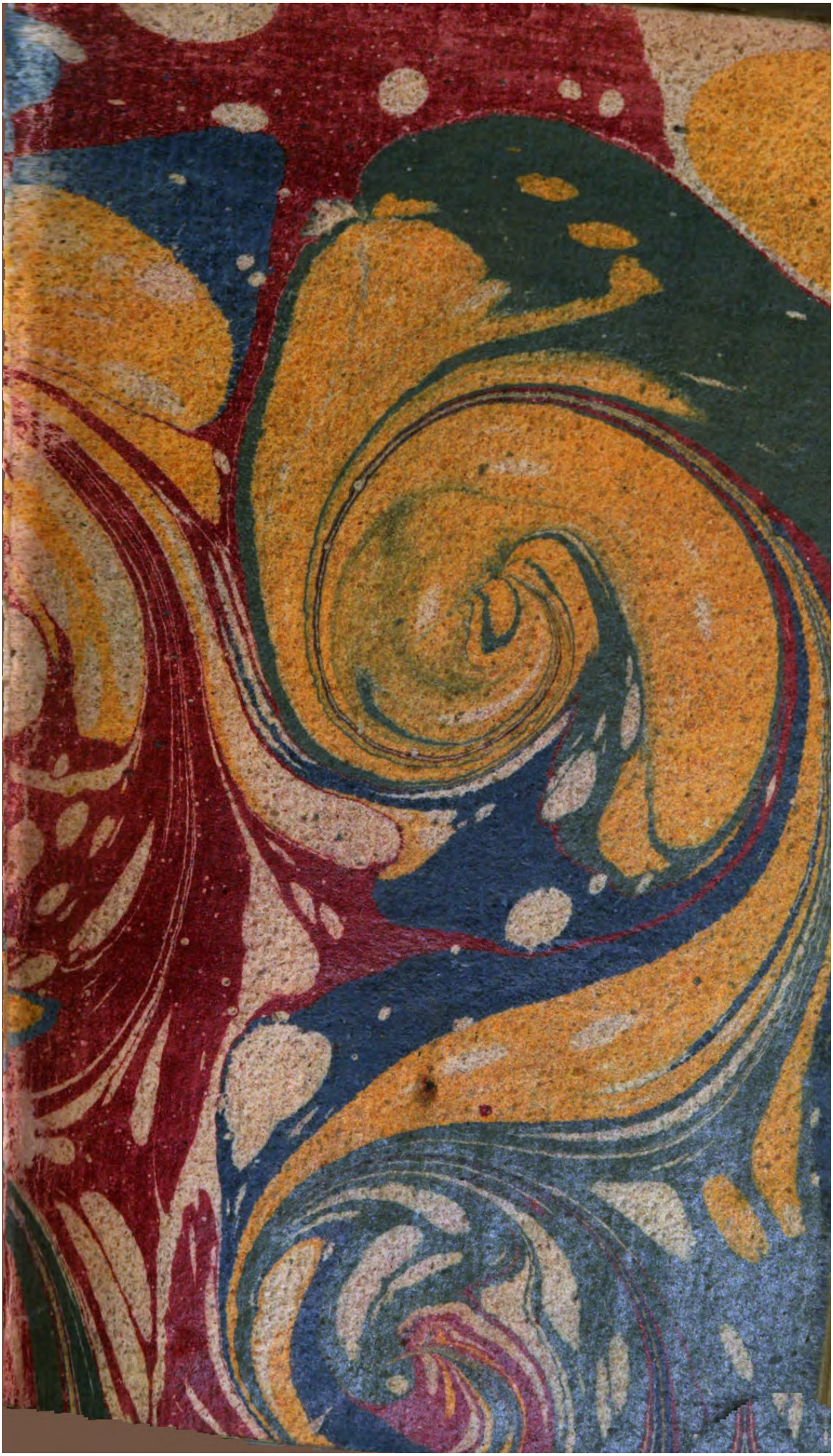

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THE

WORKS

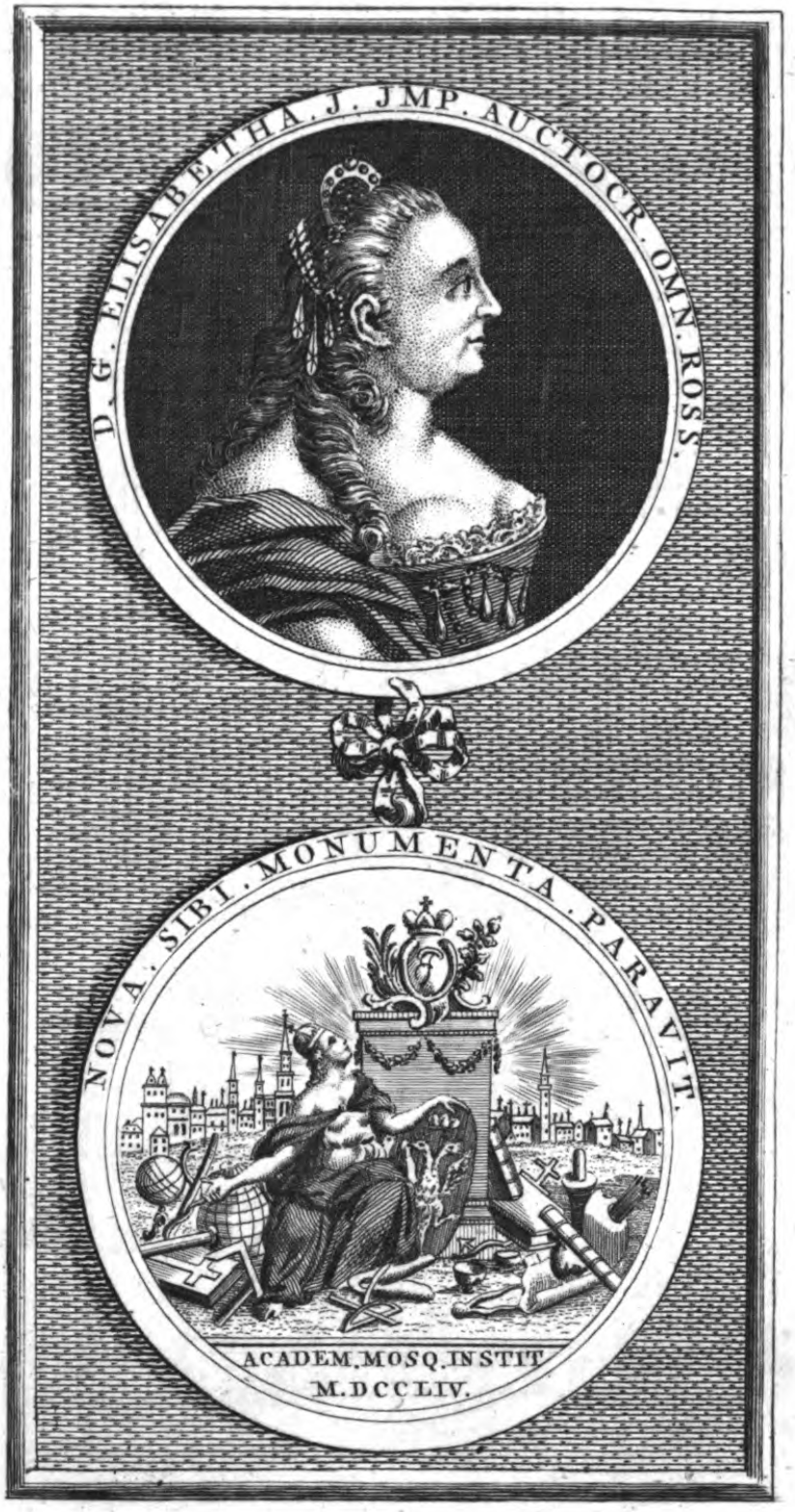
OF

M. DE VOLTAIRE.

VOL. XXVIII.

Being VOL. XX. of his

PROSE WORKS.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THE WORKS OF M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH.

WITH

Notes, Hiſtorical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

VOLUME THE TWENTIETH.

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CONTENTS

OF THE

TWENTIETH VOLUME.

CHAP.

PART II.

THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE UNDER PETER THE GREAT.

PART I.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

SECT. I.

WHO could have pretended to ſay in the year 1700, that a magnificent and polite court would be formed at the extremity of the Gulph of Finland? that the inhabitants of Solikam, Caſan, and the banks of the Wolga and Saick, would be ranked amongſt our beſt diſciplined troops, and gain victories in Germany, after defeating the Swedes and the Turks; that an empire of two thouſand leagues in length, almoſt unknown to us before, ſhould in the ſpace of fifty years become a well-governed ſtate, and extend its influence to all the European courts? and that in 1759, the moſt zealous patron of learning in Europe, ſhould be a Ruſſian? Any one who had ſaid this, would have paſſed for the moſt chimerical mortal upon earth. PETER the GREAT, therefore, who ſingly planned and executed this amazing and altogether unforeſeen revolution, is, perhaps, of all princes, the one whoſe deeds are moſt worthy of being tranſmitted to poſterity.

The court of Peterſbourg has furniſhed the hiſtorian, charged with compiling this work, with all the authentic documents. It is ſaid in

the body of this hiſtory, that theſe memoirs are depoſited in the public library of Geneva, a well-known and frequented city, in the neighbourhood of which the author lives; but as the whole of the inſtructions and journal of Peter the Great have not yet been communicated to him, he has thought proper to keep theſe records at his own houſe; where the curious may have a ſight of them, with as much eaſe as from the library-keepers at Geneva, and the whole ſhall be depoſited there as ſoon as the ſecond volume is finiſhed.

The public have already ſeveral pretended hiſtories of Peter the Great, moſt of them compiled from news-papers. That which was publiſhed at Amſterdam, in four volumes, under the name of the *Boyard Neſteſuranoy*, is one of thoſe impoſitions of the preſs, which are become too common amongſt us. Of this kind are the memoirs of Spain, under the name of *Don Juan de Colmenar*, and the hiſtory of Lewis XIV. compiled by *La Motte*, the jeſuit, from pretended papers of a miniſter of ſtate, and aſcribed to La Martiniere. Such alſo are the hiſtories of the emperor Charles VI. of prince Eugene, and many others.

In this manner has the noble art of printing been made to ſerve the purpoſes of the vileſt traffic. A Dutch bookſeller orders a book to be wrote, juſt as a manufacturer gives directions for weaving of a piece of cloth; and unhappily there are authors to be found, whoſe neceſſities oblige them to ſell their labours to theſe dealers, like workmen, for hire; hence ariſe theſe inſipid panegyrics, and defamatory libels, with which the

the public is over-run, and is one of the moſt ſhameful vices of the age.

Never did hiſtory ſtand more in need of authentic vouchers, than at this time, when ſo infamous a traffic is made of falſhood. The author who now offers to the public, *The Hiſtory of the* RUSSIAN EMPIRE *under* PETER the GREAT, is the ſame who thirty years ago wrote the hiſtory of Charles XII. from the papers of ſeveral eminent perſons in public ſtations, who had lived with that monarch for a conſiderable time. The preſent hiſtory is a confirmation of, and ſupplement to the former.

And here the author thinks himſelf obliged, out of reſpect to the public, and a regard to truth, to ſet to view an undeniable teſtimony of the degree of credit due to the hiſtory of Charles XII.

Not long ſince, the king of Poland and duke of Lorrain ordered that work to be read over a ſecond time to him at Commercy, when he was ſtruck with the truth of a multitude of facts, to which he himſelf had been eye-witneſs, and ſo incenſed at the boldneſs with which certain libellers and journaliſts had controverted their authenticity, that he reſolved to enforce, by the authority of his own teſtimony, the credit due to the hiſtorian; and as it was not proper for him to write himſelf, he ordered one of the great officers of his houſhold, to draw up the following inſtrument, * in form of a certificate.

* Finding himſelf under a neceſſity of printing this certificate, the author has only taken the liberty of ſparing the reader ſome expreſſions which appeared too favourable, being fully ſenſible that he owes them wholly to the indulgence and goodneſs of the prince; and for that reaſon, has confined himſelf to ſuch parts of it only as give teſtimony in favour of the truth.

" Nous Lieutenant Général des armées du
" Roi, Grand Maréchal des Logis de sa Ma-
" jesté Polonaise, & Commandant en Toulois,
" les deux Barois, &c. certifions que sa Ma-
" jesté Polonaise, après avoir entendu la lecture
" de l'histoire de CHARLES XII. écrite par
" Monsieur De V.... (derniére édition de
" Genève) après avoir loüe le stile ..... de
" cette histoire, & avoir admiré ces traits .....
" qui caractérisent tous les ouvrages de cet il-
" lustre auteur, nous a fait l'honneur de nous
" dire qu'il était prêt à donner un certificat à
" Monsieur De V ....., pour constater l'ex-
" acte vérité des faits contenus dans cette his-
" toire. Ce Prince a ajouté que Monsieur De
" V.... n'a oublié, ni déplacé aucun fait,
" aucune circonstance intéressante, que tout est
" vrai, que tout est en son ordre dans cette his-
" toire: qu'il a parlé sur la Pologne, & sur
" tous les événemens qui y sont arrivés, &c.
" comme s'il en eût été témoin oculaire. Cer-
" tifions de plus, que ce Prince nous a ordonné
" d'écrire sur le champ à Monsieur De V .....
" pour lui rendre compte de ce que nous venions
" d'entendre, & l'assurer de son estime & de
" son amitié.

" Le vif intérêt que nous prenons à la gloire
" de Monsieur De V ..... & celui que tout
" honnête-homme doit avoir pour ce qui con-
" state la vérité des faits dans les histoires con-
" temporaires, nous a pressé de demander au
" Roi de Pologne la permission d'envoyer à
" Monsieur De V ..... un certificat en forme
" de tout ce que sa Majesté nous avait fait
" l'honneur de nous dire. Le Roi de Pologne,
" non seulement y a consenti, mais même nous

" a

" a ordonné de l'envoyer, avec priére à Mon-
" ſieur De V . . . . . d'en faire uſage toutes les
" fois qu'il le jugera à propos, ſoit en le com-
" muniquant, ſoit en le faiſant imprimer, &c.
" Fait à Commercy ce 11. Juillet 1759.

" Le Comte DE TRESSAN."

Tranſlation of the above Inſtrument.

" We lieutenant-general of the king's ar-
" mies, grand-marſhal of the houſhold to his
" Poliſh majeſty, and commandant of Toul, of
" the Two Bars, &c. do hereby certify, that his
" ſaid Poliſh majeſty, on hearing read to him
" the hiſtory of Charles XII. written by Mr.
" de V——— (the laſt Geneva edition) not
" only recommended the ſtile . . . . . of that
" hiſtory, and expreſſed his admiration of the
" ſtrokes . . . . . which characteriſe all the wri-
" tings of that celebrated author; but has more-
" over done us the honour of ſignifying to us,
" that he was ready to grant a certificate to Mr.
" de V——, for the better aſcertaining the ex-
" act truth of the facts contained in that hiſ-
" tory. His majeſty, at the ſame time, adding,
" that Mr. de V—— has neither omitted nor
" miſplaced any one fact, or intereſting circum-
" ſtance; that the whole is agreeable to truth,
" and every event diſpoſed in its proper order;
" and that he has ſpoken of every thing relating
" to Poland, and the events which happened
" there, &c. as if he had been an eye-witneſs.
" We moreover certify, that his majeſty or-
" dered us to write immediately to Mr. de

" V——, to acquaint him with what we had
" heard, and to assure him of his majesty's
" friendship and esteem.

" The great regard we have for Mr. de
" V——'s reputation, and that concern which
" every honest man ought to have, for what-
" ever serves to establish the truth of facts in
" histories of our own times, has induced us to
" ask permission of his Polish majesty, to trans-
" mit to Mr. de V——, a formal certificate of
" whatever his majesty had been pleased to im-
" part to us. To which his majesty was not
" only pleased readily to consent, but even gave
" his express orders for us to send it, with his
" desire that Mr. de V—— would, on all oc-
" casions, make such use of it as he should
" judge proper, either by communicating it,
" having it printed, &c."

" Done at Commercy, this 11th day of
" July, 1759.

" The Count DE TRESSAN."

When this instrument was sent to the author, it gave him a surprise, so much the more agreeable, as it came from a prince who was as well acquainted with the several transactions, as Charles XII. himself; and is, besides, so well known to all Europe for his regard to truth, and his humanity and benevolence.

There are a great number of testimonies, no less authentic, relating to the history of the age of Lewis XIV. a work of equal truth and importance, that breathes a spirit of patriotism, but without suffering that spirit to injure truth, to exaggerate the good, or to disguise the evil;

evil; a work compoſed without any views of intereſt, without hope and without fear, by a perſon, whoſe ſituation in life places him above the neceſſity of flattering any one.

There are very few authorities quoted in the age of Lewis XIV. as the events of the firſt years being known to every one, wanted only to be placed in their proper light; and as to thoſe of later date, the author ſpeaks of them as an eye-witneſs. On the contrary, in the hiſtory of the Ruſſian empire, he always quotes his vouchers, the principal of which is Peter the Great himſelf.

SECT. II.

We have not been at the pains, in this hiſtory of Peter the Great, to make any idle reſearches into the origin of moſt of the nations, of which the immenſe empire of Ruſſia is compoſed, from Kamtſhatka to the Baltic ſea. It is a ſtrange undertaking to go about, to prove by authentic pieces, that the Huns removed, in former times, from the north of China into Siberia; and that the Chineſe themſelves are an Egyptian colony. I know that ſome philoſophers of great reputation have imagined they ſaw a conformity between theſe people, in ſome particulars; but their ſurmiſes have been made a bad uſe of, by ſome who have attempted to convert their conjectures into certainty.

Thus, for inſtance, they now pretend to prove, that the Egyptians were the anceſtors of the Chineſe. An ancient writer has told us, that the Egyptian king Seſoſtris went as far as the river Ganges; now, if he went as far as

the Ganges, he might have gone to China, which is at a great diſtance from the Ganges, therefore he did go thither; but China, at that time, was not peopled, therefore it is clear that Seſoſtris peopled China. The Egyptians uſed lighted tapers at their feſtivals, the Chineſe uſed lanthorns; it cannot, therefore, be doubted, that the Chineſe are an Egyptian colony. Furthermore, the Egyptians have a great river, ſo have the Chineſe alſo: Laſtly, it is evident, that the firſt kings of China, bore the ſame names as the ancient kings of Egypt; for in the name of the family of *Yu*, we may trace characters, which, diſpoſed after another manner, form the word *Menes*. Therefore, it is inconteſtable, that the emperor *Yu* took his name from *Menes*, king of Egypt; and the emperor *Ki* is plainly king *Atoës*, by changing *K* into *A*, and *i* into *toës*.

But if a learned man of Tobolſki or Pekin was to read ſome of our books, he might demonſtrate ſtill more clearly, that the French are deſcended from the Trojans. He might prove it in the following manner, and aſtoniſh his countrymen by his profound reſearches. The moſt ancient writings, he might ſay, and thoſe in moſt eſteem in that little country of the Weſt, called France, are romances: theſe were written in a pure language, derived from the antient Romans, who were famous for never advancing a falſhood. Now upwards of twenty of theſe authentic books, affirm, that *Francis*, the founder of the monarchy of the Franks, was ſon to Hector. The name of Hector has ever ſince been preſerved by this nation; and even in the

preſent

present century, one of their greatest generals was called Hector de Villars.

The neighbouring nations (he would continue) are so unanimous in acknowledging this truth, that Ariosto, one of the most learned of the Italians, owns in his Orlando, that Charlemagne's knights fought for Hector's helmet. Lastly, there is one proof which admits of no reply; namely, that the ancient Franks, to perpetuate the memory of the Trojans, their ancestors, built a new city called Troye, in the province of Champagne; and these modern Trojans have always retained so strong an aversion to their enemies, the Greeks, that there is not at present four persons in the whole province of Champagne, who will learn their language: nay, they would never admit any jesuits amongst them, probably because they had heard it said, that some of that body used formerly to explain Homer in their public schools.

It is certain, that such arguments might produce a great effect at Tobolski or Pekin; but then again, another learned man might overturn this fine hypothesis, by proving that the Parisians are descended from the Greeks: for, he might say, the first president of one of the courts of judicature of Paris, was named *Achille du Harlai*. *Achille* is evidently derived from the Greek *Achilles*, and *Harlai* from *Aristos*, by changing *istos* into *lai*. The elysian fields *(champs elisées)* which still exist near one of the gates of the city, and mount Olympus, which is still to be seen in the neighbourhood of Mezière, are monuments, against which the most obstinate incredulity cannot hold out. Furthermore, all the Athenian customs are preserved at

Paris; the citizens paſs ſentence there upon tragedies and comedies, with as much levity as the Athenians did; they crown the generals of their armies on the public theatres, as was done at Athens; and laſtly, marſhal Saxe received publickly, from the hands of an actreſs, a crown, which could not be given to him in the cathedral. The Pariſians have academies, derived from thoſe of Athens, as likewiſe eccleſiaſtic canons, a liturgy, pariſhes, and dioceſes, all Greek inventions, and the terms themſelves all taken from the Greek language; nay, the very diſtempers of theſe people have their appellations from the Greek, *viz. apoplexy, phthiſic, peripneumony, cachexy, diſſentery, jealouſy*, &c.

It muſt be acknowledged, that this opinion would weigh conſiderably againſt the authority of the learned perſonage, who had juſt demonſtrated, that we were a Trojan colony; and both theſe opinions might be again contradicted by other profound antiquarians, ſome of whom might prove that we are Egyptians, and that the worſhip of Iſis was eſtabliſhed at the village of Iſis, on the road from Paris to Verſailles; while others again might demonſtrate, that we are of Arabian extraction, as witneſs the words *almanac, alembic, algebra, admiral.* The Chineſe and Siberian literati would be greatly puzzled to decide the queſtion; and, after all, would very likely leave us juſt what we are.

It ſeems, then, that we muſt ſtill remain in uncertainty, concerning the origin of all nations. It is the ſame with reſpect to a whole people, as with particular families. Several German barons pretend to be deſcended, in a direct

direct line, from Arminius; in like manner as a pedigree was composed for Mahomet, by which his origin was derived immediately from Abraham and Hagar.

In like manner, the family of the ancient czars of Muscovy, was said to come from *Bela*, king of Hungary; this *Bela* from *Attila*, *Attila* from *Turck*, the father of the Huns; and this *Turck* was the son of *Japhet*. His brother *Russ* founded the empire of Russia, and another brother, named *Cameri*, founded a state towards the river Wolga.

All these sons of Japhet were, as every one knows, the grandsons of Noah, whose three sons made what haste they could to procure themselves settlements, at the distance of a thousand leagues from each other, lest they should be of any assistance to each other; and, in all probability, by lying with their sisters, became the fathers of millions of inhabitants, in the space of a very few years.

A number of grave writers have traced these descents, with much the same exactness and sagacity as they discovered the manner in which the Japonese peopled Peru. History has for a long time been written in this taste; a taste to which president de Thou, and Rapin-Thoyras, seem to have been absolute strangers.

SECT. III.

If we are to be upon our guard against those historians, who go back to the tower of Babel, and to the deluge, we ought to be no less sparing of our credit to those who enter into a minute detail of modern history, penetrate into all the

ſecrets of cabinets; and are ſo unfortunately minute, as to give an exact relation of every battle, when even the generals themſelves would have found great difficulty in doing it.

Since the beginning of the laſt century, there have been near two hundred capital battles fought in Europe, moſt of them more bloody than thoſe of Arbella and Pharſalia; but as very few of theſe actions produced any great conſequences, they are loſt to poſterity. Were there but one book in the world, children would know every line of it by heart, and be able to tell every ſyllable: in like manner, had there been but one battle, the name of each ſoldier would be known, and his pedigree handed down to future ages; but in ſuch a long, and almoſt continued ſucceſſion of bloody wars among chriſtian princes, the antient intereſts are all changed, and give way to new ones; the battles fought twenty years ago, are effaced by thoſe of the preſent time; as at Paris, the news of yeſterday is forgotten in that of today; and this, in its turn, will be loſt in that of to-morrow: and almoſt every event is plunged by another into perpetual oblivion. This is a reflection which cannot be dwelt upon too much; it ſerves to comfort us under the misfortunes we ſuffer, and to ſhew us the nothingneſs of all human affairs. Nought then remains in hiſtory, worthy of fixing the attention of mankind, but thoſe ſtriking revolutions which have wrought a change in the manners and laws of great ſtates; and upon this principle the hiſtory of Peter the Great is worthy of being known.

If we have dwelt ſomewhat too long upon the particulars of certain battles and ſieges, which reſemble others of the ſame nature, we crave pardon of the philoſophic reader; and have no other excuſe to offer, but that theſe little facts, being connected with great ones, muſt neceſſarily make a part of the whole.

We have refuted Norberg in ſome paſſages, which appeared to us the moſt important; but have left him quietly to enjoy his miſtakes where they are of no conſequence.

SECT. IV.

This hiſtory of Peter the Great is written as conciſe, and at the ſame time as copious, as poſſible. There are hiſtories of ſmall provinces, little towns, and even of convents of monks, that take up ſeveral volumes in folio. The memoirs of a certain abbot, who retired for ſome years into Spain, where he ſcarce did any thing worth notice, employ ſeven volumes; whereas one has been found ſufficient for the life of Alexander the Great.

Perhaps there may ſtill be ſome of thoſe overgrown children, who had rather read the fabulous ſtories of Oſiris, Bacchus, Hercules, and Theſeus, conſecrated by antiquity, than the true hiſtory of a modern prince; either becauſe the antique names of Oſiris and Hercules ſound more agreeable in their ears than that of Peter; or that the overthrowing of giants and lions, is more pleaſing to a weak imagination, than the hiſtory of uſeful laws and noble enterpriſes: and yet we muſt acknowledge, that the defeat of the giant of Epidaurum, and of the robber Sinnis,

and

and the combat with *Crommion*'s ſow, are not equal to the exploits of the conqueror of Charles XII. the founder of Peterſburg, and the legiſlator of a moſt potent empire.

It is true, the ancients taught us how to think juſtly, and it would be very extraordinary to prefer *Anacharſis*, the Scythian, merely for his antiquity, to the modern Scythian, who has civilized ſo many people. We ſee no reaſon why the law-giver of Ruſſia ſhould give way either to Lycurgus or Solon. Are the laws of the latter, which recommend the love of boys to the citizens of Athens, and forbid it to the ſlaves, or thoſe of the former, which ordered young women to box naked in the public market-place, to be preferred to the laws of him who civilized the people of both ſexes in his dominion, and made them fit for ſociety? who formed a military diſcipline by ſea and land, and who opened a free paſſage for the arts and ſciences into his native country?

This hiſtory contains the tranſactions of his public life, which were uſeful; and not thoſe of his private life, of which we have but few particulars, and thoſe ſufficiently known. It is not for a ſtranger to diſcloſe the ſecrets of his cabinet, his bed, or his table. Were any perſon capable of furniſhing ſuch anecdotes, it muſt have been prince Menzikoff, or general Sheremetow, who were long the companions of his moſt retired hours, but they have not done it; and whatever comes to us, only from the authority of publick rumour, does not deſerve belief. Men of ſenſe had rather behold a great man, labouring for five and twenty years, for the welfare of a vaſt empire, than be informed, from

vague

vague and idle accounts, of the foibles which this great prince might have in common with the meaneſt of his ſubjects.

SECT. V.

In what relates only to ſtile, criticiſm, or the private reputation of an author, it is better to let the herd of petty pamphleteers ſnarl on unnoticed, ſince it would be making ourſelves as ridiculous as them, to loſe time in anſwering, or even in reading their productions; but when important facts are concerned, truth muſt ſometimes ſtoop to confound the falſities of theſe deſpicable wretches; their infamy ſhould no more hinder her from clearing herſelf, than the vileneſs of a criminal, among the dregs of the people, ſhould ſtop the courſe of juſtice againſt him. It was this two-fold reaſon, then, that obliged us to ſilence that impudent ignoramus, who corrupted the age of Lewis XIV. by notes, as abſurd as they were malicious; in which he brutally inſults a branch of the houſe of France, the whole houſe of Auſtria, and above an hundred other illuſtrious families in Europe; to whoſe very antichambers he is as much a ſtranger, as to the facts which he has thus inſolently falſified.

The eaſe with which a writer may impoſe upon the public, and ſpread abroad the moſt flagrant calumnies, is unhappily one of the greateſt inconveniencies attending the noble art of printing.

Le Vaſſor, a prieſt of the oratory, and La Motte, a jeſuit; the one a beggar in England, and the other in Holland; both of them wrote hiſtory for bread. The former choſe Lewis XIII.

XIII. of France for the object of his satire, and the latter Lewis XIV. The character of apostates * was by no means likely to secure them a greater degree of credit with the public; nevertheless, it is pleasant to see with what confidence they both declare themselves the depositaries of truth, incessantly repeating this maxim, "That an historian should boldly declare the "whole truth." They should have added likewise, that he must, in the first place, be acquainted with it himself.

Their own maxim is their fullest condemnation; but even this maxim calls for a strict examination, as it is become the excuse of all satyrists.

All truths of public utility and importance ought, doubtless, to be revealed; but if there should be any malicious anecdote relating to a prince; if in his domestic concerns he may, like a number of private persons, have given too much way to some human frailties, known, perhaps, only to one or two confidents; who has authorized you to reveal to the public, what these confidents ought not to have disclosed to any one? I will grant that you might yourself have discovered this secret: but why should you tear asunder the veil with which every man has a right to cover the recesses of his own house? What is your reason for making the scandal public? You will say, to indulge the curiosity of mankind, to please their malice, and to sell my book, which otherwise, perhaps, would not be

* Both Le Vassor and La Motte changed their religion, and embraced the Protestant faith, upon their retiring to Holland.

read.

read. You are then only a defamer, a libeller, and a broacher of calumnies, but not an hiſtorian.

If this foible of a man, in public life; if this private vice, which you ſo induſtriouſly endeavour to drag to light, has had any influence on public affairs; if it has occaſioned the loſs of a battle, has hurt the revenue of a ſtate, or made the ſubject unhappy, then you ought to mention it. It is your duty to diſcover the minute and hidden cauſe which produced ſuch great events; but otherwiſe you ſhould be ſilent.

"Let no truth be concealed," is a maxim that may admit of ſome exceptions; but this one will admit of none, "Acquaint poſterity "with nothing but what is worthy of poſterity."

SECT. VI.

Beſides the falſity in facts, there is alſo a falſity in drawing characters. The phrenzy of loading hiſtory with theſe portraits began firſt in France with the writing of romances, and the famous Clelia brought the madneſs into faſhion. In the infancy of good taſte, Sarrazin wrote his hiſtory of the conſpiracy of Walſtein, who was never concerned in any plot; and, in drawing the character of this general, whom he never ſaw, he has given a tranſlation of almoſt all that Salluſt ſays of Catiline, whom that hiſtorian knew ſo well. This is writing hiſtory in an ingenious manner; but he who makes too great a parade of his wit, only ſucceeds in ſhewing it; which is a matter of very little conſequence.

Cardinal de Retz might with propriety give the characters of the principal perſonages of his time, all of whom he well knew, and who had all

all been either his friends or his enemies. It is true, he has not drawn them in the manner that Maimbourg has done thoſe of the princes of paſt times in his romantic hiſtories. But was the Cardinal a faithful painter? Has he not ſuffered paſſion, and a fondneſs for novelty, to miſguide his pencil? Ought he, for example, to have expreſſed himſelf in this manner of Queen Anne, mother to Lewis XIV.? "She had "that ſort of wit which was juſt neceſſary to "keep her from appearing a fool in the eyes of "thoſe who did not know her. She had more "harſhneſs than pride, more pride than true "greatneſs of ſoul, more outſide than reality, "more regard to money than liberality, more li-"berality than ſelfiſhneſs, more ſelfiſhneſs than "diſintereſtedneſs, more attachment than paſ-"ſion, more inſenſibility than cruelty, more "ſuperſtition than real piety, more obſtinacy "than firmneſs, and more incapacity than of "all the reſt."

It muſt be owned, that this obſcurity of expreſſion, this cluſter of antitheſes and compariſons, and this burleſque way of drawing characters, ſo unworthy of hiſtory, is not very likely to pleaſe thoſe of a good underſtanding. The lovers of truth will queſtion the fidelity of the portrait when they compare it with the conduct of the Queen; and virtuous minds will be as much diſguſted with the ill-nature and contempt, which the hiſtorian diſplays in ſpeaking of a princeſs, who loaded him with favours, as incenſed to ſee an archbiſhop ſtirring up a civil war, merely, as he himſelf acknowledges, for the pleaſure of doing it.

If we are to ſuſpect the fidelity of theſe portraits, drawn by thoſe who had ſuch opportunities of painting to the life, how can we credit the bare aſſertion of an hiſtorian, who affects to dive into the heart of a prince, that, perhaps, lived ſix hundred leagues diſtant from him? In this caſe, he ought to deſcribe him by his actions, and leave it to thoſe who have long attended his perſon, to tell the reſt.

Harangues or ſet ſpeeches are another ſpecies of oratorial falſhood, in which hiſtorians formerly indulged themſelves. They made their heroes ſay, what was poſſible for them to have ſaid. A liberty of this kind might, indeed, be taken with a perſonage of remoter times, but at preſent theſe fictions are no longer tolerated; nay, we expect much more; for was a writer, at preſent, to put into the mouth of a prince a ſpeech which he never made, we ſhould conſider ſuch author no longer as an hiſtorian, but a rhetorician.

A third ſpecies of falſhood, and the moſt groſs of all, tho' it has been long the moſt ſeducing, is that of the marvellous. This prevails in all the ancient hiſtories, without excepting one.

Some predictions are ſtill to be met with in the hiſtory of Charles XII. by Norberg: but we find none in any of hiſtorians of the preſent age. Omens, prodigies, and apparitions, are now ſent back to the regions of fable. Hiſtory ſtood in need of being enlightened by philoſophy.

INTRODUCTION.

AT the beginning of the present century, the vulgar knew no other hero in the north than Charles XII. of Sweden. His personal valour, which was rather that of a private soldier than a great king, the lustre of his victories, and even of his misfortunes, made an impression on those who are easily struck with great events, but are not so clear-sighted in regard to more slow and useful labours. It was even much doubted at that time by foreign nations, whether Czar Peter I. would be able to go thro' with his great undertakings; yet they have not only continued, but been improved, especially under the empress Elizabeth, his daughter. This empire is at present reckoned in the number of the most flourishing states; and Peter is ranked amongst the greatest law-givers: though his undertakings did not stand in need of success in the eyes of wise men, yet his success has perpetuated his glory. We now think that Charles XII. deserved to be the first general under Peter the Great: the one has left only ruins behind him; the other has been a founder of his empire in every sense. I ventured to pass much the same judgment about thirty years ago, when I was writing the history of Charles XII. The memoirs I have been since furnished with from the court of Russia, afford me the means of making this empire known, whose people are of such antiquity, while their laws, manners, and arts, are all of a new creation.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN Empire under PETER the GREAT.

CHAP. I.

Description of RUSSIA.

THE empire of Russia is the largest in the whole globe, extending from west to east upwards of two thousand common leagues of France *, and about eight hundred in its greatest breadth from north to south. It borders upon Poland and the Frozen Sea, and joins to Sweden and China. Its length from the island of Dago, in the westernmost part of Livonia, to its most eastern limits, takes in near 170 degrees, so that when it is noon in the western parts of the empire, it is nearly midnight in the eastern. Its breadth from north to south is 3600 werfts, which make 850 of our common French leagues.

The limits of this country were so little known in the last century, that, in 1689, when it

* A French league contains three English miles.

was

it was reported, that the Chineſe and the Ruſſians were at war, and that in order to terminate their differences, the emperor *Cam-hi* on the one hand, and the Czars Ivan (or John) and Peter on the other, had ſent their miniſters to meet an embaſſy within three hundred leagues of Pekin, on the frontiers of the two empires. This account was at firſt treated as a fiction.

The country now comprehended under the name of Ruſſia, or the Ruſſias, is of a greater extent than all the reſt of Europe, or than ever the Roman empire was, or that of Darius ſubdued by Alexander; for it contains upwards of 1,100,000 ſquare leagues. Neither the Roman empire, nor that of Alexander, contained more than 550,000 each; and there is not a kingdom in Europe the twelfth part ſo extenſive as the Roman empire; but to make Ruſſia as populous, as plentiful, and as well ſtored with towns as our ſouthern countries, would require whole ages, and a race of monarchs ſuch as Peter the Great.

The Engliſh ambaſſador who reſided at Peterſburgh in 1733, and who had been at Madrid, ſays, in his manuſcript relation, that in Spain, which is the leaſt populous ſtate in Europe, there may be reckoned 40 perſons to every ſquare mile, and in Ruſſia not above five. We ſhall ſee in the ſecond chapter, whether this miniſter was miſtaken. Marſhal Vauban, the greateſt of engineers, and the beſt of citizens, computes, that, in France, every ſquare mile contains 200 inhabitants. Theſe calculations are never very exact, but they ſerve to ſhew the amazing diſproportion in the population of two different countries.

I ſhall

I ſhall obſerve here, that from Peterſburgh to Pekin, there is hardly one mountain to be met with in the route which the caravans might take thro' independant Tartary, and that from Peterſburgh to the north of France, by the road of Dantzick, Hambourg, and Amſterdam, there is not even a hill of any eminence to be ſeen. This obſervation leaves room to doubt of the truth of that theory, which makes the mountains to have been formed by the rolling of the waves of the ſea, and ſuppoſes all that is at preſent dry land, to have been for a long time covered with water: but how comes it to paſs, that the waves, which, according to the ſuppoſition, formed the Alps, the Pyrenees, and Mount Taurus, did not likewiſe form ſome eminence or hill from Normandy to China, which is a winding ſpace of above 3000 leagues? Geography thus conſidered, may furniſh lights to natural philoſophy, or at leaſt give room for rational doubts.

Formerly we called Ruſſia by the name of Muſcovy, from the city of Moſcow, the capital of that empire, and the reſidence of the grand dukes: but at preſent the ancient name of Ruſſia prevails.

It is not my buſineſs in this place to enquire, why the countries from Smolenſko, to the other ſide of Moſcow, were called White Ruſſia, or why Hubner gives it the name of Black, nor for what reaſon the government of *Kiow* ſhould be named Red Ruſſia.

It is very likely that *Madies* the Scythian, who made an irruption into Aſia, near ſeven hundred years before our vulgar æra, might have carried his arms into theſe regions, as Genzis-Kan and Tamerlane did afterwards, and as pro-

probably others had done long before Madies. Every part of antiquity is not deſerving of our enquiries; that of the Chineſe, the Indians, the Perſians, and the Egyptians, is aſcertained from illuſtrious and intereſting monuments; but theſe monuments ſuppoſe others of a far more ancient date, ſince it required many ages to teach men the art of tranſmitting their thoughts by permanent ſigns, and no leſs time was required to form a regular language; and yet we have no ſuch monuments, even in this polite part of Europe. The art of writing was a long time unknown to all the north: the patriarch Conſtantine, who wrote the hiſtory of Kiow in the Ruſſian language, acknowledges, that the uſe of writing was not known in theſe countries in the fifth century.

Let others examine whether the Huns, the Slavi, and the Tartars, formerly led their wandering and famiſh'd tribes towards the ſource of the Boriſthenes *; my deſign is to ſhew what Czar Peter created, and not to engage in an uſeleſs attempt, to clear up the chaos of antiquity. We ſhould always keep in mind, that no family upon earth knows its firſt founder, and conſequently, that no nation know its firſt origin.

I uſe the name of Ruſſians to deſignate the inhabitants of this great empire. That of Roxolanians, which was formerly given them, would indeed be more ſonorous, but we ſhould conform to the cuſtom of the language in which

* The Boriſthenes or Dnieper is one of the largeſt rivers in Europe; it riſes in the Walchonſkei Foreſt, runs thro' Lithuania, the country of the Zoporag Coſſacks and that of the Nagaiſch Tartars, and falls into the Black ſea near Oczakow. It has 13 cataracts within a ſmall diſtance.

we write. News-papers and other memoirs have for ſome time uſed the word Ruſſians; but as this name comes too near to that of Pruſſians, I ſhall abide by that of Ruſs, which almoſt all our writers have given them. Beſides it appeared to me, that the moſt extenſive people on the earth ought to be known by ſome appellation that may diſtinguiſh them abſolutely from all other nations *.

And here it will be neceſſary for the reader to have recourſe to the annexed map, in order to form a clear idea of this empire, which is at preſent divided into ſixteen large governments, that will one day be ſubdivided, when the northern and eaſtern countries come to be more inhabited.

Theſe ſixteen governments, which contain ſeveral immenſe provinces, are the following.

LIVONIA.

The neareſt province to our part of the world is that of Livonia, one of the moſt fruitful in the whole north. In the 12th century the inhabitants were pagans; at this time certain merchants of Bremen and Lubeck traded to this country, and a body of religious cruſaders, called *Port-glaives*, (or ſword bearers) who were afterwards incorporated in the Teutonic order, made themſelves maſters of this province in the thirteenth century, at the time when the fury of the cruſades armed the Chriſtians againſt every

* The reader will eaſily perceive, that the whole of this paragraph relates only to the French language, for in Engliſh we make no ſuch diſtinctions in the name of theſe people, but always call them Ruſſians.

one who was not of their religion. Albert, margrave of Brandenbourg, grand maſter of theſe religious conquerors, made himſelf ſovereign of Livonia and of Brandenbourg-Pruſſia, about the year 1514. From that time, the Ruſſians and Poles began to diſpute for the poſſeſſion of this province. Soon afterwards it was invaded by the Swedes, and for a long while continued to be ravaged by theſe ſeveral powers. Guſtavus Adolphus having conquered it, it was then ceded to the Swedes in 1660, by the famous treaty of Oliva; and, at length, Czar Peter wreſted it from theſe latter, as will be ſeen in the courſe of this hiſtory.

Courland, which joins to Livonia, is ſtill in vaſſalage to Poland, tho' it depends greatly upon Ruſſia. Theſe are the weſtern limits of this empire in Chriſtendom.

Of the governments of REVEL, PETERSBOURG, and WYBOURG.

More northward is the government of Revel and Eſthonia. Revel was built by the Danes in the 13th century. The Swedes were in poſſeſſion of this province, from the time that country put itſelf under the protection of that crown in 1561. This is another of the conqueſts of Peter the Great.

On the borders of Eſthonia lies the gulph of Finland. To the eaſtward of this ſea, and at the junction of the Neva with the lake Ladoga *, is ſituated Peterſbourg, the moſt mo-

* A collection of water lying between the gulph of Finland and lake Onega: it is the largeſt, and ſaid to contain a greater number of fiſh than any other in Europe.

dern

dern and beſt built city in the whole empire, founded by Czar Peter, in ſpite of all the united obſtacles which oppoſed its foundation.

This city is ſituated on the bay of Kronſtat, in the midſt of 9 rivers, by which its different quarters are divided. In the centre of this city is almoſt an impregnable fortreſs, built on an iſland, formed by the main-ſtream of the river Neva: ſeven canals are cut from the rivers, and waſh the walls of one of the royal palaces of the admiralty, of the dock-yard for the gallies, and of ſeveral buildings of manufactories. Thirty-five large churches contribute to adorn the city; among which five are allotted for foreigners of the Roman Catholic, Calviniſt, and Lutheran religions: theſe are as ſo many temples raiſed to toleration, and examples to other nations. There are five palaces; the old one, called the ſummer-palace, ſituated on the river Neva, has a very large and beautiful ſtone baluſtrade, which runs all along the river ſide. The new ſummer palace near the triumphal gate, is one of the fineſt pieces of architecture in Europe. The admiralty buildings, the ſchool for cadets, the imperial college, the academy of ſciences, the exchange, and the merchants ware-houſes, are all magnificent ſtructures, and monuments of taſte and public utility. The town-houſe, the public diſpenſary, where all the veſſels are of porcelain, the court magazines, the foundery, the arſenal, the bridges, the markets, the ſquares, the barracks for the horſe and foot guards, contribute at once to the embelliſhment and ſafety of the city, which is ſaid to contain at preſent 400,000 ſouls. In the environs of the city are ſeveral villas or country-ſeats, which ſurpriſe all

travellers by their magnificence. There is one in particular which has water-works ſuperior to thoſe of Verſailles. There was nothing of all this in 1702, the whole being then an impaſſable moraſs. Peterſbourg is conſidered as the capital of Ingria, a ſmall province ſubdued by Peter I. Wyburg, another of his conqueſts, and that part of Finland which was loſt, and ceded by the Swedes in 1742, makes another government.

ARCHANGEL.

Higher up, proceeding towards the north, is the province of Archangel, a country entirely new to the ſouthern nations of Europe. It took its name from St. Michael the Archangel, under whoſe patronage it was put long after the Ruſſians had embraced chriſtianity, which did not happen till the beginning of the 11th century; and they were not known to the other nations of Europe till the middle of the 16th. The Engliſh, in 1533, endeavouring to find out a north-eaſt paſſage to the Eaſt Indies, Chancellor, captain of one of the ſhips fitted out for this expedition, diſcovered the port of Archangel in the White Sea; at that time it was a deſert place, having only one convent, and a little church, dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel.

The Engliſh ſailing up the river Dwina *, arrived at the midland part of the country, and

* We muſt not confound this river with another of the ſame name that runs thro' Lithuania in Poland, and dividing Livonia and Courland, falls into the Baltic at Dunamunder-fort below Riga.

at

at length at Moſcow. Here they eaſily made themſelves maſters of the trade of Ruſſia, which was removed from the city of Novogorod, where it was carried on by land to this ſea-port, which is inacceſſible indeed during ſeven months in the year; but, nevertheleſs, this trade proved more beneficial to the empire, than the fairs of Novogorod, that had fallen to decay in conſequence of the wars with Sweden. The Engliſh obtained the privilege of trading thither without paying any duties; a manner of trading which is apparently the moſt beneficial to all nations. The Dutch ſoon came in for a ſhare of the trade of Archangel, then unknown to other nations.

Long before this time, the Genoeſe and Venetians had eſtabliſhed a trade with the Ruſſians by the mouth of the Tanais or Don *, where they had built a town called Tana. This branch of the Italian commerce was deſtroyed by the ravages of Tamerlane, in that part of the world: but that of Archangel continued, with great advantages both to the Engliſh and Dutch, till the time that Peter the Great opened a paſſage into his dominions by the Baltic ſea.

RUSSIAN LAPLAND.

Of the government of ARCHANGEL.

To the weſt of Archangel, and within its government, lies Ruſſian Lapland, the third part of this country, the other two belonging to Swe-

* This was by the ancients reckoned among the moſt famous rivers in the world, and the boundary between Aſia and Europe. It iſſues from St. John's lake, not far from Tula, and after a long courſe, divides itſelf into three arms, and falls into the ſea below Azoph.

den and Denmark. This is a very large tract, occupying about eight degrees of longitude, and extending in latitude from one polar circle to the north cape *. The natives of this country were confuſedly known to the ancients, under the name of Troglodytes and northern pigmies; appellations ſuitable enough to men, who, for the moſt part, are not above four feet and an half high, and dwell in caverns; they are juſt the ſame people they were at that time. They are of a tawny complexion, tho' the other people of the north are white, and for the moſt part very low in ſtature; tho' their neighbours, and the people of Iceland, under the polar circle, are tall: they ſeem made for their mountainous country, being nimble, ſquat, and robuſt; their ſkins are hard, the better to reſiſt the cold, their thighs and legs are ſlender, their feet ſmall, to enable them to run more nimbly amongſt the rocks, with which their province is covered; they are paſſionately fond of their own country, which none but themſelves can be pleaſed with, and are able to live no where elſe. Some have affirmed, upon the credit of Olaus, that theſe people were originally natives of Finland, and that they removed into Lapland, where they diminiſhed in ſtature: but why might they not as well have made choice of lands leſs northerly, where the conveniencies of life were to be had in greater plenty? How comes it that they differ ſo totally from their pretended anceſtors in features, figure, and complexion? Methinks we might, with as great reaſon, ſuppoſe that the graſs which grows in Lapland, is pro-

* A promontory of the Iſland of Maggero in the north of Norway, and is the moſt northern point in Europe.

duced

duced from that of Denmark, and that the fishes peculiar to their lakes, came from those of Sweden. It is most likely that the Laplanders are like their animals, the produce of their own country, and that nature has made the one for the other.

Those who inhabit the frontiers of Finland, have adopted some of the expressions of their neighbours, as happens to every people: but when two nations give to things of common use, to objects which are continually before their eyes, names absolutely different, it affords a strong presumption, that one of them is not a colony from the other. The Finlanders call a bear Karu, the Laplanders Muriet: the sun in the Finnish language is called Auringa, in the Lapland tongue Beve. Here is not the least analogy. The inhabitants of Finland, and Swedish Lapland, formerly worshipped an idol whom they called Iumalac, and since the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, to whom they are indebted for the appellation of Lutherans, they call Jesus Christ the son of Iumalac. The Muscovite or Russian Laplanders, are at present thought to be of the Greek church; but those who wander about the mountains of the north cape, are satisfied with adoring one God under certain rude forms, as has been the antient custom of all the nations called Nomades, or wandering nations.

This race of people, who are inconsiderable in numbers, have but very few ideas, and are happy in not having more, which would only occasion them to have new wants which they could not satisfy: at present they live contented, and free from diseases, notwithstanding the excessive coldness of their climate; they drink no-

thing but water, and attain to a great age. The cuſtom imputed to them of entreating ſtrangers to lie with their wives and daughters, which they eſteem as an honour done to them, probably aroſe from a notion of the ſuperiority of ſtrangers, and a deſire of amending, by their means, the defects of their own race. This was a cuſtom eſtabliſhed amongſt the virtuous Lacedemonians. A huſband would entreat as a favour, of a comely young man, to give him handſome children, whom he might adopt. Jealouſy, and the laws, prevent the reſt of mankind from giving their wives up to the embraces of another; but the Laplanders have few or no laws, and are, in all probability, ſtrangers to jealouſy.

MOSCOW.

Aſcending the river Dwina from North to South, we travel up the country till we come to Moſcow, the capital of the empire. This city was long the centre of the Ruſſian dominions, before they were extended on the ſide of China and Perſia.

Moſcow lying in 55 degrees and an half, north latitude, in a warmer climate, and more fruitful ſoil than that of Peterſbourg, is ſituated in the midſt of a large and delightful plain on the river Moſkwa, and two leſſer rivers, which with the former loſe themſelves in the Occa, and afterwards help to ſwell the ſtream of the Wolga. This city, in the 13th century, was only a collection of huts, inhabited by a ſet of miſerable wretches, oppreſſed by the deſcendants of Gengis Khan.

The

The Kremlin, or antient palace of the great dukes, was not built till the 14th century; of ſuch modern date are cities in this part of the world. This palace was built by Italian architects, as were ſeveral churches in the Gothic taſte, which then prevailed throughout all Europe. There are two built by the famous Ariſtotle, of Bologna, who flouriſhed in the 15th century; but the private houſes were no better than wooden huts.

The firſt writer who brought us acquainted with Moſcow, was Olearius; who, in 1633, went thither as the companion of an embaſſy from the duke of Holſtein. A native of Holſtein muſt naturally be ſtruck with wonder at the immenſe extent of the city of Moſcow, with its five quarters, eſpecially the magnificent one belonging to the czars, and with the Aſiatic ſplendor which then reigned at that court. There was nothing equal to it in Germany at that time, nor any city by far ſo extenſive or well peopled.

On the contrary, the Earl of Carliſle, who was Ambaſſador from Charles II. to the czar Alexis, in 1633, complains in his relation, that he could not meet with any one convenience of life in Moſcow; no inns on the road, nor refreſhments of any kind. One judged as a German, the other as an Engliſhman, and both by compariſon. The Engliſhman was ſhocked to ſee moſt of the Boyards, or Muſcovite noblemen, ſleep upon boards or benches, with only the ſkins of animals under them; but this was the ancient practice of all nations. The houſes, which were almoſt all built of wood, had ſcarcely any furniture; few or none of their

tables were covered with cloth; there was no pavement in the ſtreets; nothing agreeable; nothing convenient; very few artificers, and thoſe few extremely awkward, and employed only in works of abſolute neceſſity. Theſe people might have paſſed for Spartans, had they been ſober.

But on public days, the court diſplays all the ſplendour of a Perſian monarch. The earl ſays, he could ſee nothing but gold and precious ſtones, on the robes of the czar and his courtiers. Theſe dreſſes were not manufactured in the country; and yet it is evident, that the people might be rendered induſtrious long before that time. In the reign of the czar Boris Godonow, the largeſt bell was caſt at Moſcow, in Europe; and in the Patriarchal church, there were ſeveral ornaments in ſilver, worked in a very curious manner. Theſe pieces of workmanſhip, which were made under the direction of Germans and Italians, were only tranſient efforts. It is daily induſtry, and the continual exerciſe of a great number of arts, that makes a nation flouriſhing. Poland, and the neighbouring nations, were at that time very little ſuperior to the Ruſſians. The handicraft trades were not in greater perfection in the north of Germany, nor were the polite arts much better known, than in the middle of the 17th century.

Tho' the city of Moſcow, at that time, had neither the magnificence nor arts of our great cities in Europe, yet its circumference of twenty miles; the part called the Chineſe town, where all the rarities of China are exhibited; the ſpacious quarter of the Kremlin, where ſtood the palace

palace of the czars; the gilded domes, the lofty and conſpicuous turrets; and laſtly, the prodigious number of its inhabitants, amounting to near 500,000. All this together, rendered Moſcow one of the moſt conſiderable cities in the world.

Theodore, or Fœdor, eldeſt brother to Peter the Great, began to improve Moſcow. He ordered ſeveral large houſes to be built of ſtone, tho' without any regular architecture. He encouraged the principal perſons of his court to build, advancing them ſums of money, and furniſhing them with materials. He was the firſt who collected ſtuds of fine horſes, and made ſeveral uſeful embelliſhments. Peter, who was attentive to every thing, did not neglect Moſcow at the time he was building Peterſbourg; for he cauſed it to be paved, adorned it with noble edifices, and enriched it with manufactures; and within theſe few years, Mr. de Showalow, high chamberlain to the empreſs Elizabeth, daughter to Peter the Great, has founded an univerſity in this city. This is the ſame perſon who furniſhed me with the memorials, from which I have compiled the preſent hiſtory, and who was himſelf much more capable to have done it, even in the French language, had not his great modeſty determined him to reſign the taſk to me, as will evidently appear from his own letters on this ſubject, which I have depoſited in the public library of Geneva.

SMOLENSKO.

Weſtward of the duchy of Moſcow, is that of Smolenſko, a part of the ancient Sarmatia Europea. The duchies of Moſcow and Smolenſko compoſed what is properly called White Ruſſia. Smolenſko, which at firſt belonged to the great dukes of Ruſſia, was conquered by the great duke of Lithuania, in the beginning of the 15th century, and was retaken one hundred years afterwards by its old maſters. Sigiſmund III. king of Poland, got poſſeſſion of it in 1611. The czar Alexis, father of Peter I. recovered it again in 1654, ſince which time it has always conſtituted part of the Ruſſian empire. The panegyric of Peter the Great, pronounced in the academy of ſciences at Paris, takes notice, that before his time the Ruſſians had made no conqueſts either to the Weſt or South; but this is evidently a miſtake.

Of the Governments of NOVOGOROD *and* KIOW, *or the* UKRAINE.

Between Peterſbourg and Smolenſko, lies the province of Novogorod *; and is ſaid to be the country in which the ancient *Slavi*, or Sclavonians, made their firſt ſettlements. But from whence came theſe *Slavi*, whoſe language has ſpread over all the north-eaſt part of Europe? *Sla* ſignifies a chief, and *Slave* one belonging to a chief. All that we know concerning theſe ancient *Slaves*, is, that they were a race of conquerors; that they built the city of Novogorod the Great, at the head of a navigable river; and

* Grod or Gorod, ſignifies city in the Ruſſian language.

that

that this city was for a long time in poſſeſſion of a flouriſhing trade, and was a potent ally to the Hanſe towns. Czar Iwan Waſſiliawitſch (or John Baſilowitz) made a conqueſt of it in 1467, and carried away all its riches, which contributed to the magnificence of the court of Moſcow, till then almoſt unknown.

To the ſouth of the province of Smolenſko, we meet with the province of Kiow, otherwiſe called the Leſſer Ruſſia, Red Ruſſia, or the Ukraine, thro' which runs the Dnieper, called by the Greeks the Boriſthenes. The difference of theſe two names, the one ſo harſh to pronounce, and the other ſo melodious, ſerves to ſhew us together, with an hundred other like inſtances, the rudeneſs of all the ancient people of the north, in compariſon, with the graces of the Greek language. Kiow, the capital city, formerly Kiſow, was built by the emperors of Conſtantinople, who made it a colony: here are ſtill to be ſeen ſeveral Greek inſcriptions, upwards of 1200 years old. This is the only city of any antiquity in theſe countries, where men lived ſo long together without building walls. Here it was that the great dukes of Ruſſia held their reſidence in the 11th century, before the Tartars brought it under their ſubjection.

The inhabitants of the Ukraine, called Coſſacks, are a mixture of the ancient Roxolanians, Sarmatians, and Tartars, blended together. Rome and Conſtantinople, tho' ſo long the miſtreſſes of other nations, are not to compare in fertility of country with the Ukraine. Nature has there exerted her utmoſt efforts for the ſervice of mankind; but they have not ſeconded thoſe efforts by induſtry, living only upon the ſpontaneous

ſpontaneous productions of an uncultivated, but fruitful ſoil, and the exerciſe of rapine. Tho' fond to a degree of enthuſiaſm, of that moſt valuable of all bleſſings, liberty; yet they were always in ſubjection, either to the Poles or the Turks, till the year 1654, when they threw themſelves into the arms of Ruſſia, but with ſome limitations. At length they were entirely ſubdued by Peter the Great.

Other nations are divided into cities and towns; this into ten regiments. At the head of which is a chief, who uſed to be elected by a majority of votes, and is called by the name of Hetman or Itman. This captain of the nation was not inveſted with ſupreme power. At preſent the Itman is a perſon nominated by the czar, from among the great lords of the court; and is, in fact, no more than the governor of the province, like governors of the *Pays d'Etats* in France, that have retained ſome privileges.

At firſt the inhabitants of this country were all either Pagans or Mahometans; but when they entered into the ſervice of Poland, they were baptiſed Chriſtians of the Roman communion; and now that they are in the ſervice of Ruſſia, they belong to the Greek church.

Amongſt theſe are comprehended the Zaporavian Coſſacks, who are much the ſame as our Buccaneers or Free-booters, living upon rapine. They are diſtinguiſhed from all other people, by never admitting women to live among them; as the Amazons are ſaid never to have admitted any man. The women whom they make uſe of for propagation, live upon other iſlands on the river; they have no marriages amongſt them, nor any domeſtic œconomy; they inroll the

the male children in their militia, and leave the girls to the care of their mothers. A brother has frequently children by his ſiſter, and a father by his daughter. They know no other laws than cuſtoms introduced by neceſſity: however, they make uſe of ſome prayers from the Greek ritual. Fort St. Elizabeth has been lately built on the Boriſthenes, to keep them in awe. They ſerve as irregulars in the Ruſſian armies, and haplefs is the fate of thoſe who fall into their hands.

Of the Governments of BELGOROD, WORONITZ, *and* NISCHGOROD.

To the north-eaſt of the province of Kiow, between the Boriſthenes and the Tanais, or Don, is the government of Belgorod, which is as large as that of Kiow. This is one of the moſt fruitful provinces of Ruſſia, and furniſhes Poland with a prodigious number of that large cattle, known by the name of the Ukrain oxen. Theſe two provinces are ſecured from the incurſions of the petty Tartar tribes, by lines extending from the Boriſthenes to the Tanais, and well furniſhed with forts and redoubts.

Farther northward we croſs the Tanais, and come into the government of Worownitz or Veroniſe, which extends as far as the banks of the Palus Mæotis. In the neighbourhood of the capital of this province, which is called by the Ruſſians, Woroneſteh, at the mouth of the river of the ſame name, which falls into the Don, Peter the Great built his firſt fleet; an undertaking which was at that time entirely new to the inhabitants of theſe vaſt dominions.

From

From thence we come to the government of Niſchgorod, abounding with grain, and is watered by the river Wolga.

ASTRACAN.

From the latter province we proceed ſouthward to the kingdom of Aſtracan. This country reaches from 43 1-half degrees north latitude (in a moſt delightful climate) to near 50, including about as many degrees of longitude as of latitude. It is bounded on one ſide by the Caſpian ſea, and on the other by the mountains of Circaſſia, projecting beyond the Caſpian, along mount Caucaſus. It is watered by the great river Wolga, the Jaick, and ſeveral other leſſer ſtreams, between which, according to Mr. Perry, the Engliſh engineer, canals might be cut that would ſerve as reſervoirs to receive the overflowing of the waters; and by that means anſwer the ſame purpoſes as the canals of the Nill, and make the ſoil more fruitful: but to the right and left of the Wolga and Jaick, this fine country was inhabited, or rather infected, by Tartars, who never apply themſelves to agriculture, but have always lived as ſtrangers and ſojourners upon the face of the earth.

The above-named engineer Perry, who was employed by Peter the Great in theſe parts, found a vaſt track of land covered with paſture, leguminous plants, cherry and almond trees, and large flocks of wild ſheep, who fed in theſe ſolitary places, and whoſe fleſh was excellent. The inhabitants of theſe countries muſt be conquered and civilized, in order to ſecond the ef-

forts

forts of nature, who has been forced in the climate of Peterſbourg.

The kingdom of Aſtracan is a part of the ancient Capſhak, conquered by Gengis-Khan, and afterwards by Tamerlane, whoſe dominion extended as far as Moſcow. The czar John Baſilides, grandſon of John Baſilowitz, and the greateſt conqueror of all the Ruſſian princes, delivered his country from the Tartarian yoke, in the 16th century, and added the kingdom of Aſtracan to his other conqueſts in 1554.

Aſtracan is the boundary of Aſia and Europe, and is ſo ſituated as to be able to carry on a trade with both, as merchandiſes may be conveyed from the Caſpian ſea, up to this town, by means of the Wolga. This was one of the grand ſchemes of Peter the Great, and has been partly carried into execution. An entire ſuburb of Aſtracan is inhabited by Indians.

OREMBOURG.

To the ſouth-eaſt of the kingdom of Aſtracan, is a ſmall country newly planted, called Orembourg. The town of this name was built in the year 1734, on the banks of the river Jaick. This province is thick covered with hills, that are parts of mount Caucaſus. The paſſes in theſe mountains, and of the rivers that run down from them, are defended by forts raiſed at equal diſtances. In this region, formerly uninhabited, the Perſians come at preſent, to hide from the rapacity of robbers, ſuch of their effects as have eſcaped the fury of the civil wars. The city of Orembourg is become the aſylum of the Perſians and their riches, and is grown

grown conſiderable by their calamities. The natives of Great Bukari come hither to trade, ſo that it is become the mart of Aſia.

Of the Governments of CASAN, *and of* GREAT PERMIA.

Beyond the Wolga and Jaick, towards the north, lies the kingdom of Caſan, which, like that of Aſtracan, fell by partition to one of the ſons of Gengis-Khan, and afterwards to a ſon of Tamerlane, and was at length conquered by John Baſilides. It is ſtill inhabited by a number of Mahometan Tartars. This vaſt country ſtretches as far as Siberia; it is allowed to have been formerly very flouriſhing and rich, and ſtill retains ſome part of its priſtine opulence. A province of this kingdom, called Great Permia, and ſince Solikam, was the ſtaple for the merchandiſes of Perſia, and the furs of Tartary. There has been found in Permia a great quantity of the coin of the firſt Caliphs, and ſome Tartarian idols, made of gold *; but theſe monuments of ancient opulence were found in the midſt of barren deſerts and extreme poverty, where there were not the leaſt traces of commerce: revolutions of this nature may eaſily happen to a barren country, ſeeing they are ſo ſoon brought about in the moſt fruitful provinces.

The famous Swediſh priſoner Strahlemberg, who made ſuch advantageous uſe of his misfortunes, and who examined thoſe extenſive countries with ſo much attention, was the firſt who

* Memoirs of Strahlemberg, confirmed by thoſe ſent me from Ruſſia.

gave

gave an air of probability to a fact, which before had been always thought incredible; namely, concerning the ancient commerce of these provinces. Pliny and Pomponius-Mela relate, that, in the reign of Augustus, a king of the Suevi made a present to Metellus Celer of some Indians who had been cast by a storm upon the coasts bordering on the Elbe. But how could inhabitants of India navigate the Germanic seas? This adventure was deemed fabulous by all our moderns, especially after the change made in the commerce of our hemisphere, by the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. But formerly it was no more extraordinary to see an Indian trading to the parts to the north-west of his country, than to see a Roman go from India by the way of Arabia. The Indians went to Persia, and thence embarked on the Hyrcanian sea, and ascending the Rha, now the Wolga, got to Great Permia thro' the river Kama; from whence they might take shipping again on the Black Sea, or the Baltick. There have, in all times, been enterprising men. The Tyrians undertook most surprising voyages.

If after surveying all these vast provinces, we direct our view towards the east, we shall find the limits of Europe and Asia again confounded. A new name is wanting for this considerable part of the globe. The ancients divided their known world into Europe, Asia, and Africa; but they had not seen the tenth part of it: hence it happens, that when we pass the Palus Mæotis, we are at a loss to know where Europe ends, or Asia begins; all that tract of country lying beyond mount Taurus was distinguished by the general appellation of Scythia, and afterwards by that

that of Tartary. It might not be improper, perhaps, to give the name of Terræ Arcticæ, or Northern Lands, to the country extending from the Baltic ſea, to the confines of China; as that of Terra Auſtrales, or Southern Lands, are to that equally extenſive part of the world, ſituated under the Antarctic Pole, and which ſerves to counterpoiſe the globe.

Of the Governments of SIBERIA, *of the* SAMOJEDES, *the* OSTIAKS, KAMTSHATKA, *&c.*

Siberia, with the territories beyond it, extends from the frontiers of the provinces of Archangel, Reſan, and Aſtracan, eaſtward as far as the ſea of Japan: it joined the ſouthern parts of Ruſſia by mount Caucaſus; from thence, to the country of Kamtſhatka, is about 1200 computed French leagues; and from ſouthern Tartary, which ſerves as its boundary to the Frozen ſea, about 400, which is the leaſt breadth of the Ruſſian empire. This country produces the richeſt furs; and this occaſioned the diſcovery of it in the year 1563.

In the 16th century, in the reign of the czar John Baſilides, and not in that of Fœder Johannowitz, a private perſon in the neighbourhood of Archangel, named Anika, one tolerably rich for his condition of life and country, took notice, that certain men of an extraordinary figure, and dreſſed in a manner unknown to that country, and who ſpoke a language underſtood by no one but themſelves, came every year down a river which falls into the Dwina*,

* Memoirs ſent from Peterſbourg.

and

and brought martens and black foxes, which they trucked for nails and pieces of glaſs; juſt as the firſt ſavages of America uſed to exchange their gold with the Spaniards: he cauſed them to be followed by his ſons and ſervants, as far as their own country. Theſe were the Samojedes, a people who ſeem to reſemble the Laplanders, but are of a different race. They are, like that people, unacquainted with the uſe of bread; and like them, they yoke rain deer to draw their ſledges. They live in caverns and huts, amidſt the ſnow *; but in other reſpects, nature has made a viſible difference between this ſpecies of men and the Laplanders. Their upper jaw projects forward, ſo as to be on a level with their noſe, and their ears are placed higher. Both the men and women have no hair in any other part of their bodies, but their heads; and their nipple is of a deep black, like ebony. The Lapland men and women are diſtinguiſhed by no ſuch marks. By memoirs ſent from theſe countries ſo little known, I have been informed, that the author of the curious natural hiſtory of the king's garden, is miſtaken, where, in ſpeaking of the many curioſities in human nature, he confounds the Lapland race with that of the Samojedes. There are many more different ſpecies of men than is commonly thought. The Samojedes, and the Hottentots, ſeem to be the two extremes of our continent; and if we obſerve the black nipples of the Samojedian women, and the apron with which nature has furniſhed the Hottentot females, and which hangs half way down their thighs, we may have ſome idea of the great variety of our animal ſpecies,

* Idem.

a variety

a variety unknown to thoſe inhabiting great cities, who are generally ſtrangers to almoſt every thing that is not immediately within their view.

The Samojedes are as ſingular in their moral as in their phyſical diſtinctions; they pay no worſhip to the ſupreme being; they border upon Manicheiſm, or rather upon the religion of the ancient Magi in this one point, that they acknowledge a good and an evil principle. The horrible climate they inhabit may in ſome meaſure excuſe this belief, which is of ſuch antient date, and ſo natural to thoſe who are ignorant and unhappy.

Theft or murder is never heard of amongſt them: being in a manner devoid of paſſions, they are ſtrangers to injuſtice; they have no terms in their language to denote vice and virtue, their extreme ſimplicity has not yet permitted them to form abſtract ideas, they are wholly guided by penſation, and this is perhaps an inconteſtible proof that men naturally love juſtice, when not blended by inordinate paſſions.

Some of theſe ſavages were prevailed on to ſuffer themſelves to be carried to Moſcow, where many things they ſaw ſtruck them with admiration. They gazed upon the Emperor as their God, and voluntarily engaged for themſelves and countrymen a preſent of two martens or ſables every year for each inhabitant. Colonies were ſoon ſettled beyond the Oby * and the Irtis

* Called alſo the Ob. This large river iſſues from the lake Altin in Calmuck Tartary in Aſia, from whence running north it forms the boundary between Europe and Aſia, and after

Irtis †, and ſome forts built. In the year 1595 a Coſſack officer was ſent into this country, who conquered it for the Czar with only a few ſoldiers and ſome artillery, as Cortez did Mexico; but he only made a conqueſt of barren deſarts.

In ſailing up the Oby to the junction of the river Irtis with the Tobol, they found a petty ſettlement, which they converted into the town of Tobol ‡, now the capital of Siberia, and a conſiderable place. Who could imagine that this country was for a long time the reſidence of thoſe very Huns, who under Attila carried their depredations as far as the gates of Rome, and that theſe Huns came from the north of China? The Uſbeck Tartars ſucceeded the Huns, and the Ruſſians the Uſbecks. The poſſeſſion of theſe ſavage countries has been diſputed with as much murderous fury, as that of the moſt fruitful provinces. Siberia was formerly better peopled than it is at preſent, eſpecially towards the ſouthern parts; if we may judge from the rivers and ſepulchral monuments.

All this part of the world, from the 60th deg. of lat. or thereabouts, as far as thoſe mountains of perpetual ice which border the north ſeas, is totally different from the regions of the temperate zone; the earth produces neither the ſame plants, nor the ſame animals, nor are there

after traverſing a vaſt tract of above 2000 miles, it falls into a bay of the Frozen Sea.

† In the Ruſſian language Irtiſh. This river runs from N. to S. thro' all Ruſſia, and falling into the former river, forms part of the boundary between Aſia and Europe.

‡ In the Ruſſian language Tobolſkoy.

the

the ſame ſort of fiſhes in their lakes and rivers.

Below the country of the Samojedes lies that of the Oſtiaks, along the river Oby. Theſe people have no reſemblance in any reſpect with the Samojedes, ſave that like them and all the firſt race of men they are hunters, fiſhermen, and ſhepherds; ſome of them have no religion, not being formed into any ſociety, and the others who live together in herds or clans, have a kind of worſhip, and pray to the principal object of their wants; they adore the ſkin of a ſheep, becauſe this creature is of all others the moſt ſerviceable to them; juſt as the Egyptian huſbandmen made choice of an ox, as an emblem of the Deity who created that creature for the uſe of man.

The Oſtiaks have likewiſe other idols, whoſe origin and worſhip are as little deſerving our notice as their worſhippers. There were ſome converts to Chriſtianity made amongſt them in the year 1712; but theſe, like the loweſt of our peaſants, are Chriſtians without knowing what they profeſs. Several writers pretend that theſe people were natives of Great Permia, but as Great Permia is in a manner a deſert, how comes it then its inhabitants ſhould ſettle themſelves at ſuch a diſtance, and ſo inconveniently? This is a difficulty not worth clearing up. Every nation which has not cultivated the polite arts, deſerves to remain in obſcurity.

In the country of the Oſtiaks in particular, and amongſt their neighbours the Burates and Jakutians, they often diſcover a kind of ivory under ground, the nature of which is as yet unknown. Some take it to be a ſort of foſſil, and others the tooth of a ſpecies of elephants, the breed

breed of which have been destroyed: but where is the country that does not afford some natural productions, which at once astonish and confound philosophy?

Several mountains in this country abound with the amianthes or asbestos, a kind of incombustible flax, of which a sort of cloth and paper is sometimes made.

To the south of the Ostiaks are the Burates, another people, who have not yet been made christians. Eastward there are several hords, whom the Russians have not as yet entirely subdued.

None of these people have the least knowledge of the kalender. They reckon their time by snows, and not by the apparent motion of the sun: as it snows regularly, and for a long time every winter, they say, 'I am so many snows 'old,' just as we say, I am so many years.

And here I must relate the accounts given by the Swedish officer Strahlemberg, who was taken prisoner in the battle of Pultowa, and lived fifteen years in Siberia, and made the entire tour of that country. He says, that there are still some remains of an ancient people, whose skin is spotted or variegated with different colours, and that he himself had seen some of them; and the fact has been confirmed to me by Russians born at Tobolsky. The variety of the human species seems to be greatly diminished, as we find very few of these extraordinary people, and they have probably been exterminated by some other race: for instance, there are very few Albinos, or White Moors; one of them was presented to the academy of sciences at Paris, which I saw. It is the same with re-

ſpect to ſeveral other ſpecies of animals which are rare.

As to the Borandians, of whom mention is made ſo frequently in the learned hiſtory of the king's garden, my memoirs ſay, that this race of people is entirely unknown to the Ruſſians.

All the ſouthern part of theſe countries is peopled by numerous hords of Tartars. The antient Turks came from this part of Tartary to conquer theſe extenſive countries, of which they are at preſent in poſſeſſion. The Calmucks and Monguls are the very Scythians who, under Madies, made themſelves maſters of Upper Aſia, and conquered Cyaxares king of the Medes. They are the men, whom Gengis Khan and his ſons led afterwards as far as Germany, and was termed the Mogul empire under Tamerlane. Theſe people afford a lively inſtance of the viciſſitudes which have happened to all nations; ſome of their hords, ſo far from being formidable now, are become vaſſals to Ruſſia.

Among theſe is a nation of Calmucks, dwelling between Siberia and the Caſpian Sea, where, in the year 1720, there was diſcovered a ſubterraneous houſe of ſtone, with urns, lamps, earrings, an equeſtrian ſtatue of an oriental prince, with a diadem on his head, two women ſeated on thrones, and a roll of manuſcripts, which were ſent by Peter the Great to the academy of inſcriptions at Paris, and proved to be written in the Thibet language: all theſe are ſtriking proofs, that the liberal arts formerly reſided in this now barbarous country, and are laſting evidences of the truth of what Peter the Great was wont ſeveral times to ſay, viz. that the arts had made the tour of the globe.

The

The laſt province is Kamtſhatka, the moſt eaſtern part of the continent. The inhabitants were abſolutely void of all religion when they were firſt diſcovered. The north part of this country likewiſe affords fine furs, with which the inhabitants cloathed themſelves in winter, tho' they went naked all the ſummer ſeaſon. The firſt diſcoverers were ſurpriſed to find in the ſouthern parts men with long beards, while in the northern parts, from the country of the Samojedes, as far as the mouth of the river Amur, they have no more beards than the Americans. Thus, in the empire of Ruſſia, there is a greater number of different ſpecies, more ſingularities, and a greater diverſity of manners and cuſtoms, than in any country in the known world.

The firſt diſcovery of this country was made by a Coſſack officer, who went by land from Siberia to Kamtſhatka in 1701, by order of Peter the Great, who, notwithſtanding his miſfortune at Narva, ſtill continued to extend his care from one extremity of the continent to the other. Afterwards, in 1725, ſome time before death ſurpriſed him, in the midſt of his great exploits, he ſent captain Bering, a Dane, with expreſs orders to find out, if poſſible, a paſſage by the ſea of Kamtſhatka, to the coaſt of America. Bering did not ſucceed in his firſt attempt; but the empreſs Anne ſent him out again in 1733. M. Spengenberg, captain of a ſhip, his aſſociate in this voyage, ſet out the firſt from Kamtſhatka, but could not put to ſea till the year 1739, ſo much time was taken up in getting to the port where they were to embark, in building and fitting out the ſhips, and providing the neceſſaries. Spengenberg ſailed as far as the

north part of Japan, through a ſtreight, formed by a long chain of iſlands, and returned without having diſcovered the paſſage.

In 1741, Bering cruiſed all over this ſea, in company with De Liſle de la Croyere, the aſtronomer, of the ſame family of L'Iſle, which has produced ſuch excellent geographers: another captain likewiſe went upon the ſame diſcovery. They both made the coaſt of America, to the northward of California. Thus the north-eaſt paſſage, ſo long ſought after, was at length diſcovered, but there was no refreſhments to be met with in thoſe barren coaſts. Their freſh water failed them, and part of the crew periſhed with the ſcurvy. They ſaw the northern bank of California for above an hundred miles, and ſaw ſome leathern canoes, with juſt ſuch a ſort of people in them as the Canadians. All their endeavours, however, proved fruitleſs: Bering ended his life in an iſland, to which he gave his name. The other captain happening to be cloſer in with the Californian coaſt, ſent ten of his people on ſhore, who never returned. The captain, after waiting for them in vain, found himſelf obliged to return back to Kamtſhatka, and De Liſle died as he was going on ſhore. Such are the diſaſters that have generally attended every new attempt upon the northern ſeas. But what advantages may yet ariſe from theſe powerful and dangerous diſcoveries, time alone can diſcover.

We have now deſcribed all the different provinces that compoſe the Ruſſian dominions, from Finland to the ſea of Japan. The largeſt parts of this empire have been all united at different times, as has been the caſe in all other king-

kingdoms in the world. The Scythians, Huns, Maſſagetes, Slavians, Cimbrians, Getes, and Sarmatians, are now ſubjects of the Czar. The Ruſſians, properly ſo called, are the ancient Roxolani or Slavi.

Upon reflection, we ſhall find that moſt ſtates were formed in the ſame manner. The French are an aſſemblage of Goths, of Danes called Normands, of northern Germans, called Burgundians; of Franks, Allmans, and ſome Romans mixed with the ancient Celtæ. In Rome and Italy there are ſeveral families deſcended from the people of the north, but none that we know of from the ancient Romans. The ſupreme pontiff is frequently the offspring of a Lombard, a Goth, a Teuton, or a Cimbrian. The Spaniards are a race of Arabs, Carthaginians, Jews, Tyrians, Viſigoths, and Vandals, incorporated with the ancient inhabitants of the country. When nations are thus intermixed, it is a long time before they are civilized, or even before their language is formed. Some indeed receive theſe ſooner, others latter. Polity and the liberal arts are ſo difficult to eſtabliſh, and the new raiſed ſtructure is ſo often deſtroyed by revolutions, that we may wonder all nations are not ſo barbarous as Tartars.

CHAP. II.

Continuation of the deſcription of Ruſſia, population, finances, armies, cuſtoms, religion, ſtate of Ruſſia before Peter the Great.

THE more civilized a country is, the better it is peopled. Thus China and India are more populous than any other empires, becauſe, after a multitude of revolutions, which changed the face of ſublunary affairs, theſe two nations made the earlieſt eſtabliſhments in civil ſociety: the antiquity of their government, which has ſubſiſted upwards of four thouſand years, ſuppoſes, as we have already obſerved, many eſſays and efforts in preceding ages. The Ruſſians came very late; but the arts having been introduced amongſt them in their full perfection, it has happened, that they have made more progreſs in fifty years, than any other nation had done before them in five hundred. The country is far from being populous, in proportion to its extent; but ſuch as it is, it has as great a number of inhabitants as any other ſtate in Chriſtendom. From the capitation liſts, and the regiſter of merchants, artificers, and male peaſants, I might ſafely aſſert, that Ruſſia, at preſent, contains at leaſt 24 millions of male inhabitants: of theſe 24 millions, the greateſt part are villains or bondmen, as in Poland, ſeveral provinces of Germany, and formerly throughout all Europe. The eſtate of a gentleman in Ruſſia and Poland is computed, not by his increaſe in money, but by the number of his ſlaves.

The

The following is a list taken in 1747, of all the males who paid the capitation or poll-tax.

Merchants or tradesmen -	198000
Handicrafts - -	16500
Peasants incorporated with the merchants and handicrafts -	1950
Peasants called Odonoskis, who contribute to maintain the militia -	430220
Others who do not contribute thereto	26080
Workmen of different trades, whose parents are not known -	1000
Others who are not incorporated with the companies of tradesmen -	4700
Peasants immediately dependent on the crown, about - -	555000
Persons employed in the mines belonging to the crown, partly Christians, partly Mahometans and Pagans -	64000
Other peasants belonging to the crown, who work in the mines, and in private manufactures -	24200
New convents to the Greek church	57000
Tartars and Ostiaks (peasants) -	241000
Mourses, Tartars, Mordauts, and others, whether Pagans or Christians, employed by the admiralty	7800
Tartars subject to contribution, called Tepteris, Bobilitz, &c. -	28900
Bondmen to several merchants, and other privileged persons, who, tho' not landholders, are allowed to have slaves - -	9100
Carried over	1665450

Brought over	1665450
Peasants in the lands set apart for the support of the crown -	418000
Peasants on the lands belonging to her majesty, independently of the rights of the crown - -	60500
Peasants on the lands confiscated to the crown - - - -	13600
Bondmen belonging to gentlemen	3550000
Bondmen belonging to the assembly of the clergy, and who defray other expences - -	37500
Bondmen belonging to bishops -	116400
Bondmen belonging to convents, whose numbers were reduced by Peter the Great - -	721500
Bondmen belonging to cathedral and parish churches - -	23700
Peasants employed as labourers in the docks of the admiralty, or in other public works, about -	4000
Labourers in the mines, and in private manufactures -	16000
Peasants on the lands assigned to the principal manufactures -	14500
Labourers in the mines belonging to the crown - - -	300
Bastards brought up by the clergy -	40
Sectaries called Raskolniky -	2200
	6646390

Here we have a round number of six millions six hundred forty-six thousand three hundred and ninety male persons, who pay the poll-tax. In this number are included boys and old men, but

girls and women are not reckoned, nor boys born between the making of one regiſter of the lands and another. Now, if we only reckon triple the number of heads ſubject to be taxed, including women and girls, we ſhall find near 20 millions of ſouls.

To this number we may add the military liſt, which amounts to 350,000 men. Beſides, neither the nobility nor clergy, who are computed at 200,000, are ſubject to this capitation.

Foreigners, of whatever country or profeſſion, are likewiſe exempt: as alſo the inhabitants of the conquered countries, namely, Livonia, Eſthonia, Ingria, Carelia, and a part of Finland, the Ukraine, and the Don Coſſacks, the Calmucks, and other Tartars, Samojedes, the Laplanders, the Oſtiaks, and all the idolatrous people of Siberia, a country of greater extent than China, are not included in this liſt.

By the ſame calculation, it is impoſſible that the total of the inhabitants of Ruſſia ſhould amount to leſs than 24 millions. At this rate, there are eight perſons to every ſquare mile. The Engliſh ambaſſador, whom I have mentioned before, allows only five; but he certainly was not furniſhed with ſuch faithful memoirs, as thoſe with which I have been favoured.

Ruſſia therefore is exactly five times leſs populous than Spain, but contains near four times the number of inhabitants: it is almoſt as populous as France or Germany; but if we conſider its vaſt extent, the number of ſouls is thirty times leſs.

There is one important remark to be made in regard to this enumeration, namely, that out of 6,640,000 people liable to the poll-tax, there

are about 900,000 that belong to the Ruſſian clergy, without reckoning either the eccleſiaſtics of the conquered countries, of the Ukraine, or of Siberia.

Therefore, out of ſeven perſons liable to the poll-tax, the clergy have one; but nevertheleſs they are far from poſſeſſing the ſeventh part of the whole revenues of the ſtate, as is the caſe in many other kingdoms, where they have at leaſt a ſeventh of all eſtates; for their peaſants pay a capitation to the ſovereign; and the other taxes of the crown of Ruſſia, in which the clergy have no ſhare, are very conſiderable.

This valuation is very different from that of all other writers on the affairs of Ruſſia; ſo that foreign miniſters, who have tranſmitted memoirs of this ſtate to their courts, have been greatly miſtaken. The archives of the empire are the only things to be conſulted.

It is very probable, that Ruſſia has been better peopled than it is at preſent; before the ſmall-pox, that came from the extremities of Arabia, and the great pox that came from America, had ſpread over theſe climates, where they have now taken root. The world owes theſe two dreadful ſcourges, which have depopulated it more than all its wars, the one to Mahomet, and the other to Chriſtopher Columbus. The plague, which is a native of Africa, ſeldom approached the countries of the north. Beſides, the people of thoſe countries, from Sarmatia, to the Tartars who dwell beyond the great wall, having overſpread the world by their irruptions, this ancient nurſery of the human ſpecies muſt have been ſurpriſingly diminiſhed.

In

In this vaſt extent of country, there are ſaid to be about 74,000 monks, and 5000 nuns, notwithſtanding the care taken by Peter the Great to reduce their number; a care worthy the legiſlator of an empire, where the human race is ſo remarkably deficient. Theſe 13,000 perſons, thus immured and loſt to the ſtate, have (as the reader may have obſerved) 72,000 bondmen to till their lands, which is evidently too great a number; there cannot be a ſtronger proof how difficult it is to eradicate abuſes of a long ſtanding.

I find, by a liſt of the revenues of the empire in 1735, that reckoning the tribute paid by the Tartars, with all taxes and duties in money, the ſum total amounted to 13 millions of rubles, which make 65 millions of French livres, excluſive of tributes in kind. This moderate ſum was at that time ſufficient to maintain 339,500, as well ſea as land forces: but both the revenues and troops are augmented ſince that time.

The cuſtoms, diets, and manners of the Ruſſians, ever bore a greater affinity to thoſe of Aſia than to thoſe of Europe: ſuch was the old cuſtom of receiving tributes in kind, of defraying the expences of ambaſſadors on their journies, and during their reſidence in the country, and of never appearing at church, or in the royal preſence with a ſword; an oriental cuſtom, directly the reverſe of that ridiculous and barbarous one amongſt us, of addreſſing ourſelves to God, to our king, to our friends, and to our women, with an offenſive weapon, which hangs down to the bottom of the leg. The long robe worn on public days, had a more noble air than the ſhort habits of the weſtern nations of Europe. A veſt lined and turned up with fur, with

a long scimar, adorned with jewels for festival days; and those high turbans, which add to the stature, were much more striking to the eye; than our perukes and close coats, and more suitable to cold climates; but this ancient dress of all nations seems to be not so well contrived for war, nor so convenient for working people. Most of their other customs were rustic; but we must not imagine, that their manners were as barbarous as some writers would have us believe. Albert Krants relates a story of an Italian ambassador, whom the czar ordered to have his hat nailed to his head, for not pulling it off while he was making his speech to him. Others attribute this adventure to a Tartar, and others again to a French ambassador.

Olearius pretends, that the czar Michael Theodorowitz, banished the marquis of Exideüil, ambassador from Henry IV. of France, into Siberia; but it is certain, that this monarch sent no ambassador to Moscow, and that there never was a marquis of Exideüil in France. In the same manner do travellers speak about the country of Borandia, and of the trade they have carried on with the people of Nova Zembla, which is scarcely inhabited at all, and the long conversations they have had with some of the Samojedes, as if they understood their language. Were the enormous compilations of voyages to be cleared of every thing that is not true nor useful in them, both the works and the public would be gainers by it.

The Russian government resembled that of the Turks, in respect to the standing forces, or guards, called Strelitzes, who, like the Janissaries, sometimes disposed of the crown, and frequently

frequently disturbed the state as much as they defended it. Their number was about 40,000. Those who were dispersed in the provinces, subsisted by rapine and plunder; those in Moscow lived like citizens, followed trades, did no duty, and carried their insolence to the greatest excess: in short, there was no other way to preserve peace and good order in the kingdom, but by breaking them; a very necessary, and at the same time a very dangerous step.

The public revenue does not exceed five millions of rubles, or about 25 millions of French livres. This was sufficient when czar Peter came to the crown to maintain the ancient mediocrity, but was not a third part of what was necessary to go certain lengths, and to render himself and people considerable in Europe: but at the same time many of their taxes were paid in kind, according to the Turkish custom, which is less burthensome to the people than that of paying their tributes in money.

Of the Title of CZAR.

As to the title of czar, it may possibly come from the Tzars or Tchars of the kingdom of Casan. When John, or Ivan Basilides, compleated the conquest of this kingdom in the 16th century, which had been begun by his grandfather, who afterwards lost it, he assumed this title, which his successors have retained ever since. Before John Basilides, the sovereign of Russia, took the title of *Welike Knez*, i. e. *Great prince, great lord, great chief*, which the christian nations afterwards rendered by that of great duke. Czar Michael Theodorowitz, when he received

received the Holſtein embaſſy, took to himſelf the following titles: " Great *knez*, and great " lord, conſervator of all the Ruſſias, prince of " Wolodomer, Moſcow, Novogorod, &c. " tzar of Caſan, tzar of Aſtracan, and tzar of " Siberia." *Tzar* was, therefore, a title belonging to theſe eaſtern princes; and, therefore, it is more probable to have been derived from the *Tſhas* of Perſia, than from the Roman Cæſars, whom the Siberian Tzars, on the banks of the Oby, can hardly be ſuppoſed to have ever heard.

No title, however pompous, is of any conſequence, if thoſe who bear it are not great and powerful of themſelves. The word *emperor*, which originally ſignified no more than *general of the army*, became the title of the ſovereign of the Roman republic: it is now given to the ſupreme governor of all the Ruſſias, more juſtly than to any other potentate, if we conſider the power and extent of his dominions.

RELIGION.

The eſtabliſhed religion of this country, has ever ſince the 11th century been that of the Greek church, ſo called in oppoſition to the Latin: tho' there were always a greater number of Mahometan and Pagan provinces, than of thoſe inhabited by chriſtians. Siberia, as far as China, was in a ſtate of idolatry; and in ſome of the provinces, they were utter ſtrangers to all kind of religion.

Perry, the engineer, and baron Strahlemberg, who both reſided ſo many years in Ruſſia, tell us, that they found more ſincerity and probity among

among the Pagans, than the other inhabitants; not that paganiſm made them more virtuous, but their manner of living, which was that of the primitive ages, as they are called, freed them from all the tumultuous paſſions; and, in conſequence, they were known for their integrity.

Chriſtianity did not get footing in Ruſſia, and the other countries of the north, till very late. It is ſaid that a princeſs, named Olha, firſt introduced it, about the end of the 10th century, as Clotilda, niece to an Arian prince, did among the Franks; the wife of Miceſlaus, duke of Poland, among the Poles; and the ſiſter of the emperor Henry II. among the Hungarians. Women are naturally eaſily perſuaded by the miniſters of religion, and as eaſily perſuade the other part of mankind.

It is further added, that this princeſs Olha cauſed herſelf to be baptiſed at Conſtantinople, by the name of Helena; and that as ſoon as ſhe embraced chriſtianity, the emperor John Zimiſces fell in love with her. It is moſt likely that ſhe was a widow; however, ſhe refuſed the emperor. The example of the princeſs Olha, or Olga, as ſhe is called, did not at firſt make any great number of proſelytes. Her ſon *, who reigned a long time, was not of the ſame way of thinking as his mother; but her grandſon Woldomer, who was born of a concubine, having murdered his brother and mounted the throne, ſued for the alliance of Baſiles, emperor of Conſtantinople, but could obtain it only on condition of receiving baptiſm: and this event, which happened in the year 987, is the epocha

* His name was Sowaſtowſlaw.

when

when the Greek church was firſt eſtabliſhed in Ruſſia. Photius, the patriarch, ſo famous for his immenſe erudition, his diſputes with the church of Rome, and for his misfortunes, ſent a perſon to baptiſe Wolodomer, in order to add this part of the world to the Patriarchal See *.

Wolodimer, or Wolodomar, therefore compleated the work which his grandmother had begun. A Greek was made the firſt Metropolitan, or Patriarch of Ruſſia; and from this time, the Ruſſians adopted an alphabet, taken partly from the Greek. This would have been of advantage to them, had they not ſtill retained the principles of their own language, which is the Sclavonian in every thing, but a few terms relating to their liturgy and church government. One of the Greek patriarchs, named Jeremiah, having a ſuit depending before the Divan, came to Moſcow to ſollicit it; where, after ſome time, he reſigned his authority over the Ruſſian churches, and conſecrated patriarch, the archbiſhop of Novogorod, named Job. This was in the year 1588, from which time the Ruſſian church became as independent as its empire. The patriarch of Ruſſia has ever ſince been conſecrated by the Ruſſian biſhops, and not by the patriarch of Conſtantinople. He ranked in the Greek church next to the patriarch of Jeruſalem, but he was in fact the only free and powerful patriarch; and conſequently, the only real one. Thoſe of Jeruſalem, Conſtantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, are mercenary chiefs of a

* This anecdote is taken from a private MS. intitled, "The Eccleſiaſtical Government of Ruſſia," which is likewiſe depoſited in the public library.

church,

church, enſlaved by the Turks; and even the patriarchs of Jeruſalem and Antioch are no longer conſidered as ſuch, having no more credit or influence in Turkey, than the rabins of the Jewiſh ſynagogues ſettled there.

It was from a perſon who was patriarch of all the Ruſſias, that Peter the Great was deſcended in a direct line. Theſe new prelates ſoon wanted to ſhare the ſovereign authority with the czars. They thought it not enough that their prince walked bare-headed once a year before the patriarch, leading his horſe by the bridle. Theſe external marks of reſpect only ſerved to encreaſe their thirſt for rule; a paſſion which proved the ſource of great troubles in Ruſſia, as well as no other countries.

Nicon, a perſon whom the monks look upon as a ſaint, and who was patriarch in the reign of Alexis, the father of Peter the Great, wanted to raiſe his dignity above that of the throne; for he not only aſſumed the privilege of ſitting by the ſide of the czar in the ſenate, but pretended that neither war nor peace could be made without his conſent. His authority was ſo great, that being ſupported by his immenſe wealth, and by his intrigues with the clergy and the people, he kept his maſter in a kind of ſubjection. He had the boldneſs to excommunicate ſome ſenators who oppoſed his exceſſive inſolence; till at length, Alexis finding himſelf not powerful enough to depoſe him by his own authority, was obliged to convene a ſynod of all the biſhops. There the patriarch was accuſed of having received money from the Poles; and being convicted, was depoſed and confined for the remainder of his days in a monaſtery, after which the

the prelates choſe another patriarch in his ſtead.

From the firſt infancy of chriſtianity in Ruſſia, there have been ſeveral ſects there, as well as in other countries; for ſects are as frequently the fruits of ignorance, as of pretended knowledge: but Ruſſia is the only chriſtian ſtate of any conſiderable extent, in which religion has not excited civil wars, tho' it has felt ſome occaſional tumults.

The Raſkolnikys, who conſiſt at preſent of about 2000 males, and who are mentioned in the foregoing liſt *, are the moſt ancient ſect of any in this country. It was eſtabliſhed in the 12th century, by ſome enthuſiaſts, who had a ſuperficial knowledge of the New Teſtament: they made uſe then, and ſtill do, of the old pretence of all ſectaries, that of following the letter, and accuſed all other chriſtians of remiſſneſs. They would not permit a prieſt, who had drank brandy, to confer baptiſm; they affirmed, in the words of our Saviour, that there is neither a firſt nor a laſt, among the faithful; and held, that one of the elect might kill himſelf for the love of his Saviour. According to them, it is a great ſin to repeat the halleluja three times; and, therefore, repeat it only twice. The benediction is to be given only with three fingers. In other reſpects, no ſociety can be more regular or ſtrict in its morals. They live like the quakers, and, like them, do not admit any other chriſtians into their aſſemblies, which is the reaſon that theſe have accuſed them of all the abominations of which the heathens accuſed the primitive Galileans: theſe latter, the Gnoſtics, and

* See Page 36.

with

with which the Roman Catholics have charged the Proteſtants. They have been frequently accuſed of cutting the throat of an infant, and drinking its blood; and of mixing together in their private ceremonies, without diſtinction of kindred, age, or even of ſex. They have been perſecuted at times, and then they ſhut themſelves up in their hamlets, ſet fire to their houſes, and thrown themſelves into the flames. Peter took the only method of reclaiming them, which was by letting them live in peace.

But to conclude in all this vaſt empire, there are but 28 epiſcopal ſees; and in Peter's time, there were but 22. This ſmall number was, perhaps, one of the cauſes to which the Ruſſian church owes its tranquillity. So very circumſcribed was the knowledge of the clergy, that czar Theodore, brother to Peter the Great, was the firſt who introduced the cuſtom of ſinging pſalms in churches.

Theodore and Peter, eſpecially the latter, admitted indifferently into their councils and their armies, thoſe of the Greek, the Latin, the Lutheran, and the Calviniſt communion, leaving every one at liberty to ſerve God after his own conſcience, provided he did his duty to the ſtate. At that time, there was not one Latin church in this great empire of 2000 leagues, till Peter eſtabliſhed ſome new manufactures at Aſtracan, when there were about ſixty Roman Catholic families, under the direction of the capuchins; but the jeſuits endeavouring to eſtabliſh themſelves in his dominions, he drove them out by an edict, publiſhed in the month of April 1718. He tolerated the capuchins as an inſignificant

ſet

set of monks, but considered the jesuits as dangerous politicians.

The Greek church has at once the honour and satisfaction to see its communion extended throughout an empire of 2000 leagues in length, while that of Rome is not in possession of half that tract in Europe. Those of the Greek communion have, at all times, been particularly attentive to maintain an equality between theirs and the Latin church; and always upon their guard against the zeal of the see of Rome, which they look upon as ambition; because, in fact, that church whose power is very much circumscribed in our hemisphere, and yet assumes the title of *universal*, has always endeavoured to act up to that title.

The Jews never made any settlements in Europe, as they have done in most of the other states of Europe, from Constantinople to Rome. The Russians have carried on their trade by themselves, or by the help of the nations settled amongst them. Theirs is the only country of the Greek communion, where synagogues are not seen by the side of christian temples.

Conclusion of the State of RUSSIA, *before* PETER *the* GREAT.

Russia is indebted solely to czar Peter for its great influence in the affairs of Europe; being of no consideration in any other reign, since it embraced christianity. Before this period, the Russians made the same figure on the Black Sea, that the Normans did afterwards on the coasts of the ocean. In the reign of the emperor Heraclius, they fitted out an armament of

40,000

40,000 ſmall barks appeared before Conſtantinople, which they beſieged, and impoſed a tribute on the Greek emperors; but the grand knez Wolodimar, being wholly taken up with the care of eſtabliſhing chriſtianity in his dominions, and wearied out with inteſtine broils in his own family, weakened his dominions by dividing them between his children. They almoſt all fell a prey to the Tartars, who held Ruſſia in ſubjection near two hundred years. At length John Baſilides freed it from ſlavery, and enlarged its boundaries; but after his time, it was ruined again by civil wars.

Before the time of Peter the Great, Ruſſia was neither ſo powerful, ſo well cultivated, ſo populous, nor ſo rich as at preſent. It had no poſſeſſions in Finland, nor in Livonia; and this latter alone had been long worth more than all Siberia. The Coſſacks were ſtill unſubjected, nor were the people of Aſtracan reduced to obedience; what little trade was carried on, was rather to their diſadvantage. The White Sea, the Baltic, the Pontus Euxinus, the ſea of Aſoph, and the Caſpian ſea, were entirely uſeleſs to a nation that had not a ſingle ſhip, nor even a term in their language to expreſs a fleet. If nothing more had been wanting but to be ſuperior to the Tartars, and the other nations of the north, as far as China, the Ruſſians undoubtedly had that advantage, but they were to be brought upon an equality with civilized nations, and to be in a condition one day of even ſurpaſſing ſeveral of them. Such an undertaking appeared altogether impracticable, inaſmuch as they had not a ſingle ſhip at ſea, and were abſolutely ignorant of military diſcipline by land; nay, the

moſt common manufactures were hardly encouraged, and that agriculture itſelf, the primum mobile of trade, was neglected. This requires the utmoſt attention and encouragement on the part of a government; and it is to this the Engliſh are indebted, for finding in their corn a treaſure far ſuperior to their woollen manufacture.

This groſs neglect of the neceſſary arts, ſufficiently ſhews, that the people of Ruſſia had no idea of the polite arts, which become neceſſary in their turn, when we have cultivated the others. They might indeed have ſent ſome of the natives to gain inſtruction among foreigners, but the difference of languages, manners, and religion, oppoſed it. Beſides, there was a law of ſtate and religion equally ſacred and pernicious, which prohibited any Ruſſian from going out of his country, and thus ſeemed to devote this people to eternal ignorance. They were in poſſeſſion of the moſt extenſive dominions in the univerſe, and yet every thing was wanted amongſt them. At length Peter was born, and Ruſſia became a civilized ſtate.

Happily, of all the great lawgivers who have lived in the world, Peter is the only one whoſe hiſtory is well known. Thoſe of Theſeus and Romulus, who did far leſs than him, and of the founders of all well-governed ſtates, are blended with the moſt abſurd fictions; whereas here, we have the advantage of writing truths, which would paſs for fictions, were they not ſo well atteſted.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The anceſtors of PETRR the GREAT.

THE family of Peter the Great have been in poſſeſſion of the throne ever ſince the year 1613. Before that time, Ruſſia had undergone revolutions, which had retarded the reformation of her police, and the introduction of the liberal arts. This has been the fate of all human ſocieties. No kingdom ever experienced more cruel troubles. In the year 1597, the tyrant Boris Godonow aſſaſſinated Demetrius (or Demetri, as he was called) the lawful heir, and uſurped the empire. A young monk took the name of Demetrius, pretending to be that prince who had eſcaped from his murderers, and with the aſſiſtance of the Poles, and a conſiderable party (which every tyrant has againſt him) he drove out the uſurper, and ſeized the crown himſelf. The impoſture was diſcovered as ſoon as he came to the ſovereignty, becauſe the people was not pleaſed with him; and he was murdered. Three other falſe Demetrius's ſtarted up one after another. Such a ſucceſſion of impoſtors, ſuppoſes a country in the utmoſt diſtraction. The leſs men are civilized, the more eaſily they are impoſed on. It may readily be conceived, how much theſe frauds augmented the public confuſion and misfortunes. The Poles, who had begun the revolutions, by ſetting up the firſt falſe Demetrius, were on the point of being maſters of Ruſſia. The Swedes ſhared in the ſpoils on the coaſt of Finland, and laid claim to the crown.

crown. The ſtate ſeemed on the verge of utter deſtruction.

In the midſt of theſe calamities, an aſſembly, compoſed of the principal boyards, choſe for their ſovereign, a young man of fifteen years of age: this happened in 1613, and did not ſeem a very likely method of putting an end to theſe troubles. This young man was Michael Romanow *, grand-father to Czar Peter, and ſon to the archbiſhop of Rotow, ſirnamed Philaretes, and of a nun, and related by the mother's ſide to the ancient Czars.

It muſt be obſerved, that this archbiſhop was a powerful nobleman, whom the tyrant Boris had obliged to become prieſt. His wife Scheremetow was likewiſe compelled to take the veil; this was the ancient cuſtom of the weſtern tyrants of the Latin church, as that of putting out the eyes, was with the Greek chriſtians. The tyrant Demetrius made Philaretes archbiſhop of Roſtow, and ſent him ambaſſador to Poland, where he was detained priſoner by the Poles, who were then at war with the Ruſſians; ſo little was the law of nations known to the different people of theſe times. During his father's confinement, that young Romanow was elected Czar. The archbiſhop was exchanged againſt ſome Poliſh priſoners; and at his return, his ſon created him patriarch, and the old man was in fact king under his ſon's name.

If ſuch a government appears extraordinary to ſtrangers, the marriages of Czar Michael Romanow, will ſeem ſtill more ſo. The Ruſſian

* Thus the Ruſſians call this young man, but in all French authors, we find Romano, that language having no ſuch letter as the W; others again call him Romanoff.

princes

prince had never intermarried with foreign ſtates ſince the year 1490, or after they became maſters of Caſan and Aſtracan; they ſeem to have followed the Aſiatic cuſtoms in almoſt every thing, and eſpecially that of marrying only among their own ſubjects.

This conformity to the ancient cuſtoms of Aſia, was ſtill more conſpicuous at the ceremonies obſerved at the marriage of a czar. A number of the moſt beautiful women in the province were ſent for to court, where they were received by the grand gouvernante of the court, who provided apartments for them in her own houſe, where they all eat together. The czar paid them viſits, ſometimes incognito, and ſometimes in his real character. The wedding-day was fixed, without its being declared on whom the choice had fallen. At the appointed time, the happy ſhe was preſented with a rich wedding-ſuit, and other dreſſes were given to the reſt of the fair candidates, who then returned home. There have been four inſtances of theſe marriages.

In this manner was Michael Romanow eſpouſed to Eudocia, the daughter of a poor gentleman, named Streſchneu. He was employed in ploughing in his grounds with his ſervants, when the lords of the bed-chamber came to him with preſents from the czar, and to acquaint him that his daughter was placed on the throne. The name of the princeſs is ſtill held in the higheſt veneration by the Ruſſians. This cuſtom is greatly different from ours, but not the leſs reſpectable on that account.

It is neceſſary to obſerve, that before Romanow was elected czar, a ſtrong party had made

choice of prince Ladiſlaus, ſon to Sigiſmund III. king of Poland. At the ſame time, the provinces bordering on Sweden, had offered the crown to a brother of Guſtavus Adolphus: ſo that Ruſſia was in the ſame ſituation then in which we have ſo frequently ſeen Poland, where the right of electing a king has been the ſource of civil wars. But the Ruſſians did not follow the example of the Poles, who entered into a compact with the prince whom they elected; notwithſtanding they had ſmarted from the oppreſſion of tyrants, yet they voluntarily ſubmitted to a young man, without making any conditions with him.

Ruſſia never was an elective kingdom; but the male iſſue of the ancient ſovereigns failing, and ſix czars, or pretenders, having periſhed miſerably in the late troubles, there was, as we have obſerved, a neceſſity for electing a monarch; and this election occaſioned freſh wars with Poland and Sweden, who maintained, with force of arms, their pretended rights to the crown of Ruſſia. The right of governing a nation againſt its own will, can never be long ſupported. The Poles, on their ſide, after having advanced as far as Moſcow, and exerciſed all the ravages in which the military expeditions of thoſe times chiefly conſiſted, concluded a truce for fourteen years. By this truce, Poland remained in poſſeſſion of the duchy of Smolenſko, in which the Boriſthenes has its ſource. The Swedes alſo made peace, in virtue of which they remained in poſſeſſion of Ingria, and deprived the Ruſſians of all communication with the Baltic ſea, ſo that this empire was ſeparated more than ever from the reſt of Europe.

Michael

Michael Romanow, after this peace, reigned quietly, without making any alteration in the state, either to the improvement or corruption of the administration. After his death, which happened in 1645, his son Alexis Michaelowitz (or son of Michael) ascended the throne by hereditary right. It may be observed, that the czars were crowned by the patriarch of Russia, according to the ceremonies in use at Constantinople, except that the patriarch of Russia was seated on the same ascent with the sovereign, and constantly affected an equality highly insulting to the supreme power.

ALEXIS MICHAELOWITZ, the son of Michael.

Alexis was married in the same manner as his father, and from among the young women presented to him, he chose the one who appeared the most amiable in his eyes. He married a daughter of the boyard Meloslauski in 1647; his second wife, whom he married in 1671, was of the family of Nariskin, and his favorite Morosow was married to another. There cannot be a more suitable title found for this favourite than that of visir, for he governed the empire in a despotic manner, and, by his great power, excited several commotions among the Strelitzes and the populace, as frequently happens at Constantinople.

The reign of Alexis was disturbed by bloody insurrections, and by domestic and foreign wars. A chief of the Don Cossacks, named Stenko-Rasin, endeavoured to make himself king of Astracan, and was for a long time very formidable; but being at length defeated and taken

priſoner, he ended his life by the hands of the executioner; like all thoſe of this ſtamp, who have nothing to expect but a throne or a ſcaffold. About 12,000 of his adherents are ſaid to have been hanged, on the high road to Aſtracan. In this part of the world, men being uninfluenced by morality, were to be governed only by rigour; and from this ſeverity, frequently carried on to a degree of cruelty, aroſe ſlavery, and a ſecret thirſt of revenge.

Alexis had a war with the Poles that proved ſucceſsful, and terminated in a peace, which ſecured to him the poſſeſſion of Smolenſko, Kiow, and the Ukraine: but he was unfortunate againſt the Swedes, and the boundaries of the Ruſſian empire were contracted within a very narrow compaſs on that ſide of the kingdom.

The Turks were at that time his moſt formidable enemies: they invaded Poland, and threatened the dominions of the czar that bordered upon Crim Tartary, the ancient Taurica Cherſoneſus. In 1671, they took the important city of Kaminiek, and all that belonged to Poland in the Ukraine. The Coſſacks of that country, ever averſe to ſubjection, knew not whether they belonged to the Turks, Poland, or Ruſſia. Sultan Mahomet IV. who had conquered the Poles, and had juſt impoſed a tribute upon them, demanded, with all the haughtineſs of an Ottoman victor, that the czar ſhould evacuate his poſſeſſions in the Ukraine, but received as haughty a denial from that prince. Men did not know at that time how to diſguiſe their pride, by an outſide of civility. The ſultan, in his letter, ſtiled the ſovereign of the Ruſſias only Chriſtian Hoſpodar, and entitled himſelf "moſt gracious

"majeſty

"majesty, king of the universe." The czar replied in these terms, "that he scorned to sub-"mit to a Mahometan dog, and that his scimi-"ter was as good as the Grand Seignior's sabre."

Alexis at that time formed a design which seemed to presage the influence which the Russian empire would one day obtain in the christian world. He sent ambassadors to the Pope, and to almost all the great sovereigns in Europe, excepting France, (which was in alliance with the Turks) in order to establish a league against the Ottoman Porte. His ambassadors at the court of Rome succeeded only in not being obliged to kiss the Pope's toe; and in other courts they met only with unprofitable good wishes; the quarrels of the christian princes between themselves, and the jarring interests arising from those quarrels, having constantly prevented them from uniting against the common enemy of christianity.

In the mean time, the Turks threatened to chastise the Poles, who refused to pay their tribute: czar Alexis assisted on the side of Crim Tartary, and John Sobieski, general of the crown, wiped off his country's stain, in the blood of the Turks, at the famous battle of Choczim * in 1674, which paved his way to the throne. Alexis disputed this very throne with him, and proposed to unite his extensive dominions to Poland, as the Jagellons had done; but in regard to Lithuania, the greatness of his offer was the cause of its being rejected. He is

* Or Chotsin, a town of Upper Moldavia in European Turky, well fortified both by nature and art, situated on the Dniester, and subject to the Turks, from whom it was taken by the Russians in 1739.

said to have been very deserving of the new kingdom, by the manner in which he governed his own. He was the first who caused a body of laws to be digested in Russia, tho' imperfect; and introduced both linen and silk manufactures, which indeed were not long kept up; nevertheless, he had the merit of their first establishment. He peopled the deserts about the Wolga and the Kama, with Lithuanian, Polish, and Tartarian families, whom he had taken prisoners in his wars: before his reign, all prisoners of war were the slaves of those to whose lot they fell. Alexis employed them in agriculture: he did his utmost endeavours to introduce discipline among his troops: in a word, he was worthy of being the father of Peter the Great; but he had no time to perfect what he had begun, being snatched away by a sudden death, at the age of 46, in the beginning of the year 1677, according to our stile, which is eleven days forwarder than that of Russia.

Foedor, *or* Theodore Alexiowitz.

Upon the death of Alexis, son of Michael, all fell again into confusion. He left by his first marriage, two princes, and six princesses. Theodore, the eldest, ascended the throne at 15 years of age. He was a prince of a weak and sickly constitution, but of merit superior to his bodily infirmities. His father Alexis had caused him to be acknowledged his successor, a year before his death: a conduct observed by the kings of France from Hugh Capet, down to Lewis the Young, and by many other crowned heads.

The

The ſecond ſon of Alexis was Iwan or John, who was ſtill worſe treated by nature than his brother Theodore, being almoſt blind and dumb, very infirm, and frequently attacked with convulſions. Of ſix daughters, born of this firſt marriage, the only one who made any figure in Europe, was the princeſs Sophia, who was remarkable for her great talents; but unhappily ſtill more ſo for the miſchief ſhe intended againſt Peter the Great.

Alexis, by his ſecond marriage with another of his ſubjects, daughter of the boyard Nariſkin, had Peter, and the princeſs Nathalia. Peter was born the 30th of May (or the 10th of June new ſtile) in the year 1672; and was but four years old when he loſt his father. As the children of a ſecond marriage were not much regarded in Ruſſia, it was little expected that he would one day mount the throne.

It had ever been the character of the family of Romanow to civilize their ſtate. It was alſo that of Theodore. We have already remarked in ſpeaking of Moſcow, that this prince encouraged the inhabitants of that city, to build a great number of ſtone houſes. He likewiſe enlarged that capital, and made ſeveral uſeful regulations in the general police. But by attempting to reform the boyards, he made them all his enemies: beſides, he was not poſſeſſed of ſufficient knowledge, vigour, or reſolution, to venture upon making a general reformation. The war with the Turks, or rather with the Crim Tartars, in which he was conſtantly engaged with alternate ſucceſs, would not permit a prince of his weak ſtate of health, to attempt ſo great a work. Theodore, like the reſt of his predeceſſors,

married one of his own ſubjects, a native of the frontiers of Poland; but having loſt her in leſs than a year after their nuptials, he took for his ſecond wife, in 1682, Martha Matweowna, daughter of the ſecretary Nariſkin *. Some months after this marriage, he was ſeized with the diſorder which ended his days, and died without leaving any children. As the czars married without regard to birth, they might likewiſe (at leaſt at that time) appoint a ſucceſſor without reſpect to primogeniture. The dignity of conſort and heir to the ſovereign ſeemed to be entirely the reward of merit; and in that reſpect, the cuſtom of this empire was much preferable to the cuſtoms of more civilized ſtates.

Theodore, before he expired, ſeeing that his brother Iwan was by his natural infirmities incapable of governing, nominated his younger brother Peter, heir to the empire of Ruſſia. Peter, who was then only in his tenth year, had already given the moſt promiſing hopes.

If, on the one hand, the cuſtom of raiſing a ſubject to the rank of czarina, was favourable to the females, there was another which was no leſs hard upon them; namely, that the daughters of the czars were very ſeldom married, but were moſt of them obliged to paſs their lives in a monaſtery.

The princeſs Sophia, third daughter of czar Alexis, by his firſt marriage, was poſſeſſed of abilities, equally great and dangerous. Perceiving that her brother Theodore had not long to live, ſhe

* This muſt certainly be a miſtake of M. de Voltaire, or an error in the preſs; for the lady here ſpoken of, was the daughter of Matthias Apraxin, a perſon on whom Theodore had lately conferred nobility.

did

did not retire to a convent; but finding herself situated between two brothers, one of whom was incapable of governing, thro' his natural inability; and the other, on account of his youth, she conceived the design of placing herself at the head of the empire. Hence, in the last hours of czar Theodore, she attempted to act the part that Pulcheria had formerly played with her brother, the emperor Theodosius.

CHAP. IV.

JOHN and PETER.

Horrible sedition among the STRELITZES*.

1682. CZAR Theodore's eyes were scarcely closed, when the nomination of a prince of only ten years old to the throne, the exclusion of the elder brother, and the intrigues of the princess Sophia, their sister, excited a most bloody revolt amongst the Strelitzes. Never did the Janissaries, nor the Prætorian guards, exercise more horrible barbarities. The insurrection began two days after the interment of Theodore, when they all ran to arms in the Cremelin, which is the imperial palace at Moscow. There they began with accusing nine of their colonels, for keeping back part of their pay. The ministry was obliged to break the colonels, and to pay the Strelitzes the money they demanded; but this did not satisfy them, they insisted upon having these nine officers deli-

* Extracted wholly from the memoirs sent from Moscow and Petersbourg.

vered up to them, and condemned them by a majority of votes, to suffer the *Battogs* or *Knout*; the manner of which punishment is as follows:

The delinquent is stripped naked, and laid flat on his belly, while two executioners beat him over the back with switches or small canes, till the judge, who stands by to see the sentence put in execution, says, "It is enough." The colonels, after being thus treated by their men, were obliged to return them thanks, according to the custom of the eastern nations; where criminals, after undergoing their punishment, must kiss the judge's hand. Besides complying with this custom, the officers gave them a sum of money, which was something more than the custom.

While the Strelitzes thus began to make themselves formidable, the princess Sophia, who secretly encouraged them, in order to lead them by degrees from crime to crime, held a meeting at her house, consisting of the princesses of the blood, the generals of the army, the boyards, the patriarch, the bishops, and even some of the principal merchants; where she represented to them, that prince John, by right of birth and merit, was entitled to the empire, the reins of which she intended to keep in her own hands. At the breaking up of the assembly, she caused a promise to be made to the Strelitzes, of an augmentation of pay, besides considerable presents. Her emissaries were in particular employed to stir up the soldiery against the Nariskin family, especially the two brothers of the young dowager czarina, the mother of Peter the First. These persuaded the Strelitzes, that one of the brothers, named John, had put on the imperial robes,

robes, had ſeated himſelf on the throne, and had attempted to ſtrangle prince John; adding, moreover, that the late czar Theodore had been poiſoned by a villain, named Daniel Vongad, a Dutch phyſician. At laſt Sophia put into their hands a liſt of forty nob'emen, whom ſhe ſtiled enemies to their corps, and to the ſtate, and as ſuch worthy of death. Theſe proceedings exactly reſembled the proſcriptions of Sylla, and the Roman triumvirate, which had been revived by Chriſtian II. in Denmark and Sweden. This may ſerve to ſhew, that ſuch cruelties prevail in all countries in times of anarchy and confuſion. The mutineers began the tragedy with throwing the two knes, or princes, Dolgorouki and Matheof, out of the palace-windows; whom the Strelitzes received upon the points of their ſpears, then ſtripped them, and dragged their dead bodies into the great ſquare; after this they ruſhed into the palace, where meeting with Athanaſius Nariſkin, a brother of the young czarina, and one of the uncles of czar Peter, they murdered him in like manner; then breaking open the door of a neighbouring church, where three of the proſcribed perſons had taken refuge, they drag them from the altar, ſtrip them naked, and ſtab them to death with knives.

They were ſo blinded with their fury, that ſeeing a young noblemen of the family of Soltikoff, a great favourite of theirs, and who was not included in the liſt of the proſcribed, and ſome of them miſtaking him for John Nariſkin, whom they were in ſearch of, they murdered him upon the ſpot; and what plainly ſhews the manners of thoſe times, after having diſcovered their error, they carried the body of young Sol-

tikoff, to his father to bury it; and the wretched parent, far from daring to complain, gave them a considerable reward for bringing him the mangled body of his son. Being reproached by his wife, his daughters, and the widow of the deceased, for his weakness, "Let us wait for an "opportunity of being revenged," said the old man. These words being overheard by some of the soldiers, they returned furiously back into the room, dragged the aged parent by the hair, and cut his throat at his own door.

Another party of the Strelitzes, who were scouring the city in search of the Dutch physician Vongad, met with his son, of whom they inquired for his father; the youth trembling, replied, he did not know where he was, upon which they immediately dispatched him. Soon after a German physician falling in their way, "You are a doctor, said they, and if you did not "poison our master Theodore, you have poi-"soned others, and therefore merit death," and thereupon killed him.

At length they found the Dutchman, of whom they were in quest, disguised in the garb of a beggar; they instantly drag him before the palace: the princesses who loved this worthy man, and placed great confidence in his skill, begged the Strelitzes to spare him, assuring them that he was a very good physician, and had taken all possible care of their brother Theodore. The Strelitzes made answer, that he not only deserved to die as a physician, but also as a sorcerer; and that they had found in his house, a great dried toad, and the skin of a serpent. They furthermore required to have young Naryskin delivered up to them, whom they had searched for in vain for

two

two days; alledging, that he was certainly in the palace, and that they would set fire to it, unless he was put into their hands. The sister of John Nariskin, and the other princesses, terrified by their menaces, went to acquaint their unhappy brother in the place of his concealment, with what had passed; upon which the patriarch heard his confession, administers the viaticum and extreme unction to him, and then taking an image of the blessed virgin, which was said to perform miracles, he lead the young man forth by the hand, and presents him to the Strelitzes, shewing them, at the same time, the image of the virgin. The princesses, who in tears surrounded Nariskin, falling upon their knees before the soldiers, besought them, in the name of the blessed virgin, to spare their relation's life; but the inhuman wretches tore him from their arms, and dragged him to the foot of the stairs, together with the physician Vongad, where they held a kind of tribunal amongst themselves, and condemned them both to be put to the torture. One of the soldiers, who could write, drew up a form of accusation, and sentenced the two unfortunate princes to be cut in pieces; a punishment inflicted in China and Tartary on parricides, and called the punishment of ten thousand slices. After having thus used Nariskin and Vongad, they exposed their heads, feet, and hands, on the iron points of a balustrade.

While this party of the Strelitzes were thus glutting their fury in the sight of the princesses, the rest massacred every one who was obnoxious to them, or suspected by the princess Sophia.

This

This horrid tragedy concluded with proclaiming the two princes, John and Peter, in June 1682, joint ſovereigns, and aſſociating their ſiſter Sophia with them, in the quality of co-regent; who then publickly approved of all their outrages, gave them rewards, confiſcated the eſtates of the proſcribed, and beſtowed them upon their murderers. She even permitted them to erect a monument, with the names of the perſons they had murdered, as being traitors to their country: and to crown all, ſhe publiſhed letters patent, thanking them for their zeal and fidelity.

CHAP. V.

Adminiſtration of the princeſs SOPHIA.

Extraordinary quarrel about religion. A conſpiracy.

SUCH were the ſteps by which the princeſs Sophia did in effect aſcend the throne of Ruſſia, though without being declared czarina; and ſuch the examples that PETER the FIRST had before his eyes. Sophia enjoyed all the honours of a ſovereign; her buſt was on the public coin; ſhe ſigned all diſpatches, held the firſt place in council, and enjoyed a power without controul. She was poſſeſſed of a great ſhare of underſtanding, and ſome wit, made verſes in the Ruſſian language, and both ſpoke and wrote extremely well. Theſe talents were ſet off by the addition of an agreeable perſon, and ſullied only by her ambition.

She

She procured a wife for her brother John, in the manner already described in several examples. A young lady, named Soltikoff, of the family with the noblemen of that name who had been assassinated by the seditious Strelitzes, was sent for from the heart of Siberia, where her father commanded a fortress, to be presented to czar John at Moscow. Her beauty triumphed over all the intrigues of her rivals, and John was married to her in 1684. At every marriage of a czar, we seem to read the history of Ahasuerus, or that of Theodosius the Younger.

In the midst of the rejoicings on account of this marriage, the Strelitzes raised a new insurrection, and (who would believe it?) on account of religion! of a particular tenet! Had they been mere soldiers, they would never have become controvertists, but they were also citizens of Moscow. Whosoever has, or assumes a right of speaking in an authoritative manner to the populace, may found a sect. This has been seen in all ages, and all parts of the world, especially since the passion of dogmatising has become the instrument of ambition, and the terror of weak minds.

Russia had experienced some previous disturbances on occasion of a dispute, whether the sign of a cross was to be made with three fingers, or with two? One Abakum, who was all the priest, had set up some new tenets at Moscow, in regard to the holy spirit; which, according to the scriptures, enlightened all the faithful; as likewise with respect to the equality of the primitive christians, and these words of Christ, "There shall be amongst you neither first nor "last." Several citizens, and many of the Strelitzes,

Strelitzes, embraced the opinions of Abakum. One Raſpop * was the chief of this party, which became conſiderable. The ſectaries, at length, entered (July 16, 1682, new ſtile) the cathedral, where the patriarch and his clergy were officiating; drove them out of the church with ſtones, and ſeated themſelves very devoutly in their places, to receive the holy ſpirit. They called the patriarch the "ravenous wolf in the "ſheepfold;" a title which all ſects have liberally beſtowed on each other. The princeſs Sophia, and the two czars, were immediately made acquainted with theſe diſturbances; and the other Strelitzes, who were ſtaunch to the good old cauſe, were given to underſtand, that the czars and the church were in danger. Upon this the Strelitzes and burghers of the patriarchal party attacked the Abakumiſts; but a ſtop was put to the carnage, by publiſhing a convocation of a council, which was immediately aſſembled in a hall of the palace. This took up very little time, for they obliged every prieſt they met to attend. The patriarch, and a biſhop, diſputed againſt Raſpop; but at the ſecond ſyllogiſm, they began to throw ſtones at one another. The council ended with ordering Raſpop, and ſome of his faithful diſciples, to have their heads ſtruck off; and the ſentence was executed by the ſole order of the three ſovereigns, Sophia, John, and Peter.

During theſe troubles, there was a knez, named Chowanſkoi, who, having been inſtrumental in raiſing the princeſs Sophia to the dig-

* Here M. de Voltaire ſeems to have greatly miſtaken the ſenſe of this word. Raſpop not being a proper name, in which ſenſe he takes it, but ſignifies a degraded prieſt.

nity

nity ſhe then held, wanted, as a reward for his ſervices, to have a ſhare in the adminiſtration.

It may be ſuppoſed, that he found Sophia not ſo grateful as he could wiſh; upon which he eſpouſed the cauſe of religion, and the perſecuted Raſpopians, and ſtirred up a party among the Strelitzes and the people, in defence of God's name.

This conſpiracy proved a more ſerious affair than the enthuſiaſtic riot of Raſpop. An ambitious hypocrite always carries things farther than a ſimple fanatic. Chowanſkoi aimed at no leſs than the imperial dignity; and to rid himſelf of all cauſe of fear, he reſolved to murder the two czars, Sophia, the other princeſſes, and every one who was attached to the imperial family. The czars and the princeſſes were obliged to retire to the monaſtery of the Holy Trinity, within twelve leagues of Peterſbourg *. This was, at the ſame time, a convent, a palace, and a fortreſs, like mount Caſſino †, Corby ‡, Fulda ||, Kempten §, and ſeveral others belonging to the Latin church. This monaſtery of the Trinity belongs to the monks of St. Baſil. It is ſurrounded by deep ditches, and ramparts of

* We ſuppoſe the author means Moſcow.

† Or Coſſano, a ſmall town and abbey in the Milaneſe. On the Adda, near this place, an obſtinate battle was fought between the Germans and French, in 1705, when prince Eugene defeated the duke of Vendome.

‡ A town and abbey on the borders of Weſtphalia, in Germany; the abbot of which is a ſovereign prince, and has a ſeat in the imperial diet.

|| Or Fuld, a town and abbey of Heſſe, in Germany, ſituate on a river of the ſame name. It is governed by an abbot, who is a prince of the empire.

§ An imperial city of Suabia, in Germany, ſituate on the Iſar.

brick,

brick, on which is planted a numerous artillery. The monks are possessed of all the country round for four leagues. The imperial family were in full safety there, but more on account of the strength, than the sanctity of the place. Here Sophia treated with the rebel knes; and having decoyed him half way, caused his head to be struck off, together with those of one of his
1682 sons, and thirty-seven Strelitzes who accompanied him.

The body of Strelitzes upon this news, fly to arms, and march to attack the convent of Trinity, threatening to destroy every thing that come in their way. The imperial family stood upon their defence; the boyards arm their vassals, all the gentlemen flocked in, and a bloody civil war seemed on the point of beginning. The patriarch somewhat pacified the Strelitzes, who began to be intimidated with the number of troops that were marching towards them on all sides: in short, their fury was changed into fear, and their fear into the most abject submission; a change common to the multitude. Three thousand seven hundred of this corps, followed by their wives and children, with ropes tied about their necks, went in procession to the convent of the Trinity, which three days before they had threatened to burn to the ground. In this condition, these unhappy wretches present themselves before the gate of the convent, two by two, one carrying a block, and another an ax; and prostrating themselves on the ground, waited for their sentence. They were pardoned upon their submission, and returned back to Moscow, blessing their sovereigns; and still disposed, tho'

unknown

unknown to themſelves, to commit the ſame crime upon the very firſt opportunity.

Theſe commotions being ſubſided, the ſtate reſumed an exterior of tranquillity; but Sophia ſtill remained poſſeſſed of the chief authority, leaving John to his incapacity, and keeping Peter in the ſubjection of a ward. In order to ſtrengthen her power, ſhe ſhared it with prince Baſil Galitzin, whom ſhe created generaliſſimo, miniſter of ſtate, and lord keeper. Galitzin was in every reſpect ſuperior to any perſon in that diſtracted court: he was polite, magnificent, full of great deſigns, more learned than any of his countrymen, as having received a much better education, and was even maſter of the Latin tongue, which was, at that time, almoſt entirely unknown in Ruſſia. He was of an active and indefatigable ſpirit, had a genius ſuperior to the times he lived in, and capable, had he had leiſure and power, as he had inclination, to have changed the face of things in Ruſſia. This is the elogium given of him by La Neuville, at that time the Poliſh envoy in Ruſſia; and the encomiums of foreigners are ſeldom to be ſuſpected.

This miniſter bridled the inſolence of the Strelitzes, by diſtributing the moſt mutinous of that body, among the ſeveral regiments in the Ukraine, in Caſan, and Siberia. It was under his adminiſtration, that the Poles, long the rivals of Ruſſia, gave up, in 1686, all pretenſions to the large provinces of Smolenſko and the Ukraine. He was the firſt who ſent an embaſſy to France, in 1687; a country, which had for upwards of twenty years been in the zenith of its glory, by the conqueſts, new eſtabliſhments, and the magnificence of Lewis XIV. and eſpecially by the improvement

improvement of the arts, there can be only external grandeur, but solid glory. France had not then entered into any correspondence with Russia, or rather was unacquainted with that empire; and the academy of inscriptions ordered a medal to be struck to commemorate this embassy, as if it had come from the most distant part of the Indies; but notwithstanding all this, the ambassador Dolgorouski miscarried in his negotiation, and even suffered some gross affronts on account of the behaviour of his domestics, whose mistakes it would have been better to have overlooked; but the court of Lewis XIV. could not then foresee, that France and Russia would one day reckon among the number of their advantages, that of being cemented by the closest union.

Russia was now quiet at home, but she was still pent up on the side of Sweden, though enlarged towards Poland, her new ally, in continual alarms on the side of Crim Tartary, and at variance with China in regard to the frontiers.

The most intolerable circumstance for their empire, and which plainly shewed, that it had not yet attained to a vigorous and regular administration was, that the Khan of the Crim Tartars exacted an annual tribute of 6000 rubles, in the nature of that which the Turk had imposed on the Poles.

Crim Tartary is the ancient Taurica Chersonesus, formerly so famous by the commerce of the Greeks, and still more by their fables, a fruitful but barbarous country. It took its name of Crimea or Crim, from the title of its first Khans, who took this name before the conquests

quests of the sons of Gengis Khan. To free his country from this yoke, and wipe off the disgrace of such a tribute, the prime minister, Galitzin, marched in person into Crim Tartary, at the head of a numerous army. These armies were not to be compared to the present troops; they had no discipline; there was hardly one regiment compleatly armed; they had no uniform cloathing, no regularity: their men indeed were inured to hard labour and a scarcity of provisions, but then they carried with them such a prodigious quantity of baggage, as far exceeded any thing of the kind in our camps, where the greatest luxury prevails. Their vast numbers of waggons for carrying ammunition and provisions, in an uninhabitable and desert country, greatly retarded the expedition against Crim Tartary. The army found itself in the midst of the vast deserts, on the river Samara, unprovided with magazines. Here Galitzin did, what, in my opinion, was never done any where else: he employed 30,000 men in building a town on the banks of the Samara, to serve as a place for magazines in the ensuing campaign: it was begun in one year, and finished in the third month of the following; the houses indeed were all of wood except two, which were brick; the ramparts were of turf, but well lined with artillery; and the whole place was in a tolerable state of defence.

1687. 1688.

This was all that was done of any consequence in this ruinous expedition. In the mean while, Sophia continued to govern in Moscow, while John had only the name of czar; and Peter, now at the age of seventeen, had already the

the courage to aim at real sovereignty. La Neuville, the Polish envoy, then resident at Moscow, and who was eye-witness to all that passed, pretends that Sophia and Galitzin had engaged the new chief of the Strelitzes, to sacrifice to them their young czar: it appears, at least, that 600 of these Strelitzes were to have made themselves masters of his person. The private memoirs, which have been entrusted to my perusal, by the court of Russia, affirm, that a scheme had actually been laid to murder Peter the First: the blow was on the point of being struck, and Russia for ever deprived of the new existence she has since received. The czar was once more obliged to take refuge in the convent of the Trinity, the usual asylum of the court when threatened by the soldiers. There he assembled the boyards of his party, raised a body of forces, treats with the captains of the Strelitzes, and called in the assistance of certain Germans, who had been long settled in Moscow, and were all attached to his person, from his having already shewn himself the encourager of strangers. Sophia and John, who continued at Moscow, used every means to engage the Strelitzes, to remain firm to their interests; but the cause of young Peter, who loudly complained of an attempt meditated against himself and his mother, prevailed over that of the princess, and of a czar, whose very aspect alienated all hearts. All the accomplices were punished with a severity to which that country was as much accustomed, as to the crimes which occasioned it. Some were beheaded, after undergoing the punishment of the knout or battocks. The chief of the Strelitzes was put to death in the same manner,

manner, and several other suspected persons had their tongues cut out. Prince Galitzin escaped with his life, through the intercession of one of his relations, who was a favourite of czar Peter; but he was stripped of all his riches, which were immense, and banished to a place in the neighbourhood of Archangel. La Neuville, who was present at the whole of this catastrophe, relates, that the sentence pronounced upon Galitzin, was in these terms. "Thou art commanded, "by the most clement czar, to repair to Karga, "a town under the Pole, and there to continue the remainder of thy days. His majesty, "out of his extreme goodness, allows thee three "pence per day for thy subsistence."

There is no town under the Pole. Karga is in the 62d degree of latitude, and only six degrees and an half further north than Moscow. Whoever pronounced this sentence, must have been a very bad geographer. La Neuville was probably imposed upon by a false account.

1689. At length, the Princess Sophia was once more sent back to her monastery at Moscow *, after having so long held the reins of government; and this revolution proved, to a woman of her disposition, a sufficient punishment.

From this instant Peter began to reign in reality; his brother John having no other share in the government, but that of seeing his name to all public acts. He led a retired life, and died in 1646.

* How are we to reconcile this with what the author tells us in the latter part of the third chapter, where he says, that this princess, perceiving that her brother Theodore was near his end, declined retiring to a convent, as was the usual custom of the princesses of the imperial family?

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The REIGN of PETER the FIRST.

Beginning of the Grand Reformation.

PETER the Great was tall, genteel, well-made, with a noble aspect, piercing eyes, and a robust constitution, fitted for all kinds of hardship and bodily exercise. He had a sound understanding, which is the basis of all real abilities; and to this was joined an active disposition, which prompted him to undertake and execute the greatest things. His education was far from being worthy of his genius. The princess Sophia was, in a peculiar manner, interested to let him remain in ignorance, and to indulge himself in those excesses which youth, idleness, custom, and the high rank he held, made but too allowable. Nevertheless, June 1689. he had been lately married, like others of his predecessors, to one of his own subjects, the daughter of colonel Lapuchin; but as he was young, and for some time enjoyed none of the prerogatives of the crown, but that of indulging his pleasures without restraint, the ties of wedlock were not always sufficient to keep him within just bounds. The pleasures of the table, in which he indulged himself rather too freely, with foreigners who had been invited to Moscow by prince Galitzin, seemed not to presage that he would one day become the reformer of his country; however, in spite of bad examples, and even the allurements of

of pleasures, he applied himself to the arts of war and government, and which even then shewed, that he had the seeds of greatness in him.

It was still less expected, that a prince, who was subject to such a constitutional dread of water, as to subject him to cold sweats, and even convulsions, when he was obliged to cross a small river or a brook, should become one of the best seamen in all the north. In order to get the better of nature, he began by jumping into the water, notwithstanding the horror he felt at it, till at length this aversion was changed into a fondness for that element *.

He often blushed at the ignorance in which he had been brought up. He learned, almost of himself, without the help of a master, enough of grammar and High Dutch, to be able to write and explain himself tolerably well in both those languages. The Germans and Dutch appeared to him as the most civilized nations, because the former had already erected in Moscow, some of those arts and manufactures which he was desirous of seeing established in his empire, and the latter excelled in the art of navigation, which

* We find in the memoirs of count Strahlemberg, a Swedish officer, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Pultowa, and continued many years at the court of czar Peter, the following account of the true cause of this extraordinary kind of hydrophobia. When Peter was about five years of age, his mother took him with her in a coach for an airing, and having to pass a dam, where there was a great fall of water, the child, who was then sleeping in his nurse's lap, was so terrified by the rushing of the water, (the noise of which waked him suddenly out of his sleep) that he was seized with a violent fever, and after his recovery, he retained such a dread of that element, that he could not bear the sight even of any standing water, much less to hear a running stream.

he already began to look upon as the moſt neceſſary of all others.

Such were the diſpoſitions which Peter cheriſhed, notwithſtanding the follies of his youth. At the ſame time, he found himſelf diſturbed by factions at home, had the turbulent ſpirit of the Strelitzes to keep under, and an almoſt uninterrupted war to manage againſt the Crim Tartars. For tho' hoſtilities had been ſuſpended in 1689 by a truce, it had no long continuance.

During this interval, Peter became confirmed in his deſign of introducing the arts into his country.

His father Alexis had, in his life-time, entertained the ſame views, but he wanted leiſure, and a favourable opportunity to carry them into execution; he tranſmitted his genius to his ſon, who was more clear-ſighted, more vigorous, and more unſhaken by difficulties and obſtacles.

Alexis had been at a great expence in ſending for Bothler *, a ſhip-builder and ſea captain from Holland, together with a number of ſhipwrights and ſailors. Theſe built a large frigate and a yacht upon the Wolga, which they navigated down that river to Aſtracan, where they were to be employed in building more veſſels, for carrying on an advantageous trade with Perſia by the Caſpian ſea. Juſt at this time the revolt of Stenko Raſin broke out, and this rebel deſtroyed theſe two veſſels, which he ought to have preſerved for his own ſake, and murdered the captain; the reſt of the crew fled into Perſia, from whence they got to ſome ſettlements belonging to the Dutch Eaſt India company. A

* Memoirs of Peterſbourg and Moſcow.

maſter-

maſter-builder, who was a good ſhipwright, ſtaid behind in Ruſſia, where he lived a long time in obſcurity.

One day, Peter taking a walk at Iſhmaelof, a ſummer-palace built by his grand-fathers, he perceived, among ſeveral other rarities, an old Engliſh ſhallop, which had lain entirely neglected: upon which he aſked Timmerman, a German, and his mathematical teacher, how came that little boat to be of ſo different a conſtruction from any he had ſeen on the Moſka? Timmerman replied, that it was made to go with ſails and oars. The young prince wanted inſtantly to make a trial of it; but it was firſt to be repaired and rigged. Brant, the ſhipbuilder abovementioned, was by accident found out at Moſcow, where he lived retired; he ſoon put the boat in order, and worked her upon the river Yauza, which waſhes the ſuburbs of the town.

Peter cauſed his boat to be removed to a great lake, in the neighbourhood of the convent of the Trinity; he likewiſe made Brant build two more frigates, and three yachts, and piloted them himſelf. A conſiderable time afterwards, viz. in 1694, he made a journey to Archangel, and having ordered a ſmall veſſel to be built in that port by the ſame Brant, he embarked therein on the Frozen ſea, which no ſovereign beſide himſelf had ever beheld. On this occaſion, he was eſcorted by a Dutch man of war, under the command of captain Jolſon, and attended by all the merchant veſſels then in the port of Archangel. He had already learned the manner of working a ſhip; and notwithſtanding the pains his courtiers took to imitate their maſter,

he was the only one who made a proficiency in it.

He found it no less difficult to raise a well-disciplined body of land forces on whom he could depend, than to establish a navy. His first essay in navigation, on a lake, previous to his journey to Archangel, was looked upon only as the amusements of a young prince of genius; and his first attempt to form a body of disciplined troops, likewise appeared as nothing more than that of diversion. This happened during the regency of the princess Sophia; and had he been suspected of meaning any thing serious by this amusement, it might have been attended with fatal consequences to him.

He placed his confidence in a foreigner, the celebrated Le Fort, of a noble and ancient family in Piedmont, transplanted near two centuries ago to Geneva, where they have filled the most considerable posts in the state. He was intended to have been brought up to trade, to which that town is indebted for the figure it now makes, having formerly been known only as the seat of religious controversies.

But his genius, which prompted him to the greatest undertakings, engaged him to quit his father's house at the age of fourteen; and he served four months * in quality of a cadet in the citadel of Marseilles; from thence he went to Holland, where he served some time as a volunteer, and was wounded at the siege of Grave,

* This should certainly be four years, as we can hardly suppose a boy of 14 years and an half, would be received into the military service of any country, and much less by the Dutch at that period of time, when they stood in need of able and experienced soldiers, to withstand the attacks of the French, who breathed nothing less than the utter subversion of their state.

a strong

a ſtrong fortified town on the Meuſe, which the prince of Orange, afterwards king of England, retook from Lewis XIV. in 1694. After this, led by hopes of preferment, wherever he could find it, he embarked with a German colonel, named Verſtin, who had obtained a commiſſion from Peter's father, the czar Alexis, to raiſe ſoldiers in the Netherlands, and bring them to Archangel. But when he arrived at that port, after a moſt fatiguing and dangerous navigation, the czar Alexis was no more; the government was changed, and Ruſſia in confuſion. The governor of Archangel ſuffered Verſtin, Le Fort, and his whole troop, to remain a long time, in the utmoſt poverty and diſtreſs, and even threatened to ſend them into the extremity of Siberia; upon which every man ſhifted for himſelf. Le Fort, in want of every thing, repaired to Moſcow, where he waited upon the Daniſh reſident, named de Horn, who made him his ſecretary; there he learned the Ruſſian language, and ſome time afterwards found means to be introduced to czar Peter; the elder brother Iwan, not being a perſon for his purpoſe. Peter was taken with him, and immediately gave him a company of foot. Le Fort had ſeen very little ſervice, he knew but little of letters, not having ſtudied any particular art or ſcience; but he had ſeen a great deal, and had a talent of making the moſt of what he ſaw. Like the czar, he owed every thing to his own genius; he underſtood the German and Dutch languages, which Peter was learning, as thoſe of two nations that might be of ſervice in his deſigns. Every thing conſpired to make him agreeable to Peter, to whom he ſtrictly attached

himſelf. From being the companion of his pleaſures, he became his favourite, and confirmed himſelf in that ſtation by his abilities. The czar made him his confident in the moſt dangerous deſign, that a prince of that country could poſſibly form, namely, that of putting himſelf in a condition to be able one day to break the ſeditious and barbarous body of forces called the Strelitzes. It had coſt the great ſultan or baſhaw Oſman his life, for attempting to diſband the Janiſſaries. Peter, young as he was, went to work in a much abler manner than Oſman.

He began with forming, at his country-ſeat at Preobrazinſki, a company of fifty of his youngeſt domeſtics; and ſome young gentlemen, the ſons of boyards, were choſen for their officers: but in order to teach theſe young noblemen a ſubordination, to which they were wholly unaccuſtomed, he made them paſs through all the different military degrees, and himſelf ſet them the example, by ſerving firſt as a drum, then as a private ſoldier, a ſerjeant, and a lieutenant of the company. Nothing was ever more extraordinary, nor more uſeful than this conduct. The Ruſſians had hitherto made war in the ſame manner as our anceſtors at the time of the feudal tenures, when the unexperienced nobles took the field at the head of their vaſſals, undiſciplined, and ill-armed: a barbarous method, ſufficient indeed to act againſt the like armies, but of no uſe againſt regular troops.

This company, which was formed wholly by Peter himſelf, ſoon increaſed in numbers, and became afterwards the regiment of Preobrazinſki guards. Another regiment, formed on the ſame plan,

plan, became in time the regiment of Semeniouſky guards.

The czar had already a regiment of five thouſand men that could be depended upon, trained by general Gordon, a Scotchman, and compoſed almoſt entirely of foreigners. Le Fort, who had borne arms but a ſhort time, but whoſe capacity was equal to every thing, undertook to raiſe a regiment of 12,000 men, which he effected: five colonels were appointed to ſerve under him, and he ſaw himſelf on a ſudden general of this little army, which had been raiſed, as much to oppoſe the Strelitzes, as the enemies of the ſtate.

One thing worthy of being remarked *, and which fully confutes the haſty error of thoſe who pretend, that France loſt very few of its inhabitants by the revocation of the edict of Nantz, is, that one-third of his army, which was only called a regiment, conſiſted of French refugees. Le Fort diſciplined his new troops, as if he had been all his lifetime a ſoldier.

Peter was deſirous of ſeeing one of thoſe images of war, the mock fights, which had been lately introduced in times of peace: a fort was erected, which was to be attacked by one part of his new troops, and defended by the other. The difference between this fight, and others of the like nature, was, that inſtead of a ſham engagement, there was a real one, in which ſome of his men were ſlain, and a great many wounded ‡. Le Fort, who commanded the attack, received a conſiderable wound. Theſe bloody ſports were intended to initiate the young

* General le Fort's MSS. ‡ Idem.

troops into the ſervice of the field; but it required much labour, and even ſome degree of ſufferings, to compaſs this end.

Theſe warlike amuſements did not take off the czar's attention to his naval project. As he had made Le Fort a general by land, nothwithſtanding his having never borne a command; he now made him admiral, though he had never had the direction of a ſhip, but he knew him deſerving both of the one and the other. It is true, that he was an admiral without a fleet, and a general with only his regiment for an army.

By degrees the czar reformed that great abuſe in the army, viz. the independence of the boyards, who, in time of war, uſed to bring into the field a multitude of their vaſſals and peaſants: this was exactly the ancient government of the Franks, Huns, Goths, and Vandals, who indeed ſubdued the Roman empire in its ſtate of decline, but would have been totally deſtroyed, had they had the warlike diſciplined legions of ancient Rome to encounter, or ſuch armies as are now brought into the field.

Admiral Le Fort was not long, however, before he had ſomething more than an empty title. He employed ſome Dutchmen and Venetians in building a number of barcolongo's, or kind of long barks, and alſo two ſhips of about thirty guns each, at the mouth of the Woronitz, which falls into the Tamais, or Don: theſe veſſels were to fall down the river, and keep in awe the Crim Tartars, with whom hoſtilities had been renewed.

The czar was now to determine (in 1689) againſt which of the following powers he would declare.

declare war, whether against the Turks, the Swedes, or the Chinese. But here it will be proper to premise on what terms he then stood with China, and which was the first treaty of peace concluded by that nation.

CHAP. VII.

Congress and Treaty with the CHINESE *.

WE must set out by forming a proper idea of the limits of the Chinese and Russian empires at this period. When we leave Siberia, properly so called, and also far behind us to the south, an hundred hords of Tartars, with white and black Calmucks, and mahometan and pagan Moguls, we come to the 130th degree of longitude, and the 52d of latitude, upon the river Amur †. To the northward is a great chain of mountains, that stretches as far as the Frozen Sea, beyond the polar circle. This river, which runs upwards of 500 leagues ‡, through Siberia and Chinese Tartary, falls after many windings into the sea of Kamt-

* Extracted from memoirs sent from China; also from Petersbourg, and from letters published in Du Halde's history of China.

† A famous and considerable river of the Asiatic part of the empire of Russia, which falls into the eastern ocean. It was formerly called Charan Muran; but at present the Chinese and Mauschurs give it the name of Sagalin Ula. It also bears the several appellations of Jamur, Onon, Helong, Kiang, and Skilka. It is formed by the junction of the rivers Sckilk and Argun, and is navigable to the sea.

‡ Busching, the famous geographer, says, that its whole length is no more than 400 miles, so that there must be a very great error in the one or other of these authors.

ſkatka. It is affirmed for a truth, that at its mouth, which opens with this ſea, there is ſometimes caught a monſtrous fiſh, much larger than the hypopotamus of the Nile, and that the tooth thereof is the fineſt ivory. It is furthermore ſaid, that this ivory was formerly an object of trade; that they uſed to convey it through Siberia, which is the reaſon why ſeveral pieces of it are ſtill found under ground in that country. This is the moſt probable account of that foſſil ivory, of which we have elſewhere ſpoken; for it appears highly chimerical to pretend, that there were formerly elephants in Siberia.

This Amur is likewiſe called the Black river by the Mantechoux Tartars, and the Dragons river by the Chineſe.

It was in theſe countries, ſo long unknown, that the Ruſſians and Chineſe conteſted the limits of their empires *. The Ruſſians had ſome forts on the river Amur, about three hundred leagues from the great walls. Many hoſtilities had ariſen between theſe two nations on account of theſe forts: at length both began to underſtand their intereſts better; the emperor Camhi preferred peace and commerce to an unprofitable war, and ſent ſeveral ambaſſadors to Niptchou, one of thoſe ſettlements. The ambaſſadors had ten thouſand men in their retinue, including their eſcort. This was Aſiatic pomp; but what is very remarkable is, that there was not an example in the annals of the empire, of an embaſſy being ſent to another potentate; and what is ſtill more ſingular, that the Chineſe had never concluded a treaty of peace ſince the foundation

* Memoirs of the jeſuits Pereira and Gerbillon.

of

of their monarchy. Though twice conquered by the Tartars, who attacked and ſubjected them, they never made war upon any people, excepting a few hords that were quickly ſubdued, or as quickly left to themſelves, without any treaty. So that this nation, ſo renowned for morality, knew nothing of what we call the "Law of "Nations;" that is to ſay, of thoſe vague rules of war and peace, of the privileges of foreign miniſters, of the formalities of treaties, nor of the obligations reſulting from thence, nor of the diſputes concerning precedency and point of honour.

But in what language were the Chineſe to negotiate with the Ruſſians, in the midſt of deſerts? This difficulty was removed by two jeſuits, the one a Portugueſe, named Pereira, the other a Frenchman, whoſe name was Gerbillon; they ſet out from Pekin with the Chineſe ambaſſadors, and were themſelves the real negotiators. They conferred in Latin with a German belonging to the Ruſſian embaſſy, who underſtood this language. The chief of that embaſſy was Golowin, governor of Siberia, who diſplayed a greater magnificence than the Chineſe themſelves, and thereby gave a high idea of the Ruſſian empire, to a people who thought themſelves the only powerful nation under the ſun.

The two jeſuits ſettled the limits of both empires, at the river Kerbechi, near the ſpot where the treaty was concluded. All the country, to the ſouthward of this line of partition, was adjudged to the Chineſe, and the north to the Ruſſians, who only loſt a ſmall fort which was found to have been built beyond the limits: a

peace was agreed to, and after some few altercations, both parties swore to observe it, in the name of the same God *; and in these terms, "If any of us shall entertain the least "thought of kindling anew the flames of war, "we beseech the supreme Lord of all things, "and who knows all hearts, to punish the "traitor with sudden death."

From this form of treaty, used alike by Chinese and Christians, we may infer two important truths: the first, that the Chinese government is neither atheistical nor idolatrous, as has been so frequently and falsely charged upon it, by contradictory imputations. Secondly, that all nations who cultivate the gift of reason and understanding, do, in effect, acknowledge the same God, notwithstanding the particular deviations of that reason, thro' the want of being properly instructed.

The treaty was drawn up in Latin, and two copies were made of it. The Russian ambassadors set their names the first to the copy that remained in their possession, and the Chinese also signed their's the first, agreeable to the custom observed by European nations, when two equal powers conclude a treaty with each other. On this occasion was observed another custom belonging to the Asiatic nations, and which was, indeed, that of the earliest ages. The treaty was engraven on two large marble pillars, erected on the spot, to determine the boundaries of the two empires.

Three years after this, the czar sent Isbrand Ides, a Dane, his ambassador to China; and the commerce he then established between the

* 1689, September 8, New Stile. Memoirs of China.

two

two nations, continued with advantage to each, till the rupture between them in the year 1722; but ſince this ſhort interruption, it has been revived with redoubled vigour.

CHAP. VIII.

Expedition to the PALUS MÆOTIS, conqueſt of ASOPH.

The czar ſends young gentlemen into foreign countries for improvement.

IT was not ſo eaſy to have peace with the Turks, and indeed the time ſeemed come for the Ruſſians to riſe upon their ruins. The republic of Venice, that had long groaned under their yoke, began now to rouſe itſelf. The Doge Moroſini, the ſame who had ſurrendered Candy to the Turks, afterwards took from them the Peloponneſus, which conqueſt got him the title of *Peloponneſian*, an honour which revived the memory of the Roman republic. Leopold, emperor of Germany, had proved ſucceſsful againſt the Ottoman power in Hungary; and the Poles made ſhift to check the incurſions of the Crim Tartars.

Peter took advantage of theſe circumſtances, to diſcipline his troops, and to procure himſelf the empire of the Black Sea. General Gordon marched along the Tanais, towards Aſoph, with his numerous regiment of 5000 men, followed by general Le Fort, with his regiment of 12,000; by a body of Strelitzes, under the command of Scheremetow,

Scheremetow and Schein, natives of Pruſſia; by a body of Coſſacks, and by a large train of artillery: in a word, every thing was
1694 ready for this expedition.

This grand army began its march under the command of marſhal Scheremetow, or Scheremetoff, in the beginning of the ſummer of 1695, to attack the town of Aſoph, at the mouth of the Tanais, and at the extremity of the PalusMæotis, now called the Zaback ſea. The czar himſelf was with the army, but only in quality of a volunteer, being determined to learn, ſome time before he took upon him to command. During their march, they ſtormed two forts which the Turks had built on the banks of the river.

This expedition was attended with ſome conſiderable difficulties. The place was well fortified, and defended by a numerous garriſon. A number of barcolongos, reſembling the Turkiſh ſaicks, and built by Venetians, with two ſmall Dutch ſhips of war, that were to ſail out of the Woronitz, could not be got ready ſoon enough to enter the ſea of Aſoph. All beginnings meet with obſtacles. The Ruſſians had never yet made a regular ſiege; and the firſt attempt did not meet with all the ſucceſs that could be deſired.

One Jacob, a native of Dantzick, had the direction of the artillery, under the command of general Schein; for as yet they had none but foreign officers belonging to the train, and none but foreign engineers and pilots. This Jacob had been condemned to the baſtinade, or *knout*, by Schein, the Ruſſian general. At that time rigorous diſcipline was thought to be the only method of ſtrengthening command; and the Ruſſians quietly ſubmitted

ſubmitted to it, notwithſtanding their natural bent to ſedition; and after the puniſhment, did their duty as uſual. But the Dane thought in a different manner, and reſolved to be revenged for the treatment he had received, and thereupon nailed up the cannon, deſerted to the Turks, turned Mahometan, and defended Aſoph, with great ſucceſs, againſt his former maſters. This inſtance ſhews, that the lenity which is now practiſed in Ruſſia, is much preferable to the former ſeverities; and is better calculated to retain thoſe in their duty, who, by a good education, have a proper ſenſe of honour. It was abſolutely neceſſary, at that time, to uſe the utmoſt rigour towards the common people; but ſince their manners have been changed, the empreſs Elizabeth * has compleated, by clemency, the work her father begun, by the authority of the laws. This lenity has even been carried, by this princeſs, to a degree unexampled, in the hiſtory of any nation. She has promiſed, that, during her reign, no perſon ſhall be puniſhed with death, and ſhe has kept her word. She is the firſt ſovereign who ever ſhewed ſo much regard for the lives of men. By an inſtitution, equally prudent and humane, malefactors are now condemned to ſerve in the mines, and other public works; by which means their very puniſhments prove of ſervice to the ſtate. In other countries, they know only how to put a crimi-

* The preſent reigning empreſs Catherine ſeems even to exceed her aunt in lenity, which, together with the ſuperior qualifications of this princeſs, affords her people the moſt happy preſage of a glorious reign; and it is not without reaſon, that the moſt ſenſible amongſt them flatter themſelves with the hopes, that under this auguſt princeſs, the Ruſſian empire will arrive at its higheſt pinnacle of glory.

nal

nal to death, with all the apparatus of execution, without being able to prevent the perpetration of crimes. The apprehenſion of death makes, perhaps, leſs impreſſion on thoſe miſcreants, who are for the moſt part bred up in idleneſs, than the fear of puniſhment and hard labour, renewed every day.

To return to the ſiege of Aſoph, which place was now defended by the ſame perſon who had before directed the attacks againſt it; the Ruſſians, in vain, attempted to take it by ſtorm; and after loſing a great number of men, were obliged to raiſe the ſiege.

Perſeverance in his undertakings, was the diſtinguiſhing character of Peter the Great. In the ſpring of 1696, he brought a ſtill more conſiderable army before Aſoph. About this time died czar John, his brother, who, tho' he had not, while living, been the leaſt curb to Peter's authority, having enjoyed only the bare title of czar, yet he had been ſome reſtraint upon him in regard to appearances. The money which had been appropriated to the ſupport of John's dignity and houſhold, were now applied to the maintenance of the army. This proved no ſmall help to a government, whoſe revenues were not near ſo great as they are at preſent. Peter wrote to the emperor Leopold, to the ſtates-general, and to the elector of Brandenbourg, to obtain engineers, gunners, and ſeamen. He likewiſe took ſome Calmucks into his pay, whoſe light-horſe are very uſeful againſt the Crim Tartars.

The moſt agreeable of the czar's ſucceſſes, was that of his little fleet, which was at length compleated, and well commanded. It defeated the Turkiſh ſaicks, ſent from Conſtantinople, and

took

took ſome of them. The ſiege was carried on regularly by trenches, but not altogether in our method; the trenches being three times deeper than ours, with parapets as high as ramparts.

1696 At length the garriſon ſurrendered the 28th of July, N. S. without being allowed the honour of war, or to carry out with them either arms or ammunition: they were likewiſe obliged to deliver up the renegado Jacob to the conquerors.

The czar immediately ſet about fortifying Aſoph, built ſtrong forts to protect it, and made a harbour capable of holding large veſſels, with a deſign to make himſelf maſter of the Streights of Caffa, or the Cimmerian Boſphorus, which commands the entrance into the Pontus Euxinus, or Black Sea; places famous in antient times, by the naval armaments of Mithridates. He left thirty-two armed ſaicks before Aſoph *, and made all the neceſſary preparations for fitting out a fleet againſt the Turks, to conſiſt of nine ſhips of ſixty guns, and of forty-one, from thirty to fifty. He obliged his principal nobles, and the richer merchants, to contribute towards this armament; and thinking that the eſtates of the clergy ought to help towards the common cauſe, he obliged the patriarch, the biſhops, and the principal clergy, to pay down a ſum of ready money to forward this expedition, in honour of their country, and the advantage of the chriſtian faith. The Coſſacks were employed in building a number of thoſe light boats in uſe amongſt them, and which were excellent for the purpoſe of cruizing on the coaſt of Crim Tartary. The Ottoman empire was alarmed at this powerful

* Le Fort's memoirs.

armament

armament; the firſt that had ever been attempted on the Palus Mæotis. The czar's ſcheme was to drive the Turks and the Tartars for ever out of the Taurica Cherſoneſus, and afterwards to eſtabliſh a free and eaſy commerce with Perſia through Georgia. This is the very trade which the Greeks formerly carried on to Colchos, and to this peninſula of Crim Tartary, which Peter now ſeemed on the point of conquering.

Having ſubdued the Turks and the Tartars, he was willing to accuſtom his people to ſplendid ſhews, as well as to military labour. He made his army to enter into Moſcow, under triumphal arches, in the midſt of ſuperb fireworks, and every thing that could add to the luſtre of the feſtival. The ſoldiers who had fought on board the Venetian ſaicks againſt the Turks, and who were a diſtinct corps of themſelves, marched firſt. Marſhal Scheremetow, the generals Gordon and Schein, admiral Le Fort, and the other general officers, all took the precedence of their monarch in this proceſſion, who declared he had no rank in the army, being deſirous to convince the nobility, by his example, that the only way to acquire military preferment, was to deſerve it *.

* It is in conſequence of this glorious and equitable diſtinction, that at this day we find nobility gives no precedence in the court of Ruſſia; nor can the ſon of a prince appear there in any other rank, than that which his ſituation in the army gives him; while a private citizen, who by his merit has raiſed himſelf above his condition, receives all the honours due to his poſt; or more properly ſpeaking, to the merit which obtained him that poſt. A reputation of this kind would, methinks, be attended with great advantages, both in England and France, as it would be a means to raiſe in the youth of all ranks a virtuous and noble emulation.

This

This triumphal entry ſeemed ſomewhat a-kin to thoſe of the ancient Romans, in which the conquerors were wont to expoſe the priſoners they had taken, to public view, and ſometimes put them to death: In like manner, the ſlaves taken in this expedition, followed the army; and the deſerter Jacob, who had betrayed them, was drawn in an open cart, in which was a gibbet, to which his body was faſtened after he had been broke upon the wheel.

On this occaſion was ſtruck the firſt medal in Ruſſia, with this remarkable legend, in the language of the country. "PETER the FIRST, "auguſt emperor of Muſcovy." On the reverſe was the city of Aſoph, with theſe words: "Victorious by Fire and Water."

Peter felt a ſenſible concern in the midſt of all theſe ſucceſſes, that his ſhips and gallies in the ſea of Aſoph, had been built entirely by the hands of foreigners; and wiſhed as earneſtly to have a harbour in the Baltic ſea, as upon the Pontus Euxinus.

Accordingly, in the month of March 1677, he ſent threeſcore young Ruſſians of Le Fort's regiment, into Italy, moſt of them to Venice, and the reſt to Leghorn, to inſtruct themſelves in the naval art, and the manner of conſtructing gallies. He likewiſe ſent forty others into Holland *, to learn the method of building and working large ſhips; and others likewiſe into Germany, to ſerve in the land forces, and inſtruct themſelves in the military diſcipline of that nation. At length he took a reſolution to abſent himſelf for a few years from his own dominions, in order to learn how to govern them the

* General Le Fort's MSS.

better.

better. He had an irresistible inclination to improve himself by his own observation and practice in the knowledge of naval affairs, and of the several arts which he was so desirous to establish in his own country. He proposed to travel *incognito* thro' Denmark, Brandenbourg, Holland, Vienna, Venice and Rome. France and Spain were the only countries he did not take into his plan; Spain, because the arts he was in quest of, were too much neglected there; and France, because in that kingdom they reigned with too much ostentation, and that the parade and state of Lewis XIV. which had disgusted so many crowned heads, ill agreed with the private manner in which he proposed to travel. Moreover, he was in alliance with most of the powers, whose dominions he intended to visit, except those of France and Rome. He likewise remembered, with some degree of resentment, the little respect shewn by Lewis XIV. to his embassy in 1687, which had proved more famous than successful: and lastly, he already began to espouse the cause of Augustus, elector of Saxony, with whom the prince of Conti had lately entered into a competition for the crown of Poland.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

TRAVELS of PETER the GREAT.

1697. HAVING thus determined to visit the several countries and courts above-mentioned in a private character, he put himself into the retinue of three ambassadors, in the same manner as he had before mingled in the train of his generals at his triumphant entry into Moscow.

* The three ambassadors were, general Le Fort, the boyard Alexis Gollowin, commissary general of war, and governor of Siberia, the same who signed the perpetual treaty of peace with the plenipotentiaries of China, on the frontiers of that empire; and Wonitzin, diak, or secretary of state, who had been long employed in foreign courts. Four principal secretaries, twelve gentlemen, two pages for each ambassador, a company of fifty guards, with their officers, all of the regiment of Preobrazinski, composed the chief retinue of this embassy, which consisted in the whole of two hundred persons; and the czar, reserving to himself only one valet de chambre, a servant in livery, and a dwarf, mingled with the crowd. It was a thing unparalleled in history, for a king of five and twenty years of age, to quit his dominions, in order to learn the art of governing. His victory over the Turks and Tartars, the splendour of his triumphant entry into Moscow, the

* The Petersbourg memoirs, and memoirs of Le Fort.

number

number of foreign troops attached to his ſervice, the death of his brother John, his copartner in the empire, and the confinement of the princeſs Sophia to a cloiſter, and above all the univerſal reſpect ſhewn to his perſon, ſeemed to aſſure him the tranquillity of his kingdom during his abſence. He intruſted the regency in the hands of the boyard Strechnef, and the knes or prince Romadonowſki, who were to deliberate with the reſt of the boyards in caſes of importance.

Two troops raiſed by general Gordon remained behind in Moſcow, to keep every thing quiet in that capital. Thoſe Strelitzes, who were thought likely to create a diſturbance, were diſtributed in the frontiers of Crim Tartary, to preſerve the conqueſt of Aſoph, and to check the incurſions of the Tartars. Having provided againſt every incident, he gave a free ſcope to his paſſion and deſire of improvement.

As this journey proved the cauſe, or at leaſt the pretext, of the bloody war, which ſo long traverſed, but in the end promoted all the deſigns of the czar; which drove Auguſtus king of Poland from the throne; placed that crown on the head of Staniſlaus, and then ſtript him of it; which made Charles XII. king of Sweden, the firſt of conquerors for nine years, and the moſt unfortunate of kings for nine more; it is neceſſary, in order to enter into a detail of theſe events, to take a view of the ſtate of Europe at that time.

Sultan Muſtapha II. ſat at that time on the Ottoman throne; the weakneſs of whoſe adminiſtration would not permit him to make any great efforts, either againſt Leopold, emperor of Germany, whoſe arms were ſucceſsful in Hungary,

Hungary, nor against the czar, who had lately taken Asoph from him, and threatened to make himself master of the Pontus Euxinus; nor even against the Venetians, who had made themselves masters of all the Peloponnesus.

John Sobiesky, king of Poland, for ever famous by the victory of Chocksim, and the deliverance of Vienna, died the 17th of June 1696, and the possession of that crown was in dispute between Augustus elector of Saxony, who obtained it, and Armond prince of Conti, who had only the honour of being elected.

1697. Sweden had lately lost, but without regret, Charles XI. her sovereign, who was the first king, who had ever been really absolute in that country, and who was the father of a prince still more so, and with whom all despotic power ceased. He left the crown to his son Charles XII. a youth of only fifteen years of age. This was in all appearance a conjuncture the most favourable for the czar's design; he had it in his power to extend his dominions on the gulph of Finland, and on the side of Livonia. But he did not think it enough to harrass the Turks on the Black Sea; the settlements on the Palus Mæotis, and the borders of the Caspian sea, were not sufficient to answer his schemes of navigation, commerce and power. Besides, glory, which is the darling object of every reformer, was to be found neither in Persia nor in Turky, but in our parts of Europe, where great talents are rendered immortal. In a word, Peter did not aim at introducing either the Persian or Turkish manners among his subjects.

Germany, then at war both with the Turks and with the French, and united with Spain, England,

England, and Holland, against the single power of Lewis XIV. was on the point of concluding peace, and the plenipotentiaries were already met at the castle of Ryswick, in the neighbourhood of the Hague.

It was during this situation of affairs, that Peter and his ambassador began their journey in the month of April 1697, by the way of Great Novogorod: from thence they travelled through Esthonia and Livonia, provinces formerly disputed by the Russians, Swedes, and Poles, and which the Swedes at last acquired by superiority of arms.

The fertility of Livonia, and the situation of its capital Riga, were temptations to the czar, to possess himself of that country. He expressed a curiosity to see the fortifications of the citadel. But count D'Alberg, governor of Riga, taking umbrage at this request, refused him the satisfaction he desired, and affected to treat the embassy with contempt. This behaviour did not at all contribute to cool the inclination the czar might have, to make himself one day master of those provinces.

From Livonia they proceeded to Brandenbourg Prussia, part of which had been inhabited by the ancient Vandals; Polish Prussia had been included in European Salmatia. Brandenbourg Prussia was a poor country, and badly peopled; but its elector, who afterwards took the name of king, displayed a magnificence on this occasion, equally new and destructive to his dominions. He piqued himself upon receiving this embassy in his city of Konigsberg, with all the pomp of royalty. The most sumptuous presents were made on both sides. The contrast between

tween the French dreſs, which the court of Berlin affected, and the long Aſiatic robes of the Ruſſians, with their caps buttoned up with pearls and diamonds, and their ſcimitars hanging at their belts, produced a ſingular effect. The czar was dreſſed after the German faſhion. The prince of Georgia, who accompanied him, was clad in a Perſian habit, which diſplayed a different magnificence. This is the ſame who was taken priſoner afterwards at the battle of Narva, and died in Sweden.

Peter deſpiſed all this oſtentation; it was to have been wiſhed, that he had ſhewn an equal contempt for the pleaſures of the table, in which the Germans, at that time, placed their chiefeſt glory. It was at one of theſe entertainments *, then too much in faſhion, and which are alike fatal to health and morality, that he drew his ſword upon his favourite Le Fort; but he expreſſed as much contrition for this ſudden ſally of paſſion, as Alexander did for the murder of Clytus; he aſked pardon of Le Fort, ſaying, that he wanted to reform his ſubjects, and could not yet reform himſelf. General Le Fort, in his manuſcript, praiſes the czar more for this goodneſs of heart, than he blames him for his exceſs of paſſion.

The ambaſſadors then went through Pomerania and Berlin; and from thence, one part took its way through Magdebourg, and the other by Hambourg, a city which already began to be conſiderable by its extenſive commerce, but not ſo rich and populous as it has become ſince. From thence they directed their route towards

* Le Fort's MS. memoirs.

Minden, croſſed Weſtphalia, and at length, by the way of Cleves, arrived at Amſterdam.

The czar reached this city fifteen days before the ambaſſadors. At his firſt coming, he lodged in a houſe belonging to the Eaſt India company; but ſoon afterwards, he took a ſmall apartment in the dock-yard, belonging to the admiralty. He then put on the habit of a Dutch ſkipper, and in that dreſs went to the village of Saardam, a place where a great many more ſhips were built at that time, than at preſent. This village is as large, as populous, and as rich, and much neater, than many opulent towns. The czar greatly admired the multitude of people who were conſtantly employed there, the order and regularity of their times of working, the prodigious diſpatch with which they built and fitted out ſhips, the incredible number of ware-houſes, and machines for the greater eaſe and ſecurity of labour. The czar began with purchaſing a bark, to which he made a maſt with his own hands; after that, he worked upon all the different parts in the conſtruction of a veſſel, living in the ſame manner as the workmen at Saardam, dreſſing and eating the ſame as them, and working in the forges, the rope-walks, and in the ſeveral mills, which are in prodigious numbers in that village, for ſawing timber, extracting oil, making paper, and wire-drawing. He cauſed himſelf to be inrolled in the liſt of carpenters, by the name of Peter Michaelhoff, and was commonly called Peter Bas, or Maſter Peter: the workmen were at firſt confounded at having a crowned head for a fellow-labourer, but ſoon became familiariſed to the ſight.

While

While he was thus handling the compaſs and the axe at Saardam, a confirmation was brought him of the diviſion in Poland, and of the double nomination of the elector Auguſtus, and the prince of Conti. The carpenter of Saardam immediately promiſed king Auguſtus to aſſiſt him with 30,000 men, and from his work-loft iſſued out orders to his army that was aſſembled in the Ukraine againſt the Turks.

11th Aug. 1697.] His troops gained a victory over the Tartars near Aſoph, and a few months afterwards took from them the city of Or, or Orkapi, which we call Precop *. As to himſelf, he ſtill continued improving in different arts: he went frequently from Saardam to Amſterdam, to hear the lectures of the celebrated anatomiſt Ruyſch, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral operations in ſurgery, which, in caſe of neceſſity, might be of uſe both to himſelf and his officers. He went through a courſe of natural philoſophy, in the houſe of the burgo-maſter Witzen, a perſon for ever eſtimable for his patriotic virtue, and the noble uſe he made of his immenſe riches, which he diſtributed like a citizen of the world; ſending men of abilities, at a great expence, to all parts of the globe, in ſearch of whatever was moſt rare and valuable, and fitting out veſſels at his own charge to make new diſcoveries.

Peter Bas gave a truce to his labours for a ſhort time, but it was only to pay a private viſit

* Precop, or Perekop, once a fortreſs on the Iſthmus, which joins the peninſula of Crim Tartary to the mainland of little Tartary in European Turky, and thence conſidered as the key to that country. It has its name from the ditches cut acroſs for the defence of the peninſula.

at Utrecht, and at the Hague, to William king of England, and ſtadtholder of the united provinces. General Le Fort was the only one admitted to the private conference of the two monarchs. Peter aſſiſted afterwards at the public entry of his ambaſſadors, and at their audience: they preſented in his name to the deputy of the ſtates 600 of the moſt beautiful ſables that could be procured; and the ſtates, over and above the cuſtomary preſents on theſe occaſions, of a gold chain and a medal, gave them three magnificent coaches. They received the firſt viſits of all the plenipotentiaries who were at the congreſs of Ryſwick, excepting thoſe of France, to whom they had not notified their arrival, not only becauſe the czar eſpouſed the cauſe of Auguſtus againſt the prince of Conti, but alſo becauſe king William, whoſe friendſhip he was deſirous of cultivating, was averſe to a peace with France.

At his return to Amſterdam, he reſumed his former occupations, and compleated with his own hands a ſhip of ſixty guns, that he had begun himſelf, and ſent her to Archangel, which was the only port he had at that time on the ocean.

He not only engaged in his ſervice ſeveral French refugees, Swiſs, and Germans; but he alſo ſent all ſorts of artiſts over to Moſcow, and he previouſly made a trial of their ſeveral abilities himſelf. There were few trades or arts which he did not perfectly well underſtand in their minuteſt branches: he took a particular pleaſure in correcting, with his hands, the geographical maps, which at that time laid down at hazard the poſitions of the towns and rivers in his vaſt dominions, then very little known. There is

ſtill

ſtill preſerved, a map, on which he marked out, with his own hand, his projected communication of the Caſpian and Black ſeas, the execution of which he had given in charge to Mr. Brekel, a German engineer. The junction of theſe two ſeas was indeed a leſs difficult enterpriſe than that of the Ocean and Mediterranean, which was effected in France; but the very idea of joining the ſea of Aſoph with the Caſpian, aſtoniſhed the imagination at that time: but new eſtabliſhments in that country become the object of his attention, in proportion as his ſucceſſes begat new hopes.

His troops, commanded by general Shein and prince Dolgorowſki, had lately gained a victory over the Tartars near Aſoph, and likewiſe over a body of Janiſſaries ſent by ſultan Muſtapha to their aſſiſtance. This ſucceſs ſerved to make him more reſpected, even by thoſe who blamed him as a ſovereign, for having quitted his dominions, to turn workman at Amſterdam. They now ſaw, that the affairs of the monarch did not ſuffer by the labours of the philoſopher, the traveller, and the artificer.

July 1696.

He remained at Amſterdam, conſtantly employed in his uſual occupations of ſhip-building, engineering, geography, and the practice of natural philoſophy, till the middle of January 1698, and then he ſet out for England, but ſtill as one of the retinue of his ambaſſadors.

King William ſent his own yacht to meet him, and two ſhips of war as convoy. In England, he obſerved the ſame manner of living as at Amſterdam and Saardam; he took an apartment near the king's dock-yard at Deptford,

ford, where he applied himself wholly to gain instruction. The Dutch builders had only taught him their method, and the practical part of ship-building. In England, he found the art better explained; for there they work according to mathematical proportion. He soon made himself so perfect in this science, that he was able to give lessons to others. He began to build a ship according to the English method of construction, and it proved a prime sailor. The art of watch-making, which was already brought to perfection in London, next attracted his attention, and he made himself compleat master of the whole theory: captain Perry, the engineer, who followed him from London to Russia, says, that from the casting of cannon, to the spinning of ropes, there was not any one branch of trade belonging to a ship that he did not minutely observe, and even put his hand to, as often as he came into the places where those trades were carried on.

In order to cultivate his friendship, he was allowed to engage several English artificers into his service, as he had done in Holland; but over and above artificers, he engaged likewise some mathematicians, which he would not so easily have found in Amsterdam. Ferguson, a Scotchman, an excellent geometrician, entered into his service, and was the first person who brought arithmetic into use in the exchequer in Russia, where, before that time, they made use only of the Tartarian method of reckoning, with balls strung upon a wire; a method which supplied the place of writing, but was very perplexing and imperfect, because, after the calculation, there was no method of proving it, in order to discover

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any error. The Indian cyphers, which are now in uſe, were not introduced amongſt us, till the ninth century, by Arabs; and they did not make their way into the Ruſſian empire, till one thouſand years afterwards. Such has been the fate of the arts, to make their progreſs ſlowly round the globe. He took with him two young ſtudents from a mathematical ſchool *, and this was the beginning of the marine academy, founded afterwards by Peter the Great. He obſerved and calculated eclipſes with Ferguſon. Perry the engineer, tho' greatly diſcontented at not being ſufficiently rewarded, acknowledges, that Peter made himſelf a proficient in aſtronomy; that he perfectly well underſtood the motions of the heavenly bodies, as well as the laws of gravitation, by which they are directed. This force, now ſo evidently demonſtrated, and before the time of the great Newton ſo little known, by which all the planets gravitate towards each other, and which retained them in their orbits, was already become familiar to a ſovereign of Ruſſia, while other countries amuſed themſelves with imaginary vertices, and, in Galileo's nation, one ſet of ignorant perſons, ordered others, as ignorant, to believe the earth to be immoveable.

Perry ſet out in order to effect a communication between rivers, to build bridges, and conſtruct ſluices. The czar's plan was to open a communication by means of canals between the Ocean, the Caſpian, and the Black Seas.

* These were two ſcholars from Chriſt-church hoſpital, commonly called blue-coat boys.

We must not forget to observe, that a set of English merchants, with the marquis of Caermarthen * at their head, gave Peter 15,000 pounds sterling, for the permission of vending tobacco in Russia. The patriarch, by a mistaken severity, had interdicted this branch of trade; for the Russian church forbid smoaking, as an unclean and sinful action. Peter, who knew better things, and who, amongst his many projected changes, meditated a reformation of the church, introduced this commodity of trade into his dominions.

Before Peter left England, he was entertained by king William with a spectacle worthy such a guest: this was a mock sea-fight. Little was it then imagined, that the czar would one day fight a real battle on this element against the Swedes, and gain naval victories in the Baltic. In fine, William made him a present of the vessel in which he used to go over to Holland, called the Royal Transport, a beautiful yacht, and magnificently adorned. In this vessel Peter returned to Holland the latter end of 1698, taking with him three captains of ships of war, five and twenty captains of merchant ships, forty lieutenants, thirty pilots, as many surgeons, two hundred and fifty gunners, and upwards of three hundred artificers. This little colony of persons skilful in all branches, sailed from Holland to Archangel, on board the Royal Transport, and from thence were distributed into all the different places where their services were

* The czar was particularly fond of this nobleman, because he was a great lover of maritime affairs, frequently rowed and sailed with him upon the water, and gave him what information he could concerning shipping.

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neceſſary. Thoſe who had been engaged at Amſterdam, went by the way of Narva, which then belonged to the Swedes.

While he was thus tranſplanting the arts and manufacture of England and Holland into his own country, the officers, whom he had ſent to Rome, and other places in Italy, had likewiſe engaged ſome artiſts in his ſervice. General Sheremetow, who was at the head of his embaſſy to Italy, took the tour of Rome, Naples, Venice, and Malta, while the czar proceeded to Vienna with his other ambaſſadors. He had now only to view the military diſcipline of the Germans, after having ſeen the Engliſh fleets, and the dock-yards of Holland. Politics had likewiſe as great a ſhare in this journey as the deſire of inſtruction. The emperor was his natural ally againſt the Turks. Peter had a private audience of Leopold, and the two monarchs conferred ſtanding, to avoid the trouble of ceremony.

There happened nothing worthy remark during his ſtay at Vienna, except the celebration of the ancient feaſt of the landlord and landlady, which had been diſuſed for a conſiderable time, and which Leopold thought proper to revive upon the czar's account. This feaſt, which, by the Germans, is called Wurtchafft, is celebrated in the following manner:

The emperor is landlord and the empreſs landlady, the king of the Romans, the archdukes and the archducheſſes are generally their aſſiſtants: they entertain people of all nations as their gueſts, who come dreſt after the moſt ancient faſhion of their reſpective countries: thoſe who are invited to the feaſt, draw lots for

tickets, on each of which is written the name of the nation, and the character the person they are to represent. One perhaps draws a ticket for a Chinese mandarin; another for a Tartarian Mirza; a third a Persian satrap; and a fourth for a Roman senator; a princess may, by her ticket, be a gardener's wife, or a milk-maid; a prince a peasant, or a common soldier. Dances are composed suitable to all these characters, and the landlord and landlady with their family wait at table. Such was the ancient institution; but on this occasion * Joseph king of the Romans, and the countess of Traun, represented the ancient Egyptians. The archduke Charles, and the countess of Walstein, were dressed like Flemings in the time of Charles the Fifth. The archduchess Mary-Elizabeth, and count Traun, were in the habits of Tartars; the archduchess Josephina, and the count of Workslaw, were habited like Persians, and the archduchess Mariamne, and prince Maximilian of Hanover, in the character of North Holland peasants. Peter appeared in the dress of a Friesland boor, and all who spoke to him addressed him in that character, at the same time talking to him of the great czar of Muscovy. These are trifling particulars; but whatever revives the remembrance of ancient manners and customs, is in some degree worthy of being recorded.

Peter was ready to set out from Vienna, in order to proceed to Venice, to compleat his tour of instruction, when he received the news of a rebellion, which had lately broke out, in his his dominions.

* Le Fort's MSS. and those of Petersburg.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

A CONSPIRACY punifhed.

The corps of STRELITZES abolifhed, alterations in cuftoms, manners, church, and ftate.

CZAR Peter, when he left his dominions to fet out on his travels, had provided againft every incident, even that of a rebellion. But the great and ferviceable things he had done for his country, proved the very caufe of this rebellion.

Certain old boyards, to whom the ancient cuftoms were ftill dear, and fome precepts, to whom the new ones appeared little better than facrilege, began thefe difturbances, and the old faction of the princefs Sophia took this opportunity to roufe itfelf anew. It is faid, that one of her fifters, who was confined to the fame monaftery, contributed not a little to excite thefe feditions. Care was taken to fpread abroad the danger to be feared from the introduction of foreigners to inftruct the nation. In fhort, who would believe, that * the permiffion which the czar had given to import tobacco into his empire, contrary to the inclination of the clergy, was one of the chief motives of the infurrection? Superftition, the fcourge of every country, and yet the darling of the multitude, fpread itfelf from the common people to the Strelitzes, who had been fcattered on the frontiers of Lithuania: they affembled in a body, and marched towards Mofcow, with the intent to place the princefs

* Le Fort's MSS.

Sophia on the throne, and for ever to prevent the return of a czar who had violated the eſtabliſhed cuſtoms *, by preſuming to travel for inſtruction among foreigners. The forces commanded by Schein and Gordon, who were much better diſciplined than the Strelitzes, met them fifteen leagues from Moſcow, gave them battle, and entirely defeated them: but this advantage gained by a foreign general over the ancient militia, among whom were ſeveral of the burghers of Moſcow, contributed ſtill more to irritate the people.

To quell theſe tumults, the czar ſets out privately from Vienna, paſſes thro' Poland, has a private interview with Auguſtus, concerts meaſures with that prince for extending the Ruſſian dominions on the ſide of the Baltick, and at length arrived at Moſcow, where he ſurprized every one with his preſence: he then confers rewards on the troops who had defeated the Strelitzes, of whom the priſons were now full. If the crimes of theſe unhappy wretches were great, their puniſhment was no leſs ſo. Their leaders, with ſeveral of their

Sept. 1698.

* A moſt extraordinary inſtance of the obſtinate attachment of the Ruſſians to their old cuſtoms, happened in the time of the czar Baſſilowitz, and undoubtedly influenced him not a little in the ſeverity with which he treated his people. The king of Poland, Stephen Batteri, having recovered Livonia, went himſelf into that province to eſtabliſh a new form of government, according to the conſtant cuſtom there. When any peaſant, all of whom were treated as ſlaves, had committed a fault, he was whipped with a rod till the blood came. The king was willing to commute this barbarous puniſhment for one that was more moderate; but the peaſants, inſenſible of the favour deſigned them, threw themſelves at his feet, and intreated him not to make any alterations in their ancient cuſtoms, becauſe they had experienced, that all innovations, far from procuring them the leaſt redreſs, had always made their burthens ſit the heavier on them.

officers

officers and priests, were condemned to death; some were broke upon the wheel *, and two women were buried alive; upwards of two thousand of the Strelitzes were executed, part of whom were hung round about the walls of the city, and others put to death in different manners, and their dead bodies remained exposed for two days in the high roads †, particularly about the monastery where the princesses Sophia and Eudocia resided ‡. Monuments of stone were erected, on which their crimes and punishments were set forth. A great number of them who had wives and children at Moscow, were dispersed with their families into Siberia, the kingdom of Astracan, and the country of Asoph. This punishment was at least of service to the state, as they helped to cultivate and people a large tract of waste land.

Perhaps, if the czar had not found it absolutely necessary to make such terrible examples, he might have employed part of those Strelitzes, whom he put to death, upon the public works; whereas they were now lost both to him and the

* Memoirs of captain Perry the engineer, employed by Peter the Great in Russia, and MSS. of Le Fort.

† Captain Perry, in p. 184 of his memoirs, says, that these executions being performed in the depth of winter, their bodies were immediately frozen: those who were beheaded, were ordered to be left in the same posture as when executed, in ranks upon the ground, with their heads lying by them: and those who were hanged round the three walls of the city, were left hanging the whole winter, to the view of the people, till the warm weather began to come on in the spring, when they were taken down and buried together in a pit, to prevent infection. This author adds, that there were other gibbets placed on all the public roads leading to Moscow, where others of these rebels were hanged.

‡ MSS. of Le Fort.

state:

ſtate: the lives of men ought to be held in great eſtimation, eſpecially in a country where the encreaſe of inhabitants ought to have been the principal care of the legiſlature; but he thought it neceſſary to terrify and break the ſpirit of the nation by executions, and the parade attending them. The entire corps of the Strelitzes, whoſe number not one of his predeceſſors had even dared to think of diminiſhing, was broke for ever, and their very name aboliſhed. This change was effected without any reſiſtance, becauſe matters had been properly prepared beforehand. The Turkiſh ſultan, Oſman, as I have already remarked, was depoſed and murdered in the ſame century, only for giving the Janiſſaries room to ſuſpect that he intended to leſſen their number. Peter had better ſucceſs, becauſe he had taken better meaſures.

Of this powerful and numerous body of the Strelitzes, he left only two feeble regiments, from whom there could no longer be any danger; and yet theſe ſtill retaining their old ſpirit of mutiny, revolted again in Aſtracan, in the year 1705, but were quickly ſuppreſſed.

But while we are relating Peter's ſeverity in this affair of ſtate, let us not forget to commemorate the more than equal humanity he ſhewed ſome time afterwards, when he loſt his favourite Le Fort, who was ſnatched away by an untimely fate, March 12, N. S. 1699, at the age of 46. He paid him the ſame funeral honours as are beſtowed on the greateſt ſovereigns, and aſſiſted himſelf in the proceſſion, carrying a pike in his hand, and marching after the captains, in the rank of a lieutenant, which he held in the deceaſed general's regiment, hereby ſetting an example

ample to his nobles, of the respect due to merit and the military rank.

After the death of Le Fort, it appeared plainly, that the changes in the state were not owing to that general, but to the czar himself. Peter had indeed been confirmed in his design, by his several conversations with Le Fort; but he had formed and executed them all without his assistance.

As soon as he had suppressed the Strelitzes, he established regular regiments on the German model, who were all cloathed in a short and commodious uniform, in the room of those long and troublesome coats, which they used to wear before; and, at the same time, their exercise was likewise more regular.

The regiment of Preobrazinski guards were already formed: it had taken its name from the first company of fifty men, whom the czar had trained up in his younger days, in his retreat at Preobrazinski, at the time when his sister Sophia governed the state, and the other regiment of guards was also established.

As he had himself passed thro' the lowest degrees in the army, he was resolved that the sons of his boyards and great men, should serve as common soldiers before they were made officers. He sent some of the young nobility on board his fleet at Woronitz and Asoph, where he obliged them to serve their apprenticeship as common seamen. No one dared to dispute the commands of a master, who had himself set the example. The English and Dutch he had brought over with him, were employed in equipping this fleet for sea, in constructing sluices, and building docks, for careening the ships, and to resume the great

great work of joining the Tanais or Don, and the Wolga, which had been dropped by Brekel the German. And now he began to set about his projected reformations in the council of state, in the revenue, in the church, and even in society itself.

The affairs of the revenue had been hitherto administered much in the same manner as in Turky. Each boyard paid a stipulated sum for his lands, which he raised upon the peasants, his vassals; the czar appointed certain burghers and burgomasters, to be his receivers, who were not powerful enough to claim the right of paying only such sums as they thought proper, into the public treasury. This new administration of the finances, was what cost him the most trouble: he was obliged to try several methods before he could fix upon a proper one.

The reformation of the church, which in all other countries is looked upon as so dangerous and difficult an attempt, was not so to him. The patriarchs had at times opposed the authority of the crown, as well as the Strelitzes; Nicon with insolence, Joachin, one of his successors, in an artful manner.

The bishops had arrogated the power of life and death, a prerogative directly contrary to the spirit of religion, and the subordination of government. This assumed power, which had been of long standing, was now taken from them. The patriarch Adrian, dying at the close of this century, Peter declared that there should for the future be no other.

This dignity then was entirely suppressed, and the great income belonging thereto was united to the public revenue, which stood in need of this

this addition. Although the czar did not set himself up as head of the Russian church, as the kings of Great-Britain have done in regard to the church of England; yet he was, in fact, absolute master over it, because the synods did not dare either to disobey the commands of a despotic sovereign, or to dispute with a prince who had more knowledge than themselves.

We need only to cast an eye on the preamble to the edict, concerning his ecclesiastical regulations, issued in 1721, to be convinced that he acted at once as master and legislator: "We "should deem ourselves guilty of ingratitude to "the most high, if, after having reformed the "military and civil orders, we neglected the "spiritual, &c. For this cause, following the "example of the most ancient kings, who have "been famed for piety, we have taken upon us "to make certain wholesome regulations, "touching the clergy." It is true, he convened a synod for carrying into execution his ecclesiastical degrees; but the members of this synod, at entering upon their office, were to take an oath, the form of which had been drawn up and signed by himself. This was an oath of submission and obedience, and was conceived in the following terms: "I swear to be a faithful "and obedient servant and subject to my true "and natural sovereign, and to the august suc-"cessors whom it shall please him to nominate, "in virtue of the incontestable right of which "he is possessed: I acknowledge him to be the "supreme judge of this spiritual college: I swear "by the all-seeing God, that I understand and "mean this oath in the full force and sense, "which the words convey to those who read

"or

"or hear it." This oath is much ſtronger than that of the ſupremacy in England. The Ruſſian monarch was not, indeed, one of the fathers of the ſynod, but he dictated their laws; and tho' he did not touch the holy cenſor, he directed the hands that held it.

Previous to this great work, he thought, that in a ſtate like his, which ſtood in need of being peopled, the celibacy of the monks was contrary to nature, and to the public good. It was the ancient cuſtom of the Ruſſian church, for ſecular prieſts to marry at leaſt once in their lives; they were even obliged ſo to do: and formerly they ceaſed to be prieſts as ſoon as they loſt their wives. But that a multitude of young people of both ſexes, ſhould make a vow of living uſeleſs in a cloiſter, and at the expence of others, appeared to him a dangerous inſtitution. He, therefore, ordered, that no one ſhould be admitted to a monaſtic life, till they were fifty years old, a time of life very rarely ſubject to a temptation of this kind; and he forbid any perſon to be admitted, of what age ſoever, who was actually in poſſeſſion of any public employ.

This regulation has been repealed ſince his death, becauſe the government has thought proper to ſhew more complaiſance to the monaſteries: but the patriarchal dignity has never been revived, and its great revenues are now appropriated to the payment of the troops.

Theſe alterations at firſt excited ſome murmurings. A certain prieſt wrote, to prove that Peter was antichriſt, becauſe he would not admit of a patriarch; and the art of printing, which the czar encouraged in his kingdom, was made uſe of to publiſh libels againſt him: but on the other

other hand, there was another prieſt who ſtarted up, to prove that Peter could not be antichriſt, becauſe the number 666 was not to be found in his name, and that he had not the ſign of the Beaſt. All complaints, however, were ſoon quieted. Peter, in fact, gave much more to the church, than he took from it; for he made the clergy, by degrees, more regular and more learned. He founded three colleges at Moſcow, where they teach the languages, and where thoſe who are deſigned for the prieſthood are obliged to ſtudy.

One of the moſt neceſſary reforms, was the ſuppreſſion, or at leaſt the mitigation of the Three Lents, an ancient ſuperſtition of the Greek church, and as prejudicial with reſpect to thoſe who are employed in public works, and eſpecially to ſoldiers, as was the old Jewiſh ſuperſtition of not fighting on the ſabbath day. Accordingly the czar diſpenſed with his workmen and ſoldiers at leaſt, obſerving theſe Lents, in which, tho' they were not permitted to eat, they were accuſtomed to get drunk. He likewiſe diſpenſed with their obſervance of meagre days, the chaplains of the fleet and army were obliged to ſet the example, which they did without much reluctance.

The calendar, another important object, formerly, in all the countries of the world, the chiefs of religion had the care of regulating the year, not only on account of the feaſts to be obſerved, but becauſe, in ancient times, the prieſts were the only perſons who underſtood aſtronomy.

The year began with the Ruſſians on the firſt of September. Peter ordered, that it ſhould for the future commence the firſt day of January, as among

among the other nations of Europe: This alteration was to take place in the year 1700, at the beginning of the century, which he celebrated by a jubilee, and other grand ſolemnities. It was a matter of ſurpriſe to the common people, how the czar ſhould be able to change the courſe of the ſun. Some obſtinate perſons, perſuaded that God had created the world in September, continued their old ſtile: but the alteration took place in all the public offices in the whole court of chancery, and in a little time throughout the whole empire. Peter did not adopt the Gregorian calendar, becauſe it had been rejected by the Engliſh mathematicians; but which muſt, nevertheleſs, be one day received in all countries.

Ever ſince the fifth century, the time when letters firſt came into uſe amongſt them, they had been accuſtomed to write upon long rolls, made either of the bark of trees, or of parchment, and afterwards of paper; and the czar was obliged to publiſh an edict, ordering every one, for the future, to write after our manner.

The reformation now became general. Their marriages were made formerly after the ſame manner as in Turky and Perſia, where the bridegroom does not ſee his bride till the contract is ſigned, and they can no longer go from their words. This cuſtom may do well enough amongſt thoſe people, where polygamy prevails, and where the women are always ſhut up; but it is a very bad one in countries where a man is confined to one wife, and where divorces are ſeldom allowed.

The czar was willing to accuſtom his people to the manners and cuſtoms of the nations, which

which he had visited in his travels, and from whence he had taken the masters, who were now instructing them.

It appeared necessary, that the Russians should not be dressed in a different manner from those who were teaching them the arts and sciences; because the aversion to strangers, which is but too natural to mankind, is not a little kept up by a difference of dress. The full dress, which at that time partook of the fashions of the Poles, the Tartars, and the ancient Hungarians, was, as we have elsewhere observed, very noble; but the dress of the burghers and common people, resembled those jackets plated round the waste, which are still given to the poor children in some of the French hospitals *. In general, the robe was formerly the dress of all nations, as being a garment that required the least trouble and art; and for the same reason, the beard was suffered to grow. The czar met with but little difficulty in introducing our mode of dress, and the custom of shaving among his courtiers; but the people was more obstinate, and he found himself obliged to lay a tax on long coats and beards. Patterns of close-bodied coats were hung up in public places; and whoever refused to pay the tax, were obliged to suffer their robes, and their beards, to be curtailed: all this was done in a jocular manner, and this air of pleasantry prevented seditions.

It has ever been the aim of all legislators, to render mankind more sociable; but it is not sufficient to effect this end, that they live together in towns; there must be a mutual intercourse of

* Somewhat like those of our blue coat boys in England.

civility.

civility. This intercourſe ſweetens all the bitterneſs of life. The czar, therefore, introduced thoſe aſſemblies, which the Italians call *ridotti*. To theſe aſſemblies he invited all the ladies of his court, with their daughters; and they were to appear dreſſed after the faſhions of the ſouthern nations of Europe. He was even himſelf at the pains of drawing up rules for all the little decorums to be obſerved at theſe ſocial entertainments. Thus even to good breeding among his ſubjects, all was his own work, and that of time.

To make his people reliſh theſe innovations the better, he aboliſhed the word *golut*, *ſlave*, always made uſe of by the Ruſſians when they addreſſed their czar, or preſented any petition to him; and ordered, that, for the future, they ſhould make uſe of the word *raab*, which ſignifies *ſubject*. This alteration in no wiſe diminiſhed the obedience due to the ſovereign, and yet was the moſt ready means of conciliating their affections. Every month produced ſome new change or inſtitution. He carried his attention even to the ordering painted poſts to be ſet up in the road between Moſcow and Woronitz, to ſerve as mile ſtones at the diſtance of every verſt; that is to ſay, every ſeven hundred paces, and had a kind of caravanſeras, or public inns, built at the end of every twentieth verſt.

While he was thus extending his cares to the common people, to the merchants, and to the traveller, he thought proper to make an addition to the pomp and ſplendor of his own court. For tho' he hated pomp or ſhew in his own perſon, he thought it neceſſary in thoſe about him. He, there-

therefore, inſtituted the order of St. Andrew *, in imitation of the ſeveral orders with which all the courts of Europe abound. Golowin, who ſucceeded Le Fort in the dignity of high admiral, was the firſt knight of this order. It was eſteemed an high reward, to have the honour of being admitted a member. It was a kind of badge that entitled the perſon who bore it, to the reſpect of the people. This mark of honour coſts nothing to the ſovereign, and flatters the ſelf-love of a ſubject, without rendering him too powerful.

Theſe many uſeful innovations were received with applauſe by the wiſer part of the nation; and the murmurings and complaints of thoſe who adhered to the ancient cuſtoms, were drowned in the acclamations of men of ſound judgment.

While Peter was thus beginning a new creation in the interior part of his ſtate, he concluded an advantageous truce with the Turks, which gave him the liberty to extend his territories on another ſide. Muſtapha the Second, who had been defeated by prince Eugene, at the battle of Zeuta in 1697, ſtripped of the Morea by the Venetians, and unable to defend Aſoph, was obliged to make peace with his victorious enemies, which peace was concluded at Carlowitz, between Peterwaradin and Salankamon, places made famous by his defeats. Temeſwaer was made the boundary of the German poſſeſſions, and of the Ottoman dominions. Kaminieck was reſtored to the Poles, the Morea, and ſome towns in

Jan. 26, 1699.

* 20th Sept. 1698. It is to be obſerved, that I always follow the new ſtile in my dates.

Dal-

Dalmatia, which had been taken by the Venetians, remained in their hands for some time; and Peter the First continued in possession of Casaph, and of a few forts built in its neighbourhood.

It was not possible for the czar to extend his dominions on the side of Turky, without drawing upon him the forces of that empire, before divided, but now united. His naval projects were too vast for the Palus Mæotis, and the settlements on the Caspian sea would not admit of a fleet of men of war: he, therefore, turned his views towards the Baltic sea, but without relinquishing those in regard to the Tanais and Wolga.

CHAP. XI.

War with SWEDEN.

The Battle of NARVA.

1700. A GRAND scene was now opened on the frontiers of Sweden. One of the principal causes of all the revolutions which happened from Ingria, as far as Dresden, and which laid waste so many countries for the space of eighteen years, was the abuse of the supreme power, by Charles XI. king of Sweden, father of Charles XII. This is a fact which cannot be too often repeated, as it concerns every crowned head, and the subjects of every nation, almost all Livonia, with the whole of Esthonia, had been ceded by the Poles to Charles XI. king of Sweden, who succeeded Charles X. ex-

X. exactly at the time of the treaty of Oliva. It was ceded in the customary manner, with a reservation of rights and privileges. Charles XI. shewing little regard to these privileges, John Reinhold Patkul, a gentleman of Livonia, came to Stockholm in 1692, at the head of six deputies from the province, and laid their complaints at the foot of the throne, in respectful, but strong terms †. Instead of an answer, the deputies were ordered to be imprisoned, and Patkul was condemned to lose his honour and his life; but he lost neither, for he made his escape to the country of Vaud, in Swisserland, where he remained some time; when he afterwards was informed, that Augustus, elector of Saxony, had promised at his accession to the throne of Poland, to recover the provinces that had been wrested from that kingdom; he hastened to Dresden, to represent to that prince, how easily he might make himself master of Livonia, and revenge upon a king, only seventeen years of age, the losses that Poland had sustained by his ancestors.

At this very time czar Peter entertained thoughts of seizing upon Ingria and Carelia. These provinces had formerly belonged to the Russians, but the Swedes had made themselves masters of them by force of arms, in the time of the false Demetruis's, and had retained the possession of them by treaties: another war and

† Norberg, chaplain and confessor to Charles XII. says in his history, "That he had the insolence to complain of oppressions, and that he was condemned to lose his honour and life." This is speaking like the high priest of despotism. He should have observed, that no one can deprive a citizen of his honour, for doing his duty.

new treaties might restore them again to Russia. Patkul went from Dresden to Moscow, and by exciting up the two monarchs to avenge his private causes, he cemented a close union between them, and directed their preparations for invading all the places, situated to the east and south of Finland.

Just at this period, the new king of Denmark, Frederick IV. entered into an alliance with the czar and the king of Poland, against Charles, the young king of Sweden, who seemed in no condition to withstand their united forces. Patkul had the satisfaction of besieging the Swedes in Riga, the capital of Livonia, and directing the attack in quality of major general.

The czar marched near twenty thousand men into Ingria. It is true, that, in this numerous army, he had not more than 12,000 good soldiers, being those he had disciplined himself; namely, the two regiments of guards, and some few others, the rest being a badly armed militia, with some Cossacks, and Circassian Tartars; but he carried with him a train of 145 pieces of cannon. He laid siege to Narva, a small town in Ingria, that had a very commodious harbour, and it was generally thought the place would prove an easy conquest.

Sept.] It is known to all Europe, how Charles XII. when not quite eighteen years of age, made head against all his enemies, and attacked them one after another; he entered Denmark, put an end to the war in that kingdom in less than six weeks, sent succours to Riga, obliged the enemy to raise the siege, and marched against the Russians encamped before Narva, through

through the midſt of ice and ſnow, in the month of November.

The czar, who looked upon Narva as already in his poſſeſſion, was gone to Novogorod, and had taken with him his favourite, Menzikoff, then a lieutenant in the company of Bombardiers, of the Preobazinſki regiment, and afterwards raiſed to the rank of field marſhal, and prince; a man whoſe ſingular fortunes entitle him to be ſpoken of more at large in another place. 18 Nov.

Peter left the command of the army, with his inſtructions for the ſiege, with the prince of Croy; whoſe family came from Flanders, and who had lately entered into the czar's ſervice *. Prince Dolgorouki acted as commiſſary of the army. The jealouſy between thoſe two chiefs, and the abſence of the czar, were partly the occaſion of the unparalleled defeat at Narva.

Charles XII. having landed at Pernau in Livonia with his troops, in the month of October advanced northward to Revel, where he defeated an advanced body of Ruſſians. He continued his march, and meeting with another body routed that likewiſe. The run-aways returned to the camp before Narva, which they filled with conſternation. The month of November was now far advanced; Narva, tho' unſkilfully beſieged, was on the point of ſurrendering. The young king of Sweden had not at that time above 9000 men with him, and could bring only ſix pieces of cannon to oppoſe to an hundred and forty-five, with which the Ruſſian entrenchments were defended. All the

* See the hiſtory of Charles XII.

relations of that time, and all historians without exception, coneur in making the Russian army then before Narva, amount to 80,000 men. The memoirs with which I have been furnished say 60,000; be that as it may, it is certain, that Charles had not quite 9000, and that this battle was one of those, which have proved, that the greatest victories have been frequently gained by inferior numbers, ever since the famed one of Arbelles *.

Charles did not hesitate one moment to attack with his small troop this army, so greatly superior; and taking advantage of a violent wind, and a great storm of snow, which blew directly in the faces of the Russians;

Nov. 30. he attacked their entrenchments under cover of some pieces of cannon, which he had posted advantageously for the purpose. The Russians had not time to from themselves in the midst of that cloud of snow, that beat full in their faces, and astonished by the discharge of cannon, that they could not see; and never imagined how small a number they had to oppose.

The duke de Croy attempted to give his orders, but prince Dolgorouki would not receive them. The Russian officers rose upon the German officers; the duke's secretary, with colonel Lyon, and several others, were murdered. Every one abandoned his post, and tumult, confusion, and a pannic terror, spread through the whole army. The Swedish troops had nothing

* A town on the river Lycus, in the province of Assyria, now called Curdestan, where Alexander the Great fought his third and decisive battle, with Darius king of Persia.

more

more to do, but to cut in pieces those who were flying. Some threw themselves into the river Narva, where great numbers were drowned; others threw down their arms, and fell upon their knees before the conquering Swedes.

The duke de Croy, general Alland, and the rest of the general officers, dreading the Russians more than the Swedes, went in a body and surrendered themselves prisoners to count Steinbok. The king of Sweden now made himself master of all the artillery. Thirty thousand of the vanquished enemy laid down their arms at his feet, and filed off bare-headed and disarmed before him. Prince Dolgorouki, and all the Russian generals, came and surrendered themselves, as well as the Germans, but did not know till after they had surrendered, that they had been conquered by 8000 men. Amongst the prisoners, was the son of a king of Georgia, whom Charles sent to Stockholm: his name was Mittelesky Czarovits, or czar's son, an additional proof that the title of czar, for tzar, had not its original from the Roman Cæsars.

Charles XII. did not lose more than 1200 men in this battle. The czar's journal, which has been sent me from Petersbourg, says, that including those who died at the siege of Narva, and in the battle, and those who were drowned in their flight, the Russians lost no more than 6000 men. Want of discipline, and a pannic that seized the army, did all the work of that fatal day. The number of those made prisoners of war, was four times greater than that of the conquerors; and if we may believe Norberg*, count Piper, who was afterwards taken

* Vol. I. p. 439, of the 4to. edition printed at the Hague.

prisoner by the Russians, reproached them, that the number of their people made prisoners in the battle, exceeded by eight times the number of the whole Swedish army. If this is truth, the Swedes must have made upwards of 72,000 prisoners. This shews how seldom writers are well informed of particular circumstances. One thing, however, equally incontestable and extraordinary is, that the king of Sweden permitted one half of the Russian soldiers to retire back, after having disarmed them, and the other half to repass the river, with their arms; by this unaccountable presumption, restoring to the czar troops that, being afterwards well disciplined, became invincible ‡.

Charles had all the advantages that could result from a compleat victory. Immense magazines, transports loaded with provisions, posts evacuated or taken, and the whole country at the mercy of the Swedish army, were consequences of the fortune of this day. Narva was now relieved, the shattered remains of the Russian army did not show themselves; the whole country as far as Pleskou lay open; the czar seemed bereft of all resource for carrying on the war; and the king of Sweden, victor in less than twelve months over the monarchs of Denmark, Poland, and Russia, was looked upon as the first prince in Europe, at an age when after princes hardly presume to aspire at reputation.

‡ The chaplain Norberg pretends, that, immediately after the battle of Narva, the Grand Seignor wrote a letter of congratulation to the king of Sweden, in these terms. "The sultan "Bassa, by the grace of God, to Charles XII. &c." The letter was dated from the æra of the creation of the world.

But

But the unſhaken conſtancy that made a part of Peter's character, prevented him from being diſcouraged in any of his projects.

A Ruſſian biſhop compoſed a prayer to St. Nicholas *, on account of this deſeat, which was publickly read in all the churches throughout Ruſſia. This compoſition ſhews the ſpirit of the times, and the inexpreſſible ignorance from which Peter delivered his country. Amongſt other things, it ſays, that the furious and terrible Swedes were ſorcerers; and complains that St. Nicholas had entirely abandoned his Ruſſians. The prelates of that country would bluſh to write ſuch ſtuff at preſent; and, without any offence to the holy St. Nicholas, the people ſoon perceived that Peter was the moſt proper perſon to be applied to, to retrieve their loſſes.

* This prayer is printed in moſt of the journals and hiſtorical pieces of thoſe times. And is inſerted in the hiſtory of Charles XII. king of Sweden.

CHAP. XII.

Resources after the battle of Narva. That disaster entirely repaired. Peter gains a victory near the same place. The person who was afterwards empress, made prisoner at the storming of a town. Peter's successes. His triumph at Moscow *.

The years 1701 and 1702.

THE czar having, as has been already observed, quitted his army before Narva, in the end of November 1700, in order to go and concert matters with the king of Poland, received the news of the victory gained by the Swedes as he was on his way. His constancy in all emergencies was equal to the intrepidity and valour of Charles. He deferred the conference with Augustus, and hastened to repair the disordered state of his affairs. The scattered troops rendezvoused at Great Novogorod, and from thence marched to Pleskow on the Lake Peipus.

It was not a little matter to be able to stand upon the defensive, after so severe a check: "I know very well, said Peter, that the Swedes "will have the advantage of us for some time, "but they will teach us at length to conquer "them."

1701.] Having provided for the present emergency, and ordered recruits to be raised on every side, he sent to Moscow to cast new cannon,

* This chapter and the following, are taken entirely from the journal of Peter the Great, sent me from Petersbourg.

his

his own having been all taken before Narva. There being a ſcarcity of metal, he took all the bells of the churches, and of the religious houſes in Moſcow. This action did not ſavour much of ſuperſtition, but at the ſame time it was no mark of impiety. With thoſe bells he made one hundred large cannon, 143 field pieces, from three to ſix pounders, beſides mortars and hautbitzers, which were all ſent to Pleſkow. In other countries the ſovereign orders, and others execute; but here the czar was obliged to ſee every thing done himſelf. While he was haſtening theſe preparations, he entered into a negotiation with the king of Denmark, who engaged to furniſh him with three regiments of foot, and three of cavalry; an engagement which that monarch could not fulfil.

As ſoon as this treaty was ſigned, he hurried to the theatre of war. He had an interview with king Auguſtus at Birzen, on the frontiers of Courland and Lithuania. Feb. 27. His object was, to confirm that prince in his reſolution of maintaining the war againſt Charles XII. and at the ſame time to engage the Poliſh Diet to enter into the quarrel. It is well known, that a king of Poland is no more than the head perſon in a republic. The czar had the advantage of being always obeyed: but the king of Poland, and England, at preſent the king of Sweden, are all obliged to treat with their ſubjects *. Patkul and a few Poles in the intereſt of their monarch aſſiſted

* We muſt beg leave to remark in this place, that a king of England has the power of doing good in virtue of his own authority, and may do evil if ſo diſpoſed, by having a majority in a corrupt parliament; whereas, a king of Poland can neither do good nor evil, not having it in his power to diſpoſe even of a pair of colours.

at these conferences. Peter promised to aid them with subsidies, and an army of 25,000 men. Livonia was to be restored to Poland, in case the diet would concur with their king, and assist in recovering this province: the diet hearkened more to their fears, than to the czar's proposals. The Poles were apprehensive of having their liberties restrained by the Saxons, and Russians, and were still more afraid of Charles XII. It was therefore agreed by the majority, not to serve their king, and not to fight.

The partisans of Augustus grew enraged against the contrary faction, and a civil war was lighted up in the kingdom; because their monarch had an intention to restore to it a considerable province.

Feb.] Peter then had only an impotent ally in king Augustus, and feeble succours in the Saxon troops; and the terror which Charles XII. inspired on every side, reduced Peter to the necessity of depending entirely upon his own strength.

March 1.] After travelling with the greatest expedition from Moscow to Courland, to confer with Augustus; he posted back from Courland to Moscow, to forward the accomplishment of his promises. He actually dispatched prince Repnin, with 4000 men, to Riga, on the banks of the Duna, where the Saxon troops were entrenched.

July.] The general consternation was now encreased; for Charles passing the Duna in spite of all the Saxons, who were advantageously posted on the opposite side, gained a compleat victory over them; and then, without waiting a moment, he made himself master of Courland, advanced into Lithuania, and by his presence en-

encouraged the Polish faction that opposed Augustus.

Peter, notwithstanding all this, still pursued his designs. General Patkul, who had been the soul of the conference at Birzen, and who had engaged in his service, procured him some German officers, disciplined his troops, and supplied the place of general le Fort: consequently what he begun, the czar ordered relays of horses to be provided for all the officers, and even for the German, Livonian, and Polish soldiers, who came to serve in his armies. He likewise inspected in person into every particular relating to their arms, their cloathing and subsistence.

On the confines of Livonia and Esthonia, and to the eastward of the province of Novogorod, lies the great lake Peipus, which receives the waters of the river Velika, from out of the middle of Livonia, and gives rise in its northern part to the river Naiova, that washes the walls of the town of Narva, near which the Swedes gained their famous victory. This lake is upwards of thirty leagues in length, and from twelve to fifteen in breadth. It was necessary to keep a fleet there, to prevent the Swedish ships from insulting the province of Novogorod; to be ready to make a descent upon their coasts, and above all, to be a nursery for seamen. Peter employed the greatest part of the year 1701, in building on this lake, an hundred half gallies, to carry about fifty men each; and other armed barks were fitted out on the lake Ladoga. He directed all these operations in person, and set his new sailors to work: those who had been employed in 1697, at the Palus Meotis were then stationed near the Baltic. He frequently quitted those occupations to go to Moscow, and

the reſt of the provinces; in order to enforce the obſervance of the late cuſtoms he had introduced, or to eſtabliſh new ones.

Thoſe princes who have employed the leiſure moments of peace, in raiſing public works, have acquired to themſelves a name: but that Peter, juſt after his misfortune at Narva, ſhould apply to the junction of the Baltick, Caſpian, and the European ſeas by canals, has crowned him with more real glory, than the moſt ſignal victory. It was in the year 1702, that he began to dig that deep canal, intended to join the Tanais and the Wolga. Other communications were likewiſe to be made, by means of lakes between the Tanais and the Duna; whoſe waters empty themſelves into the Baltic, in the neighbourhood of Riga. But this latter project ſeemed to be ſtill at a great diſtance, as Peter was far from having Riga in his poſſeſſion.

While Charles was laying all Poland waſte, Peter cauſed to be brought from that kingdom, and from Saxony, a number of ſhepherds with their flocks, in order to have wool fit for making good cloth; he likewiſe erected manufactures of linen and paper: gave orders for collecting a number of artificers; ſuch as ſmiths, braziers, armourers and founders, and the mines of Siberia were ranſacked for ore. Thus was he continually labouring for the embelliſhment and defence of his dominions.

Charles purſued the courſe of his victories, and left a ſufficient body of troops (as he imagined) on the frontiers of the czar's dominions, to ſecure all the poſſeſſions of Sweden. He had already formed a deſign to dethrone Auguſtus, and afterwards to purſue the czar with his victorious army to the very gates of Moſcow.

There

There happened several slight engagements, in the course of this year, between the Russians and Swedes, in which the latter did not always prove superior; and even in those where they had the advantage, the Russians improved in the art of war. In short, in little more than twelve months, after the battle of Narva, the czar's troops were so well disciplined, that they defeated one of the best generals belonging to the king of Sweden.

Peter was then at Pleskow, from whence he detached numerous bodies of troops on all sides, to attack the Swedes; who were now defeated by a native of Russia, and not a foreigner. His general Sheremeto, by a skilful manœuvre, beat up the quarters of the Swedish general Slippembac, in several places near Derpt, on the frontiers of Livonia; and at last obtained a victory over that officer himself. And now, for the first time, the Russians took from the Swedes four of their colours; which was thought a considerable number. Jan. 11. 1702.

The lakes Peipus and Ladoga were for some time afterwards the theatres of sea-fights, between the Russians and Swedes; in which the latter had the same advantages as by land: namely, that of discipline and long practice; but the Russians had some few successes with their half gallies, at the lake Peipus, and the field marshal Sheremeto took a Swedish frigate. May.

By means of this lake the czar kept Livonia and Esthonia in continual alarms; his gallies frequently landed several regiments in those provinces; who re-imbarked whenever they failed

of

of ſucceſs, or elſe purſued their advan-
June. tage: the Swedes were twice beaten in
July. the neighbourhood of Derpt, while they were victorious every where elſe.

In all theſe actions the Ruſſians were always ſuperior in number: for this reaſon, Charles XII. who was ſo ſucceſsful in every other place, gave himſelf little concern about theſe trifling advantages gained by the czar: but he ſhould have conſidered, that theſe numerous forces of his rival were every day growing more accuſtomed to the buſineſs of fighting, and might ſoon become formidable to himſelf.

While both parties were thus engaged by ſea and land in Livonia, Ingria, and Eſthonia, the czar is informed, that a Swediſh fleet had ſet ſail in order to deſtroy Archangel; upon which he immediately marched thither, and every one was aſtoniſhed to hear of him on the coaſts of the Frozen ſea, when he was thought to be at Moſcow. He put the town into a poſture of defence, prevented the intended deſcent, drew the plan of a citadel, called the New Dwina, laid the firſt ſtone, and then returned to Moſcow, and from thence to the ſeat of war.

Charles made ſome alliances in Poland; but the Ruſſians, on their ſide, made a progreſs in Ingria and Livonia. Marſhal Sheremeto marched to meet the Swediſh army under the command of Slippembac, gave that general battle near the little river Embac, and defeated him, taking ſixteen colours, and twenty pieces of cannon. Norberg places this action on the 1ſt December 1701, but the journal of Peter the Great fixes it on the 19th July 1702.

6th

6th Auguſt.] After this advantage, the Ruſſian general marched onwards, laid the whole country under contribution, and takes the little town of Mariembourg on the confines of Ingria and Livonia. There are ſeveral towns of this name in the north of Europe; but this, though it no longer exiſts, is more celebrated in hiſtory than all the others, by the adventure of the empreſs Catharine.

This little town, having ſurrendered at diſcretion, the Swedes, who defended it, either thro' miſtake or deſign, ſet fire to the magazine. The Ruſſians, incenſed at this, deſtroyed the town, and carried away all the inhabitants. Among the priſoners was a young woman, a native of Livonia, who had been brought up in the houſe of a Lutheran miniſter of that place, named Gluck, and who afterwards became the ſovereign of thoſe who had taken her captive, and who governed Ruſſia by the name of the empreſs Catharine.

There had been many inſtances before this of private women being raiſed to the throne; nothing was more common in Ruſſia, and in all Aſiatic kingdoms, than for crowned heads to marry their own ſubjects; but that a poor ſtranger, who had been taken priſoner in the ſtorming of a town, ſhould become the abſolute ſovereign of that very empire, whither ſhe was led captive, is an inſtance which fortune and merit never produced before nor ſince in the annals of the world.

The Ruſſian arms proved equally ſucceſsful in Ingria; for their half gallies on the lake Ladoga compelled the Swediſh fleet to retire to

Wi-

Wibourg *, a town at the other extremity of this great lake, from whence they could see the siege of the fortress of Notebourg, which was then carrying on by general Sheremeto. This was an undertaking of much greater importance than was imagined at that time, as it might open a communication with the Baltic Sea, the constant aim of Peter the Great.

Notebourg was a strong fortified town, built on an island in the lake Ladoga, which it entirely commands, and by that means, whoever is in possession of it, must be masters of that part of the river Neva, which falls into the sea not far from thence. The Russians bombarded the town night and day, from the 18th September to the 12th of October; and at length gave a general assault by three breaches. The Swedish garrison was reduced to an hundred men, only capable of defending the place; and what is very astonishing, they did defend it, and obtained, even in the breach, an honourable capitulation: moreover, colonel Slippembac, who commanded there, would not surrender the town, but on condition of being permitted to send for two Swedish officers from the nearest post, to examine the breaches, in order to be witnesses for him to the king his master, that eighty-three men, who were all then left of the garrison capable of bearing arms, besides 156 sick and wounded, did not surrender to a whole army, till it was impossible for them to fight longer, or to

Oct. 16.

* This seems a mistake; our author probably meant to say Kercholme, because Wibourg is not on the lake Ladoga, but on the gulph of Finland.

pre-

preſerve the place. This circumſtance alone ſhews, what ſort of an enemy the czar had to contend with, and the neceſſity there was of all his great efforts and military diſcipline. He diſtributed gold medals among his officers on this occaſion, and gave rewards to all the private men; except a few, whom he puniſhed for running away during the aſſault. Their comerades ſpit in their faces, and afterwards ſhot them to death, thus adding ignominy to puniſhment.

Notebourg was repaired, and its name changed to that of Shluſſelbourg, or the city of the Key, that place being the key of Ingria and Finland. The firſt governor was that Menzikoff whom we have already mentioned, and who was become an excellent officer, and had merited this honour by his gallant behaviour during the ſiege. His example ſerved as an encouragement to all who have merit, without being diſtinguiſhed by birth.

After this campaign of 1702, the czar reſolved that Sheremeto, and the officers who had ſignalized themſelves, ſhould make a triumphal entry into Moſcow. All the priſoners taken in this campaign marched Dec. 17. in the train of the victors, who had the Swediſh colours and ſtandards carried before them, together with the flag of the Swediſh frigate taken on the lake Peipus. Peter aſſiſted in the preparations for this triumphal pomp, as he had ſhared in the great actions it celebrated.

Theſe ſhews naturally inſpired emulation, otherwiſe they would have been no more than idle oſtentation. Charles deſpiſed every thing of this kind, and, after the battle of Narva, held his enemies

enemies, their efforts, and their triumphs, in equal contempt.

CHAP. XIII.

Reformation at MOSCOW.

Further successes. Founding of Petersburg. The czar takes Narva, &c.

The year 1703. THE short stay which the czar made at Moscow, in the beginning of the winter 1703, was employed in seeing all his new regulations put into execution, and in improving the civil as well as military government. Even his very amusements were calculated to inspire his subjects with a taste for the new manner of living he had introduced amongst them. In this view he invited all the boyards and principal ladies of Moscow, to the marriage of one of his sisters, at which every one was required to appear dressed after the ancient fashion. A dinner was served up just in the same manner as those in the 16th century *. By an old superstitious custom, no one was to light a fire on the wedding-day, even in the coldest season. This custom was rigorously observed upon this occasion. The Russians formerly never drank wine, but only mead and brandy; no other liquors were permitted on this day, and, when the guests made complaints, he replied, in a joking manner, "This was a custom with "your ancestors, and old customs are always

* Taken from the journal of Peter the Great.

"the

"the beſt." This raillery contributed greatly to the reformation of thoſe who preferred paſt times to the preſent, at leaſt it put a ſtop to their murmurings; and there are ſeveral nations that ſtand in need of the like example.

A ſtill more uſeful eſtabliſhment than any of the reſt, was that of a printing preſs for Ruſſian and Latin types, the implements of which were all brought from Holland. They began by printing tranſlations in the Ruſſian language of ſeveral books of morality and polite literature. Ferguſon founded ſchools for geometry, aſtronomy, and navigation.

Another foundation no leſs neceſſary, was that of a large hoſpital, not one of thoſe houſes which encouraged idleneſs, and perpetuate the miſery of the people, but ſuch as the czar had ſeen at Amſterdam, where old perſons and children are employed at work, and where every one within the walls are made uſeful in ſome way or other.

He eſtabliſhed ſeveral manufactures; and as ſoon as he had put in motion all thoſe arts to which he gave birth in Moſcow, he haſtened to Woronitz, to give directions for building two ſhips of 80 guns, each with long cradles or caſerns fitted to the ribs of the veſſel, to buoy her up, and carry her ſafely over the ſhoals and banks of ſand that lay about Aſoph; an ingenious contrivance, ſimilar to that uſed by the Dutch in Holland, to get their large ſhips over the Pampus.

Having made all the neceſſary preparations againſt the Turks, he turned his attention in the next place againſt the Swedes. He went to viſit the

the ships that were building at Olo-
March 30. nitz, a town between the lakes
1703. Ladago and Onega, where he had established a foundery for making all kinds of arms; and when every thing bore a military aspect, at Moscow flourished all the arts of peace. A spring of mineral waters, which has been lately discovered near Olonitz, has added to the reputation of that place. From thence he proceeded to Shlusselbourg, which he fortified.

We have already observed, that Peter was determined to pass regularly thro' all the military degrees: he had served as lieutenant of bombardeers under prince Menzikoff, before that favourite was made governor of Shlusselbourg, and now he took the rank of captain, and served under marshal Sheremeto.

There was an important fortress near the lake Ladoga, and not far from the river Neva, named Nyantz or Nya *. It was necessary to make himself master of this place, in order to secure his conquests, and favour his other designs. He therefore undertook to transport a number of small barks, filled with soldiers, and to drive off the Swedish vessels that were bringing supplies, while Sheremeto had
May 22. the care of the trenches. The citadel surrendered, and two Swedish vessels arrived too late to assist the besieged, being both attacked and taken by the czar. His journal says, that, as a reward for his service, "The captain of bombardeers was created "knight of the order of St. Andrew by admiral "Golowin, the first knight of that order."

* Some writers call it Nyenschantz.

After

After the taking of the fort of Nya, he resolved upon building the city of Petersburg, at the mouth of the Neva, upon the gulph of Finland.

The affairs of king Augustus were in a desperate way; the excessive victories of the Swedes in Poland had emboldened his enemies in the opposition, and even his friends had obliged him to dismiss a body of 20,000 Russians that the czar had sent him to reinforce his army. They thought by this sacrifice to deprive the malcontents of all pretext for joining the king of Sweden: but enemies are disarmed by force, a shew of weakness serving only to make them more insolent. These 20,000 men that had been disciplined by Patkul proved of infinite service in Livonia and Ingria, while Augustus was losing his dominions. This reinforcement, and above all the possession of Nya, enabled the czar to found his new capital.

It was in this barren and marshy spot of ground, which has communication with the main land only by one way, that Peter laid the foundation of Petersburg, in the 60th degree of latitude, and the 44th and an half of longitude. The ruins of some of the bastions of Nya was made use of for the first stones of the foundation *. They began by building a small fort upon one of the islands, which is now in the center of the city. The Swedes beheld, without apprehension, a settlement in the midst of a morass, and inaccessible to vessels of burden; but in a very short time they saw the fortifications advanced, a town raised, and the little island of Cronstadt,

* Petersburg was founded on Whitsunday, the 27th May 1703.

situated

ſituated over againſt it, changed in 1704 into an impregnable fortreſs, under the cannon of which even the largeſt fleets may ride in ſafety.

Theſe works, which ſeemed to require a time of profound peace, were carried on in the very boſom of war, workmen of every ſort were called together from Moſcow, Aſtracan, Caſan, and the Ukraine, to aſſiſt in building the new city. Neither the difficulties of the ground, that was to be rendered firm and raiſed, the diſtance of the neceſſary materials, the unforeſeen obſtacles which are for ever ſtarting up in all great undertakings; nor, laſtly, the epidemical diſorder which carried off a prodigious number of the workmen, could diſcourage the Royal Founder; and, in the ſpace of five months, a new city aroſe from the ground. It is true, indeed, it was little better than a cluſter of huts, with only two brick houſes ſurrounded by ramparts; but this was all that was then neceſſary. Time and perſeverance accompliſhed the reſt. In leſs than five months after the founding of Peterſburg, a Dutch ſhip came to trade there,
Nov. the captain of which was handſomely rewarded, and the Dutch ſoon found the way to Peterſburg.

While Peter was directing the eſtabliſhment of this colony, he took care to provide every day for its ſafety, by making himſelf maſter of the neighbouring poſts. A Swediſh colonel, named Croniort, had taken poſt on the river Seſtra, and thence threatened the riſing city.
Peter, without delay, marched againſt
July 8. him with his two regiments of guards, defeated him, and obliged him to repaſs the river. Having thus put his town in ſafety,

ſafety, he repaired to Olonitz, to give directions for building a number of ſmall veſſels, and afterwards returned to Peterſburg, on board a frigate that had been built by his direction, taking with him ſix tranſport veſſels for preſent uſe, till the others could be got ready. Even at this juncture he did not forget his ally the king of Poland, but ſent him a reinforcement of 12,000 foot, and a ſubſidy in money of 300,000 rubles, which make about 1,500,000 French livres*. It has been remarked, that his annual revenue did not exceed then 5,000,000 rubles; a ſum, which the expence of his fleets, of his armies, and of his new eſtabliſhments, ſeemed more than ſufficient to exhauſt. He had, almoſt at one and the ſame time, fortified Novogorod, Pleſkow, Kiow, Smolenſko, Aſoph, Archangel, and founded a capital. Notwithſtanding all which, he had ſtill a ſufficiency left to aſſiſt his ally with men and money. Cornelius le Bruine, a Dutchman, who was on his travels, and at that time in Ruſſia, and with whom he frequently converſed very freely, as indeed he did with all ſtrangers, ſays, that the czar himſelf aſſured him, that he had ſtill 300,000 rubles remaining in his coffers, after all the expences of the war were defrayed.

Sept.

Nov.

In order to put his infant city of Peterſburg out of danger of inſult, he went in perſon to ſound the depth of water thereabouts, fixed upon a place for building the fort of Cronſtadt; and, after making the model of it in wood with his own hands, he employed prince Menzikoff to

* About 60,000 l. ſterling.

put

put it in execution. From thence he went to pass the winter at Moscow, in order
Nov. 5. to establish, by degrees, the several alterations he had made in the laws, manners, and customs of Russia. He regulated the finances, and put them upon a new footing. He expedited the works that were carrying on in the Woronitz, at Asoph, and in an harbour which he had caused to be made on the Palus Mæotis, under the fort of Taganrock.

Jan. 1704.] The Ottoman Porte, alarmed at these preparations, sent an embassy to the czar, complaining thereof: to which he returned for answer, that he was master in his own dominions, as well as the Grand Seignior was in Turky, and that it was no infringement of the peace, to render the Russian power respectable on the Euxine sea.

March 30.] Upon his return to Petersburg, finding his new citadel of Cronstadt, which had been founded in the bosom of the sea, completely finished, he furnished it with the necessary artillery. But in order to settle himself firmly in Ingria, and entirely to repair the disgrace he had suffered before Narva, he esteemed it necessary to take that city. While he was making preparations for the siege, a small fleet appeared on the lake of Peipus, to oppose his designs. The Russian half galleys went out to meet them, gave them battle, and took the whole squadron, which had on board 98 pieces of cannon. After this victory, the czar lays siege to Narva both by sea and land,
April. and, which was most extraordinary, he lays siege to the city of Derpt in Esthonia at the same time.

Who

Who would have imagined, that there was an university in Derpt? Guſtavus Adolphus had founded one there, but it did not render that city more famous, Derpt being only known by theſe two ſieges. Peter was inceſſantly going from the one to the other, forwarding the attacks, and directing all the operations. The Swediſh general Slippembac was in the neighbourhood of Derpt, with a body of 2500 men.

The beſiegers expected every inſtant, when he would throw ſuccours into the place; but Peter, on this occaſion, had recourſe to a ſtratagem, worthy of more frequent imitation. He ordered two regiments of foot, and one of horſe, to be cloathed in the ſame uniform, and to carry the ſame ſtandards and colours as the Swedes. Theſe ſham Swedes attack the trenches, and the Ruſſi-

June 27. ans pretend to be put to flight, the garriſon, deceived by appearances, make a ſally; upon which the mock combatants join their forces, and fall upon the Swedes, one half of whom were left dead upon the place, and the reſt made ſhift to get back to the town. Slippembac arrives ſoon after with ſuccours to

July 23. relieve it, but is totally defeated. At length Derpt was obliged to capitulate, juſt as the czar was preparing every thing for a general aſſault.

At the ſame time, Peter met with a conſiderable check on the ſide of his new city of Peterſburg; but this did not prevent him either from going on with the works of that place, or from vigorouſly proſecuting the ſiege of Narva. It has already been obſerved, that he ſent a reinforcement of troops and money to king Auguſtus, when his enemies were driving him from

his throne; but both these aids proved useless.

The Russians having joined the Lithu-
July 31. anians in the interest of Augustus, were totally defeated in Courland by the Swedish general Lewenhaupt: and had the victors directed their efforts towards Livonia, Esthonia, and Ingria, they might have destroyed the czar's new works, and baffled all the fruits of his great undertakings. Peter was every day sapping the breast-work of Sweden, while Charles seemed to neglect all resistance, for the pursuit of a less advantageous, tho' a more brilliant fame.

On the 12th July 1704, only a single Swedish colonel, at the head of his detachment, obliged the Polish nobility to nominate a new king, on the field of election, called Kolo, near the city of Warsaw. The cardinal, primate of the kingdom, and several bishops, submitted to a Lutheran prince, notwithstanding the menaces and excommunications of the supreme pontiff. In short, every thing gave way to force. All the world knows in what manner Stanislaus Leczinsky was elected king, and how Charles XII. obliged the greatest part of Poland to acknowledge him

Peter, however, would not abandon the dethroned king, but redoubled his assistance, in proportion to the necessities of his ally; and while his enemy was making kings, he beat the Swedish generals one after another in Esthonia and Ingria, from thence he passed to the siege of Narva, and gave several vigorous assaults to the town. There were three bastions, famous at least for their names, called Victory, Honour, and Glory. The czar carried them all three

three ſword-in-hand. The beſiegers forced their way into the town, where they pillaged and exerciſed all thoſe cruelties which were but too cuſtomary at that time, between the Swedes and Ruſſians.

Aug. 20.] Peter, on this occaſion, gave an example, that ought to have gained him the affections of all his new ſubjects. He ran every where in perſon, to put a ſtop to the pillage and ſlaughter, reſcues ſeveral women out of the clutches of the brutal ſoldiery, and, after having, with his own hand, killed two of thoſe ruffians, who had refuſed to obey his orders, he enters the town-houſe, whither the citizens had ran in crowds for ſhelter, and laying his ſword, yet reeking with blood, upon the table, "This ſword, ſaid he, is not ſtained with the "blood of your fellow-citizens, but with that "of my own ſoldiers, which I have ſpilt to ſave "your lives."

CHAP. XIV.

PETER the GREAT keeps possession of all Ingria, while Charles XII. is triumphant in other places. Rise of Menzikoff. Petersburg secured. The czar executes his designs notwithstanding the victories of the king of Sweden *.

The year 1704. PETER being now master of all Ingria, conferred the government of that province upon Menzikoff; and at the same time gave him the title of prince, and the rank of major general. Pride and prejudice might, in other countries, find means to gainsay, that a pastry-cook's boy should be raised to be a general and governor, and to princely dignity; but Peter had already accustomed his subjects to see, without surprise, every thing given to merit, and nothing to mere nobility. Menzikoff, by a lucky accident, had, while a boy, been taken from his original obscurity, and placed in the czar's family †, where he learned several lan-

* All the foregoing chapters, and likewise those which follow, are taken from the journals of Peter the Great, and the papers sent me from Petersburg, carefully compared with other memoirs.

† Menzikoff's parents were vassals of the monastery of Cosmopoly: at the age of thirteen, he went to Moscow, and was taken into the service of a pastry-cook. His employment was singing ballads, and crying puffs and cakes about the streets. One day, as he was following this occupation, the czar happening to hear him, and to be diverted with one of his songs, sent for him, and asked him if he would sell his pies and his basket? The boy answered, that his business was to sell his pies,

languages, and acquired a knowledge of public affairs, both in the cabinet and field; and having found means to ingratiate himself with his master, he afterwards knew how to render himself necessary. He greatly forwarded the works at Petersburg, of which he had the direction; several brick and stone-houses were already built, with an arsenal and magazines; the fortifications were compleated, but the palaces were not built till some time afterwards.

Peter was scarcely settled in Narva, when he offered fresh succours to the dethroned king of Poland; he promised him a body of troops over and above the 12,000 men he had already sent him, and actually dispatched general Repnin, from the frontiers of Lithuania, with six thousand horse, and the same number of foot. All this while he did not lose sight of his colony of Petersburg. The buildings went on very fast; his navy encreased daily; several ships and frigates were on the stocks at Olmutz; these he took care to see finished, and brought them himself into the harbour of Petersburg.

Aug. 19.

Oct. 11.

pies, but he must ask his master's leave to sell his basket; yet, as every thing belonged to his prince, his majesty had only to lay his commands upon him. The czar was so pleased with this answer, that he immediately ordered him to court, where he gave him at first a mean employment; but being every day more pleased with his wit, he thought fit to place him about his person, and to make him groom of his bed-chamber, from whence he gradually raised him to the highest preferments. He was tall and well-shaped. At his first coming into the czar's service, he inlisted in le Fort's company, and acquired, under that general's instruction, such a degree of knowledge and skill, as enabled him to command armies, and to become one of the bravest and most successful generals in Russia.

Each time he returned to Moſcow, was diſtinguiſhed by triumphal entries. In this manner did he reviſit it this year, from whence he made only one excurſion, to be preſent at the launching of his firſt ſhip of 80 guns upon the Woronitz, of which ſhip he himſelf had drawn the dimenſions the preceding year.

Dec. 30.

May 1705.] As ſoon as the campaign could be opened in Poland, he haſtened to the army, which he had ſent to the aſſiſtance of Auguſtus, on the frontiers of that kingdom; but while he was thus ſupporting his ally, a Swediſh fleet put to ſea to deſtroy Peterſburg, and the fortreſs of Cronſlot, as yet hardly finiſhed. This fleet conſiſted of 22 ſhips of war, from 54 to 64 guns each, beſides ſix frigates, two bomb-ketches, and two fireſhips. The troops that were ſent on this expedition, made a deſcent on the little iſland of Kotin; but a Ruſſian colonel, named Tolbogwin, who commanded a regiment there, ordered his ſoldiers to lie down flat on their bellies, while the Swedes were coming on ſhore, and then ſuddenly riſing up, they threw in ſo briſk and well directed a fire, that the Swedes were put into confuſion, and forced to retreat with the utmoſt precipitation to their ſhips, leaving behind them all their dead, and upwards of three hundred priſoners.

June 27.

However, their fleet ſtill continued hovering about the coaſt, and threatened Peterſburg. They made another deſcent, and were repulſed as before; a body of land-forces were alſo advancing

vancing from Wiburn *, under the command of the Swedish general Meidel, and took their route by Shlusselbourg: this was the most considerable attempt that Charles had yet made upon those territories, which Peter had either conquered or new formed. June 25. The Swedes were every where repulsed, and Petersburg remained in security.

Peter, on the other hand, advanced towards Courland, with a design to penetrate as far as Riga. His plan was to make himself master of Livonia, while Charles XII. was busied in reducing the Poles entirely under the obedience of the new king he had given them. The czar was still at Wilnaw in Lithuania, and his general Sheremeto was approaching towards Mittau, the capital of Courland; but there he was met by general Lewenhaupt, already famous by several victories, and a pitched battle was fought between the two armies at a place called Gemavershoff, or Gemavers.

In all those actions, where experience and discipline decide the day, the Swedes, tho' inferior in number, had the advantage. The Russians were totally defeated, June 28. and lost all their artillery. Peter, notwithstanding the loss of three battles, viz. at Gemavers, at Jacobstadt, and at Narva, always retrieved his losses, and even converted them to his advantage.

* Mr. de Voltaire calls this city Wiburg, in this and some other places of his history. The French are not always very attentive to the right names of places, but here it is of some consequence. Wiburg is the capital of Jutland in Denmark. Wiburn, the city here meant, is the capital of Carelia in Russian Finland.

After the battle of Gemavers, he marched his army into Courland; came before Mittau, made himself master of the town, and afterwards laid siege to the citadel, which he took by capitulation.

Sept. 14. 1705.] The Russian troops at that time had the character of distinguishing their successes, by rapine and pillage; a custom of too great antiquity in all nations. But Peter, at the taking of Narva, had made such alterations in this custom, that the Russian soldiers appointed to guard the vaults, where the grand dukes of Courland were buried, in the castle of Mittau, perceiving that the bodies had been taken out of their tombs, and stript of their ornaments, refused to take possession of their post, till a Swedish colonel had been first sent for to inspect the condition of the place; who gave them a certificate that this outrage had been committed by the Swedes themselves.

A rumour which was spread throughout the whole empire, that the czar had been totally defeated at the battle of Gemavers, proved of greater prejudice to his affairs, than even the loss of that battle. The remainder of the ancient Strelitzers in garrison at Astracan, emboldened by this false report, mutinied, and murdered the governor of the town. Peter was obliged to send marshal Sheremetow, with a body of forces to quell the insurrection, and punish the mutineers.

Every thing seemed now to conspire against the czar; the success and valour of Charles XII; the misfortunes of Augustus; the forced neutrality of Denmark; the insurrection of the ancient Strelitzers; the murmurs of a people, sensible

ſenſible of the reſtraint, but not of the utility of the late reform; the diſcontent of the grandees, who found themſelves ſubjected to military diſcipline; and laſtly, the exhauſted ſtate of the finances, were ſufficient to have diſcouraged any prince except Peter: but he did not deſpond, even for an inſtant. He ſoon quelled the revolt, and having provided for the ſafety of Ingria, and ſecured the poſſeſſion of the citadel of Mittau, in ſpite of the victorious Lewenhaupt, who had not troops enough to oppoſe him; he found himſelf at liberty to march an army thro' Samojitia, and Lithuania.

He now ſhared with Charles XII. the glory of giving laws to Poland. He advanced as far as Tikoczin; where he had an interview for the ſecond time with king Auguſtus; when he endeavoured to comfort him under his misfortunes, promiſing to revenge his cauſe, and at the ſame time made him a preſent of ſome colours, which Menzikoff had taken from the troops of his rival. The two monarchs afterwards went together to Grodno, the capital of Lithuania, where they ſtaid till the 15th of December. At their parting, Peter preſented him both men and money, and then, according to his uſual cuſtom, went to paſs ſome part of the winter at Moſcow, to encourage the arts and ſciences there, and to enforce his new laws there, after having made a very difficult and laborious campaign. 30 Dec.

CHAP. XV.

While Peter is ſtrengthening his conqueſts, and improving the police of his dominions, his enemy Charles XII. gains ſeveral battles: gives laws to Poland and Saxony, and to Auguſtus, notwithſtanding a victory gained by the Ruſſians. Auguſtus reſigns the crown, and delivers up Patkul the czar's ambaſſador. Murder of Patkul, who is ſentenced to be broke upon the wheel.

The year 1706. PETER was hardly returned to Moſcow, when he heard that Charles XII. after being every where victorious, was advancing towards Grodno, to attack the Ruſſian troops. King Auguſtus had been obliged to fly from Grodno, and retire with precepitation towards Saxony, with four regiments of Ruſſian dragoons; a ſtep which both weakened and diſcouraged the army of his protector. Peter found all the advances to Grodno occupied by the Swedes, and his troops diſperſed.

While he was with the greateſt difficulty aſſembling his troops in Lithuania, the famous Schulembourg, who was the laſt ſupport Auguſtus had left, and who afterwards gained ſo much glory by the defence of Corfou againſt the Turks, was advancing on the ſide of Great Poland, with about twelve thouſand Saxons, and ſix thouſand Ruſſians, taken from the body troops with which the czar had entruſted that unfor-

unfortunate prince. Shulembourg expected with just reason, that he should be able to prop the sinking fortunes of Augustus; he perceived that Charles XII. was employed in Lithuania, and that there were only a body of ten thousand Swedes under general Renschild to interrupt his march; he therefore advanced with confidence as far as the frontiers of Silesia; which is the passage out of Saxony into Upper Poland. When he came near the village of Fraustadt, on the frontiers of that kingdom, he met marshal Renschild, who was advancing to give him battle.

Whatever care I take to avoid repeating what has been already mentioned in the history of Charles XII. I am obliged in this place to take notice once more, that there was in the Saxon army a French regiment, that had been taken prisoners at the famous battle of Hocsted (or Blenheim) and obliged to serve in the Saxon troops. My memoirs say, that this regiment had the charge of the artillery, and add, that the French, struck with the fame and reputation of Charles XII. and discontented with the Saxon service, laid down their arms as soon as they came in sight of the enemy, and desired to be taken into the Swedish army, in which they continued to the end of the war. This defection was as the beginning, or signal of a total overthrow to the Russian army, of which no more than three battalions were saved, and almost every man of these was wounded; and as no quarter was granted, the remainder was cut in pieces.

Feb.

Norberg the chaplain pretends, that the Swedish word at this battle was, "In the name of "God," and that of the Russians, "Kill all;" but it

it was the Swedes who killed all in God's name. The czar himself declares in one of his manifesto's *, that a number of Russians, Cossacks, and Calmucks, that had been made prisoners, were murdered in cool blood three days after that battle. The irregular troops on both sides had accustomed their generals to these cruelties, than which greater were never committed in the most barbarous times. I had the honour to hear king Stanislaus himself say, that in one of those engagements, which were so frequent in Poland, a Russian officer who had formerly been one of his friends, came to put himself under his protection, after the defeat of the corps he commanded; and that the Swedish general Steinbok shot him dead with a pistol, while he held him in his arms.

This was the fourth battle the Russians had lost against the Swedes, without reckoning the other victories of Charles XII. in Poland. The czar's troops that were in Grodno, ran the risk of suffering a still greater disgrace, by being surrounded on all sides; but he fortunately found means to get them together, and even to strengthen them with new reinforcements. But necessitated at once to provide for the safety of this army, and the security of his conquests in Ingria, he ordered prince Menzikoff to march with the army under his command eastward, and from thence southward as far as Kiow.

While his men were upon their march, he repairs to Shlusselbourg, from thence to Aug. Narva, and to his colony of Petersburg, and puts those places in a posture of de-

* The czar's manifesto in the Ukraine 1709.

fence.

fence. From the Baltic he flies to the banks of the Boristhenes, to enter into Poland by the way of Kiow, making it still his chief care to render those victories of Charles, which he had not been able to prevent, of as little advantage to the victor as possible. At this very time he meditated a new conquest; namely, that of Wibourg, the capital of Carelia, situated on the gulph of Finland. He went in season to lay siege to this place, but for this Oct. time it withstood the power of his arms; succours arrived in season, and he was obliged to raise the siege. His rival Charles XII. did not in fact make any conquests, tho' he gained so many battles: he was at that time in pursuit of king Augustus in Saxony, being always more intent upon humbling that prince, and crushing him beneath the weight of his superior power and reputation, than upon recovering Ingria, that had been wrested from him by a vanquished enemy.

He spread terror thro' all Upper Poland, Silesia, and Saxony. King Augustus's whole family, his mother, his wife, his son, and the principal nobility of the country, were retired into the heart of the empire. Augustus now sued for peace, chusing rather to trust himself to the mercy of his conqueror, than in the arms of his protector. He entered into a treaty which deprived him of the crown of Poland, and covered him at the same time with ignominy. This was a private treaty, and was to be concealed from the czar's generals, with whom he had taken refuge in Poland, while Charles XII. was giving laws in Leipsick, and acting as absolute master throughout his electorate.

His

His plenipotentaries had already ſigned the fatal treaty, by which he not only diveſted himſelf of the crown of Poland, but pro-
Sept. 14. miſed never more to aſſume the title of king; at the ſame time he recognized Staniſlaus, renounced his alliance with the czar his benefactor, and, to compleat his humiliation, engaged to deliver up to Charles XII. John Reinold Patkul, the czar's ambaſſador and general in the Ruſſian ſervice, who was then actually fighting his cauſe. He had ſometime before ordered Patkul to be arreſted upon falſe ſuſpicions, contrary to the law of nations; and now, in direct violation of theſe laws, he delivered him up to his enemy. It had been better for him to have died ſword-in-hand, than to have concluded ſuch a treaty: a treaty, which not only robbed him of his crown, and of his reputation; but likewiſe endangered his liberty, becauſe he was at that time in the power of prince Menzikoff in Poſnania, and the few Saxons that he had with him were paid by the Ruſſians.

Prince Menzikoff was oppoſed in that diſtrict by a Swediſh army, reinforced with a ſtrong party of Poles, in the intereſt of the new king Staniſlaus, under the command of general Maderfeld; and not knowing that Auguſtus had engaged in a treaty with the enemies of Ruſſia, had propoſed to attack them, and Auguſtus did not dare to refuſe. The battle was fought near Kaliſh, in the palatinate belonging to
Oct. 19. Staniſlaus; this was the firſt pitched battle the Ruſſians had gained againſt the Swedes. Prince Menzikoff had all the glory of the action, four thouſand of the enemy were

were left dead on the field, and 2598 were made prisoners.

It is difficult to comprehend how Augustus could be prevailed on, after this battle, to ratify a treaty which deprived him of all the fruits of his victory. But Charles was still triumphant in Saxony, where his very name spread terror. The success of the Russians appeared so inconsiderable, and the Polish party against Augustus was so strong, and, in fine, that monarch was so ill-advised, that he signed that fatal convention. Neither did he stop here: he wrote to his envoy Finkstein a letter, that was if possible more shameful than the treaty itself; for therein he asked pardon for having obtained a victory, "protesting, that the battle had been fought "against his will; that the Russians and the "Poles, his adherents, had obliged him to it; "that he had with a view of preventing it, ac-"tually made some movements to abandon "Menzikoff; that Maderfeld might have bea-"ten him, had he had made the most of that "opportunity; that he was ready to restore all "the Swedish prisoners, or to break with the "Russians; and that, in fine, he would give the "king of Sweden all possible satisfaction," for having dared to beat his troops.

This whole affair, unparalleled and inconceivable as it is, is nevertheless strictly true. When we reflect, that, with all this weakness, Augustus was one of the bravest princes in Europe; we may plainly perceive, that the loss or preservation, the rise or decline of empires, are entirely owing to fortitude of mind.

Two other circumstances concurred to compleat the disgrace of the king of Poland elector of Saxony,

Saxony, and heighten the abuse which Charles XII. made of his good fortune; the first was his obliging Augustus to write a letter of congratulation to the new king Stanislaus on his election: the second was terrible, he even compelled Augustus to deliver up Patkul, the czar's ambassador and general *. It is sufficiently known to all Europe, that this minister was afterwards broke alive upon the wheel at Casimir in the month of September 1707. Norberg the chaplain confesses that the orders for his execution were all written in Charles's own hand.

There is not a civilian in all Europe, nay even the vilest slave, but must feel the whole horror of this barbarous injustice. The first crime of this unfortunate man was, the having made an humble representation of the rights and privileges of his country, at the head of six Livonian gentlemen, who were sent as deputies from the whole province: having been condemned to die for fulfilling the first of duties, that of serving his country agreeable to her laws. This iniquitous sentence put him in full possession of a right, which all mankind derive from

* The impartiality of an historian obliges us in this place to advertise our readers, that it was not the fault of Augustus, that Patkul was delivered up to the king of Sweden; Augustus having privately sent orders to the commandant of the fort of Konigstein, where Patkul was then confined, to suffer his prisoner to make his escape in time. But the avarice of this officer proved fatal to the life of the unhappy captive, and to the character of his own prince; for while he was endeavouring to make the best bargain he could for himself, the time slipt inconceivably away; and while they were yet debating upon the price of the proposed releasement, the guards sent by Charles came and demanded Patkul in the name of their sovereign. The commandant was forced to obey, and the unhappy victim was delivered up, contrary to the intentions of Augustus.

nature,

nature, that of chuſing his country. Being made afterwards ambaſſador to one of the greateſt monarchs in the univerſe, his perſon thereby became ſacred. On this occaſion the law of force violated that of nature and nations. In former ages cruelties of this kind were hidden in the blaze of ſucceſs, but now they ſully the glory of a conqueror.

CHAP. XVI.

Attempts made to ſet up a third king of Poland. Charles XII. ſets out from Saxony with a powerful army, and marches thro' Poland in a victorious manner. Cruelties committed. Conduct of the czar. Succeſſes of the king of Sweden, who at length advances towards Ruſſia.

The year 1707. CHARLES XII. enjoyed the fruits of his good fortune in Altranſtadt near Leipſick, whither the proteſtant princes of the German empire repaired in droves to pay homage to him, and implore his protection. He received ambaſſadors from almoſt all the potentates of Europe. The emperor Joſeph implicitly followed his directions. Peter then perceiving that king Auguſtus had renounced his protection and his own crown, and that a part of the Poliſh nation had acknowledged Staniſlaus, liſtened to the propoſals made him by Yolkova of chuſing a third king. Jan.

A diet was held at Lublin, in which ſeveral of the palatines were propoſed; and among others, prince Ragotſki was put upon the liſt, that

that prince, who was so long kept in prison when young by the emperor Leopold, and who afterwards when he procured his liberty was his competitor for the throne of Hungary.

This negociation was pushed very far, and Poland was on the point of having three kings at one time. Prince Ragotski not succeeding, Peter thought to bestow the crown on Simiauski, grand general of the republic; a person of great power and interest, and head of a third party, that would neither acknowledge the dethroned king, nor the person elected by the opposed party.

In the midst of these troubles, there was a talk of peace, as is customary on the like occasions. Besseval the French envoy in Saxony interposed, in order to bring about a reconciliation between the czar and the king of Sweden. It was thought at that time by the court of France, that Charles, having no longer either the Russians or Poles to fight against, might turn his arms against the emperor Joseph, with whom he was not on very good terms, and on whom he had even imposed several laws during his stay in Saxony. But Charles made answer, that he would treat with the czar in Moscow. It was on this occasion that Peter said, "My brother Charles wants to act the "Alexander, but he shall not find a Darius in "me."

The Russians however were still in Poland, and were in the city of Warsaw, while the king whom Charles XII. had set over the Poles was hardly acknowledged by that nation. In the mean time, Charles was enriching his army with the spoils of Saxony.

Aug.

Aug. 22.] At length he began his march from Altranſtadt, at the head of an army of 45,000 men; a force which it ſeemed impoſſible for the czar to withſtand, ſeeing he had been entirely defeated by 8,000 only at Narva.

Aug. 27.] It was in paſſing by the walls of Dreſden, that Charles made that very extraordinary viſit to king Auguſtus, which, as Norberg ſays, "will ſtrike poſterity with admi-"ration." It was running an unaccountable riſk, to put himſelf in the power of a prince whom he had deprived of his kingdom. From thence he continued his march thro' Sileſia, and re-entered Poland.

This country had been entirely ravaged by war, ruined by factions, and was a prey to every kind of calamity. Charles continued advancing with his army through the province of Muſcovie, and choſe the moſt difficult ways he could take. The inhabitants, who had taken ſhelter in the moraſſes, reſolved to make him at leaſt pay for his paſſage. Six thouſand peaſants diſpatched an old man of their body to ſpeak to him: this man, who was of a very extraordinary figure, clad in white, and armed with two carabines, made a ſpeech to Charles; but as the ſtanders-by did not very well underſtand what he ſaid, they, without any further ceremony, diſpatched him in the midſt of his harangue, and before their king's face. The peaſants, in a rage, immediately withdrew, and took up arms. All who could be found were ſeized, and obliged to hang one another; the laſt was compelled to put the rope about his neck himſelf, and to be his own executioner. All their houſes were burnt to the ground. This fact

fact is attested by Norberg, who was an eye-witness, and therefore cannot be contradicted, as it cannot be related without inspiring horror.

The year 1708, Feb. 6.] Charles being arrived within a few leagues of Grodno in Lithuania, is informed of the czar's being there in person with a body of troops; upon which, without staying to deliberate, he takes only 800 of his guards, and sets out for Grodno. A German officer, named Mulfels, who commanded a body of troops, posted at one of the gates of the town, making no doubt, when he saw Charles, but that he was followed by his whole army, instead of disputing the passage with him, leaves it open, and takes to flight. The alarm is now spread through the whole town; every one imagines the whole Swedish army already entered; the few Russians who made any resistance, are cut in pieces by the Swedish guards; and all the officers assure the czar, that the victorious army had made itself master of the place. Hereupon Peter retreats behind the ramparts, and Charles plants a guard of thirty men, at the very gate thro' which the czar had just before entered.

In this confusion, some of the jesuits, whose college had been taken to accommodate the king of Sweden, as being the handsomest structure in the place; went by night to the czar, and for this time told the whole truth. Upon this, Peter immediately returns into the town, and forces the Swedish guards. An engagement ensues in the streets and public places; but, at length, the whole Swedish army appearing in sight, the czar is obliged to yield to superior numbers, and leaves the town in the hands

hands of the victor, who made all Poland tremble.

Charles had augmented his forces in Livovia and Finland, and Peter had every thing to fear, not only for his conquests on this side, together with those in Lithuania, but also for his ancient territories, and even for the city of Moscow itself. He was obliged then to provide at once for the safety of all these different places, at such a distance from each other. Charles could not make any rapid conquests to the eastward of Lithuania in the depth of winter, and in a marshy country, subject to epidemical disorders, which had been spread by poverty and famine from Warsaw as far as Minski. Peter posted his troops so as to command the passes of the rivers, guarded all the important posts, and did every thing in his power
April 8. to impede the marches of his enemy, and afterwards hastened to put things in a proper situation at Petersburg.

Though Charles was lording it in Poland, he took nothing from the czar; but Peter, by the use he made of his new fleet, by landing his troops in Finland, by the taking and dismantling the town of Borgau, and by seiz-
May 22. ing a great booty, was procuring many real and great advantages to himself, and distressing his enemy.

Charles, after being detained a long time in Lithuania by continual rains, at length reached the little river of Berezine, some few leagues from the Boristhenes. Nothing could withstand his activity; he threw a bridge over the river in sight of the Russians; beat a detachment that guarded the passage, and got to Holozin on the river

river Bibitſch, where the czar had poſted a conſiderable body of troops to check the impetuous progreſs of his rival. The little river of Bibitſch is only a ſmall brook in dry weather; but at this time it was ſwelled by the rains to a deep and rapid ſtream. On the other ſide was a moraſs, behind which the Ruſſians had thrown up an intrenchment for above a quarter of a league, defended by a large and deep ditch, and covered by a parapet, lined with artillery. Nine regiments of horſe, and eleven of foot, were advantageouſly poſted in theſe lines, ſo that the paſſage of the river ſeemed impracticable.

The Swedes, according to the cuſtom of war, got ready their pontoons, and erected batteries to favour their paſſage; but Charles, whoſe impatience to engage would not let him brook the leaſt delay, did not wait till the pontoons were ready. Marſhal Schwerin, who ſerved a long time under him, has aſſured me ſeveral times, that one day that they were to come to action, obſerving his generals to be very buſy in concerting the neceſſary diſpoſitions, ſaid tartly to them, "When will you have done with this "trifling?" and immediately advanced in perſon at the head of his guards, which he did particularly on this memorable day.

He flung himſelf into the river, followed by his regiment of guards. Their numbers broke the impetuoſity of the current, but the water was as high as their ſhoulders, and they could make no uſe of their firelocks. Had the artillery of the parapet been but tolerably well ſerved, or had the infantry but levelled their pieces in a proper manner, not a ſingle Swede would have eſcaped.

July 25.] The king, after wading the river, paſſed the moraſs on foot. As ſoon as the army had ſurmounted theſe obſtacles within ſight of the Ruſſians, they drew up in order of battle, and attacked the enemies entrenchments ſeven different times, and it was not till the ſeventh attack that the Ruſſians gave way. By the accounts of their own hiſtorians, the Swedes took but 12 field-pieces, and 24 mortars.

It was therefore evident, that the czar had at length ſucceeded in diſciplining his troops, and this victory of Holozin, while it covered Charles XII. with glory, might have made him ſenſible of the many dangers he muſt have to encounter in adventuring into ſuch diſtant countries, where his army could march only in ſmall bodies, through woods, moraſſes, and where he would be obliged to fight out every ſtep of his way; but the Swedes, being accuſtomed to carry all before them, dreaded neither danger nor fatigue *.

* What would thoſe Swedes ſay, were they living, to ſee the pitiful figure their deſcendants have made in this war?

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

CHARLES XII. crosses the Boristhenes, penetrates into the Ukraine, but concerts his measures badly. One of his armies is defeated by PETER the GREAT: he loses his supply of provisions and ammunition: advances forward through a desert country: his adventures on the Ukraine.

The year 1708. AT last Charles arrives on the borders of the Boristhenes, at a small town called Mohilow. This was the important spot where he was to be determined, whether he should direct his march eastward towards Moscow, or southwards towards the Ukraine. His own army, his friends, his enemies, all expected that he would direct his course immediately for the capital of Russia. Which ever way he took, Peter was following him from Smolensko with a strong army; no one expected that he would turn towards the Ukraine. He was induced to take this strange resolution by Mazeppa, hetman of the Cossacks, who being an old man of seventy, and without children, ought to have thought only of ending his days in peace: gratitude should have bound him to the czar, to whom he was indebted for his present dignity; but whether he had any real cause of complaint against that prince, or that he was dazzled with the lustre of Charles's exploits, or whether, in time, he thought to make himself independent, he betrayed his benefactor, and privately espoused the interests of the king

king of Sweden, flattering himself with the hopes of engaging his whole nation in rebellion with himself.

Charles made not the least doubt of subduing the Russian empire, as soon as his troops should be joined by so warlike a people as the Cossacks. Mazeppa was to furnish him with what provisions, ammunition, and artillery he should want; besides these powerful succours, he was to be joined by an army of 16 or 17,000 men out of Livonia, under the command of general Lewenhaupt, who was to bring with him a prodigious quantity of warlike stores and provisions. Charles was not at the trouble of reflecting, whether the czar was within reach of attacking this army, and depriving him of these necessary supplies. He never informed himself whether Mazeppa was in a condition to observe his promises; if that Cossack had credit enough to change the disposition of a whole nation, who are generally guided only by their own opinion; or whether his army was provided with sufficient resources in case of an accident; but imagined, if Mazeppa should prove deficient in abilities or fidelity, he could trust to his own valour and good fortune. The Swedish army then advanced beyond the Boristhenes towards the Desna: it was between these two rivers, that he expected to meet with Mazeppa. His march was attended with many difficulties and dangers, on account of the badness of the road, and the many parties of Russians that were hovering about those regions.

Sept. 11.] Menzikoff, at the head of some horse and foot, attacked the king's advanced guard, threw them into disorder, and killed a

number of his men. He loſt a greater number of his own, indeed, but that did not diſcourage him. Charles immediately haſtened to the field of battle, and with ſome difficulty repulſed the Ruſſians, at the hazard of his own life, by engaging a party of dragoons, by whom he was ſurrounded. All this while Mazeppa did not appear, and proviſions began to grow ſcarce. The Swediſh ſoldiers, ſeeing their king ſhare in all their dangers, fatigues, and wants, were not diſpirited; but tho' they admired his courage, they could not refrain from murmuring at his conduct.

The orders which the king had ſent to Lewenhaupt to march forward with all haſte, to join him with the neceſſary ſupplies, were not delivered by twelve days ſo ſoon as they ſhould have been. This was a long delay as circumſtances then ſtood. However, Lewenhaupt at length began his march. Peter ſuffered him to paſs the Boriſthenes; but as ſoon as his army was got between that river and the leſſer ones, which empty themſelves into it, he croſſed over after him, and attacked him with his united forces, which had followed in different corps at equal diſtances from one another. This battle was fought between the Boriſthenes and the Soſſa *.

Prince Menzikoff was upon his return with the ſame body of horſe, with which he had lately engaged Charles XII. General Baur followed him, and the czar himſelf headed the flower of his army. The Swedes imagined they had to deal with an army of 40,000 men, and the ſame

* In the Ruſſian language Soeza.

was

was believed for a long time on the faith of their relation: but my late memoirs inform me, that Peter had only 20,000 men in this day's engagement, a number not much ſuperior to that of the enemy: but his vigour, his patience, his unwearied perſeverance, together with that of his troops, animated by his preſence, decided the fate, not of that day only, but of three ſucceſſive days, during which the fight was renewed at different times.

They made their firſt attack upon the rear of the Swediſh army, near the village of Leſnau, from whence this battle borrows its name.

Oct. 7. This firſt ſhock was bloody, without proving deciſive. Lewenhaupt retreated into a wood, and thereby ſaved his baggage. The next morning, when the Swedes were to be driven from this wood, the fight was ſtill more bloody, and more to the advantage of the Ruſſians. Here it was that the czar, ſeeing his troops in diſorder, cried out to fire upon the runaways, and even upon himſelf, if they ſaw him turn back. The Swedes were repulſed, but not thrown into confuſion.

At length a reinforcement of 4000 dragoons arriving, he fell upon the Swedes a third time, who retreated to a ſmall town called Proſpock, where they were again attacked; they then marched towards the Deſna, the Ruſſians ſtill purſuing them; yet they were never broken, but loſt upwards of 8000 men, 17 pieces of cannon, and 44 colours: the czar took 56 officers, and near 900 private men priſoners, and the great convoy of proviſions and ammunition that were going to Charles's army, fell into the hands of the conqueror.

This was the first time that the czar in person gained a pitched battle against an enemy who had distinguished himself by so many victories over his troops: he was employed in a general thanksgiving for his success, when he received advice, that general Apraxin had lately gained an advantage over the enemy in Ingria, some leagues from Narva, an advantage less considerable indeed than that of Lesnau; but this concurrence of fortunate events greatly raised the hopes and courage of his troops.

Sept. 17.

Charles XII. heard of these unfortunate tidings, just as he was ready to pass the Desna in the Ukraine. Mazeppa at length joined him; but instead of 20,000 men, and an immense quantity of provisions, which he was to have brought with him, he came with only two regiments, and appeared rather like a fugitive applying for assistance, than a prince, who was bringing powerful succours to his ally. This Cossack had indeed begun his march with near fifteen or sixteen thousand of his people, whom he had told at their first setting out, that they were going against the king of Sweden; that they would have the glory of stopping that hero on his march, and that he would hold himself eternally obliged to them for so great a service.

But when they came within a few leagues of the Desna, he made them acquainted with his real design. These brave people received his declaration with disdain: they refused to betray a monarch, against whom they had no cause of complaint, for the sake of a Swede, who had invaded their country, with an armed force, and who, after leaving it, would be no longer able

to defend them, but muſt abandon them to the mercy of the incenſed Ruſſians, and of the Poles, once their maſters, and always their enemies: they accordingly returned home, and gave advice to the czar of the defection of their chief; Mazeppa found himſelf left with only two regiments, the officers of which were in his own pay.

He was ſtill maſter of ſome ſtrong poſts in the Ukraine, and in particular of Bathurin, the place of his reſidence, looked upon as the capital of the country of the Coſſacks: it is ſituated near ſome foreſts on the Deſna, at a great diſtance from the place where Peter had defeated general Lewenhaupt. There were always ſome Ruſſian regiments quartered in theſe diſtricts. Prince Menzikoff was detached from the czar's army, and got thither by round-about marches. Charles could not ſecure all the paſſes; he did not even know them all, and had neglected to make himſelf maſter of the important poſt of Starowdoub, which leads directly to the Bathurin, acroſs ſeven or eight leagues of foreſt, thro' which the Deſna directs its courſe. His enemy had always the advantage of him, by being better acquainted with the country.

Menzikoff and prince Galitzin, who had accompanied him, eaſily made their paſſage good, and preſented themſelves before the town of Bathurin, which ſurrendered almoſt without reſiſtance, was plundered and reduced to aſhes. The Ruſſians made themſelves maſters of a large magazine deſtined for the uſe of the king of Sweden, and of all Mazeppa's treaſures. The Coſſacks choſe another Hetman, named Skoropaſky, who

Nov. 14.

was approved by the czar, who being willing to impreſs a due ſenſe of the enormous crime of treaſon on the minds of the people, by a ſtriking example of juſtice, the archbi-
Nov. 22. ſhop of Kiow, and two other prelates, were ordered to excommunicate Mazeppa publickly; after which he was hanged in effigy, and ſome of his accomplices were broken upon the wheel.

In the mean while, Charles XII. ſtill at the head of about 25 or 27,000 Swedes, who were reinforced by the remains of Lewenhaupt's army, and the addition of between 2 and 3000 men, whom Mazeppa had brought with him, and ſtill infatuated with the ſame notion of making all the Ukraine declare for him, paſſed
Nov. 15. the Deſna, at ſome diſtance from Bathurin, and near the Boriſthenes, in ſpite of the czar's troops which ſurrounded him on all ſides; part of whom followed cloſe in the rear, while another part lined the oppoſite ſide of the river to oppoſe his paſſage.

He continued his march through a deſert country, where he met with nothing but burned or ruined villages. The cold began to ſet in at the beginning of December ſo extremely ſharp, that in one of his marches, near 2000 of his men periſhed before his eyes: the czar's troops did not ſuffer near ſo much, being better ſupplied; whereas the king of Sweden's army, being almoſt naked, was neceſſarily more expoſed to the inclemency of the weather.

In this deplorable ſituation, count Piper, chancellor of Sweden, who never gave his maſter other than good advice, conjured him to halt, and paſs at leaſt the ſevereſt part of the win-

winter, in a ſmall town of the Ukraine, called Romna, where he might intrench himſelf, and get ſome proviſions by the help of Mazeppa; but Charles replied, that "he was not a per-"ſon to ſhut himſelf up in a town." Piper then intreated him to repaſs the Deſna and the Boriſthenes, to return back into Poland, to put his troops into winter-quarters, of which they ſtood ſo much in need, to make uſe of the Poliſh cavalry, which was abſolutely neceſſary; to ſupport the king he had nominated, and to keep in awe the partiſans of Auguſtus, who began already to beſtir themſelves. Charles anſwered him again, "that this would be flying before "the czar, that the ſeaſon would grow milder, "and that he muſt reduce the Ukraine, and "march on to Moſcow *."

January 1709.] Both armies remained ſome weeks inactive, on account of the intenſeneſs of the cold, in the month of January 1709; but, as ſoon as the men were able to make uſe of their arms, Charles attacked all the ſmall poſts that he found in his way; he was obliged to ſend parties on every ſide in ſearch of proviſions; that is to ſay, to ſcour the country twenty leagues round, and rob all the peaſants of their neceſſary ſubſiſtence. Peter, without hurrying himſelf, kept a ſtrict eye upon all his motions, and ſuffered the Swediſh army to dwindle away by degrees.

It is impoſſible for the reader to follow the Swedes in their march through theſe countries; ſeveral of the rivers which they croſſed are not to be found in the maps: we muſt not ſuppoſe,

* This is acknowledged by Norberg himſelf, vol. ii. p. 263.

that geographers are as well acquainted with these countries, as we are with Italy, France, and Germany; geography is, of all the arts, that which still stands the most in need of improvement: and ambition has hitherto been at more pains to desolate the face of the globe, than to give a description of it.

We must content ourselves then with knowing, that Charles traversed the whole Ukraine in the month of February, burning the villages wherever he came, or meeting with others that had been laid in ashes by the Russians. He, advancing south-east, came to those sandy deserts, bordered by mountains that separate the Nogay Tartars from the Don Cossacks. To the eastward of those mountains, are the altars of Alexander. Charles was now on the other side of the Ukraine, in the road that the Tartars take to Russia; and when he was got there, he was obliged to return back again to procure subsistence: the inhabitants, having retired with all their cattle into their dens and lurking places, would sometimes defend their subsistence against the soldiers, who came to deprive them of it. Such of these poor wretches who could be found, were put to death, agreeable to what are falsly called the rules of war. I cannot here forbear transcribing a few lines from Norberg *. "As an instance, says he, of the king's regard "to justice, I shall insert a note, which he "wrote with his own hand to colonel Heil-"men.

* Vol. II. page 279.

"Colonel,

"Colonel,

"I am very well pleaſed that you have taken "theſe peaſants, who carried off a Swediſh ſol- "dier; as ſoon as they are convicted of the "crime, let them be puniſhed with death, ac- "cording to the exigency of the caſe.

"CHARLES, and lower down, BUDIS."

Such are the ſentiments of juſtice and humanity ſhewn by a king's confeſſor; but had the peaſants of the Ukraine had it in their power to hang up ſome of thoſe regimented peaſants of Eaſt Gothland, who thought themſelves intitled to come ſo far to plunder them, their wives, and families, of their ſubſiſtence, would not the confeſſors and chaplains of theſe Ukrainers have had equal reaſon to applaud their juſtice?

Mazeppa had, for a conſiderable time, been in treaty with the Zaporavians, who dwell about the two ſhores of the Boriſthenes, and of whom part inhabit the iſlands on that river. It is this diviſion that forms the nation, of whom mention has already been made in the firſt chapter of this hiſtory, and who have neither wives nor families, and ſubſiſt entirely by rapine. During the winter they heap up proviſions in their iſlands, which they afterwards go and ſell in the ſummer, in the little town of Pultowa; the reſt dwell in ſmall hamlets, to the right and left of this river. Altogether chuſe a particular Hetman, and this Hetman is ſubordinate to him of the Ukraine. The perſon, at that time, at the head of the Zaporavians, came to meet Mazeppa; and theſe two barbarians had an interview, at which each of them had an horſe's tail,

and a club born before him, as enſigns of honour.

To ſhew what this Hetman of the Zaporavians, and his people were, I think it not unworthy of hiſtory, to relate the manner in which this treaty was concluded. Mazeppa gave a great feaſt to the Hetman of the Zaporavians, and his principal officers, who were all ſerved in plate. As ſoon as theſe chiefs had made themſelves drunk with brandy, they took an oath (without ſtirring from table) upon the Evangeliſts, to ſupply Charles with men and proviſions; after which they carried off all the plate and other table-furniture. Mazeppa's ſteward ran after them, and remonſtrated, that ſuch behaviour ill-ſuited with the doctrine of the goſpels on which they had ſo lately ſworn. Some of Mazeppa's domeſtics were for taking the plate away from them by force; but the Zaporavians went in a body to complain to Mazeppa, of the unparalleled affront offered to ſuch brave fellows, and demanded to have the ſteward delivered up to them, that they might puniſh him according to law. This was accordingly complied with, and the Zaporavians, according to law, toſſed this poor man from one to another like a ball, and afterwards plunged a knife to his heart.

Such were the new allies that Charles XII. was obliged to receive, part of whom he formed into a regiment of 2000 men; the remainder marched in ſeparate bodies againſt the Coſſacks and Calmucks of the czar's party, that were ſtationed about that diſtrict.

The little town of Pultowa, with which thoſe Zaporavians carry on a trade, was filled with proviſions, and might have ſerved Charles for a place

place of arms. It is ſituated on the river Worſklaw, near a chain of mountains, which command it on the north-ſide. To the eaſtward is a vaſt deſert. The weſtern part is the moſt fruitful, and the beſt peopled. The Worſklaw empties itſelf into the Boriſthenes, about fifteen leagues lower down; from Pultowa, one may go northward, throw the defiles which communicate with the road to Moſcow, a paſſage uſed by the Tartars. It is very difficult of acceſs, and the precautions taken by the czar had rendered it almoſt impervious; but nothing appeared impoſſible to Charles, and he depended upon marching to Moſcow, as ſoon as he had made himſelf maſter of Pultowa; with this view he laid ſiege to that town in the beginning of May.

CHAP. XVIII.

Battle of PULTOWA.

The year 1709. HERE it was that Peter expected him; he had disposed the several divisions of his army at convenient distances for joining each other, and marching all together against the besiegers: he had visited the countries which surround the Ukraine; namely, the duchy of Severia, watered by the Desna, already made famous by his victory; the country of Bolcho, in which the Occa has its source; the deserts and mountains leading to the Palus Mæotis; and lately he had been in the neighbourhood of Asoph, where he caused that harbour to be cleansed, new ships to be built, and the citadel of Taganroc to be repaired. Thus did he employ the time that passed between the battles of Lesnaw and Pultowa, in preparing for the defence of his dominions. As soon as he heard the Swedes had laid siege to the town, he mustered all his forces: the horse, dragoons, infantry, cossacks, and calmucks, advanced from different quarters. His army was well provided with necessaries of every kind; large cannon, field-pieces, ammunition of all sorts, provisions, and even medicines for the sick: this was another degree of superiority which he had acquired over his rival.

On the 15th day of June 1709, he appeared before Pultowa with an army of about 60,000 effective men; the river Worsklaw was between him and Charles. The besiegers were encamp-

ed.

en on the north-weſt ſide of that river, the Ruſſians on the ſouth-eaſt.

Peter aſcends the river above the town, fixes his barges, marches over with his army, and draws a long line of entrenchments, which were begun and compleated in one night in the face of the enemy. Charles might then judge, whether the perſon whom he had ſo much deſpiſed, and whom he thought of dethroning at Moſcow, underſtood the art of war. This diſpoſition being made, Peter poſted his cavalry between two woods, and covered it with ſeveral redoubts, lined with artillery. Having thus taken all the neceſſary meaſures, he went to reconnoitre the enemies camp in order to form the attack.

July 3.

July 6.

This battle was to decide the fate of Ruſſia, Poland, and Sweden, and of two monarchs, on whom the eyes of all Europe were fixed. The greateſt part of thoſe nations who were attentive to theſe important concerns, were equally ignorant of the place where theſe two princes were, and of their ſituation: but knowing that Charles XII. had ſet out from Saxony, at the head of a victorious army, and that he was driving his enemy every where before him, they no longer doubted that he would at length entirely cruſh him; and that as he had already given laws to Denmark, Poland, and Germany, he would now dictate conditions of peace in the Kremlin of Moſcow, and make a new czar, after having already made a new king of Poland. I have ſeen letters from ſeveral public miniſters to their reſpective courts, confirming this general opinion.

The

The risk was far from being equal between these two great rivals. If Charles lost a life, which he had so often, and wantonly exposed, there would after all have been but one hero less in the world. The provinces of the Ukraine, the frontiers of Lithuania and of Russia, would then rest from their calamities, and a stop would be put to the general devastation, which had so long been their scourge. Poland would, together with her tranquility, recover her lawful prince, who had been lastly reconciled to the czar his benefactor; and lastly, Sweden, tho' exhausted of men and money, might find motives of consolation under her heavy losses.

But if the czar perished, those immense labours which had been of such utility to mankind, would be buried with him, and the most extensive empire in the world would again relapse into the chaos from whence it had been so lately taken.

There had already been some skirmishes between the detached parties of the Swedes and Russians, under the walls of the town. In one of these rencounters, Charles had been
June 27. wounded by a musket-ball, which had shattered the bones of his foot: he underwent several painful operations, which he bore with his usual fortitude, and had been confined to his bed for some days. In this condition he was informed, that Peter intended to give him battle; his notions of honour would not suffer him to wait to be attacked in his entrenchments. Accordingly he gave orders for quitting them, and was carried himself in a litter. Peter the Great acknowledges, that the Swedes attacked the redoubts, lined with artillery,

lery, that covered his cavalry, with ſuch obſtinate valour, that, notwithſtanding the ſtrongeſt reſiſtance, ſupported by a continual fire, the enemy made themſelves maſters of two redoubts. Some writers ſay, that when the Swediſh infantry found themſelves in poſſeſſion of the two redoubts, they thought the day their own, and began to cry out Victory. The chaplain Norberg, who was at ſome great diſtance from the field of battle, amongſt the baggage (which was indeed his proper place) pretends, that this was a calumny; but whether the Swedes cried out victory or not, it is certain they were not victorious. The fire from the other redoubts was kept up without ceaſing, and the reſiſtance made by the Ruſſians in every part, was as firm as the attack of their enemies was vigorous. They did not make one irregular movement; the czar drew up his army without the entrenchments in excellent order, and with ſurpriſing diſpatch.

The battle now became general. Peter acted as major general; Baur commanded the right wing, Menzikoff the left, and Sheremeto the centre. The action laſted two hours: Charles with a piſtol in his hand went from rank to rank, carried in a litter, on the ſhoulders of his drabans; one of which was killed by a cannon-ball, and at the ſame time the litter was ſhattered in pieces. He then ordered his men to carry him upon their pikes; for it would have been difficult in ſo ſmart an action, let Norberg ſay as he pleaſes, to find a freſh litter ready made. Peter received ſeveral ſhot thro' his cloaths and his hat; both princes were continually in the midſt of the fire, during the whole action. At length,

length, after two hours desperate engagement, the Swedes were taken on all sides, and fell into confusion, so that Charles was obliged to fly before him, whom he had hitherto held in so much contempt. This very hero, who could not mount his saddle during the battle, now fled for his life on horse-back; necessity lent him strength in his retreat; he suffered the most excruciating pain, which was increased by the mortifying reflection of being vanquished without resource. The Russians reckoned 9224 Swedes left dead on the field of battle, and between two and three thousand made prisoners in the action, the chief of which was cavalry.

Charles XII. fled with the greatest precipitation, attended only by 40,000 men, a few field pieces, and a very small quantity of provisions and ammunition. He directed his march southward, towards the Boristhenes, between the two rivers Worshaw and Psol, or Sol, in the county of Zaporavians. Beyond the Boristhenes, are vast desarts, which lead to the frontiers of Turky. Norberg affirms, that the victors durst not pursue Charles; and yet he acknowledges, that prince Menzikoff appeared on the neighbouring heights, with 10,000 horse, and a considerable train of artillery, while the king was passing the Boristhenes.

July 12.

Fourteen thousand Swedes surrendered themselves prisoners of war to these 10,000 Russians; and Lewenhaupt, who commanded them, signed the fatal capitulation, by which he gave up those Zaporavians who had engaged in the service of his master, and were then in the fugitive army. The chief persons taken prisoners in the battle, and by the capitulation, were count Piper,

per, the first minister, with two secretaries of state, and two of the cabinet, field marshal Renschild, the generals Lewenhaupt, Shlippenbac, Rozen, Stakelber, Creutz, and Hamilton, with three general aides-de-camp, the auditor general of the army, fifty-nine staff-officers, five colonels, among whom was the prince of Wirtemburg, 16,942 private men and non-commissioned officers: in short, reckoning the kings own domestics, and others, the conqueror had no less than 18,746 prisoners in his power, to whom, if we add 9224 slain in battle, and near 2000 men that passed the Boristhenes with Charles, it appears plainly, that he had, on that memorable day, no less than 27,000 effective men under his command *.

Charles had begun his march from Saxony with 45,000 men, Lewenhaupt had brought upwards of 16,000 out of Livonia, and yet scarce an handful of men were left of all this powerful army; of a numerous train of artillery, part lost in his marches, and part buried in the morasses; he had now remaining only eighteen brass cannon, two haubitzers, and twelve mortars, and with inconsiderable force, he had undertaken the siege of Pultowa, and had attacked an army provided with a formidable artillery. Therefore he is, with justice, accused of having shewn more courage than prudence, after his leaving Germany. On the side of the Russians, there were

* The memoirs of Peter the Great, by the pretended boyard Iwan Nestesuranoy, printed at Amsterdam in 1739, say, that the king of Sweden, before he passed the Boristhenes, sent a general officer with proposals of peace to the czar. The four volumes of these memoirs are either a collection of untruths and absurdities, or compilations from common news-papers.

no

no more than fifty-two officers, and 1293 private men killed; an undeniable proof, that the disposition of the Russian troops was better than those of Charles, and that their fire was infinitely superior to that of the Swedes.

We find, in the memoirs of a foreign minister to the court of Russia, that Peter being informed of Charles's design to take refuge in Turky, wrote a friendly letter to him, entreating him not to take so desperate a resolution, but rather to trust himself into his hands, than in those of the natural enemy to all christian princes. He gave him, at the same time, his word of honour not to detain him prisoner, but to terminate all their differences by a reasonable peace. This letter was sent by an express as far as the river Bug, which separates the deserts of the Ukraine from the Grand Seignor's dominions. As the messenger did not reach that place, till Charles had entered Turky, he brought back the letter to his master. The same minister adds further, that he had this account from the very person who was charged with the letter *. This anecdote is not altogether improbable, but I do not meet with it either in Peter's journals, or in any of the papers intrusted to my care. What is of greater importance in relation to this battle, was, its being the only one of the many that have stained the earth with blood, that instead of producing only destruction, has proved beneficial to mankind, by enabling the czar to civilize so considerable a part of the world.

* This fact is likewise found in a letter, printed before the anecdotes of Russia, page 23.

There

There have been more than two hundred pitched battles fought in Europe from the commencement of this century, to the present year. The most signal, and the most bloody victories, have produced no other consequences, than the reduction of a few provinces, ceded afterwards by treaties, and retaken again by other battles. Armies of an hundred thousand men have frequently engaged each other in the field; but the greatest efforts have been attended with only slight and momentary successes; the most trivial causes have been productive of the greatest effects. There is no instance in modern history of any war, that has compensated by even a better good for the many evils it has occasioned; but, from the battle of Pultowa, the greatest empire under the sun has derived its present happiness and prosperity.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Consequences of the battle of PULTOWA. CHARLES XII. takes refuge among the Turks. AUGUSTUS, whom he had dethroned, recovers his dominions. Conquests of PETER the Great.

The year 1709. THE chief prisoners of rank were now presented to the conqueror, who ordered their swords to be returned, and invited them to dinner. It is a well known fact, that, on drinking to the officers, he said, "To the health of my masters in the art of war." However most of his masters, particularly the subaltern officers and all the private men, were soon afterwards sent into Siberia. There was no cartel established here for exchange of prisoners between the Russians and Swedes; the Czar indeed had proposed one before the siege of Pultowa, but Charles rejected the offer, and his troops were in every thing the victims of his inflexible pride.

It was this unseasonable obstinacy that occasioned all the misfortunes of this prince in Turky, and a series of adventures more becoming a hero of romance than a wise or prudent king; for as soon as he arrived at Bender, he was advised to write to the Grand Vizir, as is the custom among the Turks; but this he thought would be demeaning himself too far. The like obstinacy embroiled him with all the ministers of the Porte one after another; in short, he knew not

not how to accommodate himſelf either to times or circumſtances.*

The firſt news of the battle of Pultowa produced a general revolution in minds and affairs in Poland, Saxony, Sweden, and Sileſia. Charles, while all-powerful in thoſe parts, had obliged the emperor Joſeph to take an hundred and five churches from the catholics in favour of the Sileſians of the confeſſion of Augsbourg. The catholicks then no ſooner received news of the defeat of Charles, than they repoſſeſſed themſelves of all the Lutheran temples. The Saxons now thought of nothing but being revenged for the extortions of a conqueror, who had robbed them, according to their own account, of twenty three millions of crowns.

The king of Poland their elector immediately proteſted againſt the abdication that had been extorted from him, and being now reconciled to the Czar, he left no ſtone unturned to reaſcend the Poliſh throne. Sweden, overwhelmed with conſternations, thought her king for a long time dead, and in this uncertainty the ſenate knew not what to reſolve.

Aug. 8.

Peter in the mean time determined to make the beſt uſe of his victory, and therefore diſpatched marſhal Sheremeto with an army into Livonia, on the frontiers of which province that general had ſo often ſignalized himſelf. Prince Menzzikoff was ſent in haſte with a numerous body of cavalry to ſecond the few troops left in Po-

* La Motraye, in the relations of his travels, quotes a letter from Charles XII. to the Grand Vizir; but this letter is falſe, as are moſt of the relations of that mercenary writer, and Norberg himſelf acknowledges that the king of Sweden never could be prevailed on to write to the Vizir.

land,

land, to encourage the nobles who were in the interest of Augustus, to drive out his competitor, who was now considered as no better than a rebel, and to disperse a body of Swedes and troops that were still left in that kingdom under the command of the general Crassau.

The czar soon after sets out in person, marches thro' the province of Kiow, and the palatinates of Chelm and Upper Volhinia, and at length arrives at Lublin, where he concerts measures with the general of Lithuania. He then reviews the crown-troops, who all take the oath of allegiance to king Augustus; from thence he proceeds to Warsaw, and at The-
Sept. 18. ra enjoyed the most glorious of all triumphs, that of receiving the thanks of a king, whom he had reinstated in his dominions. There it was that he
Octob. 7. concluded a treaty against Sweden, with the kings of Denmark, Poland, and Prussia; in which it was resolved to recover from Charles all the conquests of Gustavus Adolphus. Peter revived the ancient pretensions of the czars to Livonia, Ingria, Carelia, and part of Finland; Denmark laid claim to Scania, and the king of Prussia to Pomerania.

Thus had Charles XII. by his unsuccessful valour, shook the noble edifice that had been erected by the prosperous bravery of his ancestor Gustavus Adolphus. The Polish nobility came in on all sides to renew their oaths to their king, or to ask pardon for having defeated him; and almost the whole kingdom acknowledged Peter for its protector.

To

To the victorious arms of the czar, to these new treaties, and to this sudden revolution, Stanislaus had nothing to oppose but a voluntary resignation: he published a writing called Universale, in which he declares himself ready to resign the crown, if the republick required it.

Peter having concerted all the necessary measures with the king of Poland, and rectified the treaty with Denmark, set out directly to finish his negotiation with the king of Prussia. It was not then usual for sovereign princes to perform the function of their own ambassadors. Peter was the first who introduced this custom, which has been followed by very few. The elector of Brandenbourg, the first king of Prussia, had a conference with the czar at Marenverder, a small town situated in the western part of Pomerania, and built by the old Teutonic knights, and included in the limits of Prussia, lately erected into a kingdom. This country indeed was poor, and of a small extent; but its new king, whenever he travelled, displayed the utmost magnificence; with great splendor he had received czar Peter at his first passing thro' his dominions, when that prince quitted his empire to go in search of instructions among strangers. But he received the conqueror of Charles XII. in a still more pompous manner.

Oct. 20. Peter for this time concluded only a defensive treaty with him, which afterwards, however, compleated the ruin of Sweden.

Not an instant of time was lost. Peter having proceeded with the greatest dispatch in his negociations, which elsewhere are wont to take up so much time, goes and joins his army then before

before Riga, the capital of Livonia;
Nov. 21. he began by bombarding the place, and fired off the three first bombs himself; then changed the siege into a blockade, and when well assured, that Riga could not escape him, he repaired to his city of Petersburg, to inspect and forward the works carrying on there, the new buildings, and finishing of his fleet; and having laid the keel
Dec. 3. of a ship of 54 guns, with his own hands, he returns to Moscow. Here he amused himself with assisting in the preparations for the triumphal entry, which he exhibited in that capital. He directed every thing relating to that festival, and was himself the principal contriver and architect.

The year 1710, Jan. 1.] He opened the year 1710 with this solemnity, so necessary to his subjects, whom it inspired with notions of grandeur, and was highly pleasing to every one who had been fearful of seeing those enter their walls as conquerors, over whom they now triumphed. Seven magnificent arches were erected, under which passed in triumph the artillery, standards, and colours, taken from the enemy, with their officers, generals, and ministers, who had been made prisoners, all on foot, amidst the ringing of bells, the sound of trumpets, the discharge of an hundred pieces of cannon, and the acclamations of an innumerable concourse of people, whose voices rent the air as soon as the cannon ceased firing. The procession was closed by the victorious army, with the generals at its head; and Peter, who marched in his rank of major-general. At each triumphal arch stood the deputies of the several orders of the state; and at the

the laſt was a choſen band of young gentlemen, the ſons of boyards, clad in Roman habits, who preſented a crown of laurels to their victorious monarch.

This public feſtival was followed by another ceremony, which proved no leſs ſatisfactory than the former. In the year 1708 happened an accident the more diſagreeable to Peter, as his arms were at that time unſucceſsful. Mattheof his ambaſſador to the court of London, having had his audience of leave of Queen Anne, was arreſted for debt at the ſuit of ſome Engliſh merchants, and carried before a juſtice of peace to give ſecurity for the monies he owed there. The merchants inſiſted that the laws of commerce ought to prevail before the privileges of foreign miniſters; the czar's ambaſſador, and with him all the publick miniſters, proteſted againſt this proceeding, alledging, that their perſons ought to be always inviolable. The czar wrote to Queen Anne demanding ſatisfaction for the inſult offered him in the perſon of his ambaſſador.

But the queen had it not in her power to gratify him, becauſe, by the laws of England, tradeſmen were allowed to proſecute their debtors, and there was no law that excepted publick miniſters from ſuch proſecution. * The murder of Patkul, the czar's ambaſſador, who had been executed they ear before by the orders of Charles XII. had encouraged the Engliſh to ſhew

* The czar, ſays the preface to lord Whitworth's account of Ruſſia, who had been abſolute enough to civilize ſavages, had no idea, could conceive none, of the privileges of a nation civilized in the only rational manner by laws and liberties. He demanded immediate and ſevere puniſhment of the offenders: he demanded it of a princeſs, whom he thought intereſted to aſ-

ſhew ſo little regard to a character which had been ſo cruelly prophaned. The other public miniſters who were then at the court of London, were obliged to be bound for the czar's am-

ſert the ſacredneſs of the perſons of monarchs, even in their repreſentatives: and he demanded it with threats of wrecking his vengeance on all Engliſh merchants and ſubjects, eſtabliſhed in his dominions. In this light the menaces were formidable, otherwiſe, happily, the rights of the whole people were more ſacred here than the perſons of foreign miniſters. The czar's memorials urged the queen with the ſatisfaction which ſhe herſelf had extorted, when only the boat and ſervants of the earl of Mancheſter had been inſulted at Venice. That ſtate had broken through the fundamental laws, to content the queen of Great Britain. How noble a picture of government, when a monarch that can force another nation to infringe its conſtitution, dare not violate his own? One may imagine with what difficulty our ſecretaries of ſtate muſt have labour'd through all the ambages of phraſe in Engliſh, French, German, and Ruſs, to explain to Muſcovite ears and Muſcovite underſtandings, the meaning of indictments, pleadings, precedents, juries and verdicts; and how impatiently Peter muſt have liſtened to promiſes of a hearing next term? With what aſtoniſhment muſt he have beheld a great queen, engaging to endeavour to prevail on her parliament to paſs an act to prevent any ſuch outrage for the future? What honour does it not reflect on the memory of that princeſs to own to an arbitrary emperor, that even to appeaſe him ſhe dare not put the meaneſt of her ſubjects to death uncondemned by law. There are, ſays ſhe, in one of her diſpatches to him, inſuperable difficulties, with reſpect to the ancient and fundamental laws of the government of our people; which we fear do not permit ſo ſevere and rigorous a ſentence to be given, as your imperial majeſty at firſt ſeemed to expect in this caſe: and we perſuade ourſelf, that your imperial majeſty, who are a prince famous for clemency and exact juſtice, will not require us, who are the guardian and protectreſs of the laws, to inflict a puniſhment upon our ſubjects, which the law does not impower us to do. Words ſo venerable and heroic, that this broil ought to become hiſtory, and be exempted from the oblivion due to the ſilly ſquabbles of ambaſſadors and their privileges. If Anne deſerved praiſe for her conduct on this occaſion, it reflects ſtill greater glory on Peter, that this ferocious man ſhould liſten to theſe details, and had moderation and juſtice enough to be perſuaded by the reaſon of them.

baſſador;

baſſador; and at length all the queen could do in his favour, was to prevail on her parliament to paſs an act, by which no one for the future could arreſt an ambaſſador for debt; but after the battle of Pultowa the Engliſh court thought proper to give ſatisfaction to the czar.

The queen made by a formal embaſſy an excuſe for what had paſſed. Mr. Whitworth * the perſon charged with this commiſſion, began his harangue with the following words, "Moſt High and mighty Emperor." He told the czar, that the perſon who had preſumed to arreſt his ambaſſador, had been impriſoned, and rendered infamous. There was no truth in all this, but it was ſufficient that he ſaid ſo, and the title of Emperor, which the queen had not given Peter before the battle of Pultowa, plainly ſhewed the conſideration he had now acquired in Europe.

Feb. 16.

This title had been already granted him in Holland, not only by thoſe who had been his fellow-workmen in the dock-yards at Saardam, and ſeemed to intereſt themſelves moſt in his glory, but likewiſe by the principal perſons in the ſtate, who unanimouſly ſtiled him Emperor, and made public rejoicings for his victory, even in the preſence of the Swediſh miniſter.

The univerſal reputation which he had acquired by his victory of Pultowa, was ſtill further encreaſed by his not ſuffering a moment to paſs without making ſome advantages of it. In the firſt place, he laid ſiege to Elbing, a Hanſe town of Regal Pruſſia in Poland; where the Swedes had ſtill a garriſon. The Ruſſians ſcaled the

* Afterwards created lord Whitworth, by king George I.

walls, entered the town, and the garrison surrendered prisoners of war. This
March 11. was one of the largest magazines belonging to Charles XII. The conquerors found therein 183 brass cannon, and 157 mortars. Immediately after the re-
April 2. duction of Elbing, Peter re-marched from Moscow to Petersbourg; as soon as he arrived at this latter place, he took shipping under his new fortress of Cronslot, coasted along the shore of Carelia, and notwithstanding a violent storm, brought his fleet safely before Wyburg, the capital of Carelia in Finland; while his land-forces advanced over the frozen morasses, and in a short time the ca-
June 23. pital of Livonia beheld itself closely blockaded; and after a breach was made in the walls, Wyburg surrendered, and the garrison, consisting of 4000 men, capitulated, but did not receive the honours of war, being made prisoners notwithstanding the capitulation. Peter charged the enemy with several infractions of this kind, and promised to set these troops at liberty, as soon as he should receive satisfaction from the Swedes for his complaints. On this occasion the king of Sweden was to be consulted, who continued as inflexible as ever; and those soldiers, whom, by a little concession, he might have delivered from their confinement, remained in captivity. Thus did king William III. in 1695, arrest marshal Boufflers, notwithstanding the capitulation of Namur. There have been several instances of such violations of treaties; but it is to be wished there never had been any.

After

After the taking of this capital, the blockade of Riga was ſoon changed into a regular ſiege, and puſhed with vigour. They were obliged to break the ice on the river Dwina, which waters the walls of the city. An epidemical diſorder, which had raged ſome time in thoſe parts, now got amongſt the beſiegers, and carried off 9000; nevertheleſs the ſiege was not in the leaſt ſlackened; it laſted a conſiderable time, but at length the garriſon capitulated, and
July 15. were allowed the honours of war; but it was ſtipulated by the capitulation, that all the Livonian officers and ſoldiers ſhould enter into the Ruſſian ſervice, as natives of a country that had been diſmembered from that empire, and uſurped by the anceſtors of Charles XII. But the Livonians were reſtored to the privileges, of which his father had ſtript them, and all the officers entered into the czar's ſervice: this was the moſt noble ſatisfaction that Peter could take for the murder of his ambaſſador Patkul, a Livonian, who had been put to death, for defending thoſe privileges. The garriſon conſiſted of near 5000 men. A ſhort time afterwards the citadel of Pennamund was taken, and the beſiegers found in the town and fort above 800 pieces of artillery of different kinds.

Nothing was now wanting to make Peter entirely maſter of the province of Carelia, but the poſſeſſion of the ſtrong town of Kexholm, built on an iſland in the lake of Ladoga, and deemed impregnable: it was bombarded ſoon after, and ſurrendered in a ſhort time. The
Sep. 19. iſland of Oeſel in the ſea, bordering upon the north of Livonia, was
Sep. 23. ſubdued with the ſame rapidity.

On the side of Esthonia, a province of Livonia, towards the north, and on the gulph of Finland, are the towns of Pernau and Revel: by the reduction of these Peter compleated the conquest of all Livonia. Pernau surrendered after a siege of a few days, and Revel capitulated without waiting to have a single cannon fired against it; but the besieged found means to escape out of the hands of the conquerors, at the very time that they were surrendering themselves prisoners of war: for some Swedish ships having anchored in the road, under favour of the night, the garrison and most of the citizens embarked on board, and when the besiegers entered the town, they were surprised to find it deserted. When Charles XII. gained the victory of Narva, little did he expect that his troops would one day be driven to use such artifices.

Aug. 25.

Sep. 10.

In Poland, Stanislaus finding his party entirely ruined, had taken refuge in Pomerania, which still belonged to Charles XII. Augustus resumed the government, and it was difficult to decide who had acquired most glory, Charles in dethroning him, or Peter in restoring him to his crown.

The subjects of the King of Sweden were still more unfortunate than that monarch himself. The contagious distemper, which had made such havock over Livonia, passed from thence into Sweden; where, in the city of Stockholm, it carried off thirty thousand persons: it likewise desolated the provinces already thinned of their inhabitants; for during the space of ten years successively, most of the able-bodied men

had

had quitted their country to follow their master, and perished in foreign climes.

Charles's ill fortune pursued him also in Pomerania: his army had retired thither from Poland, to the number of 11,000; the czar, the kings of Denmark and Prussia, the elector of Hanover, and the duke of Holstein, joined together to render this army useless, and to compel general Crassau, who commanded it, to submit to a neutrality. The regency of Stockholm hearing no news of their king, and distracted by the mortality that raged in that city, were glad to sign this neutrality, which seemed to deliver one of its provinces at least from the horrors of war. The emperor of Germany favoured this extraordinary convention, by which it was stipulated, that the Swedish army then in Pomerania should not march from thence to assist their monarch in any other part of the world; nay, it was furthermore resolved in the German empire, to raise an army to enforce the execution of this unparalleled convention. The reason of this was, that the emperor of Germany, who was then in war with France, was in hopes to engage the Swedish army to enter into his service. This whole negotiation was carried on while Peter was subduing Livonia, Esthonia and Carelia.

Charles XII. who was all this time at Bender, putting every spring in motion to engage the divan to declare war against the czar, received this news as one of the severest blows his untoward fortune had dealt him: he could not brook, that his senate at Stockholm should pretend to tie up the hands of his army, and it was on this occasion that he wrote them word,

he would ſend one of his boots to govern them.

The Danes, in the mean time, were making preparations to invade Sweden; ſo that every nation in Europe was now engaged in war. Spain, Portugal, Italy, France, Germany, Holland, and England, were contending for the dominions left by Charles II. of Spain; and the whole north was up in arms againſt Charles XII. There wanted only a quarrel with the Ottoman empire, for every village in Europe to be expoſed to the ravages of war. This quarrel happened ſoon afterwards, when Peter had attained to the ſummit of his glory, and preciſely for that reaſon.

END of the FIRST PART.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE UNDER PETER THE GREAT.

PART II.

Advertiſement.

THE Ruſſian empire is now become ſo conſiderable in Europe, that the hiſtory of Peter, its real founder, is thereby rendered ſtill more intereſting. This prince gave a new face to the north, and, after his deceaſe, we have ſeen his nation on the point of changing the fate of Germany, and extending its influence over France and Spain, notwithſtanding the immenſe diſtance of thoſe kingdoms.

The eſtabliſhment of this empire forms perhaps the moſt conſiderable æra in the annals of Europe, next to that of the diſcovery of the new world; and it is this conſideration alone, which induces the author of the firſt part of the hiſtory of Peter the Great, to preſent the public with the ſecond.

There are ſome miſtakes in ſeveral of the impreſſions of the firſt part, of which he thinks neceſſary to give the reader notice, and are as follows: page 3, after the words *in the route which the caravans might take*, add *in travelling through the Calmuck plains, and over the great deſert of Kobi.* Page 6, for *at the junction*, read *at the mouth.* Page 17, for *Red Ruſſia*, read *with a part of Red Ruſſia.* And here it may not be

improper to acquaint those critics, who know little of the matter, that Volhinia, Podolia, and some of the neighbouring countries, have been called Red Russia by all geographers. Page 39. the editor, deceived by the want of a cypher in the MS. copy, has printed 72,000 *bondmen belonging to the monks*, instead of *seven hundred and twenty thousand*. Page 44, after the words, *when the Greek church was first established in Russia*, take out what follows, and in its place insert, *Chrysoberg, patriarch of Constantinople, sent a bishop to baptise Wolodimer, in order that he might, by that means, add this part of the world to his patriarchal see; Wolodimer then compleated the work that had been begun by his father. One Michael, a native of Syria, was the first metropolitan of Russia.* Page 73, *He looked upon the jesuits as dangerous politicians*, to which may be added, that the jesuits, who introduced themselves into Russia in the year 1685, were driven out of that empire again in 1689, and having a second time got footing, they were finally expelled in 1718.

Page 60. for *daughter of secretary Nariskin*, read *daughter of secretary Apraxin* *.

The title of *small* may be continued to the country of Orembourg, because that government is in effect small in comparison of Siberia, on which it borders. For *the skin of a sheep*, which several travellers affirm to be worshipped by the Ostiacks, may be substituted that of *a bear*; for if these honest people are supposed to pay divine worship to a thing, because it is use-

* This mistake we have already corrected in the note to that page.

ful

ful to them, the fur of a bear is certainly a greater object of adoration with them than a ſheep's ſkin; but he muſt ſurely wear an aſs's ſkin, who would lay any ſtreſs on ſuch trifling anecdotes.

Whether the barks built by the czar Peter I. were, or were not called *half galleys*, or whether this prince lived at firſt in a wooden houſe, or in one built of brick, will, I believe, be thought an article of very little importance.

There are, however, ſome things more deſerving the attention of a judicious reader. It is ſaid, for inſtance, in the firſt volume, that the inhabitants of Kamtſhatka have no religion amongſt them; but from certain memorials of a latter date, I learn, that this ſavage people have their divines as well as us, who make the inhabitants of this peninſula to be deſcended from a ſuperior being, whom they call *Kouthou*. Theſe memorials likewiſe aſſert, that they pay no worſhip to this deity, and expreſs neither love nor fear for him.

Hence it appears, that tho' they have a mythology, yet they have no religion; this may be true, but it is not very probable. Fear is one of the natural attributes of man. It is ſaid, furthermore, that, in the midſt of their abſurdities, they make a diſtinction of things allowed, and things forbidden; among the former, they reckon the indulging all their paſſions; and, among the latter, the ſharpning a knife, or an hatchet while they are travelling, or the ſaving a perſon from drowning: but if it is held a ſin by theſe people, to ſave the life of a fellow creature when in danger, they are in that reſpect certainly different from all other people in the world,

world, who instinctively fly to the assistance of each other, when interest and passion does not get the better of their natural inclination. One would imagine, that they could never have thought of making an action criminal, which in itself is so common and necessary, that it is not even meriorious, but by a philosophy equally false and superstitious, which would inculcate, that we are not in any thing to oppose destiny, and that no one ought to save a man whom God has preordained to be drowned: but these barbarians have not the least knowledge even of a false philosophy; and yet we are told, that they celebrate a great feast, which they call by a word, which in their language signifies *purification:* but from what have they to purify themselves, if they hold every thing to be allowed? and *for* what, if they neither fear nor love their god *Kouthou?*

Their notions are, doubtless, in many respects contradictory, as are indeed those of almost every other people; with this difference, that theirs arise from a want of understanding, ours from an abuse of it. We abound much more in contradictions, because we are much greater reasoners.

As they acknowledge a kind of God, so they have also their evil spirits. Lastly, they have sorcerers and magicians amongst them, as there have always been amongst all nations, even the most civilized. In Kamtshatka, old women are looked upon to be witches, as they were amongst us, till we had attained to a clearer knowledge of natural knowledge. Hence we find, it has ever been the lot of human understanding, to entertain absurd notions, founded on our curiosity and on our weakness. The people of Kam-

Kamtſhatka have alſo their prophets, who explain their dreams; and it is not long ſince we had ſuch amongſt us.

After the court of Ruſſia had ſubjected theſe people, by building five fortreſſes in their country, they inſtituted the chriſtian religion of the Greek church amongſt them. A Ruſſian gentleman, perfectly well acquainted with theſe people, informed me, that one of their greateſt objections to receiving it was, that they were certain it could not be inſtituted for them, inaſmuch as bread and wine were eſſential parts of our holy rites, whereas they had neither bread nor wine in their country.

In other reſpects theſe people merit very little notice. I ſhall only make one obſervation in relation to them, namely, that if we caſt our eyes on three-fourths of America, the whole ſouthern part of Africa, and on the north, from Lapland as far as the ſea of Japan, we ſhall find one half of the human race to be very little ſuperior to the people of Kamſhatka.

And here it may be proper to obſerve to the reader, that the famous geographer De L'Iſle calls this country Kamtſhat, as the French and Italians generally retrench the *ka* and *kay*, which terminate moſt of the Ruſſian names.

But there is an article of greater importance, and which may concern the dignity of crowned heads. Olearius, who, in 1634, accompanied the envoy of Holſtein into Ruſſia and Perſia, relates in the 3d book of his hiſtory, that czar Iwan Baſilowitz baniſhed the emperor's ambaſſador into Siberia. This is a fact which I do not know to have found related by any other hiſtorian. It is hardly probable that the emperor would

would have quietly ſubmitted to ſo extraordinary an inſult, and open violation of the laws of nations.

The ſame Olearius ſays in another place, "We began our journey the 13th Feb. 1634, "in company with an ambaſſador from the court "of France, called the count of Tallerand, and "prince of Challais, &c. who had been ſent by "Lewis, together with one James Ruſſel, on "an embaſſy to Turkey and Muſcovy; but his "collegue did him ſo many bad offices with "the patriarch of Ruſſia, that the great duke "baniſhed him into Siberia."

In the ſame book he ſays, that this ambaſſador, the prince of Challais, and the beforementioned Ruſſel his collegue, who was a merchant, were ſent as envoys by Henry IV. It is not very likely that Henry IV. who died 1610, ſhould have ſent an embaſſy to Ruſſia in 1634; and if Lewis XIII. had ſent as his ambaſſador, a perſon of ſo illuſtrious a houſe as that of Tallerand, he would hardly have given him a merchant for his collegue; all Europe would have known of this embaſſy, and an inſult of ſo ſingular a nature offered to the king of France would have made ſtill more noiſe.

I have already diſputed this improbable fact, in the firſt part of this hiſtory; but finding that it nevertheleſs continued to gain ſome credit, I thought it neceſſary to ſearch the regiſter of foreign affairs in France, for clearer information on this head; and find that the following incident gave riſe to this miſtake of Olearius.

There was in fact a perſon of the family of Tallerand, who having a great paſſion for travelling,

velling, made a voyage to Turky, without acquainting his family of his deſign, or furniſhing himſelf with the neceſſary letters of recommendation. At the court of Moſcow, he met with a Dutch merchant named Ruſſel, who acted as agent for a company of merchants, and who had a correſpondence with the French miniſtry; with this man the marquis of Tallerand joined company to go on a tour to Perſia; but having had ſome diſpute with his fellow traveller by the way, this latter accuſed him falſely to the patriarch of Moſcow; and he was actually baniſhed into Siberia. However, having found means to make his ſituation known to his family, at the end of about three years, Mr. Des Noyers obtained his releaſe of the court of Moſcow.

Here then we have this ſtory ſet in its true light, and which would not merit a place in hiſtory, but as it may ſerve to put the reader upon his guard againſt the multitude of anecdotes of a ſimilar nature, with which the relations of moſt travellers abound.

There are hiſtorical errors, and hiſtorical falſehoods. This relation of Olearius is only an error; but when we are told, that a czar cauſed an ambaſſador's hat to be nailed to his head, that is a falſehood. A writer may be deceived, in regard to the number or force of the ſhips that compoſe naval armament, or in regard to the extent of a country; but theſe only are errors, and of a very pardonable kind. Again, thoſe who repeat the fabulous accounts of antiquity, in which the origin of all nations is enveloped, may be accuſed of a weakneſs common to all the writers of old times; but this is not falſifying, it

is

is properly speaking no more than copying tales.

We are also frequently led by inadvertency into faults, which cannot be called falsehoods: there is, for instance, when we read in Hubner's geography, that the boundaries of Europe are in that place where the river Oby empties itself into the Black sea, and that Europe contains 30 millions of inhabitants; these are inaccuracies, which a reader of any knowledge in history can easily rectify.

The same treatise frequently presents us with large towns strongly fortified and well peopled, which are in reality no other than insignificant villages in a manner uninhabited. But here it is easily perceived that time has totally changed the face of things; that the author has consulted only antient writers, and that what was matter of fact in their time, ceases to be so at present.

Some writers again are mistaken in the inferences they draw from facts. Peter the Great abolished the patriarchal dignity. Hubner adds, that he caused himself to be declared patriarch. Certain spurious histories of Russia go still further, and alledge, that he officiated in the pontifical character. Thus, from a known fact, they have drawn erroneous conclusions, which happen but too frequently.

What I have called by the name of historical falsehoods, is still more common, and is the invention of flattery, or a foolish fondness for the marvellous. The historian who, to please a powerful family, prostitutes his pen to praise a tyrant, is a base wretch: he who endeavours to blacken the memory of a good prince, is a villain;

lain; and the romanciſt who publiſhes the inventions of his own brain, for real facts, is a contemptible creature. The man who in former times made whole nations pay reverence to his fables, would now hardly be read by the meaneſt of the people.

There are ſome critics who deal ſtill deeper in falſehood: ſuch are thoſe who alter paſſages, or elſe miſconſtrue them; and who, inſpired by envy, write with ignorance againſt works of real utility: but let us leave thoſe vipers to gnaw the file, as the fitteſt puniſhment for their invidious labours.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN Empire under PETER the GREAT.

CHAP. I.

Campaign of PRUTH.

SULTAN Achmet III. declared war against Peter I. not from any regard to the king of Sweden, but, as may readily be supposed, merely from a view to his own interest. The khan of the Crim Tartars could not, without dread, behold a neighbour become so powerful as Peter I. The Porte had, for some time, taken umbrage at the number of ships which this prince had on the Palus Mæotis, and in the Black Sea, at his fortifying the city of Asoph, and at the flourishing state of the harbour of Taganroc, already become famous; and, lastly, at his great series of successes, and at the ambition which success never fails to augment.

It is neither true, nor even probable, that the Porte should have begun the war against the czar,

czar, on the Palus Mæotis, for no other reason than because a Swedish ship had taken a bark on the Baltic, on board of which was found a lettter from a minister, whose name has never been mentioued. Norberg tells us, that this letter contained a plan for the conquest of the Turkish empire; that it was carried to Charles XII. who was then in Turkey, and was by him sent to the divan; and that, immediately after the receipt of this letter, war was declared: But this story carries the mark of fiction with it. It was the remonstrances of the khan of Tartary, who was more uneasy about the neighbourhood of Asoph, than the Turkish divan, that induced this latter to give orders for taking the field *.

It was in the month of August, and before the czar had compleated the reduction of Livonia, when Achmet III. resoved to declare war against him. The Turks, at that time, could hardly have had the news of the taking of Riga, and, therefore, the proposal of restoring

* The account this chaplain gives of the demands of the Grand Signior is equally false and puerile. He says, that sultan Achmet, previous to his declaring war against the czar, sent to that prince a paper, containing the conditions on which he was willing to grant him peace. These conditions, Norberg tells us, were as follows: "That Peter should renounce his alliance with Augustus, reinstate Stanislaus in the possession of the crown of Poland, restore all Livonia to Charles XII. and pay that prince the value in ready money of what he had taken from him at the battle of Pultowa; and, lastly, that the czar should demolish his newly-built city of Petersbourg." This piece was forged by one Brazey, a half-starved pamphleteer, and author of a work intitled, Memoirs Satyrical, Historical, and Entertaining. It was from this fountain Norberg drew his intelligence; and however he may have been the confessor of Charles XII. he certainly does not appear to have been his confidant.

to

to the king of Sweden the value in money, of the effects he had loſt at the battle of Pultowa, would have been the moſt abſurd thing imaginable, if not exceeded by that of demoliſhing Peterſbourg. The behaviour of Charles XII. at Bender, was ſufficiently romantic; but the conduct of the Turkiſh divan would have been much more ſo, if we ſuppoſe it to have made any demands of this kind.

Nov. 1710.] The khan of Tartary, who was the principal inſtigator of this war, payed Charles a viſit in his retreat at Bender. They were connected by the ſame intereſts, inaſmuch as Europe makes part of the frontiers of Little Tartary. Charles and the khan were the two greateſt ſufferers by the ſucceſſes of the czar; but the khan did not command the forces of the Grand Signior. He was like one of the feudatory princes of Germany, who ſerved in the armies of the empire, with their own troops, and were ſubject to the authority of the emperor's generals for the time being.

Nov. 29, 1710.] The firſt ſtep taken by the divan, was to arreſt Tolſtoy the czar's ambaſſador at the Porte in the ſtreets of Conſtantinople, together with thirty of his domeſticks, who with their maſter were all confined in the priſon of the Seven Towers. This barbarous cuſtom, at which even ſavages would bluſh, is owing to the Turks having always a number of foreign miniſters reſiding amongſt them from other courts, whereas they never ſend any in return. They look upon the ambaſſadors of chriſtian princes in no other light than as merchants or conſuls; and having naturally as great a contempt for chriſtian as they have for Jews, they

they ſeldom condeſcend to obſerve the laws of nations, in reſpect to them, unleſs forced to it; at leaſt, they have hitherto perſiſted in this barbarous pride.

The famous vizir Achmet Cuprogli, the ſame who took the iſland of Candia, under Mahomet IV. inſulted the ſon of the French ambaſſador, and even carried his brutality ſo far as to ſtrike him, and afterwards to confine him in priſon, without Lewis XIV. proud and lofty as he was, daring to reſent it, otherwiſe than by ſending another miniſter to the Porte. The chriſtian princes, who are ſo remarkably delicate on the point of honour amongſt themſelves, and have even made it a part of the law of nations, ſeem to be utterly inſenſible on this head in regard to the Turks.

Never did a crowned head ſuffer greater affronts in the perſons of his miniſters, than czar Peter. In the ſpace of a few years, his ambaſſador at the court of London was thrown into jail for debt, his plenipotentiary at the courts of Poland and Saxony was broke upon the wheel, by order of the king of Sweden; and now his miniſter at the Ottoman Porte was ſeized and thrown into a dungeon at Conſtantinople, like a common felon *.

We

* The new vizir embraced every opportunity of affronting the czar, in the perſon of his envoy, and particularly in giving the French ambaſſador the preference. It was cuſtomary, on the promotion of a grand vizir, for all the foreign miniſters to requeſt an audience of congratulation. Count Tolſtoy was the firſt who demanded that audience; but was anſwered, "that the precedence had always been given to the ambaſſador of France;" whereupon Tolſtoy informed the vizir, "that he muſt be deprived of the pleaſure of waiting on him at all;" which, being maliciouſly repreſented, as expreſſing the utmoſt contempt

already obſerved, in the firſt part ry, that he received ſatisfaction Anne of England, for the inſult offered to his ambaſſador at London. The horrible affront he ſuffered, in the perſon of Patkul, was waſhed away in the blood of the Swedes ſlain at the battle of Pultowa; but fortune permitted the violation of the laws of nations by the Turks to paſs unpuniſhed.

Jan. 1711.] The czar now found himſelf obliged to quit the theatre of war in the weſt, and march towards the frontiers of Turkey. He began by cauſing ten regiments, which he had in Poland, to advance towards Moldavia *. He then ordered marſhal Sheremetow to ſet out from Livonia, with his body of forces, and, lezving prince Menzikof at the head of affairs at Peterſbourg, he returned to Moſcow, to give orders for opening the enſuing campaign.

Jan. 18.] He now eſtabliſhes a ſenate of regency, the regiment of guards begin their march, he iſſues orders for all the young nobility to follow him to the field, to learn the art of war, and places ſome of them in the ſtation of cadets, and others in that of ſubaltern officers. Admiral Appraxin goes to Aſoph to take the command by ſea and land. Theſe ſeveral meaſures being taken, the czar publiſhes an ordonnance in Moſcow for acknowledging a new empreſs. This was the perſon who had

contempt of his perſon, and the khan of Tartary being at the ſame time inſtigated to make ſeveral heavy complaints againſt the conduct of the Ruſſians on the frontiers, count Tolſtoy was immediately committed to the caſtle of the Seven Towers.

* It is very ſtrange that ſo many writers always confound Walachia and Moldavia together.

been taken prisoner in Marienbourg, in the year 1702. Peter had, in 1696, repudiated his wife Eudoxia Lapoukin (or Lapouchin) by whom he had two children. The laws of his church allow of divorces; but had they not, Peter would have enacted a new law to permit them.

The fair captive of Marienbourg, who had taken the name of Catherine, had a soul superior to her sex and her misfortunes. She rendered herself so agreeable to the czar, that this prince would have her always near his person. She accompanied him in all his excursions, and most fatiguing campaigns; sharing in his toils, and softening his uneasinesses by her natural gaiety, and the great attention she shewed to oblige him on all occasions, and the indifference she expressed for the luxury, dress, and other indulgences, of which the generality of her sex are, in other countries, wont to make real necessities. She frequently softened the passionate temper of the czar, and, by making him more clement and merciful, rendered him more truly great. In a word, she became so necessary to him, that he married her privately, in 1707. He had already two daughters by her, and the following year she bore him a third, who was afterwards married to the duke of Holstein *.

March

* This duke of Holstein, at the time he married the daughter of Peter I. was a prince of very inconsiderable power, tho' of one of the most ancient houses in Germany. His ancestors had been stripped of great part of their dominions by the kings of Denmark, so that, at the time of this marriage, he found himself greatly circumscribed in point of possessions; but, from this epoch of his alliance with the czar of Muscovy, we may date the rise of the ducal branch of Holstein, which

now

March 17, 1711.] The czar made this private marriage known the very day he set out with her to try the fortune of his arms against the Turks. The several dispositions he had made seemed to promise a successful issue. The hetman of the Cossacks was to keep the Tartars in awe, who had already began to commit ravages in the Ukraine. The main body of the Russian army was advancing towards Niester, and another body of troops, under prince Galitzin, were in full march through Poland. Every thing went on favourably at the beginning; for Galitzin having met with a numerous body of Tartars near Kiow, who had been joined by some Cossacks and some Poles of king Stanislaus's party, as also a few Swedes, he defeated them

now fills the thrones of Russia and Sweden, and is likewise in possession of the bishoprick of Lubec, which, in all probability, will fall to this house, notwithstanding the late election, which at present is the subject of litigation, the issue of which will, to all appearance, terminate in favour of the prince, son to the present bishop, through the protection of the courts of Vienna and Petersbourg. The empress Catherine, who now sits on the throne of Russia, is herself descended from this august house, by the side of her mother, who was sister to the king of Sweden, to the prince-bishop of Lubec, and to the famous prince George of Holstein, whose atchievements made so much noise during the late war. This princess, whose name was Elizabeth, married the reigning prince of *Anhalt Zerbst*, whose house was indisputably the most ancient, and, in former times, the most powerful in all Germany, since they can trace their pedigree from the dukes of Ascania, who were formerly masters of the two electorates of Saxony and Brandenbourg, as appears by their armorial bearings, which are, quarterly, the arms of Saxony and Brandenbourg. Of this branch of *Zerbst* there is remaining only the present reigning prince, brother to the empress Catherine, who, in case he should die without issue, will succeed to the principality of Yevern, in East Friesland; from all which it appears already, that the family of Holstein is at present the most powerful in Europe, as being in possession of three crowns in the North.

entirely, and killed near five thousand men. These Tartars had, in their march through the open country, made about ten thousand prisoners. It has been the custom of the Tartars, time immemorial, to carry with them a much greater number of cords than scimitars, in order to bind the unhappy wretches they surprise. The captives were all set free, and those who had made them prisoners were put to the sword. The whole Russian army, if it had been assembled together, would have amounted to sixty thousand men. It was to have been farther augmented by the troops belonging to the king of Poland. This prince, who owed every thing to the czar, came to pay him a visit at Jaroslaw, on the river Sana, the 3d of June 1714, and promised him powerful succours. War was now declared against the Turks, in the name of these two monarchs; but the Polish diet, not willing to break with the Ottoman Porte, refused to ratify the engagement their king had entered into. It was the fate of the czar to have, in the king of Poland, an ally who could never be of any service to him. He entertained the same hopes of assistance from the princes of Moldavia and Walachia, and was, in like manner, disappointed.

These two provinces ought to have taken this opportunity to shake off the Turkish yoke. These countries were those of the ancient Daci, who, together with the Gepidi, with whom they were intermixed, did, for a long time, disturb the Roman empire. They were at length subdued by the emperor Trojan, and Constantine the First made them embrace the christian religion. Dacia was one of the provin-

ces of the eastern empire, but shortly after these very people contributed to the ruin of that of the west, by serving under the Odiacres and Theodorics.

They afterwards continued to be subject to the Greek empire, and when the Turks made themselves masters of Constantinople, were governed and oppressed by particular princes; at length, they were totally subjected by the Padisha or Turkish emperor, who now granted them in investiture. The Hospodar or Waiwod, chosen by the Ottoman Porte to govern these provinces, is always a christian of the Greek church. The Turks, by this choice, give a proof of their toleration, while our ignorant declaimers are accusing them of persecution. The prince nominated by the Porte is tributary to, or rather farms these countries of the grand seignior; this dignity being always conferred on the best bidder, or him who makes the greatest presents to the vizir, in like manner as the office of Greek patriarch at Constantinople. Sometimes this government is bestowed on a dragoman, that is to say, the interpreter to the divan. These provinces are seldom under the government of the same Waivod, the Porte chusing to divide them, in order to be more sure of retaining them in subjection. Demetrius Cantemir was at this time Waiwod of Moldavia. This prince was said to be descended from Tamerlane, because Tamerlane's true name was *Timur*, and Timur was a Tartarian khan; and so, from the name *Tamurkan*, say they, came the family of *Kantemir*.

Bassaraba Brancovan had been invested with the principality of Walachia, but had not found any

any genealogist to deduce his pedigree from the Tartarian conqueror; Centamir thought the time now come to shake off the Turkish yoke, and render himself independent by means of the czar's protection. In this view he acted in the very same manner with Peter as Mazeppa had done with Charles XII. He even engaged Bassaraba for the present to join him in the conspiracy, of which he hoped to reap all the benefit himself: his plan being to make himself master of both provinces. The bishop of Jerusalem, who was at that time at Walachia, was the soul of this conspiracy. Cantemir promised the czar to furnish him with men and provisions, as Mazeppa did the king of Sweden, and kept his word no better than he had done.

General Sheremeto advanced towards Jassi, the capital of Moldavia, to inspect and occasionally assist the execution of these great projects. Cantemir came thither to meet him, and was received with all the honours due to a prince: but he acted as a prince in no one circumstance, but that of publishing a manifesto against the Turkish empire. The hospodar of Walachia, who soon discovered the ambitious views of his collegue, quitted his party, and returned to his duty. The bishop of Jerusalem dreading, with reason, the punishment due to his perfidy, fled and concealed himself: the people of Walachia and Moldavia continued faithful to the Ottoman Porte, and those who were to have furnished provisions for the Russian army, carried them to the Turks.

The vizir Baltagi Mahomet had already crossed the Danube at the head of 100,000 men, and was advancing towards Jassi, along the banks

of the river Pruth (formerly the Hierasus) which falls into the Danube, and which is nearly the boundary of Moldavia and Bassarabia. He then dispatched count Poniatowski *, a Polish gentleman, attached to the fortunes of the king of Sweden, to desire that prince to make him a visit, and see his army. Charles, whose pride

* This same count Poniatowski, who was at that time in the service of Charles XII. died afterwards Castellan of Cracovia, and first senator of the republic of Poland, after having enjoyed all the dignities to which a nobleman of that country can attain. His connections with Charles XII. during the prince's retirement at Bender, first made him taken notice of; and it is to be wished, for the honour of his memory, that he had waited till the conclusion of a peace between Sweden and Poland, to be reconciled to king Augustus; but following the dictates of ambition, rather than those of strict honour, he sacrificed the interests of both Charles and Stanislaus, to the care of his own fortune; and while he appeared the most zealous in their cause, he secretly did them all the ill services he could at the Ottoman Porte; to this double dealing, he owed the immense fortune of which he was afterwards possessed. He married the princess Czartoriska, daughter of the Castellan of Vilna, a lady, for her heroic spirit, worthy to have been born in the times of ancient Rome; when her eldest son, the present grand chamberlain of the crown, had that famous dispute with count Tarlo, palatine of Lublin, a dispute which made so much noise in all the public papers in the year 1742, this lady, after having made him shoot at a mark every day for three weeks, in order to be expert at firing, said to him, as he was mounting his horse, to go to meet his adversary, "Go, my son, but if you do not acquit yourself with honour in this affair, never appear before me again." This anecdote may serve as a specimen of the character of our heroine. The family of Czartoriski is descended from the ancient Jagellins, who were, for several ages, in lineal possession of the crown of Poland; and is, at this day, extremely rich and powerful by the alliances it has contracted, but they have never been able to acquire popularities; and so long as count Tarlo (who was killed in a duel with the young count Poniatowski) lived, had no influence in the Dictines, or lesser assembly of the states, because Tarlo, who was the idol of the nobles, and a sworn enemy to the Czartoriski family, carried every thing before him, and nothing was done but according to his pleasure.

always

always got the better of his intereſt, would not conſent to this propoſal: he inſiſted, that the grand vizir ſhould make him the firſt viſit, in his azylum near Bender: when Poniatowſki returned to the Ottoman camp, and endeavoured to excuſe this refuſal of his maſter, the vizir, turning to the khan of the Tartars, ſaid, "This "is the very behaviour I expected from this "proud pagan." This mutual pride, which never fails of alienating the minds of thoſe in power from each other, did no ſervice to the king of Sweden's affairs; and indeed that prince might have eaſily perceived from the beginning, that the Turks were not acting for his intereſt, but for their own.

While the Turkiſh army was paſſing the Danube, the czar advanced by the frontiers of Poland, and paſſed the Boriſthenes, in order to relieve marſhal Sheremeto, who was then on the banks of the Pruth, to the ſouthward of Jaſſi, and in danger of being daily ſurrounded by an army of 10,000 Turks, and an army of Tartars. Peter, before he paſſed the Boriſthenes, was in doubt whether he ſhould expoſe his beloved Catherine to theſe dangers which ſeemed to encreaſe every day; but Catherine, on her ſide, looked upon this ſolicitude of the czar for her eaſe and ſafety, as an affront offered to her love and courage, and preſſed her conſort ſo ſtrongly on this head, that he found himſelf under a neceſſity to conſent that ſhe ſhould paſs the river with him. The army beheld her with eyes of joy and admiration, marching on horſeback at the head of the troops, for ſhe rarely made uſe of a carriage. After paſſing the Boriſthenes, they had a tract of deſert country to paſs thro'

and then to croſs the Bog, and afterwards the river Tiras, now called the Nieſter, and then another deſert to traverſe, before they came to the banks of the Pruth. Catherine, during this fatiguing march, animated the whole army by her chearfulneſs and affability. She ſent refreſhments to ſuch of the officers who were ſick, and extended her care even to the meaneſt ſoldier.

July 4, 1711.] At length the czar brought his army in ſight of Jaſſi. Here he was to eſtabliſh his magazine. Baſſaraba, the Hoſpodar of Walachia, who had again embraced the intereſt of the Ottoman Porte, but ſtill, in appearance, continued a friend to the czar, propoſed to that prince to make peace with the Turks, altho' he had received no commiſſion from the grand vizir for that purpoſe. His deceit, however, was ſoon diſcovered, and the czar contented himſelf with demanding only proviſions for his army, which Baſſaraba neither could nor would furniſh. It was very difficult to procure any ſupplies from Poland; and theſe, which prince Cantemir had promiſed, and which he vainly hoped to procure from Walachia, could not be brought from thence. Theſe diſappointments rendered the ſituation of the Ruſſian army very diſagreeable; and, as an addition to their afflictions, they were infected with an immenſe ſwarm of graſshoppers, that covered the face of the whole country, and devoured or ſpoiled every thing where they alighted. They were likewiſe frequently in want of water during their march through ſandy deſerts, and beneath a ſcorched ſun; what little they could procure, they were obliged to have brought in veſſels to the camp from a conſiderable diſtance.

During

During this dangerous and fatiguing march, the czar, by a ſingular fatality, found himſelf in the neighbourhood of his rival and competitor Charles, Bender not being above twenty-five leagues from the place where the Ruſſian army was encamped near Jaſſi. Some parties of Coſſacks made excurſions even to the place of that unfortunate monarch's retreat; but the Crim-Tartars, who hovered round that part of the country, ſufficiently ſecured him from any attempt that might be made to ſeize his perſon; and Charles waited in his camp with impatience, and not fear the iſſue of the war.

Peter, as ſoon as he had eſtabliſhed ſome magazines, marched in haſte with his army to the right of the river Pruth. His eſſential object was to prevent the Turks, who were poſted to the left, and towards the head of the river, from croſſing it, and marching towards him. This effected, he would then be maſter of Moldavia and Walachia: with this view he diſpatched general Janus with the van-guard of the army, to oppoſe the paſſage of the Turks; but the general did not arrive till they had already began to croſs the river upon their bridges, upon which he was obliged to retreat, and his infantry was cloſely purſued by the Turks, till the czar came up in perſon to his aſſiſtance.

The grand vizir now marched directly along the river towards the czar. The two armies were very unequal in point of time: that of the Turks, which had been reinforced by the Tartarian troops, conſiſted of near 250,000 men, while that of the Ruſſians hardly amounted to 35,000. There was indeed a conſiderable body of troops, headed by general Renne, on

their march from the other ſide of the Moldavian mountains; but the Turks had cut off all communication with thoſe parts.

The czar's army now began to be in want of proviſions, nor could, without the greateſt difficulty, procure water, tho' encamped at a very ſmall diſtance from the river, being expoſed to a furious diſcharge from the batteries, which the grand vizir had cauſed to be erected on the left ſide of the river, under the care of a body of troops that kept up a conſtant fire againſt the Ruſſians. By this relation, which is ſtrictly circumſtantial and true, it appears, that Baltagi Mahomet, the Turkiſh vizir, far from being the puſillanimous or weak commander which the Swedes have repreſented him, gave proofs on this occaſion that he perfectly well underſtood his buſineſs. The paſſing the Pruth in the ſight of the enemy, obliging him to retreat, and harraſſing him in that retreat; the cutting off all communication between the czar's army, and a body of cavalry that was marching to reinforce it, the hemming in this army, without the leaſt probability of a retreat, and the cutting off all ſupplies of water and proviſions, by keeping it conſtantly under the check of the batteries on the oppoſite ſide of the river, were manœuvres that in no ways beſpoke the unexperienced or indolent general.

Peter now ſaw himſelf in a ſituation even worſe than that to which he had reduced his rival Charles XII. at Pultowa, being, like him, ſurrounded by a ſuperior army, and in greater want of proviſions, and, like him, having confided in the promiſes of a prince, too powerful to be bound by thoſe promiſes, he reſolved upon

a re-

a retreat, and endeavoured to return towards Jaſſi, in order to chuſe a more advantageous ſituation for his camp.

July 20, 1711.] He accordingly decamped under favour of the night; but his army had ſcarcely begun its march, when, at break of day, the Turks fell upon his rear; but the Preobaſinſki regiment falling about, and ſtanding firm, did, for a conſiderable time, check the fury of their onſet. The Ruſſians then formed themſelves, and made a line of entrenchments with their waggons and baggage. The ſame day the Turks returned again to the attack with the whole body of their army; and as a proof that the Ruſſians knew how to defend themſelves, let what will be alledged to the contrary, they alſo made head againſt this very ſuperior force for a conſiderable time, killed a great number of their enemies, who in vain endeavoured to break in upon them.

July 21.

There were in the Ottoman army two officers belonging to the king of Sweden, namely, count Poniatowſki, and the count of Spare, who had the command of a body of Coſſacks in that prince's intereſt. My papers informs me, that theſe two generals adviſed the grand vizir to avoid coming to action with the Ruſſians, and content himſelf with depriving them of ſupplies of water and proviſions, which would oblige them either to ſurrender priſoners of war, or to periſh with famine: other memoirs pretend, on the contrary, that theſe officers would have perſuaded Mahomet to fall upon this feeble and half-ſtarved army, in a weak and diſtreſſed condition, and put all to the ſword. The firſt of theſe ſeem to be the moſt prudent and circum-

pect; but the second is more agreeable to the character of generals, who had been trained up under Charles XII.

The real fact is, that the grand vizir fell upon the rear of the Russian army at the dawn of day, which was thrown into confusion, and there remained only a line of 400 men to confront the Turks. This small body formed itself with amazing quickness, under the orders of a German general, named Alard, who, to his immortal honour, made such rapid and excellent disposition on this occasion, that the Russians withstood, for upwards of three hours, the repeated attack of the whole Ottoman army, without losing a foot of ground.

The czar now found himself amply repaid for the immense pains he had taken to enure his troops to strict discipline. At the battle of Narva, 60,000 men were defeated by only 8000, because the former were undisciplined; and here we behold a rear-guard, consisting of only 8000 Russians, sustaining the efforts of 150,000 Turks, killing 7000 of them, and obliged the rest to return back.

After this sharp engagement, both armies entrenched themselves for that night: but the Russians still continued enclosed, and deprived of all provisions, even water; for notwithstanding they were so near the river Pruth, yet they did not dare approach its banks; for as soon as any parties were sent out to find water, a body of Turks posted on the opposite shore drove them back by a furious discharge from their cannon loaded with chain shot: and the body of the Turkish army which had attacked that of the czar the day before, continued to play upon them

them from another quarter with the whole force of their artillery.

The Ruſſian army appeared now to be loſt beyond reſource, by its poſition, by the inequality of numbers, and by the want of proviſions. The ſkirmiſhes on both ſides were frequent and bloody: the Ruſſian cavalry being almoſt all diſmounted, could no longer be of any ſervice, unleſs by fighting on foot: in a word, the ſituation of affairs were deſperate. It will be ſufficient to caſt our eyes on the following exact chart of the ſituation of the czar's camp, and that of the Ottoman army, to perceive that there could not poſſibly be a more dangerous poſition than the former. It was out of their power to retreat, they had nothing left but to gain a compleat victory, to periſh to the laſt man, or to be made ſlaves by the infidels.

All the accounts and memoirs of thoſe times unanimouſly agree, that the czar, divided within himſelf, whether or not he ſhould expoſe his wife, his army, his empire, and the fruits of all his labours, to almoſt inevitable deſtruction; retired to his tent oppreſſed with grief, and ſeized with violent convulſions, to which he was naturally ſubject, and which the preſent deſperate ſituation of his affairs brought upon him with redoubled violence. In this condition he remained alone in his tent, having given poſitive orders, that no one ſhould be admitted to be a witneſs to the diſtraction of his mind. But Catherine hearing of his diſorders, forced her way into him, and on this occaſion Peter found how happy it was for him that he had permitted his wife to accompany him in this expedition.

A wife

A wife who like her had faced death in its moſt horrible ſhapes, and had expoſed her perſon like the meaneſt ſoldier, to the fire of the Turkiſh artillery, for the ſake of her huſband, had an undoubted right to ſpeak to her huſband, and to be heard. The czar accordingly liſtened to what ſhe had to ſay, and in the end ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded to try and ſend to the vizir with propoſals of peace.

It has been a cuſtom for time immemorial throughout the eaſt, that when any people applies for an audience of the ſovereign or his repreſentative, they muſt not preſume to approach them without a preſent. On this occaſion therefore Catherine muſtered the few jewels that ſhe had brought with her on this military tour, in which no magnificence or luxury were admitted; to theſe ſhe added, two black foxes ſkins, and what ready money ſhe could collect; the latter was deſigned for a preſent to the Kiaia. She made choice herſelf of an officer, in whoſe fidelity and underſtanding ſhe thought ſhe could depend, who, accompanied with two ſervants, was to carry the preſents to the grand vizir, and afterwards to deliver the money intended for the Kiaia into his own hand. This officer was likewiſe charged with a letter from marſhal Sheremeto to the grand vizir. The memoirs of czar Peter mention this letter, but they take no notice of the other particulars of Catherine's conduct in this buſineſs; however, they are ſufficiently confirmed by the declaration iſſued by Peter himſelf in 1723, when he cauſed Catherine to be crowned empreſs, wherein we find theſe words; "She has been of the greateſt "assiſtance to us in all our dangers, and par-

"ticularly

"ticularly in the battle of Pruth, when our ar-
"my was reduced to 22,000 men." If the czar had then indeed no more men capable of bearing arms, the ſervice which Catherine did him on that occaſion, were fully equivalent to the honours and dignities conferred upon her. The MS. journal of Peter the Great obſerves, that the day of the bloody battle, (on the 20th July) he had 31,554 foot, and 6692 horſe, the latter almoſt all diſmounted, he muſt then have loſt 16,246 men in that engagement. The ſame memoirs affirm, the loſs ſuſtained by the Turks greatly exceeded that of the Ruſſians; for as the former ruſhed upon the czar's troops pell-mell, and without obſerving any order, hardly a ſingle fire of the latter miſſed its effect. If this is fact, the affair of the 20th and 21ſt of July was one of the moſt bloody that had been known for many ages.

We muſt either ſuſpect Peter the Great of having been miſtaken, in his declaration at the crowning of the empreſs when he aknowledges "his obligations to her for having ſaved his "army, which was reduced to 22,000 men," or accuſe him of a falſity in his journal, wherein he ſays, that the day on which the above battle was fought, his army, excluſive of the ſuccours he expected from the other ſide the Moldavian mountains, *amounted to* 31,554 *foot*, *and* 6692 *horſe*. According to this calculation, the battle of Pruth muſt have been by far more terrible than the hiſtorians or memorialiſts have repreſented on either ſide. There muſt certainly be ſome miſtake here, which is no uncommon thing in the relations of campaigns, eſpecially when the writer enters into a minute detail of circumſtances.

circumstances. The surest method therefore on these occasions, is to confine themselves to the principal events, the victory, and the defeat; as we can very seldom know with any degree of certainty the exact loss on either side.

But however here the Russian army might be reduced in point of numbers, there were still hopes, that the grand vizir, deceived by their vigorous and obstinate resistance, might be induced to grant them peace upon such terms as might be honourable to his master's arms, and at the same time not absolutely disgraceful to those of the czar. It was the great merit of Catherine to have perceived this possibility, at a time when her consort and his generals expected nothing less than inevitable destruction.

Norberg, in his history of Charles XII. quotes a letter, sent by the czar to the grand vizir, in which he expresses himself thus. "If, "contrary to my intentions, I have been so "unhappy as to incur the displeasure of his "highness, I am ready to make reparation for "any cause of complaint he may have against "me; I conjure you, most noble general, to pre-"vent the further effusion of blood, give orders, "I beseech you, to put a stop to the dreadful "and destructive fire of your artillery, and ac-"cept of the hostage I herewith send you."

This letter carries all the marks of falsity with it, as do indeed most of the random pieces of Norberg: it is dated 11th July N. S. whereas no letter was sent to Baltagi Mahomet, till the 21st N. S. neither was it the czar who wrote to the vizir, but his general Sheremeto: there were no such expressions made use of as

"if

"if the czar has had the misfortune to incur the "displeasure of his highness," such terms being suitable only to a subject who implores the pardon of his sovereign, whom he has offended. There was no mention made of any hostage, nor was any one sent. The letter was carried by an officer, in the midst of a furious cannonade on both sides. Sheremeto in this letter only reminded the vizir, of certain overtures of peace, that the Porte had made at the beginning of the compaign thro' the mediation of the Dutch and English ministers, and by which the divan demanded that the fort and harbour of Taganroc should be given up, which were the real subjects of the war.

Some hours elapsed before the messenger received an answer from the grand vizir, and it was apprehended that he had either been killed by the enemy's cannon, or that they detained him prisoner. A second courier was therefore dispatched with duplicates of the former letters, and a council of war was immediately held, at which Catherine was present. At this council ten general officers signed the following resolution.

21st July. 1711.

"Resolved, if the enemy will not accept the "conditions proposed, and should insist upon "our laying down our arms, and surrendering "at discretion, that all the ministers and gene-"ral officers are unanimously of opinion, to "cut their way thro' the enemy sword-in-"hand."

In consequence of this resolution, a line of entrenchments was thrown round the baggage, and the Russians marched some few paces out of their camp, towards the enemy, when the grand

grand vizir caufed a fufpenfion of arms to be proclaimed between the two armies.

All the writers of the Swedifh party have treated the grand vizir as a cowardly and infamous wretch, who had been bribed to fell the honour of his mafter's arms. In the fame manner have feveral authors accufed count Piper of receiving money from the duke of Malborough, to perfuade the king of Sweden to continue the war againft the czar; and have laid to the charge of the French minifter, that he purchafed the peace of Seville for a ftipulated fum. Such accufations ought never to be advanced but on very ftrong proofs. It is very feldom that a minifter will ftoop to fuch meanneffes, which are always difcovered fooner or later by thofe who have been entrufted with the payment of the money, or by the publick regifters, which never lie. A minifter of ftate ftands as a publick object to the eyes of all Europe. His credit and influence depend wholly upon his character, and he is always fufficiently rich to be above the temptation of becoming a traytor.

The place of viceroy of the Turkifh empire is fo illuftrious, and the profits annexed to it, in time of war, fo immenfe, there was fuch a profufion of every thing neceffary, and even luxurious, in the camp of Baltagi Mahomet, and, on the other hand, fo much poverty and diftrefs in that of the czar, that furely the grand vizir was rather in a condition to give than to receive. The trifling prefent of a woman who had nothing to fend but a few fkins and fome jewels, in compliance with the eftablifhed cuftom of all courts, or rather thofe in particular of the eaft, can never be confidered in the light of a bribe.

The

The frank and open conduct of Baltagi Mahomet seems at once to give the lie to the black accusations with which so many writers have stained their relations. Vice-chancellor Shafsiroff paid the vizir a public visit in his tent: every thing was transacted in the open manner, on both sides, and indeed it could not be otherwise. The very first article of the negotiation was entered upon in the presence of a person wholly devoted to the king of Sweden, a domestic of count Poniatowski, who was himself one of that monarch's generals. This man served as interpreter, and the several articles were publicly reduced to writing by the vizir's chief secretary, Hummer Effendi. Moreover, count Poniatowski was there in person. The present sent to the kiaia was offered probably in form, and every thing was transacted agreeably to the oriental customs. Other presents were made by the Turks in return; so that there was not the least appearance of treachery or contrivance. The motives which determined the vizir to consent to the proposals offered him, were, first, that the body of troops under the command of general Renne, on the borders of the river Sireth, in Moldavia, had alrerady crossed three rivers, and were actually in the neighbourhood of the Danube, where Renne had already made himself master of the town and castle of Brahila, defended by a numerous garrison, under the command of a bashaw. Secondly, the czar had likewise another body of troops advancing through the frontiers of Poland; and, lastly, it is more than probable that the visir was not fully acquainted with the extreme scarcity that was felt in the Russian camp. One enemy seldom furnishes another

other with an exact account of his provisions and ammunition; on the contrary, either side are accustomed rather to make a parade of plenty, even at a time when they are in the greatest necessity. There can be no artifices practised to gain intelligence of the true state of an adversary's affairs, by means of spies, between the Turks and the Russians. The difference of their dress, of their religion, and of their language, will not permit it. They are moreover strangers to that desertion which prevails in most of our armies, and consequently the grand vizir could not be supposed to know the desperate condition to which the czar's army was reduced.

Baltagi, who was not fond of war, and who, nevertheless, had conducted this very well, thought that his expedition would be sufficiently successful if he put his master in possession of the towns and harbours which made the subject of the war, stopt the progress of the victorious army under Renne, and obliged that general to quit the banks of the Danube, and return back into Russia, and for ever shut the entrance of the Palus Mæotis, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and the Black Sea, against an enterprising prince; and, lastly, if he avoided taking these certain advantages, on the hazard of a new battle (in which, after all, despair might have got the better of superiority of numbers.) The preceding day only he had beheld his janissaries repulsed, with loss; and there wanted not examples of many victories having been gained by the weaker over the strong. Such there were Mahomet's reasons for accepting the proposals of peace. His conduct, however, did not

not merit the approbation of Charles's officers, who ſerved in the Turkiſh army, nor of the khan of Tartary. It was the intereſt of the latter, and his followers, to reject all terms of accommodation which would deprive them of the opportunity of ravaging the frontiers of Ruſſia and Poland. Charles XII. deſired to be revenged on his rival the czar; but the general, and the firſt miniſter of the Ottoman empire, was neither influenced by the private thirſt of revenge, which animated the Chriſtian monarch, nor by the deſire of booty, which actuated the Tartar chief.

As ſoon as the ſuſpenſion of arms was agreed to, and ſigned, the Ruſſians purchaſed of the Turks the proviſions, of which they ſtood in need. The articles of the peace were not ſigned at that time, as is related by La Motraye, and which Norberg has copied from him. The vizir, among other conditions, demanded that the czar ſhould promiſe not to interfere any more in the Poliſh affairs. This was a point particularly inſiſted upon by count Poniatowſki; but it was, in fact, the intereſt of the Ottoman crown, that the kingdom of Poland ſhould continue in its then defenceleſs and divided ſtate; accordingly this demand was reduced to that of the Ruſſian troops evacuating the frontiers of Poland. The khan of Tartary, on his ſide, demanded a tribute of forty thouſand ſequins. This point, after being long debated, was at length given up.

The grand vizir inſiſted a long time, that prince Cantemir ſhould be delivered up to him, as Patkul had been to the king of Sweden. Cantemir was exactly in the ſame ſituation as Ma-

zeppa had been. The czar caused that hetman to be arraigned and tried for his defection, and afterwards to be executed in effigy. The Turks were not acquainted with the nature of such proceeding; they knew nothing of trials for contumacy, nor of public condemnations. The affixing a sentence on any person, and executing him in effigy, were the more unusual amongst them, as their law forbids the representation of any human likeness whatever. The vizir in vain insisted on Cantemir's being delivered up, Peter peremptorily refused to comply, and wrote the following letter with his own hand, to his vice-chancellor Shaffiroff.

"I can resign to the Turks all the country, "as far as Curzka, because I have hopes of "being able to recover it again; but I will, by "no means, violate my faith, which, once for-"feited, can never be retrieved. I have no-"thing I can properly call my own, but my ho-"nour. If I give up that, I cease to be longer "a king."

At length the treaty was concluded, and signed, at a village called Falksen, on the river Pruth. Among other things, it was stipulated, that Azoph, and the territories belonging thereto, should be restored, together with all the ammunition and artillery that were in the place, before the czar made himself master thereof, in 1696. That the harbour of Taganroc, in the Zabach Sea, should be demolished, as also that of Samara, on the river of the same name; and several other fortresses. There was likewise another article added, respecting the king of Sweden, which article alone sufficiently shews the little regard the vizir had for that prince; for

for it was therein ſtipulated, that the czar ſhould not moleſt Charles, in his return to his dominions, and that afterwards the czar and he might make peace with each other, if they were ſo inclined.

It is pretty evident by the wording of this extraordinary article, that Baltagi Mahomet had not forgot the haughty manner in which Charles XII. had behaved to him a ſhort time before, and it is not unlikely that this very behaviour of the king of Sweden might have been one inducement with Mahomet to comply ſo readily with his rival's propoſals for peace. Charles's glory depended wholly on the ruin of the czar; but we are ſeldom inclinable to exalt thoſe who expreſs a contempt for us: however this prince, who refuſed to pay the vizir a viſit in his camp, on his invitation, when it was certainly his intereſt to have been upon good terms with him, now came thither in haſte and unaſked, when the work which put an end to all his hopes was on the point of being concluded. The vizir did not go to meet him in perſon, but contented himſelf with ſending two of his baſhaws, nor would he ſtir out of his tent, till Charles was within a few paces of it.

This interview paſſed, as every one knows, in mutual reproaches. Several hiſtorians have thought that the anſwer which the vizir made to the king of Sweden, when that prince reproached him with not making the czar priſoner, when he might have done it ſo eaſily, was the reply of a weak man. "If I had taken him "priſoner, ſaid Mahomet, who would there "be to govern his dominions."

It

It is very easy however to comprehend, that this was the answer of a man who was piqued with resentment; and these words which he added, "for it is not proper that every crowned "head should quit his dominions," sufficiently shewed that he intended to mortify the refugee of Bender.

Charles gained nothing by his journey, but the pleasure of tearing the vizir's robe with his spurs, while the officer who was in a condition to make him repent this splenetic insult seemed not to notice it, in which he was certainly greatly superior to Charles. If any thing could have made that monarch sensible in the midst of his life, how easily fortune can put greatness to the blush, it would have been the reflection, that at the battle of Pultowa a pastry-cook's boy had obliged the whole army to surrender at discretion, and in this of Pruth a wood-cutter was the arbiter of his fate, and that of his rival the czar; for the visir Baltagi Mahomet had been a cutter of wood in the grand seignior's seraglio, as his name implied; and far from being ashamed of that title, he gloried in it: so much do the manners of the Eastern people differ from our's.

When the news of this treaty reached Constantinople, the grand seignior was so well pleased, that he ordered publick rejoicings to be made for a whole week, and Mahomet, kiaia or lieutenant general, who brought the tidings to the divan, was instantly raised to the dignity of Boujouk Imraour, or master of the horse, a certain proof that the sultan did not think himself ill served by his vizir.

Norberg

Norberg ſeems to have known very little of the Turkiſh government, when he ſays, that "the grand ſeignior was obliged to keep fair "with Baltagi Mahomet, that viſir having "rendered himſelf formidable." The janiſſaries indeed have often rendered themſelves formidable to their ſultans; but there is not one example of a viſir who has not been eaſily ſacrificed to the will or orders of his ſovereign, and Mahomet was in no condition to ſupport himſelf by his own power. Beſides, Norberg manifeſtly contradicts himſelf, by affirming in the ſame page, that the janiſſaries were irritated againſt Mahomet, and that the ſultan ſtood in dread of his power.

The king of Sweden was now reduced to the neceſſity of forming cabals in the Ottoman court; and a monarch, who had ſo lately made kings by his own power, was now ſeen waiting for audience, and offering memorials and petitions which were refuſed.

Charles ran through all the ambages of intrigue, like a ſubject who endeavours to make a miniſter ſuſpected by his maſter. In this manner he acted againſt Mahomet, and againſt thoſe who ſucceeded him. At one time he addreſſed himſelf to the ſultana Valide by means of a Jeweſs, who had admiſſion into the ſeraglio; at another, he employed one of the eunuchs for the ſame purpoſe. At length he had recourſe to a man who was to mingle among the grand ſeignior's guards, and, by counterfeiting a perſon out of his ſenſes, to attract the attention of the ſultan, and by that means deliver into his own hand a memorial from Charles. From all theſe various ſchemes, the king of Sweden drew

only the mortification of ſeeing himſelf deprived of his thaim; that is to ſay, of the daily penſion which the Porte of its generoſity had aſſigned him for his ſubſiſtence, and which amounted to about 1500 French livres †. The grand viſir, inſtead of remitting this allowance to him as uſual, ſent him an order, in the form of a friendly advice, to quit the grand ſeignior's dominions.

Charles, however, was abſolutely determined not to depart, ſtill flattering himſelf with the vain hopes that he ſhould once more re-enter Poland and Ruſſia with a powerful army of Turks. Every one knows what was the iſſue of his inflexible boldneſs in the year 1724, and how he engaged an army of janiſſaries, Spahis and Tartars, with only himſelf, his ſecretaries, his valet de chambre, cook, and ſtable-men; that he was taken priſoner in that country, where he had been treated with the greateſt hoſpitality; and that he at length got back to his own kingdom in the diſguiſe of a courier, after having lived five years in Turky: from all which it remains to be acknowledged, that if there was reaſon in the conduct of this extraordinary prince, it was a reaſon of a very different nature to that of other men.

† About 70 l. ſterling.

End of the TWENTIETH VOLUME.