater man than Louis XIV. never- " theleſs,' added he, 'when I conſider the little care which

* Buſc. Hiſt. Mag. III. p. 185, &c.

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" he took to perpetuate the glory of his kingdom after his " demiſe, I have no longer the ſame eſteem for his memory " which I have hitherto held for his great and heroick actions. " Louis XIV. at his advanced age, could not reaſonably have " indulged the hope of a much longer life: if, therefore, he " diſcovered in the infant (Louis XV.) his ſucceſſor any evident " marks of a future incapacity to reign, why did he entruſt him " to the care of a man who will not fail to adopt any means, " however deſperate, that may tend to ſecure the throne to " himſelf? Why did he not exclude the duke of Orleans " from any ſhare in the regency? Or, if he knew the duke " to be a man of a ſuperior genius, as he undoubtedly is, and " his great-grandſon, either on account of his tender age or " ſome corporal infirmity, incapable of governing, why did he " not declare a perſon of ſuch abilities as the duke of Orleans " his ſucceſſor? By theſe means his grand ſyſtem would have " ſtood unſhaken even by his death; whereas we have now " every reaſon to conclude that France will decline.' I made " anſwer, 'that as, according to the fundamental laws of the " kingdom, the firſt prince of the blood is neceſſarily regent " during the king's minority, Louis XIV. could not exclude the " duke of Orleans from the regency without breaking the law " of ſucceſſion, which no king of France could venture to in- " fringe,' &c. 'Therefore,' replied the tzar, 'a prince, who, " by ſacrificing his health, and even frequently expoſing his " life, had at length rendered his country reſpectable and " formidable, would, according to your hypotheſis, be con- " ſtrained to ſuffer the fruits of his labours to be deſtroyed in " the hands of a madman, provided he was his neareſt rela- " tion. I own I am not of your opinion. It is by no means, " as it appears to me, ſufficient, that a monarch ſhould exert " himſelf to aggrandize his ſtate, and to render it flouriſhing " during his life; but he ought alſo by wiſe precautions to

" perpetuate

" perpetuate its glory after his demiſe, which can in no other
" manner be effectuated than by appointing an heir who ſhall
" be capable, not only to maintain his acquiſitions and pre-
" ſerve his eſtabliſhments, but alſo to execute the reſt of his
" deſigns, were he even to ſelect him from the croud of his
" ſubjects.' ' You,' added he, ' would tax a prince with cru-
" elty, who, in order to ſave his ſtate, which ought to be
" dearer to him than the blood in his veins, ſhould attempt
" to alter the ſucceſſion of his blood; and I, on the contrary,
" conceive it to be the greateſt of all cruelties to ſacrifice the
" ſafety of the ſtate to the mere right of an eſtabliſhed ſuc-
" ceſſion. Let us ſuppoſe that the ſucceſſor has not the
" qualities requiſite for a ſovereign, a convent, and not a
" throne, is a proper aſylum for weak princes. David, for
" example, had many ſons, but, as he found not in the eldeſt
" the qualities which a king of Iſrael ought to have poſſeſſed,
" he choſe the youngeſt for his ſucceſſor: God himſelf ap-
" proved the choice, inſtead of blaming him for not paying
" any regard to pretenſions of primogeniture, which was ne-
" verthelefs highly reſpected by the Jews. If the gangrene
" (making me touch at the ſame time the end of his thumb)
" attacks my finger, am I not obliged, notwithſtanding it is
" part of my body, to cut it off, or ſhould I not be guilty of
" ſuicide?"

" In ſhort, I now comprehend the cauſe of the law lately
" introduced by the tzar, which adjudges all real eſtates of a
" family to one of the male children, but which leaves to the
" father the abſolute power of appointing his heir without
" conſidering the right of primogeniture; and I am now
" convinced that the tzar has in his own mind decreed the
" excluſion of his eldeſt ſon; and that we ſhall one day ſee
" Alexèy with his head ſhaven thruſt into a monaſtery, and

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" obliged to paſs the remainder of his life in praying and " chanting hymns. Nov. 15, 1715."

The prophecy of this writer was afterwards fulfilled, though, inſtead of being ſhut up in a convent, the wretched prince expired in a priſon. The circumſtances which occaſioned his excluſion and death are well known; but as we have received them through the medium of his accuſers, we ought to be very careful in giving credit to all the charges with which his memory has been ſtigmatized. One fact * is incontrovertible, that his education was moſt ſhamefully neglected, and that he was a ſtranger to the reſtraints neceſſary at his age, until the time of introducing proper habitudes had almoſt elapſed. He was committed to the care of women, and to the inſtruction of the Ruſſian prieſts, the loweſt and moſt ignorant of men, who inſtilled into him all the prejudices of their religion, and were continually inveighing againſt his father for the abolition of many barbarous cuſtoms, which they had long conſidered with a reverential awe. Nor was he releaſed from this wretched ſpecies of tuition before the eleventh year of his age, when Baron Huyſen, a man of great merit and ability, was appointed his governor. Under this judicious inſtructor he ſeems to have made no inconſiderable progreſs, and his early prejudices might have gradually worn away, if prince Menzikof had not contrived to remove from him the only perſon who was likely to inſtill into him proper principles of action, and taken upon himſelf the ſuperintendence of his education. But as that prince † ſcarcely ever ſaw him, and placed about him the moſt improper perſons, he ſeems to have intentionally given him a full ſcope to his vicious inclinations, and to have abandoned him to the company of the loweſt wretches, by whom he was encouraged to conti-

* See Memoire abregè ſur la vie du tzarevitch Alexei Petrovitch in Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. p. 195.
† Buſ. H. M. p. 196.

nual ebriety, and to every kind of the loweſt exceſs: yet this deſigning miniſter artfully extorted from the tzarovitch, in priſon, a confeſſion that he was the only perſon who had taken any care of his education *. CHAP. VIII.

It appears, from ſeveral facts, that Peter had conceived a very early prejudice againſt his ſon; and inſpired him with ſuch terror, that, in order to avoid drawing before his father, the young prince once diſcharged a piſtol againſt his right hand. All perſons, however, join in condemning the imprudence and obſtinacy of Alexèy, which ſeem to have warped his judgement, and, at times, to have tranſported him to a degree of inſanity. Bruce, who knew him well, gives the following account of his perſon and manners; and, as he was not prejudiced againſt him, his teſtimony muſt be eſteemed more valid than all the laboured accuſations of his enemies.

"The czarowitz arrived in Moſcow this winter (1714) 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, 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 fre-"quently did me the honour to talk with me in German, being fully maſter of that lan-"guage; 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 de-"bauched ignorant prieſts, and other mean perſons of bad character, in whoſe company he "always reflected on his father's conduct for aboliſhing the antient 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."

* L'Eveſque makes the following juſt reflections upon this unaccountable circumſtance. "Croira-t-on qu'il ait fait ſincérement & de lui-même l'éloge des ſoins que "Menchikof avait pris de ſon éducation; "lorſqu'on ſait d'ailleurs que Menchikof approchait de lui tout au plus trois ou quatre "fois par an, & ne lui parlait qu' avec le "ton du mépris le plus dur & le plus outrageant? Si on le contraignit à louer le "favori de Pierre, l'ami de Catharine, ne "peut-on pas lui avoir dicté de même tout "ce qu'on voulait lui faire dire?" Hiſt. de Ruſſie, tom. IV. p. 442.

This conjecture is greatly ſtrengthened by conſidering that the eulogium of prince Menzikof was obtained from Alexèy in priſon by Tolſtoè the creature of Menzikof.

And

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And again, "It was very remarkable, that the prince never appeared at any of the "publick 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 publick days or meetings, and I had the honour to carry and deliver the meſſage; "but his highneſs, to avoid appearing in publick, either took phyſick 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 con-"ſtantly to condemn all his father's actions *."

Being inflamed by continual drunkenneſs, and worn out by a ſeries of perſecutions, he was driven to a ſtate of deſperation, and at length, in the year 1716, ſuddenly renouncing his right of ſucceſſion in favour of Peter's ſon by Catharine, he demanded permiſſion to retire into a convent. But, ſoon afterwards adopting the advice of his principal adherents, he made his eſcape to Vienna, where he put himſelf under the protection of Charles VI. That emperor, in order to ſhelter him from the reſentment of his father, ſent him firſt to Inſpruck in the Tyrol, and afterwards removed him, for ſtill greater ſecurity, to the caſtle of St. Elmo at Naples. Being ſecretly betrayed by his Finlandiſh miſtreſs, whom he is reported to have married, and influenced by the moſt ſolemn promiſes of perfect forgiveneſs, he was prevailed upon, by the emiſſaries of his father, to return to Moſcow. Having there ſolemnly renounced all right of ſucceſſion to the crown, he was conveyed to Peterſburgh, thrown into the fortreſs, tried by a ſelect committee, and condemned to ſuffer death. The acts of his proceſs and condemnation are well known, being put forth by order of the emperor, and are to be found in ſeveral publications †.

Whatever prejudices we may have entertained againſt Alexèy, we cannot peruſe the trial without being ſhocked at the cruel and unjuſt mode with which it was conducted:

* Bruce's Memoirs, p. 100 and 127.

† Mottley, vol. II. And more circumſtantially in Perry, vol. II.

when

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when his mercileſs perſecutors eagerly laid hold of every advantage which was afforded by his youth and ſimplicity; when his Finlandiſh miſtreſs, who was afterwards penſioned for her atteſtations, depoſed every angry expreſſion againſt his father which ſhe ever recollected to have fallen from him in the moſt unguarded moments; when not only his words and actions were brought to witneſs againſt him, but his very thoughts were ſcrutinized, and his own confeſſion * extorted from him in priſon employed to convict him. Indeed many of his own depoſitions, which tended moſt to criminate him, by diſcovering intentions of rebellion, were not openly acknowledged, but only ſigned by him in priſon; and a ſignal difference is remarkable between his confeſſions during his firſt examination at Moſcow, which was more publick, and thoſe made at Peterſburgh, when his trial was chiefly carried on in private before Peter and his immediate confidents; circumſtances which ſeem to prove the infliction of torture.

With reſpect to the circumſtances of Alexèy's death, there

* "On remarque, que dans ce procès on "ſuivait les formes inſidieuſes de l'inquiſi- "tion. C'ètait à l'accusè à chercher labo- "rieuſement ſes fautes, à faire des efforts de "memoire pour les aggraver. Son innocence "dépendait de ſe declarer, de ſe prouver cri- "minel. Un oubli, une réticence innocente "ou même louable devenait un crime. Ou "plutôt, épié, preſſé, ſurpris de tous cotès, "il ne pouvait éviter ſa condemnation. S'il "taiſait ſes fautes, ſon ſilence le rendait cou- "pable: S'il les devoilait, il était convaincu "par ſon aveu." L'Eveſque, vol. IV. p. 427.

The reader, I flatter myſelf, will not be diſpleaſed at my introducing to his acquaintance ſuch ſpirited paſſages as the one juſt quoted, and the following upon the depoſition of the tzarovitch.

"La ſimplicitè enfantine de toute cette "derniere déclaration eſt précieuſe: Elle "prouve que le tzarévitch pouvait avoir les "vices et la groſſiereté d'une mauvaiſe édu- "cation, mais qu'il ne pouvait être criminel."

And again, "Mais que ſerait-ce, ſi ces "aveux les plus forts lui avaient été dictés, "arrachès, extorqués? ſi l'on avait mis à "profit ſa timidité, ſa faibleſſe, pour le forcer, "à ſe montrer plus coupable qu'il ne l'était "en effet? Si, chaque jour des mauvais "traitements nouveaux fatiguaient, dom- "taient ſa patience, & l'obligeaient à faire "les aveux qu'on exigeait de lui? ſi l'on em- "ployait même les tortures pour vaincre ſa "réſiſtance? ſi ſes cris & le bruit des coups "qu'il recevait étaient entendus par un pri- "ſonnier qui était en même temps dans la "fortereſſe, & qui a dévoilé depuis cet "odieux ſecret? ſi le tzar lui même était le "ſpectateur & peut-être le miniſtre des "tourments de ſon fils? On ne peut s'em- "pêcher de rapporter cette tradition: mais "elle afflige l'humanité qui ſe plaît à la re- "voquer en doute; elle ſemble en même "temps choquer la vraiſemblance." Ibid. p. 440, 441.

are

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are two prevailing opinions; one, advanced in the manifeſto of Peter, that he was ſeized with an apoplectick fit, and died of convulſions, occaſioned by the violent paſſions of his mind and the terrors of death; and the other, that he was ſecretly executed in priſon. And the latter of theſe ſeems moſt entitled to belief, notwithſtanding the aſſertions of Peter, and the apology of his panegyriſts, particularly of Voltaire, who has ſupported his innocence with the moſt plauſible arguments.

Of all the accounts of the prince's death, that given by Buſching ſeems to be the moſt probable and authentick. This author * poſitively aſſerts, that he was beheaded by order of his father, and that marſhal Weyde was the perſon who performed the office of executioner. He received the intelligence from a lady at Peterſburgh, named Cramer, who was in high confidence both with Peter and Catharine, and who was employed in ſewing the prince's head to his body previous to its lying in ſtate. During my ſtay at Peterſburgh I was at ſome pains to authentick this fact; but I found it extremely difficult to obtain any poſitive information upon ſo ſecret a tranſaction. The moſt material circumſtances I could collect were communicated to me by an intimate acquaintance of the above-mentioned lady; he aſſured me that he had frequently attempted to converſe with her upon the death of Alexèy, but had always found her extremely averſe to hold any diſcourſe upon the ſubject; ſhe ſeemed exceedingly ſhocked whenever this topick was introduced; and nothing could be further extorted from her, than that ſhe was the perſon who prepared the body for the ceremony of its lying in ſtate. This unwillingneſs of the lady to enter upon the ſubject, together with her declaration that ſhe prepared the body, ſeems to add a great degree of confirmation to the account of Buſching; and it is not improbable, from the confidential intercourſe which ſubſiſted

* Buſ. Hiſ. Mag. vol. III. p. 224. Alſo Introduction to vol. IX.

between

between them, that ſhe might, on ſome particular occaſion, have diſcloſed to him a ſtate-ſecret of ſuch moment, which, excepting in this ſingle inſtance, ſhe invariably concealed. CHAP. VIII.

An additional proof, in favour of the authenticity of this fact, I lately received from an Engliſh gentlemen, on whoſe veracity the publick may rely. That gentleman aſſured me, that he had been informed by prince Cantemir's ſecretary, with whom he was intimately acquainted abroad, that Alexèy was beheaded in priſon. As prince Cantemir was in high favour with Peter, the intelligence of his confidential ſecretary muſt carry with it great weight. This fact appears ſo well atteſted, that many of the German hiſtorians, who have written upon Ruſſia, have adopted it without reſerve; and, in ſeveral genealogical tables of the Imperial family, Alexèy is put down as beheaded. A paſſage, however, in Bruce's Memoirs, ſeems at firſt ſight to invalidate this concurrent evidence, and to prove that he was poiſoned. This paſſage is too curious not to be introduced to the reader.

"The trial * was begun the 25th of June, 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 the fortreſs. 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 tzarovitch was kept "priſoner. Some little time thereafter, marſhal Weyde 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 meſ-"ſage to Mr. Bear, he turned quite pale, and fell a ſhaking and trembling, and appeared "in the utmoſt confuſion; which ſurprized 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 "marſhall 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 apoplectick fit; "upon this the druggiſt delivered him a ſilver cup with a cover, which the marſhal himſelf "carried into the prince's apartment, ſtaggering all the way as he went like one drunk. "About half an hour after, the tzar, with all his attendants, withdrew, with very diſmal

* Bruce's Memoirs, p. 185—187.

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" 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 con- " vulſion 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 embowelled, 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 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 tzar and " tzarina, and the chief of the nobility, followed in proceſſion. Various were the reports " that were ſpread concerning his death: it was given out publickly, that on hearing his " ſentence of death pronounced, the dread thereof threw him into an apoplectick 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 for- " bid the court for ſpeaking their minds too freely on this occaſion, and, upon complaint " againſt them, were both recalled."

From this account it appears that the prince was ſtill alive when Peter, with the nobles and biſhops, remained in the fortreſs, and that he died in the interval between their departure and the afternoon: but it by no means follows, even from this ſtate of the caſe, that the tzarovitch was poiſoned. For, can we ſuppoſe that Peter would order a doſe of poiſon to be prepared for his ſon at a chymiſt's ſhop, and that marſhal Weyde would openly ſend for it without the leaſt myſtery? May we not rather infer that the potion was moſt probably a medicine ſimilar to thoſe which had been already preſcribed for the prince, who had for ſome time been extremely indiſpoſed? The fright of the chymiſt might proceed from his delivering a medicine for the tzarovitch, who was ſaid to be in the agonies of death; as, in a deſpotick country, and under ſuch a ſovereign as Peter, his own ſafety might be involved in the event of this cataſtrophe. The agitation of marſhal Weyde will be ſtill more eaſily and ſatisfactorily accounted for,

if, according to Buſching, he was preparing to perform, or had already performed, the execution. CHAP. VIII.

The principal circumſtance which ſeems to contradict the opinion that he was beheaded, is, that if Bruce's narrative is to be depended upon, the prince, when he fell afterwards into repeated convulſions, was viſited by the phyſicians; and yet, if Buſching's account can be relied on, he muſt have been already beheaded, as marſhal Weyde, according to Bruce, had finally quitted the fortreſs. But it is poſſible that the phyſicians, although ordered to attend upon the prince, might be prevented from ſeeing him; it is poſſible that marſhal Weyde may have ſecretly returned to the fortreſs without the knowledge of colonel Bruce; it is poſſible that Bruce himſelf, as being an intimate friend of marſhal Weyde, might have been entruſted with the ſecret, but was unwilling to record, in his Memoirs, ſo horrid a cataſtrophe, which was totally repugnant to the manifeſto of the emperor: and indeed it plainly appears from his narrative, that he knew more than he choſe to diſcover. When the ſecret execution of the heir apparent of a deſpotick empire becomes the ſubject of inquiry, it muſt always be difficult to aſcertain the truth; and it would be unreaſonable to expect that no contradictory circumſtances ſhould occur in the different relations of ſuch a myſterious tranſaction, when, even in the moſt common occurrences, no two perſons would relate the ſame event preciſely in the ſame manner.

Catharine is not free from ſuſpicion of being concerned in this horrid affair, as well becauſe her ſon by Peter was declared ſucceſſor, as becauſe Tolſtoi, to whom the management of the proceſs and the private examination of Alexèy were chiefly entruſted, was well known to be a creature of Menzikof, whoſe intereſts were cloſely connected with thoſe of the empreſs. But this accuſation of Catharine could be only a mere ſurmiſe, and her interference, if ſhe really interfered, muſt

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have been conducted in ſo ſecret a manner, as not to have been diſcovered. Peter himſelf exculpated her; openly teſtifying *, that ſhe interceded for his ſon's life, and requeſted, that, inſtead of being put to death, he might be confined in a convent. Not to mention that ſuch proceedings militate ſtrongly againſt the well-known humanity of Catharine; there was no occaſion to irritate the ſavage temper of Peter, too much inclined to inflict the ſevereſt puniſhment upon his ſon, who had threatened to overturn all his plans of reformation, and to deſtroy, in a moment, that vaſt fabrick of glory and power which he had employed many years in erecting. The monarch who could himſelf attend the infliction of torture, who had occaſionally performed the office of executioner, and who had even ordered the firſt partner of his bed to be ſcourged, would not require any incitement to command the execution of that ſon, whom he had publickly treated with the moſt inhuman ferocity.

The following note, written with Peter's own hand to count Romanzof, who, in conjunction with count Tolſtoi, brought the unfortunate Alexèy from Naples, will ſerve to diſplay the inflexible ſpirit of that monarch, who forgot the feelings of a father in his anxiety for the publick good. "I grant you the ranks of major-general and lieutenant-"general, and the eſtates of Alexander Kikin and Kuril Ma-" tuſhkin †, in conſideration of the ſignal ſervice which you " have juſt conferred, not only upon me, but, what is more, " upon your country, in bringing back him, who by birth is " my ſon, and, by his actions, the enemy of his father and of " his country ‡."

The wife of Alexèy, Charlotte Chriſtina Sophia, whoſe fate

* Baſſevitz.

† Two of Alexèy's unfortunate adherents, who, with many others, were executed upon this occaſion.

† This note, which has not yet appeared in print, was communicated to me by a Ruſſian nobleman, who favoured me with a tranſlation from the original.

has

has already been briefly related, was daughter of Louis Rhodolph of Brunſwick-Blankenburgh, and ſiſter of Elizabeth Chriſtina, conſort of the emperor Charles VI. She was born on the 29th of Auguſt, 1694, eſpouſed, on the 25th of October, 1711, at Torgau, the tzarovitch Alexèy, and in July of the enſuing year made her entrance into Peterſburgh *.

Although this amiable princeſs ſeems to have been the choice of Alexèy, who ſaw her at her father's court, yet he always treated her with the utmoſt neglect; and gave up his whole time and attention to his favourite miſtreſs Euphroſyne, a Finlandiſh girl of the loweſt extraction. It does not, indeed, appear, that the prince treated her in that inhuman manner as is reported by ſome writers, namely, that he frequently ſtruck her; for even if he had been ſufficiently brutal to have been inclined to ſuch a conduct, he would have been reſtrained by his apprehenſions of his father, who, as well as Catharine, always expreſſed the ſtrongeſt compaſſion for her wretched ſituation, and ſhowed her conſtant proofs of his affection and régard. Her huſband's unconquerable antipathy ſeems to have been chiefly derived from his ſuſpicions that ſhe lodged complaints againſt him to the emperor, who frequently and roughly expoſtulated with him on this inſtance of his ill-conduct. Unfortunately her domeſtick uneaſineſs was increaſed by Juliana princeſs of Eaſt-Frieſland, who accompanied her into Ruſſia, to whom ſhe uſed to unboſom her grief and anxiety, and who imprudently fanned the flame inſtead of endeavouring to quench it.

The fruits of this ill-aſſorted union were Natalia, who was born at Peterſburgh in 1714, and died at Moſcow in 1728;

* This account of the princeſs is chiefly taken from Muller's "Von der Princeſſin "von. Wolfenbuettel als vermahlten ruſſiſchen Kronprinceſſin." in Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. XV. p. 234.

and

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and a prince, afterwards the emperor Peter II. who was brought into the world on the 23d of October, 1715.

A few days after the prince's birth, the conſequences of her delivery, and the melancholy which had long preyed upon her frame, hurried her prematurely to the grave, and ſhe expired on the 2d of November, in the 21ſt year of her age. The approach of her death was affecting to all but her huſband and herſelf; and her ſpirit had been ſo ſubdued by affliction, that ſhe conſidered her diſſolution as a welcome releaſe from all her ſufferings. Impreſſed with this ſentiment, ſhe ſaid to her phyſicians, "Do not torment me any more, for "I will live no longer *."

On the day which preceded her deceaſe, ſhe dictated the following petition to Peter the Great, which may be conſidered as her will.

"The moſt humble and laſt entreaties from the under-"written to his imperial majeſty.

1. "His Imperial majeſty will order my funeral as he ſhall "think proper. I could wiſh, nevertheleſs, that my body "may be buried in a place where it may remain undiſturbed "until the ſecond coming of our Saviour. 2. Both my be-"loved children I recommend to the care and affection of his "imperial majeſty, my gracious father-in-law, that they may "be educated according to their birth and ſtation. 3. I leave "my jewels and other valuable things in gold and ſilver to my "children; and a reaſonable part of my clothes and linen to "my couſin the princeſs of Eaſt-Frieſland. 4. I beſeech his "imperial majeſty graciouſly to permit thoſe perſons who ac-"companied me hither to return, and to defray the expence "of their journey. 5. On account of the dearneſs of this "place, and becauſe my ſervants were ſtrangers, I have con-"tracted ſome debts, which I intreat his imperial majeſty to

* Bruce's Memoirs, p. 148.

"diſcharge,

" diſcharge, that I may be remembered with honour, and that
" no unworthy reports may be circulated after my death.
" The ſums, which the crown will ſave by my deceaſe, may be
" employed in diſcharging theſe debts, ſince it is God's will that
" I depart from this world ſo prematurely and unexpectedly.
" 6. My unforeſeen and untimely death is alſo the cauſe of
" my being unable to recompence my domeſticks, who had
" the care of regulating my expences; and as I am perfectly
" ſatisfied that my ſecretaries Cluver and John Clement, who
" had charge of my diſburſements, have ſerved me with fide-
" lity and honour, I humbly entreat that their accounts, which
" have receipts, may be paſſed, and that the other expendi-
" tures may be admitted upon their oath. I repoſe ſuch con-
" fidence in his imperial majeſty, that I truſt he will not re-
" ject this my laſt requeſt, more particularly when I reflect
" on the repeated inſtances which I have experienced of his
" paternal tenderneſs and affection. I have this alſo to add,
" that my death is not ſo grievous to me, but that I am much
" concerned to leave this world at a time when his imperial
" majeſty is indiſpoſed; a circumſtance which has prevented
" me from thanking him in perſon for the frequent proofs
" I have received of his kindneſs and regard. May the Al-
" mighty be his aid and protector; and may he add thoſe
" years to his life which are taken from mine; which I like-
" wiſe faithfully, and with my whole heart, implore for her
" majeſty the empreſs; and, after returning my acknow-
" ledgements due to them for the repeated inſtances of their
" love and goodneſs, I expire, the moſt humble and moſt
" obedient daughter of both their majeſties,

" CHARLOTTE CHRISTINA SOPHIA *."

" St. Peterſburgh, Oct. 21, Nov. 1, N. S. 1715."

* Muller in Buſ. XV. p. 237.

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It is a ſufficient proof of the bad terms in which the princeſs lived with her huſband, that ſhe has not once mentioned his name, unwilling, perhaps, to diſturb her laſt moments with any diſtreſſing reflections. Her ardent deſire to ſee the emperor before ſhe expired, was gratified. Peter, who was at Schluſſelburgh at the time of her delivery, had ſet off upon the firſt news of that intelligence for Peterſburgh; but, upon his arrival in the capital, was ſeized with a ſudden illneſs, which confined him to his chamber. Upon peruſing, however, the affectionate expreſſions of her attachment, he was placed upon a machine rolling upon wheels, and thus conveyed to her apartment. Their interview was awful: ſhe took leave of him in the moſt moving language and affecting manner, recommending her children to his care, and her ſervants to his protection; and received from him every conſolation which her ſituation would admit, and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that all her wiſhes ſhould be fulfilled. She then embraced her children, and, having bedewed them with tears, delivered them into the hands of her huſband, whom decency obliged to be preſent at this tender ſcene. After having ſuffered the moſt acute pains, and ſtruggled with ſucceeding agonies, ſhe expired at midnight *.

She died a member of the Lutheran religion, which ſhe had in vain been ſolicited to renounce; and nothing conveys a ſtronger proof of the high eſteem in which ſhe was held by the emperor, than that, although ſhe had not embraced the Greek perſuaſion, her remains were interred in a Ruſſian church: they were depoſited on the 8th of November in the cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, with all the funeral honours due to her exalted ſtation.

I have been thus particular in relating the principal circumſtances which attended her death, not only becauſe her fate

* Muller and Bruce.

is intereſting to every feeling mind, but alſo becauſe a few years ago there appeared in France the following extraordinary account of this princeſs. Soon after her delivery, as the emperor happened to be abſent from Peterſburgh, ſhe perſuaded ſome of her attendants to circulate a report of her death; and her huſband, who paid no attention to her during her illneſs, ordered her to be buried without delay: a piece of wood was ſubſtituted in the place of the body, and interred in the cathedral; and the princeſs made her eſcape into France. Apprehenſive of being there diſcovered, ſhe embarked for Louiſiana, where ſhe married a French ſerjeant, who had formerly been at Peterſburgh, to whom ſhe bore a daughter. In 1752 ſhe came with her huſband to Paris, was diſcovered as ſhe was walking in the Thuilleries by marſhal Saxe, who promiſed ſecrecy, and procured a commiſſion for her huſband in the Iſle of Bourbon. Having loſt her huſband and child, ſhe, in 1754, returned to Paris with a negro woman. The bills upon the Eaſt India Company, which ſhe brought in her huſband's name, being refuſed becauſe ſhe could not prove herſelf to be his wife, a gentleman, whom ſhe had known in the Iſle of Bourbon, offered his aſſiſtance, which ſhe declined. She confeſſed, it is ſaid, to this gentleman her real character; and from him the author of the account pretends to have received theſe anecdotes; adding, that ſhe ſoon afterwards diſappeared, and was ſuppoſed to have retired to the court of her nephew the duke of Brunſwick. In this wonderful narrative, the king of France is alſo ſaid to have privately acknowledged her, and even to have enjoined the governor of the Iſle of Bourbon to pay her thoſe honours which were due to her rank. It is added, that the ſame monarch, in a letter written with his own hand, communicated this diſcovery to the empreſs of Germany (then queen of Hungary), who thanked the king for his intelligence, and immediately wrote to the ſup-

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poſed princeſs, as to her aunt; adviſed her to quit her huſband and child, whom the king of France had promiſed to provide for, and invited her to Vienna.

Although I had little reaſon to give credit to an anonymous author, and the whole ſtory carries with it the air of fiction, I yet made it the ſubject of my reſearches. I found, upon inquiry, that the circumſtances of her death were ſuch as could not be doubted, and accorded with the accounts which I have before related; and I was, moreover, informed by a Ruſſian nobleman of high diſtinction, that his mother attended the princeſs in her illneſs; that ſhe was a witneſs to her laſt moments, and ſaw herſelf the corpſe laid in ſtate, when perſons of all ranks were admitted to kiſs the hand of the deceaſed *.

* In L'Eveſque's Hiſtory of Ruſſia there is an ample detail of the riſe and progreſs of this anecdote of the princeſs's eſcape and adventures. It firſt made its appearance in Richer's Continuation of the Abbé Marcy's Hiſtoire Moderne; afterwards in Boſſu's Nouveaux Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale; and lately was revived in "Pieces "intereſſantes et peu connues, pour ſervir à "l'Hiſtoire;" in which, as an additional authority, it is qualified as an extract found among the papers of the late Duclos, ſecretary of the Royal Academy and Hiſtoriographer of France. The anecdote, like all other ſtories which are improved in their progreſs, is dreſſed in ſomewhat different ſhapes: in one the name of the huſband is d'Auban, in the other Moldack; in one ſhe marries a third time, and again becomes a widow: the circumſtances of her eſcape are alſo variouſly related, and in all with the moſt evident marks of falſehood, and abſolute contradiction to the moſt undoubted facts; ſuch as that ſhe was aſſiſted in her eſcape by the counteſs of Koningſmark, when there was no lady of that name about her perſon, or at Peterſburgh; that the body of the princeſs was interred almoſt at the inſtant of her deceaſe, and without any funeral honours; that Peter I. was not at Peterſburgh when ſhe died; that ſhe was brought to bed before her time of a princeſs, with many other ſimilar aſſertions, which ſcarcely deſerve any ſerious refutation. The reader, who is deſirous of further information upon the ſubject, is referred to L'Eveſque Hiſtoire de Ruſſie, Tom. IV. p. 384—389; and to the latter part of Müller's account, Von der Princeſſen von Wolfenbuttel in Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. XV. p. 239 to 241.—An extract alſo of the principal circumſtances of this ſtory is given in the Gentleman's Magazine, and from thence is inſerted in the Annual Regiſter for 1776.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

Catalogue of the principal Books cited in the Courſe of this Work, with their References.

A. Antidote, &c. to a Book, entitled A Journey into Siberia, made in MDCCLXI, &c. by the Abbé Chappe d'Auteroche, 1772. Antidote to the Abbé Chappe.

B. Ruſſiſche Bibliothek von Hartw. Ludw. Chriſti Bachmeiſter 1772—1782. Bachmeiſter's Ruſſ. Bib.

B. Memoirs of Peter Henry Bruce, Eſq; &c. London, 1782. Bruce's Memoirs.

B. Eſſai ſur la Bibliotheque et le Cabinet de Curioſités et d'Hiſtoire Naturelle de l'Academie des Sciences de St. Peterſbourg, par Jean Bachmeiſter, 1776.

B. Buſching's Hiſtoriſches und Geographiſches Magazin, 17 vol. B. H. M.
Neue Erdbeſchreibung. Buſ. Erd. Beſ.

C. Hiſtoire d'Eric XIV. Roi de Suede traduite du Suedois de Mr. Olaf Celſius, &c. 1777.
Geſchichte Koenig Guſtavs des Erſten von Olas Celſio—Aus dem Schwediſchen Ueberzetzt, 2 vol. 8vo. 1753.

C. Bibliothecæ Upſalienſis Hiſtoria Auctore Celſio, 1745. Hiſt. Bib. Up.

C. Connor's Hiſtory of Poland, 2 vol. 8vo. Connor.

C. Reglements de Catharine II. Pour l'Adminiſtration des Gouvernements de l'Empire des Ruſſies, 1778. Reglements de Catharine.

C. Inſtruction de Catharine II. Pour la Commiſſion Chargée de dreſſer le projet d'un Nouveau Code de Loix, 1769. Inſtruction de Catharine.

C. Memoires pour ſervir à la Connoiſſance des Affaires Politiques et Economiques du Royaume de Suede juſqu'à la fin de 1775 me Année, by Cantzler, 2 Vols. 4to. Cantzler.

C. Voyages and Travels through the Ruſſian Empire, Tartary, and Part of the Kingdom of Perſia, by John Cook, M. D. at Hamilton, 2 vols. 8vo. 1778.

C. Cromerus De Origine et Rebus Geſtis Polonorum. Cromer.

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