

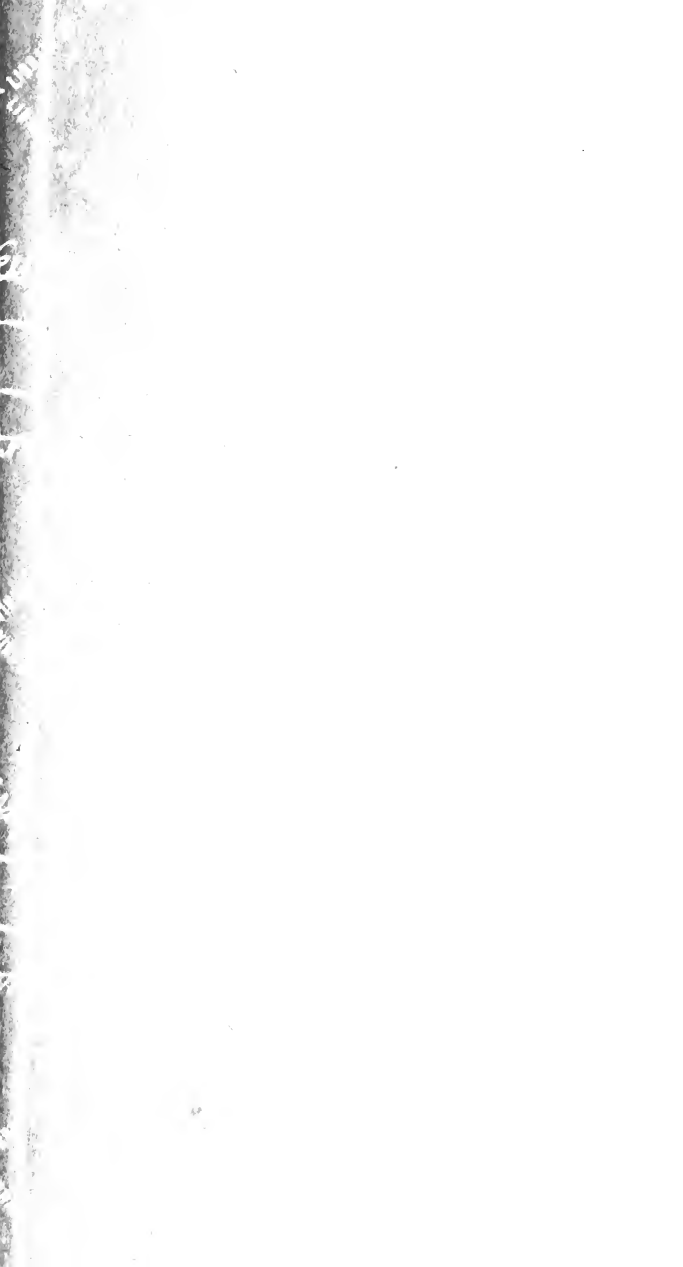




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THE  
L I F E  
OF  
PETER THE GREAT,  
FORMERLY  
EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

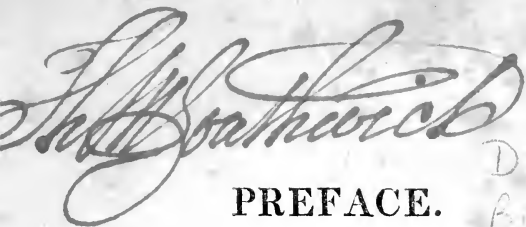
*A NEW EDITION.*

BY THE AUTHOR OF THE CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE  
POLITICAL LIFE OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

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TRENTON:  
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LOAN STACK



PREFACE.

DK 131

B. 2

1873

**I**F ever there was a man whose actions deserved a particular history, it was PETER I. emperor of Russia. The historian of the late king of Sweden, when he says that Charles XII. and Peter Alexiowitz were the most extraordinary persons that have been known for many ages, allows the latter to be far the greater man of the two. The one had indeed much to be admired, little to be imitated; the other will be a subject of wonder to all mankind, and a pattern of imitation to every prince who aims to be truly great.

But neither does the business of human life permit, or our natural curiosity require, to read over all the circumstances of the most illustrious life, in order to form an idea of the person. Contemporaries may be pleased to view these particulars as they rise, but must wish, when the actions are over, to take a retrospect of them in a narrower compass, and not forever to have recourse to a journal. This will hold good at least in general; and for those who are of a contrary opinion, there were histories of the czar Peter already in print in their own taste, when we ventured to publish one more adapted to ours. If the merit of compiling gave a sanction to transcriptions in one particular, we thought that of abridging might do it to extracts in another.

The public itself, we venture to say, will be no loser by what has been done. It has now in reality a new history, in a great measure written from new materi-

als, and containing many particulars which were not in our former, nor in any life of the czar Peter, that has yet come to our hands.

M. de Fontenelle's admirable oration, pronounced in the academy of sciences at Paris, in memory of his imperial colleague, is undoubtedly the best summary of his life that has ever appeared. We have translated this almost entirely, made it the text or ground-work of our history, and done little more in many places, than build upon it those circumstances for which it gave us a foundation. But the business of war was thought foreign to his subject by our eloquent academician, who considered the legislator more than the conqueror. This obliged us to have recourse to other helps for the czar's military history, which are usually referred to at the bottom of the page. We have even quoted a monthly journal in some of the longest descriptions, as in the battles of Lezno and Pultowa, and a few other particulars; not so much for the reputation of the book referred to, as to shew that we and our opposers are but equally copyists. Where indeed can there be more authentic accounts of such actions, than in the relations of those concerned in them, to the use of which every one has an equal right?

The first part is only an introduction to the rest; but such an introduction as we presume the whole will be the better for. After running through that, the reader will be acquainted with the country he travels in, and the people he converses with; which he could otherwise know only in part, and from accidental circumstances. The brief recapitulation of the czar's establishments, and the short view of his character, which we have drawn together at the end from several authors, and a little reflection on the history, is at least

## PREFACE.



so far a necessary part of this work, that we have the example of most other writers of lives to bear us out, and we do not remember above one that has quite omitted every thing of that nature.

*The following terms not being explained in the body of the book, I shall give the sense of them here.*

**Batagos.** A sort of punishment in which the criminal is laid flat on his face, with his back all bare, and his legs and arms extended, when two persons whip him with battocks, which are sticks as thick as a man's little finger, keeping time like smiths, till the party who inflicts the sentence says it is enough.

**Knout.** A punishment never inflicted but in consequence of a former trial, or by command of some great man. The knout is a hard leather thong about three feet and a half in length, fastened to the end of a stick two feet and a half, with which the hangman, or knoutavoit master, strikes the offender upon his bare back, as often as the judge commands. The criminal is horsed like one of our school-boys.

**Pine.** A severe way of giving the knout, when a man's hands are tied together behind his body, and he is drawn up by a rope fixed to them, a weight at the same time hanging on his feet, till his shoulders turn out of joint: and in this position the executioner scourges him according to his sentence. After this, in capital cases, the person's raw back is sometimes roasted over slow fires.

**Rubel.** This was formerly an imaginary coin, consisting of one hundred copecks, or about nine shillings English. The czar Peter had rubles coined, whose value cannot be certainly fixed, because of their fre-

quent variations. In captain Perry's time, a rubel was worth 8s. 4d. English, or 160 English pence.

*Werst.* A measure of longitude, containing 350½ English feet, or about two thirds of an English mile. They reckon eighty of these wersts to a geographical degree, and four to a league.

## INTRODUCTION.

**T**HE extensive empire of RUSSIA is situate partly in Asia and partly in Europe ; bounded on the north by the Frozen Ocean ; on the south by Great Tartary, the Caspian Sea and Persia ; on the east by the Sea of Japan ; and on the west by Sweden, Poland and the Black Sea. There were three countries that had the name of Russia ; namely, Red Russia, White Russia, which comprehends Lithuania, and Black Russia, which comprehends the governments of Kaluga, Moscow, Tula, Rezan, Volodimir and Yaroslaf ; and hence his imperial majesty takes the title of emperor of all the Russias. This empire, exclusive of the late acquisitions from the Turks and from Poland, forms a square, whose sides are two thousand miles each. The seas of Russia are the Baltic, the white Sea, the Frozen Ocean, the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. There are also five large rivers ; namely, the Dnieper, Volga, Don, Dwina and Oby. A country of such vast extent must lie in different climates, and the soil and products must be as different. The most fertile part is near the frontiers of Poland ; insomuch that the inhabitants are able to supply their neighbors with corn : the north part is not only more cold, but very marshy, and overrun with forests, inhabited chiefly by wild beasts. Beside domestic animals, there are wild beeves, reindeer, martens, white and black foxes, weasels, ermines, and sables, whose skins make the best furs in the world. Those that hunt these creatures for their skins, use no fire-arms, for fear of spoiling them. They had very few vines before Peter the Great caused them to be planted in different places. In Russia are large quantities of cotton and silk, (with

which they make all sorts of stuffs) skins, furs, Russia leather, tallow, hemp, Russia-cloth, honey, wax, and almost all the merchandize of China, India, Persia, Turkey and some European countries. This vast empire was divided by the late Empress into 41 governments; namely, Petersburgh, Olonetz, Wiburg, Revel, Riga, Pskoff, Novogorod, Tver, Smolensko, Polotsk, Mohilef, Orel, Kaluga, Moscow, Tula, Rezan, Volodimir, Yaroslaf, Vologde, Archangel, Kostroma, Nishnei-Novogorod, Kasan, Simbirsk, Penza, Tambof, Voronetz, Kursk, Novogorod-Severskoi, Tchernigof, Kiof, Kharkof, Catharinenslaf, Caucasus, Saratof, Ufa, Viatka, Perm, Tobolsk, Kolyvan and Irkutzk. The inhabitants in general are robust, well shaped and of pretty good complexion. They are great eaters and very fond of brandy. They use bathings, but smoke no tobacco, lest the smoke should dishonor the images of the saints, which they have in great veneration: however they take a great deal of snuff, made of the tobacco brought from Ukraine. They were formerly the most ignorant, brutish people in the world, and many of them now are little better. Formerly no Russians were seen in other countries, and they seldom or never sent ambassadors to foreign courts; but now the gentlemen are more polite, and study the interests of different nations. Their armies are always very numerous. They had no men of war nor merchant ships before the reign of Peter the Great; but in the late reign, powerful Russian squadrons appeared, not only in the Baltic, but in the Black Sea, and in the Mediterranean. They have images in their churches; and the priests give a passport, to those that are dying, addressed to St. Nicholas, who is desired to entreat St. Peter to open the gates of heaven, as they have certified that the bearer is a good christian. The church is governed by a patriarch, under whom are the archbishops and bishops. Every priest is called a *papa*, or pope, and of these there were 4000 in Moscow only. Formerly he was thought a learned



man who could read and write ; but Peter the Great undertook to introduce the arts and sciences ; and, in 1724, the first university was founded that ever was in Russia ; there is also an academy of sciences at Petersburg, supplied with some of the best professors in Europe. With respect to dress, a long beard is in high estimation among the people of Russia.—The commonalty have still a great veneration for this fringe of human hair, notwithstanding the efforts of their monarchs to root it out ; and it is only these depending upon government, in the army and navy, who have yet complied with the custom and wishes of the court. These who retain their beards, retain likewise the ancient dress ; the long swaddling coat, either of skins, or of coarse cloth lined with skins, in winter ; and in summer, of cloth only. About their middle they have a sash of any color ; but what they mostly prefer is green or yellow. They wear trousers instead of breeches and stockings ; their limbs are, besides, wrapped in many folds of woollen stuffs to keep them warm, and above all they wear boots. Their shirts are fashioned as womens ; their necks exposed to the cold, are rendered hard and impenetrable from this practice. Government continues to exert every nerve to compell the subjects to adopt the German dress. The clergy alone excepted, none can procure any place or favor from court, upon other condition than banishing the Asiatic sheepskin robes. The worn-out veteran retires with a pension, upon the express terms of never again assuming the habit of his fathers. But so zealously attached are the multitude to former manners, and so honorable do they esteem them, that a Russian dressed in his beard and gown, tells you by his looks that he has not prostituted the memory of his ancestors. The dress of the women is the reverse of the men, both in fashion and color ; every part of it being as short and tight as decency will allow, and very gaudy. It is exactly the same with that of the highland women in Scotland ; both have the short jacket, the striped

petticoat and the tartan plaid ; and both too, in general have a napkin rolled about their head. The Russian women are, however, far more elegant and rich in their attire ; nor is gold lace and paint wanting to set off their charms. The young generation are modernizing these ancient vestments ; the stiff embroidered napkin is supplanted by one of flowing silk ; the jacket and petticoat are of muslin, or other fine stuffs ; and the plaid is exchanged for a silk or satin cloak, in the cold season, lined with fur. The dress of the higher ranks is after the French and English fashion ; but all wear a covering of fur six months of the year. The sovereign of Russia is absolute. He was formerly called grand duke, which is now the title of the heir apparent ; he afterwards assumed the title of czar, which the natives pronounce *tzar*, or *zaar*, a corruption of Cesar, emperor ; from some fancied relation to the Roman emperors, on account of which they also bear the eagle as a symbol of their empire. The first who bore the title of *czar*, was Basil, son of Basilides, who freed his country from its subjection to the Tartars, about the year 1470. Perhaps no country ever exhibited, in so short a time, the wonders that may be effected by the genius and exertions of one man. Peter the Great at his accession to the throne, found his subjects of all ranks involved in the grossest ignorance and barbarism ; his numerous armies ferocious and undisciplined ; and he had neither merchant ships nor men of war ; which, added to the remoteness of her situation, rendered the influence of Russia in the politics of Europe of little consideration. Peter civilized his barbarous subjects, disciplined his armies, built cities and fortresses, and created a navy. These national improvements have been continued since his time, and Russia now holds a rank among the nations of Europe, of which human foresight, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, could have formed no conception.—Petersburgh is the capital of the whole empire.

# L I F E

OF

## PETER THE GREAT.

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### BOOK I.

*History of the Czar Peter Alexiowitiz, from his accession to the throne, till the taking of Asoph from the Turks.*

**P**PETER, the son of Alexis Michaelowitz, and Natalia Kirilowna Naraskin, was born the 11th of June, 1672. He was but ten years old when proclaimed czar, upon the death of his brother Theodore, to the prejudice of prince John, who, as well for the weakness of his mind as the imbecility of his body, was judged incapable of the government. The strelitzes, excited by the princess Sophia, an artful and ambitious woman, revolted against him in favor of John, the princess's own brother. She, who in czar Theodore's time, had made her way from a monastery to the court, contrary to an ancient custom then in being, and towards the end of his reign had far insinuated herself into the management of affairs, was too well acquainted with the character of Peter, and those who were like to be about him, to expect any great share in the administration under the young monarch. This, and the regret she conceived at seeing her own brother excluded from the crown, engaged all her address to prevail on some great men of the court, and in particular general Couvanski, president of the strelitzes, and the palatine Odoyerski, to bring over the troops to John's interest.

The more effectually to accomplish this, they secured the officers who were to attend the czar Theodore's funeral. These declared to their respective companies, that Theodore had been poisoned by his physicians; and that the Naraskins, the maternal uncles of Peter, had smothered Prince John with a cushion.—“And there is now a conspiracy, gentlemen, said they, against yourselves; for certain boyars have been tampering with us, to mix poison in the liquor, which according to custom is to be distributed to you at this solemnity.” Their insinuation had all the effect they could wish for: the alarm-bell rung, and the whole city cried out, “The Naraskins have murdered prince John.” The guards drew up in order of battle before the palace, on the 15th of May early in the morning, and demanded to have the Naraskins delivered to them: but prince Odewski, for whom they had some respect, came and told them they were imposed on; for both the princes were alive, and if they would have but a little patience, he would bring them into their presence.

This might have suppressed the whole conspiracy, had not the princess sent down some casks of brandy among the rioters, under pretence of quieting, but with intent to inflame them afresh, as it effectually did; for though the two princes appeared immediately after, and in their own persons exhorted the soldiers to retire, they again demanded the persons whom they suspected to be the authors of the late czar's death: and, upon receiving a denial, they forced the gates, entered the apartments, and threw out of the windows all the officers they met with, others below catching them on their pikes. They came at last into the chamber of the young czar, and massacred in his presence all who were fled thither for refuge: nor was their fury appeased with all this destruction; for they entered the apartments of the czarina dowager Natalia, mother of Peter, and robbed it of all the riches they could find there. They murdered her elder brother; drag-

ged out her father by force, and thrust him into a convent. Theodore Soltikow, who resembled another of the Naraskins; Romadanowski, who had been generalissimo of the czar's army; general Czeremetow, who lost the battle against the Poles in 1661, and had been redeemed but two years before; general Dolhorouki, with his brother and two sons; Landnow, secretary of state, the chancellor, who had been recalled from banishment, and restored to his office; Tapkin, who concluded the last treaty of Peace with the Turks; Boutarkin, the physician in ordinary, and many other officers, were all put to the sword in this military execution. Their bodies were dragged into the market-place, and there exposed for three days successively. Their houses were pillaged and burned. In a word, the massacre continued till prince John was proclaimed czar, in conjunction with Peter. They were both crowned, and the princess Sophia declared regent, which put an end to the rebellion.

During these disturbances, Anastasius Naraskin having hid himself in a church, the czarina was induced by threats to discover him, princess Sophia promising her own interposition with the populace in his favor. But all her entreaties were in vain, (and probably she, who was author of the whole mischief, desired they should be so;) the mob tore him from her, carried him into the chancery, before the president Ceuanski, where, under pretence of many accusations, he was severely tortured, and afterwards brought into the market and hewn to pieces.

The czarina Natalia, soon after this, retired, under pretence of devotion, with the czar John to the Troitski, or trinity monastery, whither prince Boris Galliezin had already conveyed Peter. She summoned hither the nobility and most of the senators; who being together, sent to the rebels at Moscow, to demand the authors of this insurrection. Accordingly, and without hesitation, all who were known to be guilty

were delivered up, together with the tenth man in every regiment of strelitzes, amounting in all to above 2000. These unhappy wretches, looking on themselves as just victims to insulted authority, having received the sacrament, and taken leave of their families, came to the convent full of the most affecting penitence. They brought with them the instruments for their own execution, the ringleaders having halters about their necks, and every three of the others bearing two of them a block, and the third a hatchet. When they came into the court of the convent, under the window where the two czars were, they laid down their necks on the blocks, crying out, "We are all guilty, and it depends on the pleasure of the czars to punish not only us but all our families: let them pronounce our sentence." In this posture they lay above three hours, before any resolution was taken. Mean while the president Couvanski was sent for, and taken into custody, together with his son, before they could reach the convent. The senators would have examined the case, according to the ordinary form of process; but Miloslauski addressing himself to the czars, persuaded them to waive all trial, which could now be only a matter of form, since the prisoners had pleaded guilty. The rest of the council came into his sentiment, and the result of the affair was, that Couvanski and his son, with about thirty of the chief rebels, were beheaded, and all the rest dismissed. Miloslauski had a private reason for proceeding in this silent manner, which was never known till after his death.

Both the brothers now reigned, in conjunction with the princess, who had her image stamped on the coin, together with theirs, and signed all writings, not only in the empire, but to foreign courts. She frequented the senate diligently, exhorted the members of it to their duty, governed with great prudence, and shewed a zeal for the welfare of the empire. Her love to her brother John, and hatred to Peter, made her zeal-

ous to procure a wife for the former, notwithstanding his ill state of health. The lady pitched upon was daughter of Alexander Soltikow, who had before been designed for czar Theodore, and was counted the handsomest woman in the whole Russian empire. She was brought to court in a disguised manner, that the match might not be prevented. From Siberia, of which her father was then governor, she was conveyed to Moscow, without any one's knowledge but the contracting parties; and in three days after her arrival she was declared czarina, and the nuptials consummated.

While the interest of John, and the means of continuing the succession in his family, were thus promoted, the very education of young Peter was neglected. The Muscovite education was in general very bad, and that of princes, exposed as they are to flattery, more than truth, is seldom good in the most polite countries. But there was yet more in the case of Peter, whom all premeditated means were taken to spoil. The ambitious Sophia plainly foresaw, that if he one day proved the great prince he seemed capable of making, her own authority must fall of course. She placed about him every object that might fix his attention, stifle his natural light, corrupt his heart and debauch his manners. But neither can a good education create a great character, nor a bad one spoil it. Heroes of all kinds come finished out of the hands of nature, and the qualities she gives them are insurmountable. An inclination for military exercises appeared in the very infancy of the czar Peter: he was then delighted with beating a drum, not as a mere childish diversion, but that he might learn the business of a soldier. By this means he became so expert, that he would frequently give lessons to those of the profession, the best of whom he excelled.

But nothing was more remarkable in the youth of this monarch, than the strong antipathy he then had to water, which, had it not been removed, must have rendered ineffectual most of his great qualities. A

Swedish officer, who lived thirteen years in the country, assures us, that "from the sixth to the fourteenth year of his age, Peter was so fearful of this element, that he could not look upon standing, much less running water, especially if attended with any noise; and that for this reason he never walked in the garden of his palace, which is watered by the river Moscua, nor would he cross over the smallest brook, though on a bridge, unless the windows of his coach were shut close." It may be worth while to relate the cause of this strange aversion, and how it was removed.

\* When he was about five years old, his mother had him one day asleep in her lap, in a coach, and passing over a dam where there was a cataract, the violent fall of water awakened him in such a fright as threw him into a fever, which, though he happily got rid of it, it left such a terror on his spirits, as produced the abovementioned effect.

This aversion continuing, was matter of great concern to all about him, as it necessarily checked his enterprising genius. But one fine day, prince Boris Galliezin, his governor and chief favorite, persuaded him to ride into the country, and partake in a hunting match, without informing him that there was any brook near the place. After a little diversion, Galliezin cried out, "What hot weather! O that there was a river at hand, that I might jump in and bathe!" "How! (said the young czar) would you kill yourself?" The prince answered, "I have frequently bathed with your father, and yet your majesty sees me alive. Nothing can be more wholesome in sultry weather." The czar was surprised, and coldly replied "I have heard that people are frequently drowned." "Aye, (said Galliezin, but not in water scarce so high as one's knees. If you please, sir, I will send somebody to look for a stream, that you may see it is possible to bathe without drowning." The brook was easily found; the czar

\* Strahlenberg's description of the north and east parts of Europe and Asia.



rode towards it trembling, and stopped his horse a good way off. Galliczin ordered some men to cross it on horseback, forwards and backwards; upon which the czar ventured to ride nearer. The prince seeing this, rode through himself, and ordered some of his people to cross it on foot. They did: the czar admired at what he saw; but at last had the courage to ride his own horse over. Pleased with what he had performed, he from that time used himself to the water, till by degrees he got quite rid of this troublesome antipathy.

This Galliczin was nephew to the prime minister of that name, who made so great a figure during the administration of the princess Sophia; to whom he was entirely attached, as his kinsman was to Peter. The characters of these two men, and the history of their respective fortunes, will take in most of the affairs during the czar's minority.

The elder Galliczin, prince Basil Basiliowitz, was descended from the Jagellons, grand dukes of Lithuania; which made him no less considerable for his illustrious extraction, than for the high station he was advanced to. He was the ablest politician at that time in Muscovy; the most learned and accomplished of all the boyars; a friend to foreigners and an encourager of industry: he would, indeed, have been without exception, had not his affection for his mistress led him beyond the bounds of his duty, and involved him in the ruin of that ambitious woman. It was chiefly owing to his advice and dexterity, that she was able so long to maintain her vast authority which she, in return exerted to the utmost in his support, against those of the boyars, who were in the interest of the czar Peter. But at last, resolving no longer to be imposed upon by this overgrown favorite, (whose great credit with the princess did not escape some malicious interpretations) the nobility found means to remove him from his employments, after several unsuccessful attempts.

Once he narrowly escaped assassination, as he was going in his sled to wait on the czar. An obscure person, who had watched the opportunity, seized him suddenly by the beard, in order to stab him ; but whilst he was drawing out his dagger, which according to the Muscovite fashion, stuck in his girdle, the prince's servant had the good fortune to stop his hand. The man, far from being dispirited, openly avowed his intention, and told the prince "that three hundred citizens, out of pity to their country, had conspired his destruction, which some of them, he did not question, would take more certain measures to effect." He was going on with his reproaches, had he not instantly been dragged away to prison, where, after suffering the rack, he was privately executed, to prevent any disturbance from the people.

This outrage was soon followed by another, less dangerous indeed in its contrivance, but equally convincing to Galliczin of the sentiments the populace had of his ministry.

A war breaking out between the Russians and Crimean Tartars, a proper person was debated on to command the army of the former. Prince Galliczin would gladly have been excused, as well for fear of the enemies he must leave behind him at court, as because he knew how much his credit must depend on the success of the expedition: but the reason of his refusal being sufficiently obvious, he was universally complimented into the acceptance of this charge, which he executed in two campaigns, in the years 1687 and 1689, with much more parade than real advantage. It was just upon his departure to the last of these, that a covered coffin was found at his palace gate, with a note enclosed, containing these words: "Galliczin, unless the campaign thou art now going to open, prove more successful than the former, we are resolved to make sure work with thee."

It is needless to enter into the particulars of a war, which consisted more of pompous preparations, and

tedious marches, than any actions worthy of notice. Galliezin, though unexperienced in military affairs, had, however the address in the first expedition, to throw off the odium that threatened himself, upon John Samuelerrick, prince or hetman of the Cossacks, who was instantly deposed, and Mazeppa, a man we shall have occasion to mention hereafter, elected in his room ; while Galliezin was received by the princess regent with all the honors of a conqueror, and very magnificent presents. The next year he had penetrated farther than before, and with a more powerful army, when he surprised the world with a treaty of peace, just when it was expected he would have pushed the enemy to the last extremity. He was tempted, it seems, to act thus, by the promise of a very large sum of ducats ; but when the barrels came to be opened, in which the purchase money was sent, a great part of their contents appeared to be only counters.

As these Crim Tartars will frequently be mentioned in this history, I shall here give some account of them. Their chief seat is a fine fertile peninsula, called anciently Taurica Chersonesus, surrounded partly by the Palus Mæotis, and partly by the Black Sea. Besides which, their cham or prince reigns over a large tract of land to the northward, and extending far east and west, including Nogai, Bongaiaë, and part of Circassia. They have lived many centuries in strict alliance with, or rather in heavy vassalage under, the Porte ; and in case of a failure in the Ottoman male line, the cham of Tartary is to succeed to the Turkish empire. This prince is called emperor by his own subjects, and has great outward respect shewn him by the Porte ; yet a little matter serves to depose him, and occasions of this nature are so frequently found, that few chams have died upon the throne in an old age. The Tartars are the greatest thieves upon earth, and continually make inroads on their neighbors only to rob them : but at the same time, in imitation of their ancestors the Scythians, they are the most hospitable to stran-

gers, when they pass through their country. When they go to war with the Ottoman army, they are maintained by the Porte; but receive no other pay except their booty. They were formerly victorious against the Russians, and have often penetrated into the very heart of their country. They once burnt the city of Moscow, and made the czars submit to those scandalous terms, which were shook off by John Basiliowitz.

Galiczin's expeditions against these people, were but a prelude to those of his master against the Turks, which soon after followed. The young monarch, now in the eighteenth year of his age, was married during the minister's absence, to Ottokesa Federona, daughter of the boyar Fedor Abrahamowitz. This affair, managed by Galiczin's enemies, and entirely against the inclinations of the princess, increased the party of czar Peter, which had hitherto been weakest. So that when Galiczin came home, he found all his measures disconcerted; a young czarina big with child; a strong party of enemies, well informed of all the particulars of his dishonorable campaign; and a master, who now began to be so in fact, denying him audience at first, and hardly prevailed on to grant it at the intercession of the princess: in a word, he underwent the most severe reproaches, and had nothing to plead in his own justification.

These presages of his approaching ruin, which began to draw on apace, engaged the unhappy minister to run every length, that the enterprising genius of his mistress could find out. Unwilling to bear any control, she, in an arbitrary manner, according to the custom of the Russians after a victory, would distribute the imperial favors to the general officers, as if they indeed had been victorious. But whereas it was before usual to give only a royal vest as the highest mark of honor, she bestowed on her favorite no less than 1500 peasants' houses, and on the other commanders in proportion. Peter opposed this extravagant beneficence, and was for enquiring into the merit

of their respective services ; but the regent's authority for this time carried it against the czar's.

The princess, having thus tried her strength, brought Galliczin once more into full power ; and, willing to prevent her own disgrace, which must terminate in the being thrust again into a convent, she formed a design against the life of her brother. Galliczin, though naturally a friend to moderate councils, perceived he had embarked too far in her interest to think of receding, and came easily into her scheme. But a number of men, entirely devoted to her service, was necessarily in the capital. The hettman Mazeppa owed his whole fortune to Galliczin's policy, and was therefore judged a proper instrument on this occasion. He was introduced, with 500 of his principal officers, under pretence of doing homage to the czars, who would never admit him into their presence ; for John, in spite of natural affection, was now so fully convinced of his sister's ambitious views, that he usually came wholly into Peter's interest, which was indeed his own.

One Theodore Thekelavitau, who had been president of the strelitzes since the death of Kouvanski, was pitched upon as the leading man in this bloody enterprise. Peter was at one of his country houses, upon the river Yarus, a short league from Moscow, which was to be the scene of this horrid assassination. Among the 600 select strelitzes, who were to attend Thekelavitau to this place, there were two however more faithful than the rest. These men, shocked at what they had undertaken, escaped privately to czar Peter, and warned him of his danger. The czar jumped immediately out of bed, sent for the Naraskins, his maternal uncles, and after consultation, despatched one of them, with Boris Galliczin the favorite, to enquire into the truth of this intelligence. They met Thekelavitau on the road, hid themselves while he passed by with his troops, and then posted back to secure the czar ; who had just time enough to escape with his mother, his wife and his wife's sister, to the Troitski monastery.

When the traitor came to Obrogensko, the name of the seat, and found the czar was missing, he could not guess the cause, nor learn it from any there present. But, in the evening, letters came to the princess, reproaching her with her treacherous intent. She absolutely denied the matter, pretending these guards came only to relieve the others then on duty ; but this excuse was thought very insufficient, because soldiers are always relieved in the day. The czar published the attempt, ordered the militia to be raised, and summoned together the boyars, who in a week's time were with him in great numbers.

Galiczin was ordered to appear, but pretended he was restrained by czar John, who indeed acted at this time just as directed by his sister. In order to secure the strelitzes, he harrangued them from the top of the palace stairs, insinuating that Peter had some design against the peace of the state, and enjoining them not to obey his orders. The princess repeated the same thing ; but spite of this and all her other artifices, they deserted her interest, and soon obliged her to make application for her own security. Two of Peter's aunts, who knew nothing of the conspiracy, were employed for her mediators. The young czar convinced them of his sister's horrid designs, and engaged them firmly to himself. He did the like by the patriarch, who was sent next on the same message, upon shewing the old prelate that he was to have been taken off himself, if the plot had succeeded, and the abbot Sylvester, a conspirator, advanced in his place.

Finding her interest, as well as authority, now at an end, the princess, having secured Thekelavitau, set out in person, accompanied by Galiczin, for the Troitski monastery, in hopes to appease her brother, who had sent an order to the strelitzes, to bring the traitors to him. The czar Peter, resolving not to see his sister, had her stopped on the road and ordered back to Moscow ; whence she was soon after conducted to Dewitz, a little distance from town, and shut up in a



his master. But now, upon the disgrace of the princess Sophia and her minister, they began to aspire at the chief employments in the state ; which made them envy their own creature, whose great interest in their nephew they esteemed the only obstacle to their ambitious views. The having three times rescued him from destruction, since the death of the late czar, could not but leave a grateful impression on the mind of young Peter ; and as he had been his governor, his most constant companion, and a party in all his pleasures, that first esteem was improved into a partial fondness for his person

Bent upon the ruin of this new minister, the Naraskins insinuated all they could think of to his disadvantage. "He must, said they, have been concerned in the late conspiracy, because he was so zealous to prevent his cousin's execution ; and his majesty might as well recall this latter from exile, as favour one so nearly his relation, who would undoubtedly pursue the same maxims, and might one day attempt to restore the princess Sophia." It does not appear what ground they had for such intimations, or how they could hope to make them effectual. But an artful courtier, who has the ear of his master, can throw what colors he pleases on his adversary. Peter was long unwilling to be wrought upon, but consented at last to give his word, that his favorite should be confined to his own estate. The prince heard of it, and, without waiting for his majesty's order, retired thither. The czar, reflecting what he had done, sent courier after courier to bring him back. He was with the greatest difficulty prevailed on, and for some time continued in as high credit as ever. But by bestowing his favors in a scandalous manner, without regard to true merit, he at last rendered himself really obnoxious, and justly suffered the same disgrace as his cousin and predecessor, to the great joy of the Naraskins.

These men now succeeded to the power they had so long panted after, but made no better use of it than



prince Boris had done. So far was either of these administrations from being equal to that of the great Galliezin, (who had in the main his country's interest at heart, was a lover of learning and arts, and a man of great sobriety) that people of the best understanding began to wish for his restoration, and might perhaps have attempted it, as believing his former treachery was entirely owing to his mistress, had not the introduction of a new favorite, one Le Fort, made him no longer necessary. M. De la Motraye has given us the history and character of this extraordinary man, the substance of which here follows :

M. Le Fort was of a reputable family at Geneva, some of whom were in the magistracy of that city. After having passed through his studies at college, his father gave him his choice of either the counting-house or long robe, for a profession to settle in. As his inclination was wholly for the army, the others were equally indifferent. But the father not encouraging his military taste, he desired to be sent to Amsterdam, as the best school for trade. M. Franconis, one of the most considerable merchants in the place, was chosen for his master ; who, charmed with his genius and application, conceived a great esteem for him. Having a ship laden for Copenhagen, M. Franconis complied with his man's desire, and gave him charge of the cargo.

Young Le Fort discharged his commission with great advantage to his master, even beyond what could be expected. In the mean time, his good air, and personal merit, gained him access to persons of the best distinction. His military taste began to revive at sight of the Danish troops, and prompted him to get acquainted with some of the officers. He even put himself under arms, exercised among the soldiers, and was master of all their discipline. But learning that the court of Denmark was going to send an ambassador to Moscow, who was looking out for pages that were tall and well made, he got himself recom-

mended in that character. The minister, charmed with his person and address, told him it entirely depended upon himself, whether he would accompany him or not. As his excellency was not to depart for two months, Le Fort desired leave to write to his master and father, for their consent. In his letter to M. Franconis, he expressed his strong inclination to travel, and begged that he would join another letter that he had sent his father, to obtain his leave. M. Franconis did so, and he said the kindest things possible of his servant; giving it as his own opinion, from what had hitherto appeared, that the young man could not but succeed in whatever he undertook. Old M. Le Fort's answer was agreeable to his son's wishes, and brought with it a remittance for his particular occasions.

The ambassador, in his way to Moscow, staid some time at Mittaw in Courland, to execute a commission from the king his master. Here Le Fort applied himself to learn the language of the country, which is a sort of Slavonian, and got such a mastery of it, as to serve the ambassador for an interpreter all the rest of the journey; and afterwards at the Russian court, where they speak another dialect of the Slavonian, which he likewise instantly learned. In the mean time he perfected himself in the German, which he knew little of before, and came to understand the Danish.

As the ambassador's magnificence recommended him to czar John, his personal merit did the same to Peter, who often visited him for the sake of his conversation. One day dining with his excellency, he took notice of Le Fort, who was waiting behind his master's chair, in his office of interpreter. His majesty asked him what countryman he was? where he had learned the Russian tongue? with other questions. Le Fort's answers were so satisfactory and respectful, that the czar demanded if he would enter into his service? "Whatever ambition, (says Le Fort) I might have to serve so great a monarch, I depend on a lord who gives me so many marks of his bounty, that neither duty nor

gratitude will allow me to promise." "But (said the czar) if I have your master's consent, will you then be willing?" "Yes, (replied our adventurer) but I beg your majesty would ask by some other interpreter than myself." The czar, by his own interpreter, said to the ambassador, "this young man speaks very good Russian." The other answered, "he has a genius to learn any thing," and related the surprising progress he had made in several other languages, all within the compass of four months. Le Fort withdrew to some distance, while his master was speaking his praises; and then the czar turning his head, ordered him to bring him a glass of wine. His majesty used him for an interpreter in the rest of that day's conversation; but nothing more passed concerning himself.

The next time the ambassador went to court, his majesty declared he should be glad to have that young man about him. "Ask him, sir, (said he) if he is willing to serve me; if so, you shall have one of my interpreters while you have occasion." Consent being given, his majesty added, "well, let him come to me tomorrow morning, at my levee." Le Fort accordingly went, was immediately made first interpreter, and soon after became so much a favorite, that his majesty carried him with him wherever he went, continually asked him questions about the courts he had seen, as Savoy, France, and Denmark, and other foreign matters; and was always charmed with his answers.

Talking one day of the king of Denmark's life-guards, the czar asked him what he thought of his. "Your guards, and all your majesty's soldiers, (said Le Fort) are fine well made men, who want nothing but to be well disciplined and clothed in a proper manner." He then objected against their long coats, as inconvenient and unbecoming a soldier. "Couldst thou let me see (said the czar) some clothes that are more convenient?" Le Fort answered he would endeavor; went immediately to the Danish ambassador's tailor, was measured for a captain of the guard's suit, and a

private man's. Two days after he appeared in the first at the czar's levee, who did not know him till he spoke ; but then commended his diligence, and much approved the dress. In two days more he appeared in the other, which was equally pleasing ; and the czar declared he would have such for a whole company, who should be disciplined after the foreign manner.

Le Fort sent to all the foreign merchants at Moscow, and went to some himself, for things necessary to clothe this company. All the tailors he could find in the houses of ambassadors and merchants, he took into pay, and obtained an order from the czar for measuring some of the tallest and handsomest strelitzes. He got together besides a number of foreigners, that had some military knowledge, and were already entered, or willing to enter into the czar's service ; had them clothed according to their respective posts, and at length completed a company of fifty men. At the head of these, with beat of drum, he appeared before the palace gate one morning, a little before the strelitzes mounted guard. The czar, coming to the window, was as much surprised as pleased at this spectacle. Their captain then gave them their first lesson of military exercise ; which was no sooner over, but the czar came down, and said he would enter into the company, ordering a suit of clothes to be made for him as a private centinel, (or, as M. Fontenelle says, a drummer.) His majesty, capable of every thing, soon excelled in his exercise, and was thus acting the part of a life-guard man, while his brother John, more agreeably to his natural weakness, maintained the post of a czar. Peter, willing to have all his troops disciplined in the same manner, commanded captain Le Fort to procure him all the foreigners he was able, and ordered him what money should be necessary. The captain made large remittances on this account, with great success, to Amsterdam, Geneva and other places ; not forgetting M. Franconis, who was no loser by the bargain.

Thus was the czar furnished, at one and the same time, with a new species of soldiers, and another sort of minister than Russia had ever yet seen. The rank his majesty took in this company, and the discipline he underwent, was not a vain representation which served only to divert himself and his court. He absolutely forbid his captain to remember he was czar, and performed his duty with all the regularity and submission that his place required. He lived upon his pay, and lodged in no better tent than another man of the same rank. At last he was made a serjeant, after having merited it in his officer's opinion, whom he would have punished for a partial judgment in his favor. Thus his elevation was like that of a soldier of fortune, whose very competitors must own it his due. By this he gave a lesson to his nobility, that birth alone was not a sufficient title to the attainment of military dignities, and informed his other subjects, that merit in the least of them was a valid qualification. The mean employes he passed through, the hardships and fatigues he underwent, gave him a stronger right, than even his despotic authority, for requiring the same things of his people.

To this first company of fifty men, he soon added others, and formed at last a considerable corps, all commanded by foreigners, and disciplined after the German manner. As he was then at peace with his neighbors, he exercised them in mock battles and sieges; teaching them experience without loss of blood, and keeping in action that agility and courage which were the prelude of future victories. The strelitzes, all this while, looked upon it only as the amusement of a young prince, and took part themselves in the diversion of this new sight. But the czar perceiving them too powerful, and wholly devoted to his sister's interest, conceived from the first a design to humble their pride, which he would effect by securing a body of better disciplined, and more faithful troops.

The czar Theodore, as we before took notice, had been a great lover of horses, magnificent dresses, and equipages. Peter, though for his own part he despised this pompous outside, as useless and burthensome, was yet pleased to see that his subjects, who had hitherto been too averse to every thing politely great, began by little and little to come into a better taste.

About the same time that he began this reformation in his army, an accident started that put his majesty on a new pursuit, still more difficult than the former. A small English vessel, which he saw floating on a lake at Ismaeloff, one of his pleasure-houses, where it had long lain abandoned and useless, revived in him the spirit of his father Alexis Michaelowitz, and gave him the notion of a fleet, though he had at that time no place where to use it, except the white sea. He found a ship-carpenter, a Dutchman, who, for want of other employ had been obliged to turn joiner; got the vessel repaired, had it worked in his presence, and resolved to have more of them as soon as possible. Accordingly, procuring a number of foreign workmen, he had first several little boats built at Moscow, and then four frigates, of four guns each, upon the Pereslauski lake. These were often engaged against one another, the czar himself being present; and in 1694, his majesty visited Archangel, went on board the English and Dutch ships, and got all possible information concerning marine affairs. He did the same again the next year; and in 1696, after some search for a convenient place, workmen were sent to Veronitz, where an undertaking was begun quite new in Russia; the building of ships, galleys, and other vessels, which were to fall down into the Don, and through that to the Black Sea, after the taking of Asoph, which his majesty this summer first attempted.

Czar John dying in the beginning of this year, 1696, Peter, now sole monarch, was in a condition to execute what he could not before, during their divided authority; and from this period of his life, we may date

the commencement of all his great actions. John left behind him three daughters, one of whom, Anne Joannowa, is the present empress of Russia. A late writer tells us, \* it was observable in this prince, that though his understanding was but weak, yet he was very haughty and severe. However, he had great regard for the welfare of the empire; and though he loved his sister very much, yet her reigning jointly with him and his brother, did so little please him, that, upon all occasions, he rather sided with his brother than with her. He also often declared, that when once his brother was of age, he would reign no longer. His own widow has said, that when she once told him the czar Peter slighted the princess Sophia too much, his answer was, "she is my own sister, but has used Peter so ill, she does not deserve we should look upon her, and if you speak ill of him, I shall esteem you his second enemy. The welfare of the whole empire depends on him, which I am bound to set a greater value upon, than even upon you, my dearest wife." He behaved thus to his last moments.

The death of czar John, added to the birth of prince Alexis Petrowitz, about six years before, entirely cut off all hopes from the princess Sophia and her party. This prince Alexis was the unhappy ezarewitz, whose conspiracy, trial and death, made so much noise in Europe many years since. His mother was almost equally unfortunate; for about a year after his birth, she was repudiated upon a pretence of disloyalty; though the true cause of her disgrace was ascribed to the resentment of a new favorite, Alexander Menzikoff, who had a little before been raised from among the dregs of the people. Nay, the enemies of Menzikoff did not stick to affirm, that he not only caused the czar to divorce and imprison this lady, whose virtue was never suspected, upon some reproaches, (violent indeed, but not without cause, and which her jealousy

\* Strahlenberg's history, &c.

extorted from her) that he carried her husband among lewd women, formerly his customers for cakes; but that, not satisfied with revenging these affronts on her own person, he carried his resentment even to the son, whom he caused the czar to disinherit, and afterwards to condemn to death, to make way for another successor.

But to return to M. Le Fort, which will lead us to the advancement of Menzikoff. Never was there a minister in Russia, of whom the people to this day speak with the same respect as of that foreigner.\* He never, say they, gave any ill advice to the czar; but, on the contrary, saved the lives, liberties and fortunes of a great number of his richest and most illustrious subjects, by putting himself between them and death, when his majesty, naturally violent, and in his youth inclined to cruelty, was ready to pronounce the severest sentence, and perhaps to execute it with his own hands. This generous behavior not only disarmed his majesty's ferocity, but sometimes made him affectionately kiss both the victim and the mediator. The foreigners Le Fort had brought into his service, among whom were many artificers, were so agreeable to the czar, that he resolved to introduce arts and sciences into his dominions. But Le Fort told him, his finances wanted to be reformed, as much as his troops; for that otherwise his revenues would not answer the expenses of his great designs, and the support of such a number of foreigners, who could be allured into his dominions only by a view of great advantage. The czar consented to follow his advice; and this worthy minister having represented that the reason why his revenues were so inconsiderable in ready money, was the height of the taxes on all commodities, which proved a great encouragement to smuggling; he put him upon reducing the duties from ten to four or five per cent. with severe penalties on those who attempted to defraud

\* M. de la Motraye.



his majesty of them. By this means the people were brought to pay more equally, and with greater cheerfulness; so that near two millions of rubles extraordinary were produced to the treasury the first year. And Le Fort having thus put it in his master's power to pay the foreigners generously and regularly, a great number of all nations came over, especially Germans, Scots and French; not only officers and soldiers for the army, but able men of all professions, some of whom acquired immense fortunes.

But to take away all cause of jealousy from the Russian subjects against foreigners, M. Le Fort recommended to the czar, for preferment, all those natives whom he and the others had made capable of filling the most lucrative posts. Of this, Alexander Menzikoff was an instance, who was crying his *piragi podovi*, or puff-cakes, about the streets of Moscow, when M. Le Fort arrived there: but that minister both made him capable of holding the several employments he had in the army, before he was made a prince by the czar's favor, and recommended him to them. In a word, Le Fort was disinterested to that degree, that he never would accept of any presents from those he had advanced; yet, being in this high situation, he got riches enough by his merit, his services and other just and honorable means, which he possessed without envy from the Russians, who looked upon him as their father.

Menzikoff was tall and well made, and had a natural sprightliness of temper. All this was taken notice of by the czar, who saw him one day crying his puffs, and singing songs about the streets. Being called by his majesty, and asked some trifling questions, as, whether he would sell his puffs and his basket? he gave such pleasing answers, that the czar then declared, according to Motraye, he would make his fortune, and immediately put him into a small place at court. However that might be, it is certain he was taken no farther notice of at present; and we find him after-

wards a soldier in the second regiment of Le Fort's establishment, which perhaps might be the only preferment the czar then gave him.

\* He was 21 years of age, when he first entered among the soldiery, where he continued about two or three years. As the guard of the czar's person, and the charge of the city were then committed to the troops of the foreign discipline, it was young Menzikoff's great good fortune to stand sentinel at the Bashna, (the office where the muster-rolls, and the drums and colors of the regiment were kept) one evening when the czar passed by, to see with what exactness the soldiers upon guard observed their orders. There had that evening been directions given, that the sentinels should interrogate each passenger thrice, who he was, and if no answer was given, to fire directly. His majesty coming about ten o'clock, and giving no answer to the question, Menzikoff fired his piece at him, but happily without damage. The commanding officer, with the rest in the guard room, were alarmed, and searched about for the person shot at, either dead or alive. No one being discovered, an officer guessed it must be the czar, (who had been used to make such visits) and upon this conjecture they seized Menzikoff, and made him prisoner. Next morning the czar sent to enquire who had kept the guard at such a post last night at 10 o'clock. Every one was ready to tell of Menzikoff, in order to clear himself. Immediately Menzikoff was ordered away under a file of musqueteers, and brought into the czar's presence. This incident, which was thought to pre-  
sage the utmost ruin to the young fellow, proved the rise of the greatest and wealthiest favorite that has been known for many years in any court of Europe.

Terrified with the thoughts of last night's action, and chilled with the dread of what he apprehended would be his certain destiny, Menzikoff came tremb-

\* Consett's preface to the state of the Russian church.

ling into the sun-shine of majesty. The czar was exceedingly pleased with his conduct, but dissembled his satisfaction while he examined into the reasons of it. Menzikoff falling down at his majesty's feet, alledged in his defence the orders of the superior officers, and protested he did not conceive the person he shot at to be his sovereign. The czar then pardoned him, ordered him to stay in the room, and at dinner time placed him at table with himself and his nobles. His sheepish looks and awkward behavior made a great deal of mirth for the company, and the czar himself broke several jests on that subject. But Le Fort soon discovered, under that disguise, a genius capable of great things. He nursed and cultivated the generous seed, and brought the young Russian forward in his master's favor, by such surprising steps, that he soon became the envy of all the great men of the empire. Happy had it been for his country, if this minister had pursued the steps of his predecessor; but, notwithstanding his great abilities, the many exactions he laid on the people, the numerous executions he occasioned, his haughtiness to the old nobility, his boundless ambition and avarice, made him the object of general hatred, and at last brought on his ruin, though not till after the death of his master. The czar Peter himself was not insensible of these faults in him, and more than once severely punished them; but could not part with a servant, whom, upon the whole, he found so very faithful.

The many great things the czar had in view, for the good of his subjects, made him neglect for some time the war against the Tartars, which he had resolved to pursue after the disgrace of Galliezin, in spite of the dishonorable treaty made by that general. As a war with these people would in all likelihood bring on one with the Turks, and as his majesty was much invited to break with these latter by the emperor, the Poles and the Venetians, who were already jointly engaged against them, he declared war with the Porte in 1691,

and pursued it with a success that first raised the reputation of his arms.

The first thing done was to clear the eastern banks of the Wolga from the Tartars, who made frequent incursions into the Muscovite dominions, ravaging far and near, according to their usual method. They were soon effectually drove back by the troops his majesty sent; and at the same time the Cossacks, who were his subjects, fell upon a great body of Crim Tartars on the side of Circassia, gave them a total defeat, and left 15,000 dead on the field. General Gordon, a Scotch gentleman, and an officer of great experience, entered Circassia itself, and after giving the Tartars several more overthrows, reduced the whole country to the czar's obedience.

His majesty seeing his army so successful on this side, immediately perceived a way open for making himself powerful by sea; a project he had long conceived, but never found practicable till now. Though the Wolga be a great river, and runs above 2,500 miles, yet has it no depth of water at its influx into the Caspian Sea, being every where choaked up with flats and sands: nor is the sea itself, for many leagues on the Russian side, capable of any considerable navigation; for which reason it has never yet borne any ships of burthen. Besides, had this sea been ever so navigable, as it respects only Armenia, Georgia, Persia, and part of Tartary, it could not suffice for any of the czar's glorious projects, either of conquest or trade. But the Black Sea lay convenient for both, opened a way into Lesser Asia, and to the gates of Constantinople itself: so that being once master of that, he might either by force or treaty, obtain a passage through the Hellespont, into the Mediterranean Sea, and establish a free commerce between his country and the ports of Italy, France, Spain, and the whole Turkish empire, which would give him a share in all the trade of the universe. Here as \* one observes, was a field

\* Life of the czar by a British officer.

of action large enough to gratify the ambition of a sovereign, born for great things, and who, possessing an empire superior to any of his neighbours, wanted nothing but an entrance upon the stage of greatness, that he might act like himself.

In pursuance of this design, he pushed on his war with the Turks, which was to give him footing on the coast, and hastened the marine preparations at Veronitz, which were to secure him the possession when once obtained. Having concerted measures with his allies at the beginning of the year 1695, he appeared with two armies in the field. The first, consisting of 90,000 foot and 20,000 horse, led by his majesty in person, marched into Circassia, and entering the Turkish dominions, sat down before Asoph, an important fortress upon the bank of the Tanais, near where it empties itself into the Palus Mæotis. The other army, containing 24,000 foot and 36,000 Cossack horse, commanded by lieutenant general Czeremetoff, marched by the way of the Ukrain, and keeping the course of the great river Boristhenes, sat down before Kasikermeen, a Tartarian city of great strength, within two leagues of the Black Sea. These places were equally considerable, as they were situated at the two great entrances into the Pentus Euxinus, that were nearest his czarish majesty's dominions.

It was an agreeable surprise to the christian world, when they saw the czar break with the Turk, in a juncture so very seasonable to the confederates; to find a prince, of whose genius they had yet formed no notions, begin a war with such apparent proofs of an exquisite foresight, and a perfect understanding of the consequence of what he had undertaken. The Turks, on the other hand, having lately received several terrible overthrows, and already lost the Morea, great part of Hungary, and some considerable places in Dalmatia, were in the utmost consternation at an attack so very sensible, from such a formidable power. They now saw their mistake, in that, having had Asoph

many years in their possession, they never considered it as one of the most important barriers of their whole empire. The situation of the place, in a low marshy ground, made it capable of so good fortifications, that it could be taken only by a vigorous bombardment : but the best they could now do, was to supply the weakness of the fortifications by the strength of the garrison : they sent thither 10,000 of the most resolute Janissaries, besides Tartars, under their most experienced officers, and with all manner of provisions for a vigorous defence.

The Muscovites, as yet, had but little experience in carrying on a siege ; and the garrison so well did their duty, that though the czar attacked it in form, battered it with 100 pieces of cannon, and 40 mortars, he was so harrassed by the desperate sallies of the Turks and a continual fire from the walls, that the winter coming on, and provisions growing scarce, he was obliged to turn the siege into a blockade, and retire with considerable loss. \* One Jacob, a foreign engineer, was partly the occasion of this ill success ; who having been kept out of his pay by the boyar he served under, nailed up the cannon he was entrusted with, deserted to the enemy in the night, and advised them to a final sally, which put the Muscovites into confusion.

Kasikermeen, though better fortified than Asoph, was not so well defended. The Cossacks, under prince Czeremetoff, pushed on their attacks with such fury, that they carried the place sword in hand, the garrison having but just time to retreat into two large forts, where they obtained articles of capitulation. The prince was censured in regard to this action, for suffering the Cossacks to plunder the place after articles were signed ; and his disgrace, which followed soon after, was ascribed to the complaints against him on that head. However, as he was again restored to his

\* Perry's Present State of Russia.

master's favour, we may presume he cleared himself of that accusation.

The czar was not idle during the winter. The prodigious preparations made in his vast dominions, for re-uniting his army, remounting his cavalry, and supplying his magazines, intimated plainly that the design upon Asoph was not laid aside. But the expeditious manner in which he furnished himself with a fleet, by having vessels built on the river Occa, carried over land to the Don, and conveyed down that river together with those from Veronitz, surprised all the world.

If the Turks committed an oversight in not fortifying Asoph before, they were guilty of the most inexcusable neglect in not securing it now: but such was their contempt of the Russian skill in war, after what had happened the last year, that they thought them incapable of giving much molestation. Mean time the garrison was daily weakened in their sallies on the Muscovite blockaders, and their magazines continually exhausted. The Porte neglected to supply them by sea, and the Muscovites prevented the bringing in any thing by land: so that with a much less number, and worse provided than last summer, they were this year to withstand double the strength, joined to more experience. The czar had now prepared no less than 400 pieces of cannon, and 150 mortars.

The body of the army arrived before Asoph at the end of April; but the rivers being not yet open for bringing down the vessels laden with artillery and provisions, till the middle of May, the siege was not actually formed till the beginning of June. Yet the Turks omitted to relieve the place till the middle of July, when their fleet began to appear on the Black Sea, and found by sad experience they were come too late.

The czar was arrived in person when the siege began, and met with a resolute defence from the garrison. General Gorden, who commanded, sent sum-

mons after summons, threatening them with no quarter if the place was taken by storm. The ground did not admit of carrying on trenches, and 300 pieces of cannon upon the works continually demolished the Muscovite batteries. Upon this, the general contrived a rolling parapet, which, with a multitude of hands, and about three weeks labor, he brought to perfection. It was begun at a good distance from the place, and by the continual application of 30,000 men, who were relieved every four hours, it came gradually forwards, the men behind throwing up the sandy earth from the bottom, and others tossing it to one another upon stages, till the uppermost threw it quite over the top. They brought it at last within half a musket shot of the walls, which it every where overlooked, to the astonishment and terror of the besieged. Mean while the mortars, now effectually secured from all damage, played incessantly upon the town, till all the houses were reduced to ashes; nor durst the Janissaries appear on their works, but they were immediately knocked down with small shot from the rolling bank, which hung over them like a mountain.

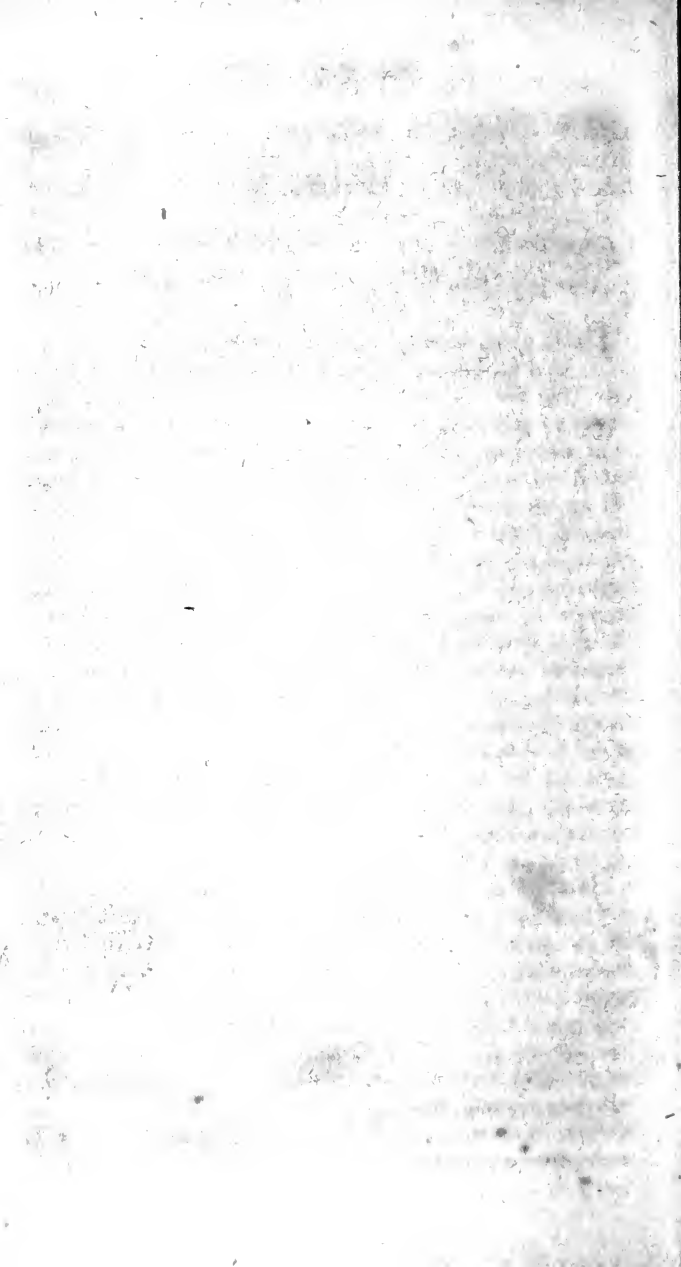
While this was doing by land, the czar, who took upon him in particular the direction of the navy, brought his galleys down by a channel of the river Don that was out of the reach of the cannon of Asoph, and judged impassable. The besieged were astonished when they saw him with a fleet below the town, having thought it impossible for him to get out, but under the mouth of their guns. His majesty then caused several batteries of cannon to be planted in a small island, on the other side of the river Don; and drawing up all his shallops and brigantines behind the island, waited the arrival of the Turkish fleet. At length it appeared in the Palus Mæotis, standing in among the islands in the mouth of the Don; so that the first thing it had to encounter was the czar's galleys, which drawing much less water than those of the Turks, could go further upon the shallows. The Otto-



man fleet consisted of 12 large gallies, 30 armed brigantines, and about 60 transport ships; having on board 8,000 soldiers, a vast quantity of ammunition and provisions, and 50,000 ducats in money, to pay the garrison.

The Turkish saicks and brigantines, endeavouring to shun the Russian gallies, kept among the islands in shoal water: which the czar perceiving, he took a sufficient number of troops into his shallops and brigantines, and bringing them out from their ambuscade, fell upon the enemy with such bravery and success, that they were entirely defeated, and the whole convoy taken in sight of the garrison, not one vessel being able to reach the town. This overthrow of the fleet was followed by the surrender of the town, the garrison capitulating on the 28th of July. His majesty gave them very honorable terms, in consideration of their bravery. It was said that out of 12,000, which were at the beginning of the siege, not above 1,300 men marched out of the town. The Russians found there 300 pieces of cannon, besides a great quantity of ammunition.

This glorious victory of the czar's was the more talked of, and his personal bravery and conduct the more magnified, (though indeed too much could hardly be said of either) because it was a new thing to hear of any great and regular action from a Muscovite army, and much less of a warlike emperor at their head. It was thought a happy presage to all christendom, and a fatal omen to the Ottoman power, that a people hitherto despised, led by a prince hardly yet known, could perform so much in the most difficult parts of war; especially as they had all the advantages of number, extent of territory, and plenty of supplies, to make them a match for any power on earth.



## BOOK II.

*From the taking of Asoph, till the reformation of the Russian year, and the beginning of the war with Sweden.*

**T**HE czar having made himself master of Asoph, was far from leaving it in the condition he found it. He not only repaired the old works, but ordered it to be strengthened with new fortifications; added two new bastions; caused a counterscarp, with a covered way, to be drawn round the whole, and the ditch to be secured with all such necessary outworks, as might render it inaccessible; letting in the river Don likewise almost round the town. In the marshy grounds, which the river usually overflowed, he laid a solid foundation, raised the surface to a considerable height, and built a royal fort upon it, containing six regular bastions, with proper outworks; joining the whole to the main land, with a stone bridge of 36 arches, reaching all over the morass. The ground round it could be laid under water, by sluices appointed for that purpose. In this posture, stored with military provisions, having 400 pieces of cannon mounted, and a garrison of 15,000 men, he left Asoph in the year 1697.

His success in the reduction of this place, by the help of his vessels, made him more than ever sensible of the importance of a maritime force. Gallies and brigantines were not sufficient; he resolved to have capital men of war, from 60 to 80 guns, and declared his intention to the boyars: but he perceived also the great disadvantage of buying them from other powers, or having them built by foreign workmen, as all his vessels had hitherto been. He resolved to deliver himself from this inconvenience: but as the means he concerted for doing it were too extraordinary to be put in deliberation, and as the execution of

his project, trusted to any other but himself, would be very uncertain, or at least slower than he desired, he engaged his own person in a bold undertaking, so extravagant in appearance, that had it failed of success, all the world would have censured his rashness, except those few who can distinguish true grandeur wherever it appears. It was no less than travelling himself to acquire that knowledge he wanted his subjects to learn. In the mean time his foreign workmen were all employed, and every thing done that was yet in his power.

But before he set out, in order to give his people an idea of this great undertaking, he made a triumphant entry into Moscow, for his late naval victory, with all the pomp and splendor that could be devised. Here was none of that vain ostentation so remarkable among the ancient Romans, but an attempt to shew the value of what he had chiefly at heart, and to stir up an emulation in the nobility to support it. The traitor Jacob, who had rendered ineffectual the first siege of Asoph, and was delivered up by the Turks in the second, was carried naked and chained to a stake in an open waggon, with a gibbet over his head; on which, after he had been three times tortured, he was publicly hanged, for a terror to others. All the boyars appeared on this occasion, to compliment his majesty, and kiss his hand. After which there was an assembly, in which he repeated to them the nature and advantages of his conquests on the Black Sea, declared his resolution of endeavoring to maintain them, and if possible to open a channel for commerce into the Levant. Hence it was easy to argue the necessity of a fleet, such an one as might be a match for the grand seignior's. Lastly, he published his intention of travelling, in order to gain experience in the art of ship-building, which they wanted no materials, nor any other advantages, to bring to as much perfection as any of their neighbors.

The business of the day being over, he began to think of a proper fund for carrying on his designs, and for providing such men of war as were immediately necessary. The great lords, who had vast estates, and a proportionable number of slaves, were obliged, each of them, to build a ship at his own cost, which he might call, too, by his own name. The monasteries, the cities and towns, the merchants and gentlemen, were all to contribute towards this new undertaking: and if the ships were not ready in three years, every man's proportion was to be doubled.

Another instance of his great penetration, before he set out, was no less remarkable than any we have related. He sent the principal young Muscovites, sons of the boyars and gentlemen, into different parts of Europe, hinting to every one, according to the different dispositions he perceived in them, the science they ought peculiarly to study. What he chiefly directed them to, were the mathematics, navigation, engineering, and such other parts of knowledge as might contribute to his grand design. And, to prevent any uneasiness at this injunction, he ordered them stipends at the public charge. Yet some of them obeyed with great reluctance, and one in particular, who retired to Venice, shut himself up there four years, to have the satisfaction of coming home as ignorant as he went thence. But the expedient in general had the desired success, as well by keeping them out of the way during his own absence, and so preventing any cabals against him, as in opening to them new sciences, in the different nations of Europe, which engaged their curiosity, and were turned by many of them to real advantage.

While the czar was thus busied in laying the foundations of glory and greatness for his subjects, they, resisting their own advantage, were conspiring against his life. The building of ships, which had never been known in Russia before, and the obliging the boyars and gentlemen to travel, were looked upon as terrible

grievances: the first would entail a charge upon them beyond the common tax, besides bringing in foreigners to build and navigate their vessels; and as to the latter, it was insinuated by the priests, that the sending their children abroad, would be a means of corrupting their religious principles. Those tenets of scripture were effectually urged, which forbade the Israelites to have any communication with the nations round about them, that they might not partake of their idolatry: for which reason the Russian envoys, who had formerly been sent to foreign courts, were prohibited taking their sons with them; and it was death for any Muscovite to go out of his country without leave from the patriarch. The czar, they said, adhered wholly to strangers, went daily to their houses, and admitted them freely to his conversation. This was judged in him very criminal, and made use of by the princess Sophia's friends, who wanted to be again at the head of the government.

His majesty, who always interested himself in whatever concerned his subject's welfare, was wont to appear in person at the fires, which frequently happen in Moscow, where most of the houses are entirely wood. After many debates, concerning the manner of effecting their design, it was resolved by the conspirators to set some houses on fire in the night, and while the czar came to help extinguish the flames, to assassinate him amidst the confusion. Unnatural project, to engage their sovereign in an act of the greatest tenderness to his people, in order at that instant to effect their parricide! The next things to be done, were, to join the Don Cossacks with their party; to release the princess Sophia from her confinement, and set the crown on her head; to recall the prince Basil Galliczin from Siberia, and surrender to him the administration of the government under the princess; who was, in return, to restore the strelitzes to their ancient station. Three great boyars, a chief colonel of the Don Cossacks, and four captains of the strelitzes, were to put this design in execution.

On the first of February, 1697, the day before the catastrophe was agreed on, two of the captains, Lar-gou Gilisaroski and Gregory Siseri, were touched with compunction at what they had undertaken. Hearing that the czar was then at supper at M. Le Fort's, they went and threw themselves at his feet, confessed their own crimes, and discovered all the persons concerned in the conspiracy. The czar heard it without any great emotion; and rising from table, went directly, followed by a few of his most faithful friends, to the house of John Sickler, a chief conspirator, and the more wicked for being so, as he had lately been advanced by the czar to the dignity of counsellor of state. His majesty entered with only three gentlemen, and pretending he had occasion to ask Sickler's advice on some important affair, brought him to the door, where he was seized by those who waited without, and carried to prison. The other two boyars, Alexis Sekounin and Feodore Puskin, the two captains, and the Donski colonel, were all taken without any noise. They confessed their crimes and received their sentence from the whole body of the boyars, which was executed on the 5th of March, in the great market place, before the castle. Their legs and arms were first cut off, and then their heads. These were fixed on iron spikes, upon a tall stone column erected for that purpose; and the other limbs were hung round about it. The trunks were left exposed until the frost broke, and the scent became nauseous, when they were thrown into a pit among common thieves. Several others were accused; but it not appearing they had any design against his majesty's life, they were pardoned and acquitted.

It now appeared in some of their confessions, that Miloslauski, who had been so urgent for a sudden execution of the conspirators in 1682, was himself at the head of that conspiracy: upon which his body was disinterred, though it had lain near twelve years, and the quarters of it hung on gibbets, where they were torn in pieces by the enraged multitude.

During these transactions, expresses frequently came from general Schein, who commanded the army at Asoph, with news of advantages gained over the Tartars and rebel Cossacks, great numbers of whom were cut off, and their country stripped of every thing valuable. As to the Turks, they had their hands full in Hungary, with the Imperialists, who had given them several great overthrows, and made them tremble for Constantinople itself: they were in no condition therefore to attempt the recovery of Asoph; so that his majesty was quite easy on the side of the Black Sea. This made him renew the preparations for his travels, and publicly consult in what character he should appear. His real one, that of emperor, would by no means do, because it would prevent his inspecting personally into minute things, would burden him too much with ceremony, and besides would be very expensive: all which objections were made by his majesty.

Some proposed that, in imitation of several boyars the preceding year, he should travel as a Greek priest; others were for the disguise of an Armenian merchant, and others for that of a private gentleman. But at last M. Le Fort thought of a method which the czar immediately approved, as it was consistent with the honor and safety of his person, and would yet give him all the opportunity of concealment he could desire. It was, that his majesty should send a solemn embassy to all the courts he intended to visit, with compliments, and proposals of friendship and commerce; and that he should travel *incognito* in the retinue of the ambassadors, under the protection of the said embassy, whereby it would be known that he was personally present, at the same time that he was at liberty to receive just as much ceremony as he saw convenient.

The persons pitched upon for ambassadors were Le Fort himself, lieutenant general of the army and admiral of the fleet; Theodore Alexis Gollowin, since great chancellor of the empire; Procofet Bodgnanowitz Wolwitzin, who had been employed in several



embassies to the grand seignior. Alexander Menzi-koff, the favorite, who had then no character, was in their retinue. Le Fort was put first in the commission, as he was acquainted with the manners and customs of foreign countries, and master of several languages. The route of the embassy was to be through Prussia to the court of Berlin; thence to Holland; from Holland to England, and back again; then to Vienna, and last of all to Venice. It is said his majesty set apart above two millions of rubles, or near 800,000*l.* sterling, for the expenses of this journey; most of which was laid out in buying ships, arms and ammunition, with materials for forwarding several sciences in Muscovy. He took with him also a large quantity of furs; several bales of rich cloth of gold, the manufacture of Georgia and Persia; a number of very valuable jewels, and some fine Turkish and Tartarian horses; all for presents at those courts where the embassy was to appear in ceremony. About forty of the prime noblemen, or their sons, were obliged to make up part of the train; which was called an honor done them, but designed in reality to secure them from plotting during his absence. Others of the boyars were ordered to retire to their country seats, and not come to Moscow upon pain of death.

The administration of the civil government was left in the hands of three great lords; prince Leof Corilich Naraskin, his majesty's maternal uncle, and esteemed the prime minister; prince Boris Galliczin, now again in favor, and lord high treasurer; and the lord Peter Procorofski; all faithful servants, entirely devoted to his majesty's interest. The military trust was committed to the generals Schein and Gordon. The first had the command of the army against the Turks, in which were all the suspected strelitzes. About 12,000 other soldiers, chiefly with foreign officers, were quartered in the suburbs of Moscow, under general Gordon, who, by his bravery and success, had acquired both the love of the army, and the esteem of the whole empire. His

command extended all over the northern and western provinces, as the other's did over the southern and eastern.

The czar set out in May, 1697. The first great city he came to was Riga, a very strong place, regularly fortified after the modern way, and then in the hands of the Swedes. His majesty not having seen the like before, was led by his curiosity farther than the government of the town was willing to permit, and received a repulse when he desired to view the fortifications. The magistrates, fearing they should be called to an account by the court of Stockholm, pretended they did not know who he was, nor whence he came : which so disgusted him, that he made this treatment of his ambassadors (for he did not mention himself) one of the motives for entering into a war with Sweden.

While the czar was on his way from this city, he received advice, by an express, that the elector of Saxony was chosen king of Poland ; but that the cardinal primate had protested against his election, in favor of the prince of Conti, who lay with a squadron of French men of war before Dantzick. His majesty hereupon immediately despatched orders to his ambassador in Poland, to maintain the right of the election ; to assure king Augustus, that he had 60,000 men ready for his service, in order to maintain his pretensions ; and that he had despatched orders to his troops about Smolensko and the Ukrain, to advance towards the frontiers of Lithuania, and secure that great dutchy in his interest. This declaration of so powerful a neighbor had a good effect on the Poles, and determined them to support king Augustus. On the contrary, the French, who were baulked of their expectations, were very angry with the czar for this interposition.

His majesty found himself better treated at the next place he came to, which was Koningsberg, the capital of ducal Prussia. Hither the elector of Brandenburg, afterwards king of Prussia, came with his whole court to receive and entertain him ; and here the czar re-

solved to show the world the first specimen of his magnificence. Accordingly his ambassadors made a most splendid public entry, with their retinue of 300 persons, several little troops of guards armed, and abundance of young nobility, who were afterwards dispersed into other parts. They were introduced to an audience by M. Dankleman, and M. Besser, master of the ceremonies to his electoral highness.

While the embassy staid at Koningsberg, the elector did all in his power, as well to show his own magnificence, as to honor the ministers of so great a monarch, which was indeed doing honor to the sovereign himself in person. His czarish majesty had several occasions to converse freely with his highness, in which he communicated to him the reasons of his thus leaving his dominions. The elector, a wise and polite prince, exceedingly applauded his intentions, and willingly entered into a defensive treaty with the ambassadors. He likewise defrayed their expenses at his own charge, not only at Koningsberg, but all the way through his dominions. The czar was little attentive to the pleasure and splendor of a court, though he could not but be pleased with receiving so many marks of his highness's affection. Instead of wasting his time in the ceremonial of greatness, he employed it among common artificers, who were masters of such arts as he wanted to establish in Russia; especially those that respected the improvement of shipping and trade, and the arts and discipline of war. Frequently he travelled in the same clothes with his attendants, and sometimes in the habit of a gentleman: but usually, when he came to a seaport, he went about in the dress of a Dutch skipper, that he might go into the yards with more freedom.

His majesty went from Koningsberg, through the Pillau of Friesch Haft, (an inland water, separated from the sea by a tract of land not above three leagues over) to Dantzick. He took great delight in sailing upon this lake, and observing the dexterity of the mar-

iners; but did not make any public entry at Dantzick, nor stay longer than just to view the forts, lines, magazines, and haven, which far exceeded those of Riga. In this short time he gave several testimonies of favor to the citizens, and assured them of his protection on all occasions; and as his ambassadors had received from them considerable presents of wines and other provisions, he ordered them in return a present of sables, and other rich goods, to a pretty large amount.

From Dantzick, the embassy went through the ducal Pomerania to Berlin, the court of the elector of Brandenburg, and one of the politest in all Europe. Here, as they were to wait upon the same prince who had received them with such splendor at Koningsberg, they made no public entry: they were however nobly entertained; and his majesty was so charmed with the gallantry of what he saw, that he resolved to send the prince royal to reside here for some time, in order to polish his manners. Why he took other measures, with regard to that prince, will appear in due place.

As the chief business of the embassy was in the low countries, his majesty staid but little time in his way from Berlin thither; not even at Hamburg, though that city is as beautiful and agreeable as most in Europe; and though the inhabitants, who had a considerable trade to Archangel, did their utmost to detain him by their good offices. The Dutch merchants at Moscow, before his majesty's departure from thence, had, by the means of M. Le Fort, given him such an inviting idea of their own maritime skill, that he hardly thought his time frugally bestowed among any other people; and the states, jealous of any impression he might receive from their rivals in trade, did all in their power to hasten his passage, by making preparations for his reception in some measure equal to the dignity of his character.

It was not till the month of August that the ambassadors arrived in the territories of the republic. A solemn deputation immediately met them at a Nime-

guen, from the whole body of the states, to bid them welcome into their country, and defray the whole charges of their entertainment. They were conducted thro' all the towns with the noise of cannon and small arms on the one hand, and with the shouts and acclamations of the people on the other. But the czar himself, after he had travelled some leagues in the United Provinces, left the embassy, that he might be less incommoded with this formality, and reach Amsterdam as soon as possible, in order to begin those observations which were the only motive of his journey. He was met on the way by some considerable merchants, who having resided at Moscow, received private intimation of his coming. They attended him in disguise into the city, with only two or three of his own people. The magistrates, who had notice also of his arrival, prepared a magnificent house for his reception, and deputed some of their chief members to offer him all necessary accommodations.

The embassy was received with much more splendor, and indeed with the utmost the city could possibly exhibit. All the young gentlemen mounted on horseback, with equipages, and the chief persons in the republic, rode out to meet them. The ladies, with whom the windows and balconies were crowded, added not a little to the show: and the night concluded with a grand fire-work upon the water, before the house that was prepared for the ambassadors. But an unlucky accident that happened during the procession, took off some of the face of pleasure. The rails of the bridge giving way, above one hundred people fell into the river, thirteen or fourteen of whom were drowned.

All things were got ready at the Hague, with great expedition, for admitting the ambassadors to a public audience. His majesty attended them thither, and had the satisfaction to see their high mightinesses do him the utmost honor, in the persons of his ministers, the manner of whose reception exceeded all that had ever been known in that country. It would take up too

much of our room to describe fully matters of this nature ; but I must observe that the czar, informed of the preparations that were making, resolved on his part to have every thing suitable thereto. He caused his ambassadors to procure three magnificent coaches, a great number of jewels, and the richest clothes that could be had ; to increase their retinue with about forty more servants, and give new liveries, unlike what they before had, to their whole train. In a word, every thing was made so very splendid, that the extraordinary expense of this audience cost above 200,000 dollars. The entry itself far surpassed that of Amsterdam, which was only a reception of them by the citizens and magistrates : whereas this was by the appointment, and at the expense of the states general.

M. Le Fort, the first ambassador, had a dress the finest that could be conceived. He was clad after the Muscovite fashion, in a long robe of cloth of gold, lined with the most precious sables. This robe, as well as the vest under it, was covered before with diamonds in shape of a heron's feather. He harangued their high mightinesses in the Russian tongue, with an air altogether majestic, suitable to the character he bore on this solemn occasion. The two other ambassadors, who appeared likewise in very rich apparel, made also their compliments to the states with a becoming gravity. But, what added the greatest lustre to the audience, was, that all the ambassadors of most of the powers in Europe, honored it with their presence. His czarish majesty rode disguised in the train, wearing a plain blue coat, a large white perriwig, and a white feather. He had the satisfaction not to be discovered, and afterwards to hear all that passed in the audience room from a closet window. The next day he rode privately back to Amsterdam, exceedingly pleased with what he had seen ; and the ambassadors returned thither soon after.

His majesty now applied closely to the work he came about. He entered himself, at the admiralty of the Indies, as a common ship carpenter, under the name of Peter Michaeloff. The termination *off* in the Russian language, added to the father's name, signifies a person of mean extraction; whereas that of *witz* implies the direct contrary. The czar would not be called Peter Michaelowitz, because he chose to preserve no trace of his supreme dignity. He had now entirely forgot he was a sovereign, or rather remembered it better than ever, if, as it certainly does, true sovereignty consists more in doing offices for the good of a people, than in the pomp and splendor that attend it. He worked in the dock-yard with greater assiduity and more ardor, than any of his comrades, who had no motives comparable to his. Every body knew the czar, and the people shewed him to one another with a sort of veneration, that arose less from what he was, than from the business he came about. King William III. a competent judge of personal merit, who was then in Holland, had all that real respect for him which his character deserved. What the incognito deprived him of, was only the shadow and outside of grandeur.

The czar lived now in a little house, upon the India wharf, and no importunities could prevail on him to accept of a better lodging. People were strictly prohibited from coming about him or standing to gaze at him; things which gave him the greatest uneasiness. Two or three of his favorites, whom he called his partners in the art of ship-building, both lived and worked with him. When he had not the axe in his hand, he was usually diverting himself on the water, or rather making new improvements in his knowledge of navigation. He admitted of some private visits, from persons considerable either for rank or ingenuity, and received from them various curiosities both of art and nature. The person he chiefly frequented, was burgo-master Whitsen, a gentleman of great merit; with whom, and some few others, he would be very free and merry at private entertainments.

The king of England had just now put an end, by the treaty of Ryswick, to a long and bloody war. This made him at leisure to observe more closely the actions and views of this wonderful prince. He invited him to an interview at Utrecht, at which were present, besides their majesties, only general Le Fort, who served for interpreter, and prince Menzikoff. The satisfaction on both sides was mutual, as the two monarchs afterwards testified: and it was at this meeting that the king gave the czar an invitation over to London, which his Russian majesty accepted. The truth was, indeed, that the czar discovered, notwithstanding what he had been told, that the Dutch were not near such artists in ship-building as the English: for whereas the latter worked upon a regular plan, in which all the proportions were exactly observed, the other followed only experience and the traditions of elder workmen; and so good a judge as the czar could not be at a loss which of these to prefer. This invitation of the king's, therefore, happily fell in with his wishes, and perhaps he had hinted as much to his majesty.

Most of the persons of distinction, who came over with the czar, had been sent away by him into different parts, as soon as the ceremony of public audience was over. They had their particular routes prescribed them, and the arts they were to apply to, like those who were sent over from Moscow a year or two before. But his majesty would not wait till his own people were able to plant the sciences in their country. He took all opportunities to hire artists in Holland, upon very good conditions, and sent them away by land for Moscow. Others he employed at Amsterdam, and elsewhere, in making draughts and models, till the season of the year would permit them to go round by Archangel. The very attendants and servants who staid with him were not suffered to be idle; some were put to school, to learn navigation, and Euclid's elements; others were bound to artificers, for certain terms of years: and indeed it required that the fund



of knowledge should be great and extensive, which was to instruct a whole nation.

While his majesty was at Amsterdam, after he had been at the Hague, he received three expresses from the lords regents at Moscow, bringing him the welcome news of a great victory obtained by his army, under the command of general Schein, over the Turks and Tartars: the particulars of which were as follow:

The chain of the Crim Tartars, at the beginning of the spring, had caused numbers of his troops, in small bodies, and at different times, to pass through Caffa, in order to join the Tartars of Circassia. The Muscovite army, he knew, was divided into several parties, in order to cover the workmen employed in the fortifications. This, he imagined, would give him a favorable opportunity to attack them at unawares; and with that view he ordered the sultan Galga, or prince royal, to advance with his army towards their camp. But general Schein, having intelligence of their approach, had just time to draw together his troops in an advantageous place, where he resolved to engage the enemy. The Tartars, seeing themselves superior in number to the Muscovites, and thinking these latter afraid to stir from their post, fell on them with great fury. The Muscovites received them very bravely, and keeping only on the defensive till the heat of the enemy's fire was over, then attacked them with all imaginable briskness, put them into confusion, and at last entirely to the rout. They pursued them with great slaughter, to the river Hagaline, where many of them were drowned.

The Muscovite ambassadors made public rejoicings on this occasion, and invited the magistrates of Amsterdam, and other persons of quality, to a magnificent entertainment, which the czar was pleased to honor with his presence, and to heighten the good humor of it by his own pleasantries.

Towards the end of the winter, came the news of another victory, obtained near the river Boristhenes,

The Crim Tartars, in conjunction with those of Budziack and Oezakow, had besieged Kasikermeen, carried on their trenches to the very counterscarp, and at the same time made themselves masters of Toman, a small island adjacent: but a body of Muscovites, united with the Cossacks inhabiting those frontiers, came opportunely to the relief of the place, forcing the Tartars to abandon the siege with considerable loss. The czar, upon this intelligence, gave orders that the island should be regularly fortified.

These advices were followed by others, relating the progress of his engineers, who had thoroughly secured Asoph, Tuba, and Kasikermeen. The first of these places especially, was put in such a posture of defence, that it might well be esteemed one of the strongest fortresses in the world. This was the more agreeable to his majesty, as Asoph was the centre of all his great designs, which terminated in no less than the ruin of the Ottoman empire; and these successes, in general, added the more to his glory, as they were a testimony that he had left the government in good and able hands.

Several yachts, with a man of war or two for their convoy, were sent from England to bring his majesty thither, where he arrived in October, 1697. He was conducted to a house in York-buildings, and spent some days in London; having several interviews with the king, the princess of Denmark, and many of the nobility. The king of Great-Britain offered him all the honors that were due to his character, and in particular Somerset-house for the place of his residence; a detachment of the household troops for his guard, and some of his own coaches to attend him: but the czar, after returning a most obliging answer, declined all these favors, and let the king know he did not come abroad to spend his time in ceremony; desiring only leave to inspect the affairs of his navy, and be otherwise as much concealed as possible. The king was so pleased with this, that he gave immediate orders for

all assistance to be given his ezarish majesty, and that nothing should be denied him which he had a mind to see or know.

Among all the celebrated places which the czar went to see in England, as Oxford, Windsor, Hampton-Court, and others, he was particularly pleased with the tower of London, the armory there, and the manner of coining money: and among the English nobility, he took great delight to converse with the marquis of Carmarthen, afterwards duke of Leeds, who complied with his humor, assisted him all he could in his pursuit of the knowledge of shipping (of which his lordship was a great master) and would frequently row with him on the water. The czar was so taken with this kindness of the marquis, that he gave him a duty of 5s. per hogshead upon tobacco, which he contracted to have sent over by the Eastland company of English merchants, (of which Mr. Heathcote, afterwards sir Gilbert, was then master) and would frequently speak the most affectionate things of his lordship, after his return into Russia.

A house in London did not agree with his taste, nor answer the intention of his travels, and therefore, some days after his arrival, that of Mr. Evelyn, at Deptford, an agreeable seat, was prepared for him. A back-door was opened from it into the king's yard, through which he could go among the ship-builders, who shewed him their draughts, and the measure of laying down any vessel by the rules of proportion. This made him repent that he had spent so much time in Holland, where the method was much more inartificial; and from this time he resolved to have nothing but English built ships in his country; for which purpose he contracted with several artificers; the chief of whom was Mr. Dean, whose father, sir Anthony, was said to have first taught the French the art of ship building.

His majesty was shewn both houses of parliament, while sitting, and was once or twice carried to the play. He visited the archbishop of Canterbury, and

was waited upon by bishop Burnet, (as that prelate tells us in his history) who was deputed by his brethren to converse with him about the doctrines of the church of England. He often took up the carpenters' tools, and worked in the king's yard at Deptford. Sometimes he went to the smiths, sometimes to the gun-founders ; and there was scarce any mechanic trade, from the watch-maker to the coffin-maker, which he did not more or less inspect. His dress was in the English fashion, sometimes as a gentleman and sometimes as a sailor. He went abroad with very little attendance, and if at any time the mob began to gaze at him, he would immediately retire out of the way. Prince Menzikoff, his favorite, count Gollowin, and several other persons were with him here, and contracted for such things as his majesty wanted: in particular, having seen the printing-house at Oxford, he ordered them to purchase all materials for setting up one like it. His stay in England was about three months, all which time he was attended by the king's cooks and servants, and had his expenses defrayed, as also forwards and backwards.

Among other things that were here shewn the czar, the king ordered admiral Mitchel to go down with him to Portsmouth, where a squadron of men of war then lay. His majesty was highly delighted to see them go out to sea, form into two fleets, and engage with powder. He was told the reason of every thing he saw done, and expressed an infinite deal more satisfaction than at a shew of the same kind in Holland, which did not give him half the instruction.

Before his departure, the king made him a present of the Royal Transport, the finest and best yacht then in England, built frigate fashion, and carrying twenty-four guns. It was contrived by the marquis of Carmarthen, for the king's own use in his passages to and from Holland. He had also leave to hire such of his majesty's subjects as he had occasion for, and who were willing to serve him ; and his agents contracted

with several mathematicians, officers, engineers, and others; among whom were Mr. Fergharson, two young men from Christ's Hospital, and the ingenious captain Perry, from whose State of Russia I have extracted some of the foregoing particulars. The captain was twelve years in his service, and had the direction of several great works; but met with discouragement from the Russian ministry, and at last was obliged to put himself under the protection of the English ambassador, Mr. Whitworth, in order to get back to his country.

From England the czar went back to Holland, where two of his ambassadors had waited all the while, except that M. Le Fort had been once privately over. From Holland he set out for Vienna, carrying with him the whole science of ship-building, acquired in less than two years: but the reason was, that he had acquired it himself, by a sort of abdication of the imperial dignity, a price that would have seemed exorbitant to any other sovereign.

I shall not detain the reader with an account of what passed in his way through Germany, nor the particulars of his reception at the imperial court. Though every part of this latter was suitable to the dignity of the two monarchs, yet as it consisted only of magnificent ceremony, and what might be expected on such an occasion, it can add little to a history that regards only the real great man. After his ambassadors had had their audience, and himself had conversed several times with the emperor Leopold, and the chief persons of his court, his majesty was just upon his departure to Venice, whither he had sent eight of his retinue before, when an express came from Moscow that called him suddenly thither, and put an end for the present to this unparalleled progress. A revolt of the whole body of the strelitzes, to the number of 40,000, threatened entire ruin to his government. He arrived among them before they knew he was upon the road, put an end to their establishment and name, and exacted that

respect to his personal courage, which they refused to shew to his orders. His infantry of the new discipline, which he had before the precaution to form, and immediately augmented to 30,000 men, were of the utmost service to him on this occasion. The rise and progress of this revolt, and the manner of its suppression, is in substance thus related by captain Perry :

While the czar was making his observations in foreign parts, and collecting whatever he thought worthy of regard for his grand design, repeated advices came to Moscow that his majesty was extremely pleased with what he had observed in his travels, and in particular had met with the greatest satisfaction in England : and that as a proof of this, he was sending great numbers of officers and mechanics from that country, Holland, and other parts, into his service. Upon these advices, the malecontents, and adherents to the princess Sophia, put the most malicious construction on all his majesty's designs, and insinuated jealousies into the minds of the people, which were fomented by the priests, as if his majesty's proceeding tended to the subversion of their holy religion, by bringing such a number of foreigners among them, who would certainly be his favorites and counsellors. These strangers, it was added, would insult and domineer over the natives at pleasure, extirpate the ancient establishment of the strelitzes, and entirely subvert and alter their beloved customs and manners.

There needed nothing more to excite the jealousy of a people, superstitiously tenacious of all their old habits. Many of the heads of the clergy, several of the nobility and great men, who had been looked upon as in the czar's interest, conspired together to cut the throats of the foreigners, and all who stood in their way ; to declare the throne vacant by his majesty's absence, and to place his sister upon it, who was always thought of on such occasions.

About 10,000 strelitzes were then in winter quarters, on the borders of Lithuania, 500 miles from Mos-

cow. The general of these, and most of their officers, were made sure of by the conspirators. They were to begin the rebellion under some pretence concerning their pay; to break up their quarters, and march directly to Moscow, where other malecontents were to join them, in order to put the design in execution.

The regency, upon advice of this mutinous march, apprehended the wicked design of these men, who had more than once been in open rebellion before. They deputed several persons of distinction, with full power, and money to pay them not only the arrears demanded, but to give them six months' advance, and to use all the soothing arguments to persuade them to retire, and join the other forces, who were just ready to open the campaign against the Turks. But all this would not do. They wanted, they said, to see their friends at Moscow, and to know whether the czar was living or dead, and therefore were resolved to continue their march. The people were struck with consternation at hearing this, and many of them left their habitations, dreading the insolencies of these mutineers, from whom they had lately suffered so much.

To prevent the rising of any others, and stop the mischief that threatened the city, the army commanded by general Gordon, consisting chiefly of old soldiers and foreign officers, was ordered to make head against the rebels. They came up with them about 40 miles from Moscow, near the Jerusalem monastery, from whence the general sent to them several officers, and some considerable lords who came out volunteers, to assure them of honorable satisfaction in whatever they desired, provided they would return to their duty. But they persisted in their resolution to see Moscow, and know what was become of the czar; declaring that if their brothers (meaning general Gordon's troops) offered to oppose them, they would resist though against double their number.

Gordon, upon hearing this obstinate answer, ordered some cannon to be fired over their heads, in order to

terrify them: but this had just the contrary effect; for the priests, always at hand, or among them, immediately cried out, "A miracle! the shot have no power to hurt you, who are asserting your ancient rights. The rebels gave a shout, and fell upon the general's army; whereupon a sharp engagement began, which lasted near two hours; till at last the strelitzes, finding the battle was in earnest, and that they had between two and three thousand men dead on the spot, surrendered themselves prisoners, very few escaping. The general, after the Roman manner of decimation, hung up every tenth man, and carried the rest to Moscow, where several of the ringleaders being examined on the pine, they confessed their crimes, named the chief persons concerned with them, and all the particulars of the plot.

It was this insurrection that the czar was informed of at Vienna, and which brought him home with such expedition and secrecy. His arrival gave no small joy to his loyal subjects and friends, nor less confusion to his enemies. The first thing he did, the very day he came to Moscow, was to reward those soldiers who fought faithfully for him. The next day he had all the conspirators brought before him, and after having examined them himself, delivered them to the lords, who condemned them in a full hearing. Prince Colorin, general Romanodoskowski, several friars and priests of the first rank, and some ladies of quality, were involved in this sentence. Some of them were beheaded, others broke on the wheel, and others buried alive.

The strelitzes, who had actually fought against their sovereign, and ever since his accession been in all the intrigues of his enemies, were most severely punished. Upwards of 2000 of them were executed, some on blocks, others on gallows erected for that purpose at all the gates of the three walls of the city, with their crimes written over their heads. As this execution was in the depth of winter, the bodies were immediately frozen, and ordered to remain in the same posture they had



suffered, till the warm weather rendered them obnoxious. There were also gallows placed on all the public ways leading to Moscow, at about two miles distance, upon which numbers of them were hanged, and monuments of stone erected by them, with a declaration of their crimes deeply engraven, and ordered to be kept forever in repair. The very houses of these criminals were razed to the ground, and the name of strelitzes utterly abolished; that of soldatee, or soldiers, being substituted in its room. Such of them as were judged the most innocent, having their lives spared, were banished to Siberia, Astracan, Asoph and other frontier places, with their wives, children and near relations.

The vast project which his majesty had long conceived, began now to appear in its full extent. There was nothing in Muscovy that wanted perfecting only, for every thing was to be entirely done. A new nation was to be created, and that by the sovereign alone, without help, without instruments; which made it a faint shadow of the original creation. The blind policy of his predecessors had disunited their country from the rest of the world, and quite neglected commerce, the source of genius as well as riches. The czar laid open his vast estates, hitherto shut from mankind; sent his principal subjects among strangers, in quest of knowledge; drew to himself all the foreigners he could, who brought that knowledge with them: in a word, officers for land or sea service, mariners, engineers, mathematicians, architects, miners, workmen in metals, physicians, surgeons, artificers of every kind, all were welcome, all were caressed in Muscovy.

But the very name of novelties, artfully made use of, was sufficient to debase the merit of all these performances. We shall often see it make such obstinate malecontents, that the despotic authority of the czar, great as it was, had hardly weight enough to suppress them. His majesty had to do with a stubborn, indocile people, grown indolent from the little advantage

they could hope to reap from their labors, accustomed to the most rigorous and frequently unjust punishments, inured by misery to a contempt of life, persuaded by long experience that felicity was out of their reach, insensible of that happiness they knew nothing of. The most indifferent and trivial alterations, such as retrenching their ancient habits, or shaving their long beards, met with the strongest opposition, and was sometimes sufficient to cause an insurrection. To reconcile this people to the most useful innovations, a rigor that elsewhere would have been unjustifiable, was found absolutely necessary : and the czar was by so much the more obliged to use it, as the Muscovites had no idea of greatness or superiority, but from the power of doing hurt. A kind master with them, was no master at all, nor could an indulgent prince ever pass for a great one. We must not wonder then at the severities of the czar, who knew the necessity of them, but grieve that such a necessity should exist.

His czarish majesty, in his return to Moscow, at the end of the year 1699, had a short interview with Augustus, king of Poland, in which that terrible war against Sweden, is thought to have been concerted, which broke out the next year, and for twenty years after kept all the north in a flame. But the czar did not appear in it at the beginning, having first the temper of his subjects to reform, which took up some months after his arrival. The principal reformations he made, or begun to make this winter, were, 1. In his revenue ; 2. In the habits and beards of his subjects ; 3. In ecclesiastical affairs ; and 4. in several customs regarding civil society.

The assessment of all duties laid upon the people, the collecting the czar's revenues, and the sole decision of civil causes, had hitherto been committed to some favorite lords, who acted as sovereigns under the czar, in their several provinces, and made use of his name in issuing their orders. Each of them had an office or court of justice at Moscow, where they usually resided,

to which there was an appeal from the lesser districts. In each of these offices was a bench of Diacks, who determined causes, (as well relating to the treasury and the militia, as to civil affairs) and reported them to their respective lords, who seldom sat themselves in person; and there was no higher court of appeal. Each of these lords appointed governors of the several cities and towns in his province, and every governor had a Diack and court of justice, which determined matters absolutely; only in matters of life and death, they were obliged to send the lord a representation of the case, before any man was executed; which they always did according to their own inclination.

These governors held their places but for three years at most, and instead of having salaries appointed them, usually gave the lord three or four thousand rubles for the purchase of their commission, besides a great deal more to the Diacks of the head office in Moscow: yet these viawodes, or governors, seldom failed of making their fortune in the three years; by which their equity may be conjectured, both to prince and people. In all disputes between man and man, the first thing done was bribing the judge, and he who gave most carried the cause. Through the hands of these governors passed all the taxes in their respective districts, and they gave such account of them as they thought proper to the grand precause at Moscow.

The czar, believing a more faithful return might be made of his revenue, and with less oppression on his subjects, proposed in a council of his lords, that there should be one general office erected at Moscow, and called the rate-house, for the better collection and improvement of the public income: that a number of reputable men should be chosen out of the merchants, and entitled burgo-masters, to sit daily five or more of them, to appoint clerks and officers for their own district of Moscow, and burgo-masters for all the other divisions, to collect and receive the customs and tolls,

and the excise on beer, brandy and mead, which are not to be made without license, nor sold but for the particular profit of the czar. The common people durst not brew or distil, for their own use, but only a certain quantity against some holiday, and that too by permission: the rest they must buy at the cobacks, or places of sale: and this restraint hath since been carried yet farther. Now the czar would have all the money thus collected, returned to the general rate-house, where the accompts were to be adjusted, and from thence transmitted to the treasury, or whither the emergency of the state should require: and only the land-tax and poll-tax to be levied by the governors, as before.

But this useful proposition, as it lopped off a considerable branch of the power of the lords, was far from meeting with their approbation. They remonstrated, that the office of collecting the revenue, had always been vested in the nobility, who, they hoped, had discharged it faithfully; and therefore implored that his majesty would not so far disgrace them as to take away this public trust, and lodge it in the hands of boors and slaves. Finding this ineffectual, they proposed several schemes for the czar's satisfaction, whereby some part of this trust might still be preserved to themselves.—But the czar was inflexible, and began to grow warm; upon which, fearing that some of their heads might pay for their obstinacy, they acquiesced: his majesty's proposals were put in execution, and continued some years to very great advantage. The czar also laid a tax upon all the monasteries, and ordered that no person who was not turned of fifty, should be admitted a monk. This he did to prevent such multitudes of his subjects from being rendered useless; and by lessening the number of religious pensioners, he could the more easily take a part of their pension.

The general habit of the Russians was a long vestment, hanging down almost to their ancles, and gathered up in plaits at the hips, like a woman's petticoat. The czar resolved to have this changed, and gave

ordes first to his boyars, and all who came to court, that they should furnish themselves, according to their several abilities, with handsome clothes, after the English mode, the wealthiest of them with gold or silver trimming. He also commanded that suits of clothes, in the English fashion, should be hung up at all the gates of the city of Moscow, and that all persons, except the peasants who brought in provisions, should dress themselves after these patterns. Whoever disobeyed this order, was obliged to pay two grevens, (about 20 pence of our money) at passing the gates, or submit to kneel down and have their skirts cropt, so as just to touch the ground in that posture. Many hundreds of garments were to be seen thus curtailed; and as the whole was done in good humor, it soon reconciled people to the new fashion, which was found the most commodious.

The women too, especially the ladies about the court, were ordered to reform their dress according to the English manner, and instead of their long shift sleeves, which they twirled out across a room when any one came to visit them, to have such as were short and decent. To make this go down the better with the fair, he abrogated the custom of keeping them in apartments by themselves, and admitting them only once to come into any company, present a dram of brandy round, and retire; ordering, that for the future they should be present at all public entertainments, and converse freely with the men, especially at weddings. The czar himself would frequently honor these with his presence, and give something to the bride equivalent to the extraordinary expense. This indulgence in the ladies' favor, soon reconciled them to the dress.

I before took notice of the retrenchment of beards, as well as of habits. The Russians wore long ones, hanging down on their bosoms, and nicely combed out. Even the hair on the upper lip was so long, that they were obliged to wipe it after drinking; at the same time that that on the head was worn quite short, except only by the priests. To reform this foolish custom, the

czar laid a heavy tax on all his subjects, exclusive of the priests and peasants, for the wearing of beards. The very common people were obliged to pay a co-peck, for entering any city or town with a beard, and an officer waited at the gate to receive it. But such was their veneration for this piece of natural ornament, as they esteemed it, that they looked upon the czar as guilty of a grievous sin, and this injunction passed for a terrible persecution. Indeed it was rigorously put in force on some of the most obstinate, who had their beards plucked up by the roots for non-compliance. Some were so superstitious as to save the hair when taken off, in order to have it put in their coffin, that they might give an account of it to St. Nicholas. Libels were written on this occasion, and dropped about the streets, charging his majesty with heathenism and tyranny. But the women liking their husbands and sweethearts the better, most of the men by degrees were reconciled to this depilation of their chins.

The czar had been in England, and seen what advantage accrued to the sovereign from being the chief in ecclesiastical affairs. He resolved to be so himself in Muscovy, but would not attempt to depose the prelate in possession, though he sometimes took the liberty to curb the excess of his priestly power. One day the reverend sire took upon him to expostulate with his majesty (who was come to visit his mother, then on her death-bed) concerning his altering the ancient customs, and in particular the dress of his subjects, against their consent. "Father," said the czar, "are not you the head of the Russian church?" The prelate answered, "Yes, sir, by your favor." To which his majesty replied, "And why do you turn the head and advocate of the tailors? I intend to give my subjects more substantial proofs of the care I take for their welfare, than what depends on the imaginary difference of dress."

This prelate, who was a very old man, dying about the time we are upon, the czar refused to have any other elected, and took upon himself to be head of the

church : only he appointed the metropolitan of Resan, a native of Poland, and the most learned of all his clergy, to take upon him the administration of ecclesiastical affairs ; but with this restriction, that he should represent all matters of moment to his majesty, and receive his directions thereupon. This surprising turn caused a great uneasiness among the chief of the clergy, and one of them spoke a little too freely of the matter : which coming to his majesty's ear, he ordered him to be degraded : and when the other bishops excused themselves from doing it, alledging, that as they had no patriarch, and were themselves all of equal authority, they could not proceed thus against a brother, the czar created a new bishop on purpose, who deprived the other of his mitre. Upon this bold proceeding, several virulent writings were dropped about the streets of Mescow, reflecting on the czar : but no bad consequence followed, nor were the authors of the libels ever detected, though great rewards were offered for that purpose.

The other reformations he made were of different kinds, but none of them more remarkable than those which related to matrimony. Matches, till now, were always made up by the parents, without any previous meeting of the young couple, who frequently were not above 13 or 14 years old. The bridegroom never spoke to his bride till the day before the nuptials, and then the visit was very short, and in presence of all the friends on both sides. But the czar, observing that marriages in Russia were often remarkably unhappy, very justly attributed it to this cause. He therefore ordered, that no young couple should be married without their own free consent, nor till after a correspondence of at least six weeks. This new regulation had a very good effect. Husbands before would beat their wives so inhumanly, that they often died of the blows, and the man never suffered for the murder, which was interpreted as done by way of correction. But these barbarities, in a great measure, were now pre-

vented, and fewer women suffered for the murder of their husbands than before.

It had been a pompous custom among the great boyars, as a piece of state and grandeur, to retain a great number of useless servants, who attended them bare-headed, some before, and some behind, along the streets of Moscow : and in the coldest weather, these lords, and even the ladies, would almost freeze with riding slow, that the servants might keep pace with them on foot. But the czar, who always rode swift, and with a very few servants uniformly clothed, commanded the boyars and persons of distinction, to follow his example ; and that his order might be the more effectual, he had lists taken of all the superfluous attendants in every family, whom he sent away into the army. Great intercessions were made for many, especially such of these hangers-on as were gentlemen born, and only waited for preferment ; but his majesty's commands were peremptory, and allowed of no respect of persons.

There had been a printing-house erected in Moscow, by the approbation of one of the former czars ; but not long after, it was set on fire in the night, and the press and types burnt, as was thought by the procurement of the priests, who looked upon all books, but the legends of their saints, the history of their own country, and the exploits of their czars, to be as bad as witchcraft. As they had no university, nor any school worthy of notice, it was unlikely they should have any taste for literature. No longer ago than the beginning of the last century, the secretary of a Persian ambassador coming through Russia with his master, in the way to Denmark, calculated the hour and duration of an eclipse that was just ready to happen. It was hardly believed at first that any man could know so much ; but when the proof of it came, and the sun appeared actually dark, the people thronged about the ambassador's house, and demanded his secretary, that they might burn him as a sorcerer ; and it was with some



difficulty that he was rescued by the guards. But things began now to put on a new face in Russia; books were printed, schools were erected, the mathematics were studied, even astronomy itself.

Captain Perry relates another story of a surgeon, who was condemned to death as a sorcerer, and had certainly been executed, but for the intercession of the boyar who was his patron, because a skeleton that hung up in his room, near the window, was seen to move by the wind, while the master played on a lute. Some strelitzes, who came by, and observed the motion, went and gave evidence that they had seen the dead bones dance to the surgeon's music; which was confirmed by others, who were sent on purpose to examine into the truth of the matter. It was with some difficulty that the lord made the use of the skeleton understood, and the poor surgeon was glad to save his life at the expense of his flying the country. The passive skeleton, which had thus been wrought on by the power of magic, could not however escape the resentment of the populace, but was dragged about the streets and burnt.

I before mentioned that the Russians began their year upon the first of September, because the world, they imagined, was created in autumn, when the fruits of the earth were in perfection; and very fond they were of an argument, which they thought unanswerable. But the czar Peter had often shewn his boyars a map of the globe, and merrily gave them to understand that Russia was not all the world, for that it was summer in the southern hemisphere at the same time it was winter with them; and moreover, that in all appearance the seasons had been considerably changed since the creation, for want of exactness in computing the length of a true solar year. He had so far inculcated these ideas, that at the beginning of the present century, a period the most happy for beginning a new succession of time, he resolved to make his subjects conform to what the wisest of them could not but be convinced was very rational. With this view he proclaimed a jubilee on the first of January,

1700, and commanded it to be solemnized a whole week together, with firing of guns, ringing of bells, illuminations, and other acts of public festivity ; and then ordered that no person, from that time forward, should make use of any other date, under a severe penalty, than what was followed by the other nations of Europe. Many looked upon this as striking at the very ground of religion, and though every body conformed to it through fear, yet some of the old Russians would afterwards get together on the first of September, and privately solemnize that day with great zeal and superstition, as the first of the new year ; asserting that the world was just as old as they reckoned it, that is about five hundred years older than in any other modern computation.

His majesty also abolished the old custom of writing themselves slaves, and reciting all his titles at large, in any address from the Russians to their sovereign ; ordering that the word raab, or subject, should be substituted instead of golup, or slave, and that *To his most highly gracious majesty*, should be the superscription of every thing directed to the throne.

While these civil regulations were on foot, the army and navy had not been neglected. All the troops were disciplined and regularly clothed, according to what was practised in other nations ; for till now, every soldier, except those on Le Fort's establishment, was dressed according to his own fancy. And that no man in his dominions might want employment, the czar ordered lists to be taken of such gentlemen as had none, and commanded some of them to enter as volunteers, giving the rest appointments in different stations, either about the navy or in the garrisons.

His majesty then went to Veronitz, in order to view those ships and galleys that were built there by the Dutch in his absence. But as the English built ships had so highly pleased him in his travels, he now ordered that none should be laid down in any other fashion, and made the English he brought over with him his chief master-builders. One man of war, of fifty guns,

he had put immediately upon the stocks, according to a draught of his own making, in which he had so contrived it, that the vessel should remain tight though her keel were knocked off. When the work was a little advanced, he left it to be carried on by two young Russian gentlemen, who had attended him in his travels; but they were to advise, upon occasion, with the English builders: and then ordering vice-admiral Cruss and rear-admiral Raes, to fit out all the vessels that were ready for that purpose, which were to be conveyed down to Asoph the next year, he returned back to Moscow.

This city of Veronitz, the naval magazine for Russia at the time we are speaking of, stands on the top of a hill, west of the river Veronitz, and is surrounded with a wooden wall. It contains about 10,000 inhabitants. On the descent of the hill near the river, are several handsome buildings, and the docks, yards and store-houses, make a good figure. Captain Perry was employed here, by the czar's command, to dam out the water which incommoded the workmen at the annual inundations, and did it in such a manner, that, as he expresses it himself, "his works are in no danger of giving way so long as the world endures." But neither for this, nor any thing else he undertook, could the captain get paid according to contract; of which he complains severely in his State of Russia; though without charging his ill usage on the czar, but only on admiral Apraxin. It seems indeed to have been a maxim at that time in Russia, either of his majesty or his minister, (how justifiable I will not take upon me to say) to withhold the wages of those ingenious men whom they had invited over, in order to prevent their ever returning to their native countries.

But to return: in the midst of these labours for the good of his people, the czar was sensibly touched with the loss of that wise and good man, who had first guided him into the paths of true greatness. The reader will know, from what has already been said, that this can mean only M. Le Fort, who from the time of his

advancement had deservedly lived in the highest honor and reputation, and was now, at his death, chief general of his majesty's armies, admiral of all his fleets, and prime minister. The czar, willing to testify his regard for such extraordinary merit, buried him with such funeral pomp as had never been seen in Russia before, nor scarcely surpassed in any other country. All the great officers of state and the army, the foreign ministers, and the chief of the nobility attended it. His majesty himself led the guards in mourning, and assisted at the funeral sermon, which was preached by a divine of the reformed religion.

The czar's ministers, some time before this, had made a truce with the Turks for two years, at the congress of Carlowitz; but as the Germans, Poles, and Venetians, had entered into preliminaries for a general peace, his majesty applied to the late king William, who was mediator in these negociations, to get the truce prolonged into a lasting treaty. This being done, and M. Le Fort's obsequies over, the czar, willing to honor those who had served him faithfully during the wars, instituted a new order of knighthood, the first that ever was known in Russia, under the patronage of St. Andrew, for whom the Muscovites have a great veneration. The collar of the order is a blue ribbon, to which hangs a cross with St. Andrew's image, the two letters S. A. surmounted by an eagle, and the words "Peter the first, emperor of Russia, preserver of the country." Prince Menzikoff was the first on whom his majesty conferred this mark of distinction.

And now began that tedious and bloody war, which was first concerted at the czar's return from Vienna, and continued for twenty years, with various fortune to the contending parties. But Peter the Great, who for some years of it was rather unsuccessful than prosperous, had the glory at last to triumph over an obstinate enemy, and to secure to himself by treaty a large addition of territory. Peace with the Turks and war with Sweden, were proclaimed at Moscow the same day.

## BOOK III.

*From the beginning of the war with Sweden, till the reduction of Ingria and Livonia, and the building of Petersburg and Cronslot.*

**I**T was in the year 1700, that his czarish majesty, supported by the alliance of Augustus king of Poland, and Frederick king of Denmark, engaged in a war with Charles XII. king of Sweden, the most formidable rival he could possibly have in the pursuit of glory. Though but eighteen years of age, this prince was not only an enemy to all softness and effeminacy, but even fond of the most violent fatigues, and all the severities of a military life. Invincibly obstinate in those excesses to which his courage transported him, he run into dangers with the highest relish and delight, and wanted nothing of being a very Alexander, but the addition of a few vices. Both he and the czar, it is pretended, believed in absolute predestination, and owed much of their intrepidity to this speculative notion.

But though there might seem to be some equality between the two sovereigns at war, it was far otherwise with respect to the nations they commanded.—Muscovites, who in general had not yet the slightest tincture of discipline, were never inured to the practice of valor, nor possessed of a reputation they could either fear to lose, or make use of to inspire them with new courage; these Muscovites marched against veteran Swedes, used to a discipline the most exact, accustomed to the field under a long succession of warlike kings, animated to brave actions by the very remembrance of their own history. The czar was so sensible of this, that he frankly said at the beginning of the war, when news were brought him of the defeat before

Narva, "I know very well that my troops will be beaten for some time; but this will teach them to conquer at last." He armed himself with a patience more heroic than even valor itself, and sacrificed the interest of his own glory to that of making his people brave and warlike.

It were to be wished that the czar's motives for entering into this war, had been as justifiable in themselves, as they were well concerted for carrying on his grand project. Livonia, though formerly disputed with Sweden, by both the Muscovites and Poles, had been in quiet possession of the former near an hundred years. Carelia and Ingria had indeed belonged to Russia, but were ceded to Sweden by Michael Federowitz, the czar's grandfather, and remained to that crown ever since. A long deduction of the czar's pretensions to these several provinces was however published, by which it was easy to see that all the other causes alledged for this rupture were only subservient to these. His majesty's project of becoming powerful by sea, excited him to revive those pretensions, which pursued with success, would put him in possession of Narva, Revel, Riga, and other considerable ports on the Baltic, and the Gulf of Finland. To give the better idea of these several particulars, it is proper here to insert an abstract of the geography and history of these provinces.

The province of Livonia is bounded on the west by the gulf of that name; on the north by the Gulf of Finland; on the east by Ingria and the dutchy of Pleskow in Muscovy; and on the south by Lithuania and Samogitia. Its antient inhabitants were barbarians, who had no commerce with their neighbors. Certain German pirates, who cruised in the Baltic in the reign of the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, landing there, found the country so fine and fertile, that they resolved to make it the place of their residence. Their first care was to settle a traffic with the natives, by which they proposed to themselves large profit, especially upon corn, honey, and wax. This view to in-

terest changing afterwards into a zeal for religion, they formed a military society for establishing the christian faith among these infidels ; and after several battles, in which they murdered many thousands under this pretence, they became masters of the province, their society being confirmed by the Pope, they took the name of knights of Livonia, and chose William of Vienna for their grand master. The country was divided into several governments, and the archbishop of Riga, had a part in the sovereignty. This concession to the prelate, which they looked on as their greatest security, was the cause of their ruin ; for having some misunderstanding with him, the grand master Volquin implored the help of the Teutonic knights, under the heavy condition of receiving them for masters. The knights of Livonia got rid of this servitude, for a large sum of money, under Albert of Brandenburg, who sometime after renounced his order, and turned Lutheran. The Livonians followed his example, embraced the doctrines of Luther, seized the estates of the order, and made them hereditary. Gottard de Ketler, their grand master, put himself under the protection of Sigismund Augustus, king of Poland, and preserved to himself Courland and Semigallia.

During these religious disorders, the Muscovites got possession of the greatest part of Livonia. They were drove out of it by Stephen Bathori, who succeeded Henry of Valois, king of Poland, and retook it again in the reign of Sigismund, with whom they were at war on account of the false Demetrius. Having broke with Gustavus I. king of Sweden, that prince invaded and reduced Livonia : but his successor lost it again to the Muscovites in 1590, who were now no more able to retain it than they had been before. The constable de la Gardie not only took from them what they had recovered from Sweden, but obliged the czar Michael entirely to renounce it by the treaty of Stockholm in 1618. The Poles opposed this cession, pretending that the czar had no right to make it, in prejudice to their claim from the grand master of the order, and a prior

cession from the Muscovites to them in 1582. They were answered by the Swedes, and the contention came to the point of a rupture, when Lewis XIII. king of France, adjusted it by his mediation in 1629, leaving the Swedes in possession of all they had got, except Courland, which he obliged them to restore. The treaty of Oliva, in 1660, confirmed all that had been before done, and allowed the kings both of Poland and Sweden, to call themselves dukes of Livonia, to the utter exclusion of the Muscovites. But the czar Alexis Michaelowitz revived the claim which his father had renounced, and Peter was now resolved to make the most of it.

Livonia is a country of great importance, on account of its advantageous situation, and prodigious fertility in corn and pasturage. The Livonian nobility are very numerous, and were possessed of great power and many privileges, before the reign of Charles XI. king of Sweden, who oppressed them equally with the rest of his subjects. Patkul, since unhappily famous for his tragical death, was deputed by the rest of the Livonian nobility, to bear their united complaints to his majesty; whom he addressed in a manner very respectful, and with that manly eloquence, which calamity, joined with courage, inspires. Charles, who knew how to dissemble, when he did not give himself up to the transports of his passion, gently struck Patkul on the shoulder: "You have spoke for your country, (says he,) like a gallant man, and I esteem you for it: proceed." But a few days after, he got him declared guilty of high treason, and condemned. Patkul, who had hid himself, made his escape, and carried his resentment with him to Poland, where we leave him for a moment.

The river Duna divides Livonia into two parts: south of the river lie Courland and Semigallia, both fiefs of the crown of Poland. The other Livonia comprehends Estonia and Litland. In the former are contained Estonia Proper, Wikezland, Alentaken, Harnland, Jervenland, Oldenpo, and Wirland.



Estonia Proper lies between Litland, Oldenpo, Jervenland, and Wikezland. The only remarkable city in it is Pernaw, at the mouth of a river of the same name, which falls into the gulph of Livonia. It is a place of good trade, though small, on account of the great quantity of corn there loaded for the Low Countries. It has a strong citadel, and was formerly the capital of a Polish Palatinate.

Wikezland extends along the Baltic Sea, between Estonia Proper and Harnland. Hapsel, formerly a bishoprick on a small gulph of the same name, and Lehal, are its principal towns.

Alentaken lies between the gulph of Finland and the lake Peybus or Czudzko. The city of Narva here, upon a river of the same name, which divides Livonia from the dutchy of Pleskow, and two miles lower falls into the gulph of Finland, is one of the strongest places in the whole province, defended by a large castle on the banks of the river.

Revel, upon the gulph of Finland, is the capital of Harnland. It is one of the richest and most mercantile places in the north, a hanse town, and possessed of several privileges, that were confirmed to it by divers treaties between the kings of Sweden and the grand dukes of Muscovy. Waldemar II. built it in 1228. The Muscovites besieged it in 1557, with a numerous army, but were obliged to retire without success.

Wittenstein, Lais and Overpolen, are towns of Jervenland, which lies between Harnland, Estonia Proper, and Wirland.

Oldenpo, or Kikeland, is surrounded by Alentaken, Muscovy, Litland, and Estonia Proper. Dorpt, or Junigorod, upon the river Embeck, is the principal city of this district. It is very ancient, and run much to decay. The knights of the Teutonic order, drove the Muscovites out of it in 1280, and were expelled again themselves in 1558, by the grand duke Basil.—The Poles took it in 1582. Charles, duke of Sudermania, took it from the Poles, in his wars with king

Sigismund. The Muscovites retook it, but lost it again to the constable de la Gardie, in 1625. Gustavus Adolphus erected an university there in 1632, and it remained to the Swedes till the end of that century.—The other towns in this province, are, Vernebec, Helmede and Ringen.

Wirland is contiguous to Estonia and Harnland. The most remarkable towns in it, are, Wesenberg, taken by John, king of Sweden, and Tolsberg, upon the mouth of the river Seraschebuck.

Litland lies between Estonia, Muscovy, the river Duna and the gulph of Riga. It is divided into east and west, the latter of which is largest. In the former are Duneburg, a fortified city on the Duna, Rositen, Lutzen, and Marienhusen. The capital of West Litland, is Riga, upon the borders of Courland, a large, handsome place, well fortified, and considerable for trade. It was formerly, (and may be still reckoned) the capital of all Livonia, the usual residence of the grand master of the knights of that denomination, and the seat of an archbishop. Charles IX. king of Sweden, besieged this town ineffectually; but his son, Gustavus Adolphus, became master of it in 1621. The Muscovites attempted to surprise it some years after, and were obliged to retire with very great loss. The other cities of this division, are, Teydar, Wolmar, Wenden and Kokenhauss; the latter built upon an eminence, the bottom of which is watered by the river Duna, a place much stronger by nature than by art. The Muscovites took it in 1654, and restored it by the treaty which put an end to that war.

There are some islands upon the coast of Livonia, which we may have occasion hereafter to mention.

Ingria is bounded on the north by the lake Ladoga, by Muscovy on the east, by Livonia on the south, and on the west by the gulph of Finland. It belonged formerly to the Muscovites; but the Swedes having got possession, the czar Michael Federowitz, gave it up entirely to Gustavus Adolphus by the treaty of Stock-

holm, which was confirmed in 1661, between king Charles XI. and the czar Alexis Michaelowitz. Its situation, between Finland and Livonia, made it always considerable. Notteburg, the capital, a strong place, lay at the head of the river Neva, where it rises out of the lake Ladoga. It was taken by the constable de la Gardie, in 1614. The other cities of Ingria are, Caporia, Imagorod and Ivanagorod.

Carelia lies between the gulph of Finland, the province of that name, and the lake Ladoga. Birger, king of Sweden, subdued it in 1293, and it remained in the hands of his successors till 1338, when they divided it with the Muscovites. The czar Suiski, promised to give up his part to Charles IX. upon condition of being assisted against the impostor Demetrius. Charles sent him troops under the command of Pont de la Gardie; but the Muscovites, after the war was over, not readily keeping to the proposal, the Swedes seized on Kexholm, and afterwards on all Carelia Proper, which from that time was entirely united to the crown of Sweden.

The capital of Carelia Proper is Wiburg, a strong place, with a good citadel, which the Muscovites had often attempted to surprise. The capital of Kexholm is of the same name, and stands upon the lake Ladoga, at the mouth of the river Voxen. It is defended by a strong castle, which was took by the constable de la Gardie. Some authors make Kexholm a province by itself: but we shall not dispute about names.

These were the provinces claimed by the czar Peter, in his declaration against Charles XII. The reader will guess, from this short account, on what he founded his pretensions, and how justly. We shall only remark, that wars have often been entered into on more slight foundations. And probably any other prince, capable of the same great designs, would have thought these at least very sufficient. But the czar added others to them, which he called new motives for which the war was begun. These new motives, some writers

tell us, he had better have suppressed ; and every one has a right to give his opinion of what even monarchs think fit to publish.

The first of these new motives, and what was chiefly enlarged on, was the affront given to his czarish majesty's ambassadors at Riga, of which we took notice in a former book. Another was, that his majesty was warned by the English court, while he resided in London, not to go back through the Swedish territories, with intimation of some danger that might attend his person. The declaration also accused the Swedish court with having spirited up the Porte to a rupture with his majesty, and affirmed that general Leczinski, father of the famous Stanislaus, and ambassador of Poland at the Ottoman court, was made use of for this purpose. These reasons, and an absolute refusal of the king of Sweden to give him satisfaction on the affair of Riga, added to the claims above recited, inclined his czarish majesty to listen to the instances of the kings of Poland and Denmark, who had both their several reasons for breaking with Sweden at this time.— If any one should affirm, that the fair prospect they had of making acquisitions on their respective borders, during the minority of a young prince whose character was yet unknown, was the secret motive that prevailed with all the three powers, I shall not take upon me to contradict it.

The eldest sister of Charles XII. was married to the duke of Holstein, a brave and good natured young prince, but unhappy in an odd partition of territory with the king of Denmark. The king, as is usual in cases of sovereignty, made use of his superior strength to oppress the duke, who fled to Stockholm with his princess, to throw himself under his brother-in-law's protection.

Christiern III. king of Denmark, of the ancient house of Holstein, had such an uncommon affection for his brother Adolphus, that he divided with him the dutchies of Holstein Gottorp and Sleswick. The

descendants of Adolphus were to govern ever after in conjunction with the kings; so that the two dutchies would be in common between them both, and neither should do any thing without the other. This union, for near 80 years, was the cause of continual disputes between the two branches; the one aiming to engross all, the other to be independent. In these struggles, the last duke lost his liberty as well as his sovereignty, till he recovered both at the conferences of Altena, by the interposition of Sweden, England, and Holland, who guaranteed the treaty. But as this treaty, on the part of Frederick IV. then king of Denmark, was no more than a submission to necessity, he began now to revive the dispute with more virulence than ever, committed some acts of hostility in the dutchies, and was ready to fall upon Sweden itself.

Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony, whom neither the eloquence of the abbe de Polignac, nor the great qualities of the prince of Conti, his competitor for the crown, could set aside from being elected king of Poland, was a prince less famous for his incredible strength of body, than for the gallantry of his mind. Next to that of Louis XIV. his court made the greatest figure of any in Europe. No prince bestowed favors more liberally, nor with a better grace; and thus he had bought one half of the Polish nobility. The rest he awed into submission by the approach of a Saxon army, which he wanted some pretence to retain still in Poland. Patkul, willing to take vengeance on the Swedes, had represented to him how easy it would be to conquer Livonia; the people ready to shake off the Swedish yoke, and their king a child. The Saxon troops then were to march into Livonia, on the other side Poland from their own country, which would still keep them a check upon the Polish lords, and might add to the kingdom a valuable acquisition.

Among the pretensions of these princes for falling on Sweden, those of Peter were at least as valid as either of the others. He invaded Ingria, at the latter

end of autumn, with an hundred thousand men, and sat down before Narva, within 30 degrees of the Pole, on the first of October, when the cold is as severe in that climate as with us in the depth of winter. The czar, says M. de Voltaire, who in such weather would sometime ride post 400 miles to see a mine or a canal, spared his troops no more than he spared himself. He knew that the Swedes, ever since the time of Gustavus Adolphus, had been used to make war in the depth of winter; and he wanted to make his Muscovites at least equal to them, by losing all distinction of seasons. He marked out himself the lines of his camp, had it fortified on all sides, and with his own hands opened the trench. The duke de Croy, a German general of great abilities, had the command of the army, while the czar himself, to continue the example of military discipline, was only a lieutenant in his own troops.

The Muscovite army, except about 30,000 men, who had been disciplined on the new plan, and succeeded the strelitzes, consisted of raw young fellows, just taken from the forests or fields, covered with the skins of beasts, and armed with arrows or clubs. Not one of these had ever seen a siege, and there was scarce a good cannoneer in the whole body. But the duke of Croy brought with him about 50 German officers, who had all served in Hungary; and these, added to the foreign officers already in the army, soon brought them into better order. Yet this mighty army of 100,000 men, with 150 pieces of cannon, lay ten whole weeks before the little town of Narva, defended by count Hoorn, with scarce 1000 regular troops, and were at last obliged to raise the siege with disgrace.

Charles XII. alarmed by these preparations against him, renounced at once all the amusements of youth, and, full of the idea of Alexander, set out from Stockholm at eighteen years of age, at the head of an army, and never returned thither again, though he lived eighteen years more. He began first with the Dane, to revenge his brother-in-law's quarrel; landed an army in

Zealand, and invested Copenhagen itself, while the king of Denmark was besieging Tonningen, in Holstein. In less than six weeks he brought the Dane to reason, and concluded a treaty to the duke's advantage, who was indemnified from all the expenses of the war. And the king of Poland having raised the siege of Riga, after two months lying before it, upon the representation of the Dutch, who had vast effects there, (an occasion the king was very ready to embrace) Charles had now only the czar, his rival in glory, to march against, "with whom he was the more enraged, says his historian Voltaire, as there was still three Muscovite ambassadors at Stockholm, who had lately sworn to renew an inviolable peace." But however that was, it is certain the czar's intentions were notified to the Swedish court, before he actually committed any hostilities.

\* The king of Sweden, with about 20,000 men, crossed the sea from Carelseroon to Pernaw: and the czar received advice of his being landed on the 15th of November. His majesty foresaw that this king, young and enterprizing as he was, would play the desperate game; and therefore, far from despising his inferiority of number, having disposed his army before Narva in the best manner, (placing three advanced guards, the first of five, the second of twenty, the third of thirty thousand men, before the main body) he posted away to Pleskow, to hasten the march of 40,000 recruits who were by this time got thither. The king in the mean time made a flying march from Pernaw to Revel, and thence to Narva, with only his 4000 horse, and about the same number of foot. With these he attacked the first post, and easily dislodged and put them to flight, before they could know what strength he had. The five thousand fled to the twenty, with Charles at their heels, who immediately attacked and routed them also. They carried their consternation

\* Histoire de Charles XII. and history of the Czar by a British officer.

among the thirty thousand, who were posted within a league of the camp; and the panic seizing on these too, they retired to the main body without striking a blow. All this was done within two days and a half, and the king of Sweden then appeared, with his 8000 men, fatigued with a long march, before an army of 100,000 Muscovites, defended by 150 pieces of brass cannon.

The duke de Croy made the best disposition he could at so short a warning; for the king, after three victories, would hardly give his men time to breathe, before they were ordered again to fall on. The Muscovite infantry were posted in an entrenchment, where they fired as in a covered way, with a second line to support them, and the cavalry behind to support all. But this numerous army wanted the presence of their master, which would have been better than the forty thousand recruits; and he did not doubt, when he left them, but that he should come back again in time.

On the 30th of November, 1700, about noon, the 8000 Swedes, headed by their king, began the attack. The Muscovites stood it bravely for some time, and returned a terrible fire. But a violent snow falling, was driven by the wind full in their faces, which proved of great advantage to the enemy. General Rebinder, at the head of eight battalions, pressed on with such intrepidity, that though the general himself fell in the charge, there was no resisting the fury of the attack. The first line was forced, and after that the second, which being driven upon the cavalry, put them in such disorder, that they could not draw up to charge. Thus in three hours time all the entrenchments were forced, and the whole right wing routed. The king pursued near fifty thousand, the number of that wing, with his own left wing of about four thousand, as far as the river of Narva, which was instantly covered with dead bodies, the bridge breaking under the Muscovites' feet. The rest, after defending their barracks



a short time, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The generals Dolhorucki, Gollowin, Fedorowitz, and the duke de Croy himself, were in the number of the latter.

Charles, before the battle, did not doubt of success; and, during the action, behaved as if no danger could approach him. He attacked the czar's quarters in person, not knowing him to be absent; and as he was mounting a third horse, two having been killed under him, "These fellows, says he, make me exercise." He received the prisoners of distinction, after the slaughter was over, with an air of politeness; detained only the general officers, and sent the subalterns and common soldiers, being first disarmed, over the river to return home. Then he took possession of the enemy's cannon, and wrapping himself up in his cloak, slept some hours on the ground.

But all had not yet been over, if the terror of what they saw had not affected the rest of the Muscovite army. Though their right wing was thus destroyed, the left continued fighting till night, and was still sufficient to have cut all the Swedes to pieces. The king intended, at day-break, to fall upon them with his whole force. But general Weid, who commanded that wing, hearing how well the king used the other general officers, and that he had dismissed all the rest, sent about two o'clock in the morning to demand the same favor. This was granted, and the general appeared soon after, with 30,000 Muscovites, before less than 7000 Swedes, to whom they surrendered their arms and colors. The king then entered victorious into Narva, amid the acclamations of the people.

The Muscovite horse had retreated in pretty good order, and made off towards Pleskow. They met the czar by the way, who received their account of this defeat without the least disorder, or expressing any resentment at the conduct of his officers. He was too good a judge of the great difference between such veteran troops as the Swedes, and those that he was able

to send against them, either to wonder at what had happened, or to attack the remainder of the victor's little army with his 40,000 recruits, assisted by the horse. Instead of this, he returned from whence he came, and took all possible measures to draw together the shattered remains of his own army, in order to be ready for future action.

But the king of Sweden, having relieved Narva, and gained a complete victory, put his troops into winter quarters for the season, without attempting any thing farther. This was contrary to what every one expected, and just as the czar himself would have wished. Charles had defeated two enemies, and without remembering how soon these might recover the shock, from this time thought only of the third. He sent over for all the regular troops in Sweden, and ordered the raising of new levies for the guard of his country. The czar expected him again next spring, at the head of 40,000 old soldiers, one half of whom were already victorious; and accordingly prepared for the reception of such an enemy. He did not command out a certain number of men, as had been usual in Muscovy, only to serve for one campaign, and then to return to their habitations; but sent drums to beat up for volunteers all over his empire, who, with the promise of new clothes, regular pay, and preferment according to their merit, got together a prodigious number of able bodied young fellows. To these he made such additions from among the servants of the nobility, (who were all obliged to send one, two, or more, according to the number they kept) that before the spring he had near 120,000 new enlisted men, all formed into regiments of four, two or one battalion, as in other countries, and regularly disciplined.

In the mean time the league between Poland and Muscovy was more firmly cemented than ever. The two princes, in order the better to contrive their measures, agreed upon an interview at Birsen, a small town in Lithuania, where they met without any of

those formalities which serve only to retard business. They spent fifteen days together, in the enjoyment of several extravagant pleasures, especially drinking, the great vice of the north. Augustus engaged to furnish the czar with 50,000 German troops, to be hired of several princes, which the czar was to pay for; and 50,000 Russians were to be sent into Poland to be trained up to war, for which the czar was also to pay three millions of rix-dollars, within two years.

At this interview, Charles, upon count Piper's persuasion, made use of that policy which he had hitherto disregarded. A young Scotch gentleman, who spoke German, passed himself upon the colonel of horse that guarded the czar, for a native of Brandenburg, was made a lieutenant, and so insinuated himself into the favor of the secretaries, that he got from them all the secrets of their masters. No sooner had the king of Sweden this information, but he appeared with his army in Livonia, on the north of the river Duna, the Saxons being extended along the other side, ready to dispute his passage. The king himself projected the manner of it, which he performed with boats of a peculiar invention. At the same time setting fire to some wet straw, he raised a great smoke, which the north wind blew over in the face of the Saxons, and hindered them from seeing what he was about. He was over himself in a quarter of an hour, vexed to see that three men had leaped ashore before him; and no sooner had he landed his cannon, but the mist was dissipated.

Marshal Stenau, who commanded the Saxons in conjunction with the duke of Courland, (king Augustus being sick of a fever, occasioned by his intemperance at Birsen) fell furiously upon the Swedes, with the left of his cavalry, as soon as he saw them landed; put them into disorder, and even drove them back into the river. The king rallied them in a moment in the midst of the water, and leading them on in a body more compact than before, repulsed the marshal from the

shore, and followed him into the plain. A sharp engagement immediately ensued, in which the duke of Courland had two horses shot under him, and was himself at last carried off for dead: upon which the Saxons fell into confusion, and no longer disputed the field.

Charles, after this victory, marched directly to Mitaw, the capital of Courland, and took it. The other towns of the datchy surrendered at discretion, without giving him the least trouble; and when he came to Birsen, where the czar and the king of Poland had contrived his destruction, he first conceived the thoughts of dethroning the latter, which he immediately proceeded to put in execution. The intestine divisions of the nobility, for which the Poles (the only people that preserve the old Gothick form of government) have ever been so remarkable, and which at this time run very high, partly through dissatisfaction with their king, and partly through private factions, not only encouraged him to this attempt but contributed not a little to the making it successful.

The czar, having had leisure to raise and discipline a large body of troops, posted them in great numbers on the frontiers of Livonia. Here they had continual skirmishes with the Swedes, in which though they were often worsted, they had the pleasure too of conquering in their turns, and finding their enemies were not invulnerable. As they were continually recruited, they overpowered them with numbers; and by frequent fighting with these redoubted warriors, they learned to be less afraid. The king of Sweden, all this while, was so intent on his scheme of deposing Augustus, that he neglected his own subjects in Livonia; persisting in his contempt of the Muscovite troops, till he found them equal to his own. He did not enough consider what the genius of a prince, indefatigable as the czar Peter, might effect on the most barbarous people in a few years: nor would a thing so unparalleled be quite credible to us, were not the fact so recent.

The troubles of Lithuania, began from a private quarrel between the two houses of Sapieha and Oginski, and now enflamed into an open war, gave both Muscovites and Swedes an entrance into that country. Charles espoused the party of the Sapiehas, and Oginski, being but badly assisted by the Saxons, found himself necessitated to call on the czar for support; who sent him, at two or three times, no less than 30,000 men. But these were insufficient to make head against the victorious Swedes, who had usually the advantage in all rencountres. The lands of the Poles and Lithuanians were all the time ravaged by both parties, and the Muscovites carried off a very considerable booty.

The nobility of Poland, who make the laws of the republic, likewise constitute its strength. They appear in arms upon great occasions, and can form a body of more than 150,000 men. This great army, called the *pospolite*, moves heavily, and is ill governed.—They want discipline, subordination and experience; and the scarcity of provisions makes it impossible for them ever to subsist long together. The love of liberty only, which animates them, is what renders them formidable. As they look upon themselves to be the only bulwark of the republic, they never suffer their king to build any fort, lest he should employ it for their oppression, rather than their defence. When they mount on horseback, it is by order of the diet, and sometimes, in great extremity, by the king's order alone. The usual guard of Poland, which subsists at the expense of the state, is made up of two different bodies, independent of each other, and commanded by their respective grand generals, who, though nominated by the king, are accountable only to the republic. The polish general has 36,000 men, and the Lithuanian 12,000, under the most absolute command. The very colonels, in their several regiments, are a sort of petty sovereigns.

Agustus, harrassed and threatened by the implacable Swede, flattered himself that the *pospolite* would

arm at his orders, and that the two crown armies would fight for him; which, with the Saxons his subjects, and the Muscovites his allies, would make up a body that must quite overpower the enemy. But the beginning of his reign had too much provoked the party who opposed his election, and almost alienated his friends. The Saxon troops of Augustus, which might be made use of to oppress them, were, in the opinion of the Poles, more dreadful than the Swedish army, whose quarrel was not with the nation, but with the king only. They did not even wish success to a war, which, by making their sovereign master of Livonia, would put their liberty more in his power. The Lithuanian army had been wasted in the contention between the two parties, and the remains of it were dispersed by the conqueror: the army in Poland, instead of the 36,000 men prescribed by law, consisted hardly of 18,000; and the generals were undetermined what course they should take. The *pospolite* he did not dare to summon, for fear of being mortified by a refusal. In this distress the palatinates obliged him to call a diet, in which Charles had as much interest as himself. The cardinal primate in particular, who was president, had been at first an enemy to the election of Augustus, and now secretly intrigued with the king of Sweden, to get his sovereign deposed, to whom he at the same time paid all the outward respect that his duty required.

The history of Poland is no farther a part of this work, than as it serves to illustrate the czar's proceedings; and therefore I shall be as short upon it as I possibly can. Every one knows what followed in that kingdom. The diet obliged the king to ask peace of the Swede, and then, upon being repulsed, to throw himself into the arms of the senate. The senate too gave him up to the conqueror, who entirely defeated him near Clissau, between Warsaw and Cracow. His throne was declared vacant, and Stanislaus Leczinski elected in his place, whom the king of Sweden obliged

Augustus to congratulate, under his own hand, upon his accession.

The czar too well understood his own interest, not to take advantage of this obstinate wrath of the king of Sweden, who was now pursuing Augustus to his ruin. He had before 20,000 men in Lithuania, to keep the Swedes on that side employed; and having caused another army to march towards Great Poland, to succor Augustus, he sent 60,000 of his most regular and best disciplined foot, with 20,000 horse, into Livonia, and at the same time led 30,000 foot and 10,000 horse into Ingria. It was the beginning of May, 1702, that these armies began to be in motion: 70,000 men were already assembled about Pleskow, and numbers came up with them every day. Had not the king of Sweden, at that juncture, been infatuated with his contemptuous opinion of the Russian forces, he would certainly have taken the alarm, and endeavored to preserve so fine a province as Livonia, the flower of all his dominions. But the Muscovites entered it without opposition, under marshal Czeremetoff, about the beginning of July.

Schlippenbach, the Swedish general, lay then encamped between Dorp and Revel. Czeremetoff knew this well; but, being quite ignorant of his strength, durst not venture to attack any place. As the ports were open behind him, the enemy might receive fresh forces every day from Sweden: and Meyefeldt, who commanded in Lithuania, was near enough to succor him upon occasion. This made the marshal resolve to seek out the Swedes, and fight them in the open field, that the same game might not be played again, which had been unluckily played before Narva.

On the 16th of July, the field marshal prince Czere-metoff having advice that the Swedes were marching to meet him, advanced directly forwards. The Swedish general, hearing what disparity of number he had to deal with, halted at a village called Stagnitz, on the river Embeck, as if he would there expect the Rus-

sians ; but so far was he in fact from seeming to dread them, that he did not so much as offer to intrench. At length the Russians appeared in such admirable order of battle, that the Swede was not a little astonished. He then thought it safest, after taking a view of their number and order, to repass the river, breaking the bridges behind him ; notwithstanding that 300 of his horse, whom he had sent before to reconnoitre the foes, had drove 1000 of them back to the body of their army. But the river being low, the prince, by the help of pontoons, wafted over his artillery, and after that the rest of his forces. Schlippenback seeing it impossible to avoid an engagement, began it with such bravery, that the advantage at first seemed to be on the Swedish side. The Muscovites retired a German mile, lost six pieces of cannon, with part of their baggage and colours ; and some of them leaped into the river. But the rest of their army, ashamed to fly before a number so inferior, faced about on a sudden, and put the Finland cavalry into such confusion, that they fell foul on the infantry, and fled without any possibility of being rallied. The Swedish artillery, as well their own as what they had taken, fell into the Muscovites' hands, and almost all their infantry were cut to pieces.

This action began about six in the morning, and lasted ten hours. The Swedes lost 7 captains, 30 lieutenants, 11 ensigns, 25 subalterns, 37 drums, and 1916 common soldiers. About 1200 more were taken prisoners. The loss of the Muscovites, though much greater, was hardly perceptible on account of their numbers. Schlippenback would fain have rallied again, but finding it impossible to stop his cavalry, he fled with them to Pernaw ; after which the Muscovites ravaged the country, putting all before them to fire and sword, in order to terrify the Livonians into submission : things not agreeable to his czarish majesty's temper, but thought necessary at this time.

The state of the war now took a new turn, and the Swedes were every where defeated, not only in Livo-



nia, but in Lithuania also. Oginski and his party, supported by the Russian troops, routed them twice in a week's time. In the first action they killed 400, and took 800 prisoners: in the second, they killed 1000, and took 700. Czeremetoff in the mean time sat down before Dorp, sending out detachments to scour the country to the gates of Pernaw and Riga, to prevent the Swedes gathering together any troops to relieve the place.

The czar's affairs went on no less prosperously in Ingria, where he commanded himself. The fortress of Skans-ternie or Nie-skans, after a vigorous attack, was surrendered to his troops; as was also Notteburg, a town higher up the river Neva. And 24,000 of his men being sent over into Finland, in 400 transport vessels, gave battle in the open field to the Swedes under major-general Crooniort, and entirely defeated them, a very few only escaping, with their general, into Wyburg. In this incursion, the Muscovites carried off 3 colonels, 2 majors, 18 captains, 25 lieutenants, 17 ensigns, 3 cornets, 1000 soldiers, and many other persons.

His ezarish majesty was now master of all the open country in these provinces, though most of the great towns still remained in the hands of the Swedes. Reflecting therefore on the havoc which war had here made, grieved at the misfortunes of the unhappy people, and willing at the same time to make an acquisition of valuable subjects, he published a proclamation, inviting all the natives of these, and any other countries, to come and settle in his dominions; promising, that immediately at their arrival upon his frontiers, they should be conducted where they would please to inhabit, have the free exercise of their religion, and follow what employment they thought most to their advantage, without being liable to any duty or impost: that those who were capable to undertake any trade, and had not wherewithal to manage it, should be supplied with money out of his treasury: and lastly, that when they

were desirous to leave his dominions, they should have free liberty so to do, and their expenses borne to the frontiers.

In December 1702, the city of Narva had like to have been surpris'd ; but the project for that time fail'd of success. The Muscovites seized the advanced guards, came under the very cannon of the city, and pillaged and burnt all the neighboring villages. The cavalry of the garrison sallied out upon them, but were beaten back to their counterscarp ; and the Swedes, in a word, went every where to wreck.

The city of Dorp being now closely besieged by the Russians, the czar came before it in person. He found a resolute garrison, who defended the place inch by inch ; but they too in their turn, saw another sort of Muscovites than they had encountered two years before ; men who made their approaches as regularly, and attacked as boldly, as the soldiers of any other nation. The outworks were carried by degrees, and about 27 days after the trenches were opened, the garrison finding they could not hold out, and that no relief was to be expected, beat a parley to surrender, and had very honorable conditions. They marched out on the 26th of July, and were conducted to Riga. The czar appeared on horseback as they passed by, at the head of his body guards, with his sword drawn in his hand ; returned the salute of the governor, and gave him leave, at his request, to retire to Narva, though that city was then blocked up by his majesty's forces, under general Schein.

The taking of Marienburg by general Baur, in 1702, soon after the czar himself was become master of Notteburg, obliges us to make a digression concerning that illustrious prisoner, who then fell into the hands of the Muscovites, and a few years after became their empress. The baptismal name of this extraordinary woman was Martha, which she afterwards changed to Catharine, upon conforming to the Greek religion. Her mother was a poor country woman, named Erb-

Magden, of the village of Ringen in Estonia, near the lake Worthsy. Who her father was is not so certain, some making him only a ditcher, while others advance him to a colonel. If the latter be true, it seems the more probable that she was not born in wedlock; and accordingly we are assured, she was registered among the bastard children. She was left an orphan very young, by both father and mother, and the vicar of the parish, (others say the clerk) out of pure charity, brought her up till she was fourteen years of age, as if she had been his own.

Doctor Gluck, a Lutheran minister of Marienburg, coming to this village, took a fancy to Martha, and willing to ease his reverend brother, whose circumstances were low, had her home with him. Being endued with virtuous inclinations, she won the affection both of the doctor and his wife, who loved her very tenderly. She was naturally an enemy to idleness, and spent her time in spinning, sewing, and other works, suitable to her sex and age; all which she performed exceedingly well. When she came to Marienburg she spoke only the Livonian dialect; but having learned to read at Ringen, she soon became mistress of the German tongue, and spent all her vacant hours at her book. Her amiable character recommended her at 18 years of age, to a Livonian serjeant in the Swedish service, (Voltaire calls him only a dragoon) a man of good family, who having a small estate of his own, and being in a fair way to preferment, soon obtained her patron's consent to marry her, and the doctor himself performed the ceremony.

The next day the Muscovites, under the command of lieutenant-general Baur, made themselves masters of Marienburg, a weak place, and but poorly defended. Martha, or Catharine, was among the prisoners; and the general observing, notwithstanding the tears that fell from her eyes, something in her face that struck him very much, he asked her several questions concerning her condition; to which she returned an-

swers with more good sense than is usual to persons of mean education. He spoke to her tenderly, ordered her to be treated with regard, and soon after gave her the inspection over his family affairs. Her behavior to the general's domestics recommended her to their esteem; and the general himself owned, that he never was so well served as at this time. But she had not been long in his service, before prince Menzikoff, her master's patron, saw and liked her, inquired her condition and character, and expressed his desire of having such a woman, as the general described her to be, to manage his own family. The general had too many obligations to the prince, to deny him any thing. Accordingly he called Catharine, told her that was prince Menzikoff, and related what had passed; adding, that the prince could be a much better friend to her than himself. She answered only with a low courtesy, which expressed, if not her consent, that it was out of her power to refuse the offer. The prince took her home with him the same hour, and she continued in his service till 1703 or 1704, when the czar saw her one day as he was at dinner with his highness, spoke to her, and received a stronger impression from her charms than either of his servants had felt before. In short, his majesty took her to himself, and was so far from being satiated with the enjoyment of her person, that in 1707 he married her privately, and some years after in public. What was most to Catharine's honor in this advancement, was, that she used no artifice to delude the monarch, which on a prince of his penetration would hardly have taken effect; but he found in her an astonishing capacity, a greatness of soul capable of forwarding his designs, and even of continuing them after him; for this reason he scorned the weak prejudices, by which only little souls are influenced, caused her to be crowned empress, and left her in the possession of his throne.

What became of Catharine's husband is as uncertain, as what was the character or post he had in the

Swedish army. One account tells us, that he behaved with such bravery in the defence of Marienburgh, that he was made a lieutenant-colonel ; and if every Swede, say they, had fought with equal courage, the Muscovites had not taken the town. Perhaps the liberty of a new wife, whom he entirely loved, and some say had never enjoyed (being called to action from his wedding dinner) might inspire him on this occasion. But we hear nothing of what became of this lieutenant-colonel afterwards, nor that ever he made any attempts to recover his wife. Others affirm that he was out on a party when the town was taken ; and others again, that he was one of the body who retired to Riga, when they were no longer able to defend the place. This made him inconsolable for the loss of his dear Catharine, whom he despaired of ever seeing again. “He would never, he said, go to that place, where for a few days he had been the happiest of men, as he was now the most unfortunate ; but would seek death in Poland, where his master would give him opportunities enough of meeting it. Perhaps the husband of Catharine might have the less hopes of seeing her again, as he had heard that the Muscovites had sent many families prisoners into Russia, and sold several young girls for slaves to the Turks. From one of these girls, whom de la Motraye bought of the Janissaries, and who knew Catharine, that author assures he had several of the foregoing particulars.

The taking of Marienburg, which was so great a misfortune to the husband, proved to the wife an epoch of the greatest honor that mortal could aspire to.—By her complaisance and engaging behavior, she made herself mistress of all the czar’s passions and affections, and saved the lives of many more persons than Le Fort had been able to do. A word from her mouth, says our author, in favor of a wretch just going to be sacrificed to his anger, would disarm him : but if he was fully resolved to satisfy that passion, he would give orders for the execution to be done in her absence. She

acquired the love and esteem of soldiers, sailors, and every one else. As she accompanied the czar in all his dangers and fatigues, she would often go herself, before or after an engagement, followed by some of her servants, with bottles of strong liquor, and with her own hands fill out glasses to give them.

The order of St. Catharine, instituted in 1713, after his public marriage, and the motto of it, *Through Love and Fidelity*, are a standing instance of the czar's love and affection for this lady. Persons who had been continually about his majesty, from the time of his knowing her, assured M. de la Motraye, that he had a perfect indifference for all other women, and never shewed the least jealousy but once, which was a few weeks before he died. He unluckily saw his chamberlain, who was one of the handsomest men in Russia, kiss her hand one day, as he gave her his arm to help her out of her chaise. This made the czar suspect he had some presumptuous designs on her virtue, and that his sister, who was one of her maids of honor, might favor the bold attempt. In this opinion he went out alone one morning to the monastery of St. Alexander Newski, and left orders to hang the chamberlain, and then cut off his head and expose it on a post; and to give his sister the knout under the gallows, and banish her: all which was executed in less than half an hour after his departure. The next day he went with the empress to take the air, and ordered the chaise, both in going and coming, to pass by the post. But undoubtedly he was convinced, before his death, that this suspicion was ill-grounded, because he left her sovereign of Russia, and had the oath for that purpose renewed. As soon as the czar died, the empress recalled the chamberlain's sister from banishment; and, in the midst of her grandeur, she did not forget her benefactors, but gave a pension to M. Gluck and his family.—I thought it best to throw together these particulars, most of which are found in de la Motraye, though some of them are very distant in order of time.

The same author assures us, that count d'Albert, who commanded for the king of Sweden in Livonia, represented to that prince all that his long experience in war could dictate, to divert him, after the battle of Narva, from carrying the war into Poland, and leaving his own provinces exposed. And when that general saw the progress of the Muscovites, under good foreign officers, he could not help saying, "The king, my master, has left me here with a handful of men only to exercise his enemies, that they may be able to beat us:" adding, that he wished the king had lost the day at Narva, which might have prevented the loss of Livonia. The event soon proved, that the count was no bad politician.

When the czar had taken Notteburg, now called Sleutelburg, 1702, and the year after Nieshantz, or Shantz-ter-nie, a trading town in Ingria, he observed several islands at the mouth of the river Neva, about a German mile lower, which he thought would be a convenient situation for a new city, that might open a communication with the Baltic. He ordered a fort to be built on one of these islands, and sent a detachment of troops to make themselves masters of Retusari, another island in the gulph of Finland, which commands the passage to the mouth of the Neva. This they accomplished after a smart engagement, in which the Swedes were driven on board their ships that lay under the island. The czar then examined and sound-ed the coasts, and finding every thing answer his wishes, immediately set upon his new project, which was no less than building an imperial city, for the seat of his own residence. Such a city here, would not only be a check upon the Swedes, but might be the centre of a far greater trade than Archangel could ever be. He drew himself the plan of the town, the fortress, the port, the keys, and the castle which defended the entrance.

These desart and uncultivated islands, which were nothing but a heap of mud in the short summer of that

climate, and in winter a frozen pool; which were not to be approached by land, but by passing over wild forests, and deep morasses, and had till then been the habitation of bears and wolves, were in 1703 filled with above 300,000 men, whom the czar had called together from the farthest parts of his dominions. The peasants of Astracan, and those who inhabit the frontiers of China, were transported to Petersburg. He was obliged to break through forests, to open ways, to dry up moors, to raise banks, before he could lay the foundations of the town. The whole was a force put upon nature: but the czar was resolved to people a country, which did not seem designed for the habitation of human creatures. Not the inundations which ruined his works, not the barrenness of the soil, not the ignorance of the workmen, nor a mortality which carried off above a hundred thousand men, could shake his fixed resolution. Posterity will stand amazed at its being founded amidst so many obstacles, as nature, the genius of the people, and an unfortunate war, had raised against it. Petersburg was become a city in 1705, and its port was filled with vessels. The emperor drew strangers thither in great numbers, by the rewards he gave them; bestowing lands upon some, houses upon others, and encouraging all the artists, who came to civilize the savage climate. Above all, he made it inaccessible to the efforts of the enemy. The Swedish generals, who frequently beat his troops in other quarters, were not able to do the least damage to this growing colony, which enjoyed a perfect calm amidst the war that surrounded it.

Whether his ministers were averse to this design, or by whatever other accident it happened, there were at first neither provisions to subsist the workmen, nor wheelbarrows, shovels and other tools, to work with. This did but little retard the project; the czar overlooked it himself, and the dirt was carried in bags, or the skirts of men's clothes, till they were furnished with better conveniences. The nobility, merchants,



and tradesmen were ordered to transplant themselves from several parts of the empire, to erect houses for themselves, and strengthen the new colony. Finland, Carelia, Ingria, and Livonia, having lately suffered so much by military executions, saw themselves half depopulated in favor of Petersburgh. Those who had knowledge or interest in trade, made great advantages by furnishing the rest with the necessaries of life, which in time became tolerably plenty, though they still continue dear. In a few years arose 60,000 houses, where in 1702 were only a few miserable huts. As the whole stands partly upon islands, and partly upon the continent, it appears at a distance rather like several distant towns than a single city. The lowness of the country makes it subject to frequent inundations, by which great losses have been often sustained. The breadth of the river Neva at Petersburgh, is about half a mile, and the current is very deep and rapid; but where it opens into the bay, the sands render it shallow, which obliges large ships to unload short of the town. It was proposed to the czar to build a bridge of pontoons over this river (any other bridge being judged impracticable on account of the rapidity of the stream:) but he would not consent to it, because it was his intention to train up as many sailors as possible. A great many passengers at first were drowned, before the Russians became dexterous at managing their sails; and oars were then prohibited; but they are since allowed to people of fashion, who keep their own watermen, generally four in number.

There are some handsome stone buildings, palaces, and churches in Petersburgh; but most of the houses are of wood. The sides consist of square pieces of fir timber, laid one upon another. Turnips, cabbages, and cucumbers, are almost the only plants that grow near this city, which is supplied with provisions from Novogrod, Pleskow, Moscow, and even from Casan, 1200 miles distant. Thousands of sleds are perpetual-

ly travelling in winter for this end, loaded with corn, flour, fruits, and the several products of the respective countries; which in the summer are brought by the lakes and rivers. When the boats happen to meet with any accident, every thing grows excessively dear on a sudden, not in Petersburg only, but in the country round it, which is all furnished by the same channels.

Retusari lies about twelve miles to the westward of Petersburg, at the mouth of the gulph of Finland, and the only passage for ships is on the south of this island, where the channel is about two thousand paces broad, and very deep. Though the soil of the island is barren, the czar Peter, observing the advantage of its situation, built in it first a castle, which he called Cronslot, and then a pretty large town by the name of Cronstadt, making a commodious harbor for the reception of his fleet. The coast of Ingria, from Cronslot up to Petersburg, is full of pleasure houses; among which are the imperial ones of Oranjenbaum, Petershoff, and Stelna-Muise, all elegantly built in the modern taste, the first by Prince Menzikoff, and the two latter by the czar.

While these new colonies were thus growing under his hands, the czar resolved on the attack of Narva, and the fort of Ivanogrod, that lay over against it. The trenches were opened on the beginning of August, 1704, and after a regular siege of thirteen days, in which forty pieces of cannon and twelve mortars were employed, he took the place by assault, though the garrison consisted of 1600 men. As soon as the soldiers were masters of the town, they fell to plunder, and gave themselves up to the most horrid barbarities.—The czar ran himself from place to place, to put a stop to the Muscovites; snatched the women out of the hands of the soldiers, who were going to cut their throats, after having abused their bodies; and even killed several Muscovites with his own hands, who did

not obey his orders. They yet shew the table, says M. de Voltaire, in the town-house at Narva, upon which he laid his sword as he entered, and tell the words which he spoke to the citizens, who thronged thither after him. "It is not with the blood of the inhabitants that my sword is stained, but with that of the Muscovites, which I have shed in your defence." The czar's disgrace before Narva, about four years before, was entirely cancelled by this action. The castle of Ivanogrod held out for some days after the town; but fearing at last to share the same fate, the governor surrendered it upon honorable conditions.

The Swedes were not a little uneasy at this progress of his majesty's arms, as well as at the success with which his works went on at Petersburgh and Cronslot. Their king alone, who, on this occasion, one might have expected to find chiefly concerned, seemed utterly insensible of what he was losing, as well in glory as in dominion. When he was told of the buildings carrying on by the czar, "Let him amuse himself, says Charles, if he thinks proper, in raising of cities: I shall soon take them from him, and either keep them, or burn them, if they are not worth keeping." But major-general Meydel, who commanded in Carelia, and admiral Ankersteirn, with the whole Swedish fleet, were soon convinced by experience that it was no such easy thing, as their master had imagined, to wrest his new possessions out of the hands of the czar. The former landed a detachment on the island of Retufari, which returned without being able to effect any thing against the fortress; and the other was repulsed before Cronslot, by a fleet much inferior to his own, commanded by general Bruce.

Thus, after some ill success at the beginning, the czar gained daily very considerable advantages, which were all of such a nature as to do honor to his genius. With such surprising rapidity did his subjects form themselves for great actions, that there were now hopes

of soon seeing them an equal match for the Swedes. At the end of only four years we behold the czar in a great measure master of Ingria, Livonia, and Carelia; and building an imperial city upon his new acquisitions, that was already proof against all the efforts of his enemies.

## BOOK IV.

*From the deposition of Augustus by the king of Sweden, to the victory of Pultowa, won by the czar, upon which Augustus remounts the throne of Poland.*

**WHILE** all this was transacted, the affairs of Poland were brought to that crisis I before mentioned; which obliged his majesty, in regard to his ally king Augustus, to concern himself with them more immediately than hitherto he had done. He sent a letter to the assembly, held by the cardinal primate at Warsaw, just when it was upon the point of declaring the throne vacant; wherein he mentioned the "having heard that some of their republic, led by the motives of an inveterate hatred, had made use of all possible means to drive his Polish majesty from the throne; but that the good opinion he had of their equity and justice, long hindered his giving credit to these reports; that as the evil was now however manifest, his majesty interposed to prevent its spreading, and support the king in his right; declaring himself an enemy to all those who were enemies to their sovereign, and the friend and protector of all who should continue loyal."

In consequence of this letter, and at the request of king Augustus, the czar ordered a body of 45,000 men to march to the frontiers of Poland, on the side of Sendomir, and there to receive orders from his Polish majesty. These forces came very opportunely for the unfortunate prince, who was closely pursued by the Swedish general Renchild. For some little time they gave a new face to his affairs: for whereas he had been obliged, with great precipitation, to pass the Vistula at Petrowin, near Sendomir, and break down the bridge behind him, he was now enabled to halt under protection of this powerful army, and summon his

friends about him. Their number seemed greater than he had imagined, and not only those who had hitherto been faithful, but all the other palatinates on that side, awed at the sight of so many forces, sent in their deputies; who took a new oath to their king, and entered into a confederacy in opposition to that of Warsaw. They declared, "any prince who should take upon him the title of king of Poland, an enemy to the country; pronounced the primate and the bishop of Posnania, who were esteemed the chief promoters of the defection, rebels and traitors; and forbid the governors and commanders of the fortresses to obey the marshal of the crown, and respect only the orders of the marshal of the royal confederacy." In the mean time the primate and his party, who thought themselves safe under the victorious Swedes, disregarded the czar's letter, and proceeded to the degradation of Augustus, and the election of a new king. But the choice at last not pleasing the primate, he was from that time a friend to neither of the kings. This revolution was in the month of February, 1704.

Augustus made some efforts to restore his affairs, and even surprised the city of Warsaw so suddenly, that the cardinal primate, the new queen, with several palatinates and grandees, were obliged to escape with the utmost precipitation. He took the castle afterwards by capitulation, and in it a great number of prisoners, Swedes and Poles. Among the latter was the bishop of Posnania, who proclaimed the new king, and died a prisoner not long after in Saxony; the castellan Kimpiski, and two sons of the castellan of Cracow. Hoorn, the Swedish general, obtained leave upon his parole, to go to the camp of his master, upon condition that he should surrender himself two months after in Saxony.

The czar, after the taking of Narva, had divided his army into three bodies: the first was to block up Revel, the second Riga, and the third to cover their camp, and guard the passes into the country. But the

desperate situation of his ally, whom he was resolved not to desert, prevented for the present his opening these sieges in form. The forces he had already sent into Poland, though pretty numerous, were not able to make head against the king of Sweden, who had hitherto carried victory wherever he went in person. Count Shullemburg, to whom Augustus had given the care of his army in this last extremity, had made a glorious stand against king Charles, and a more glorious retreat when his loss was judged inevitable; but all this did little service to his master, who was once more obliged to abandon Poland, and withdraw into Saxony, trembling for the capital of his hereditary estates, which he now fortified with all possible expedition. It was at this juncture that the czar entered Poland in person, with an army of 100,000 men, resolving to give battle to the Swedes; and as he had never before made war there in his own name, he thought it proper to publish a manifesto to the Polish nation, in order to convince them of the justice of his undertaking. This paper is dated from his head-quarters at Potesk, June the 23d, 1705, and contains in substance as follows:

“That, pursuant to his alliances with the republic and king Augustus, his majesty had used his utmost endeavors to oblige the king of Sweden to retire out of Poland, and, in his letter sent to the republic, declared his utmost abhorrence of the faction who for two years had sought to depose their lawful king: that Lesezinski, waywode of Posnania, had nevertheless been elected king, by an inconsiderable party, in opposition to the cardinal primate, and other persons of the first rank; the Swede persisting obstinately to maintain his election, and exercising an absolute power over the republic: that by reason of the distance of his czarish majesty's troops, and the animosities between those of the republic, king Augustus had been obliged to march into Saxony, to secure his electorate from an intended invasion, and was obstructed by the Swedes in his return to Poland, who had shut up all the passages, pub-

lished circular letters to confirm the unlawful election, and summoned a diet in consequence thereof: that the enemy had endeavored to get it believed, that the party of the new king was espoused by the primate and the king of Prussia, which his czarish majesty could not imagine it would be by any except such subjects of the republic as were blinded by bribes: that these things considered, his majesty resolved to defend his brother and ally king Augustus; and with that view, upon a petition delivered to him from the republic, he advanced in person, with an army into Poland, in order to expel the enemy who had disturbed its peace, without any pretensions himself upon the rights of the republic."

Field-Marshal Czeremetoff was sent before in this expedition, with 18 or 20,000 men, to harrass the enemy, and make the way clear to Riga. In the mean time general Baur, with 20,000 horse, penetrated as far as Mittaw, the capital of Courland; which he took by surprise, cut to pieces a regiment of Swedes commanded by colonel Knoring, and carried off prisoners all whom he found, with a great booty. The Swedish general Leuwenhaupt, who lay in the heart of Courland with about 8000 men, might probably have prevented this design, had intelligence of it been brought him in time. But it was so suddenly executed, that he had nothing to do, upon receipt of the news, but to prepare for an engagement with the field marshal. For this purpose he chose a very narrow spot of ground, where his little army might make head without extending themselves, and without danger of being attacked on all sides at once. The place he pitched upon was called Gemaurthoff, and the consequence of this disposition was a considerable victory, which he did not however obtain without the loss of two general officers, a colonel, two lieutenant colonels, many captains and inferior officers, and near 2000 men. The Russian field-marshal lost five or six thousand men, and was himself wounded, though the advantage for



some time seemed to be on his side. The Swedes themselves, in their account of this action, gave the Russians the character of behaving like brave soldiers. Lewenhaupt gained so little by his victory, that he was in no condition to pursue the field-marshal; but, leaving the dutchy exposed, was obliged to retire into Riga, which was some time after invested by the troops he had beaten. The czar declared himself the protector of Courland, and ordered the inhabitants to send all the arms and effects of the enemy to his commissary, prince Menzikoff, who rigorously exacted the execution of his master's ordinance.

All this while the king of Sweden continued inactive in his camp, having summoned a general diet at Warsaw, for the coronation of his new monarch. The interest his czarish majesty had to prevent the meeting of this assembly, which he knew the conqueror would awe to a compliance, made him for the present desist from other designs, in order the better to look after that great affair. In the mean time he wrote to the citizens of Dantzic, as did also count Piper on the part of the king of Sweden, to complain of their shewing protection to those in the opposite interest; the conduct of the Dantzicers being at this time so equivocal, as to give satisfaction neither to Swedes nor Russians.

Count Patkul, the Livonian, first a subject of Sweden, then servant to king Augustus, and now ambassador from the czar to that prince, had, by the orders of his master, persuaded the deposed monarch to venture across Poland to Grodno, to confer with his czarish majesty upon their common interest. The king set out from Dresden *incognito*, attended by only three persons, and arrived at Grodno with general Shullemburg, and a few troops. The czar there presented him with six standards, a moiety of what the Russians had taken at the bridge of Praag, upon the Vistula, where they had surprised and beaten the Swedish guard. As the dethroned king was no longer afraid.

of exasperating the Poles, he made no scruple, in these conferences, to give up their country to the Muscovites, and came into a resolution that the czar's army should be divided into several bodies, to oppose every motion of the Swedes.

It was at this interview that king Augustus instituted the order of the White-Eagle ; a poor expedient, in his condition, to draw over to his interest several Polish lords, who were in fact more desirous of real advantages, than a mere nominal honor ; which became ridiculous when held from one who had nothing left of a king but the title. But the spirits of Augustus seemed to be quite depressed by his misfortunes ; and this, which could have no other ill effect than to show how little he reigned in Poland, was not the only instance he gave of his weakness, during the triumphs of the king of Sweden. Another farce that was here performed, had in it something truly instructive, and deserves, says M. Fontenelle, to be acted before all the monarchs of the universe.

According to the law which the czar had prescribed to himself, never to advance in military dignities but in proportion to his merit, his majesty, hitherto but a lieutenant-colonel, was now worthy of some higher preferment. There were two vacant regiments to be disposed of, and Peter entreated the king of Poland to take upon him the sovereign command of his army, in order to confer them on the most deserving. The proposition of filling up these posts was made in public by general Ogilvi. King Augustus said, he was not yet sufficiently acquainted with the Muscovite officers, and begged him to nominate the men whom he thought most worthy of this dignity. Ogilvi mentioned prince Alexander Menzikoff, and lieutenant-colonel Peter Alexiowitz. The king said he knew the merit of Menzikoff, and would immediately order his commission to be got ready ; but as for the other, he must be better informed of his services. The affair hung in suspense five or six days, and much solicitation was used for

Peter Alexiowitz, who at last had the regiment given him.

The conference of these two monarchs ended in a manner pretty extraordinary. The czar gave the command of his troops to his ally, and under him to prince Menzikoff, departing suddenly himself for Moscow. An insurrection in the kingdom of Astracan, where the rebels for two years had ravaged the country, and even murdered the governor, was now grown to such a head, that his majesty judged his presence might be necessary at that juncture. But the danger soon blew over, and Peter Apraxin, whom his majesty had sent with an army for that purpose, not only retook Astracan, but sent the chiefs of the malecontents to Moscow, where they received the punishment due to their crimes.

It was not more to the surprise of his czarish majesty, than of all the other powers in Europe, that king Augustus, contrary to the law of nations, and in appearance to his own interest, ordered count Patkul, the ambassador of the only prince who protected him, to be seized and imprisoned, almost as soon as his master was gone out of Poland. The reason M. de Voltaire gives for this unprecedented step, was his attempt to thwart the measures of count Fleming, the king's prime minister, whose haughty spirit had before driven him from the court of Dresden. Fleming, and the chancellor of Saxony, had proposed to offer peace at any rate to the king of Sweden; which Patkul discovering, he formed a design to prevent them by an accommodation between Charles and the czar. Thus, by serving his new master too well, he incurred the indignation of the master he had left, and at last was given up to the vengeance of one prior to them both, who claimed him as a natural subject.

In the mean time the Muscovites, on the one hand, divided into several bodies, burnt and ravaged the estates of the Stanislaus party; and on the other. Shulenburg was advancing with fresh troops. But the

king of Sweden putting himself in motion, at a time when both armies expected to have gone into quarters, neither the Saxons nor Russians could make head against him. He decamped from Blonie in the month of December, passed the Vistula on a bridge of boats, and marched with all expedition to attack Tyckoczin.— Though the Muscovites had secured the bridges over the Bog, he crossed that river on the ice, with his whole army and train of artillery. Finding Tyckoczin too well defended, with a garrison of 3000 men, he bent his march towards Grodno, where the king of Poland then lay. He came within a mile of the city, but turned away again upon sight of the fortifications, passed the river Niemen, and extended his army between Vilna and Grodno. Augustus held a council of war, in which it was agreed his army should lie still where it was, to harrass the Swedes, while the king himself went towards the south of Poland, to re-establish his credit, and provide for the entrance of 20,000 troops from Saxony, under general Shullemburg.

Marshal Renschild, the Parmenio of king Charles, and the best of all his generals, was ready in Poland to oppose this famous Shullemburg, who with 4000 men had once eluded the fortune of the king of Sweden. The two generals met at a place called Fravenstad, on the 12th of February, 1706, and an engagement ensued, which lasted not a quarter of an hour. The Saxons resisted scarcely a moment, and 6 or 7000 Muscovites, who were with them, behaved but little better; such was their terror at this time, though the Swedish troops were not above half their united number. No defeat was ever quicker or more complete; and yet never did a general make a finer disposition, than Shullemburg had that day done, by confession of all the Swedish officers. The Muscovites begged their lives upon their knees, but were inhumanly massacred in cold blood, six hours after the battle. Some ascribe this cruelty to king Charles' own order, who was jealous of the reputation his general had won in this ac-

tion ; but others lay the blame on Renschild himself, who was burthened with more prisoners than he well knew what to do with.

Augustus, who was advanced as far as Cracow with 3000 horse, had now nothing left but that city. The loss of the battle at Fravenstad quite disheartened his party, and enabled the king of Sweden to drive the Russians out of Lithuania. Then immediately turning south, and joining marshal Renschild, he entered Saxony with his army, encamped at Alt-Ranstadt, and began to raise contributions on the electorate. This was the crisis of the king of Poland's fate, who now sent a letter with his own hand to beg peace, and receive the conditions imposed by the victor ; " that he should renounce for ever the crown of Poland, even after the death of Stanislaus ; that he should send back the prisoners he had taken to the Swedish camp ; that he should deliver up all deserters, and in particular count Patkul. Charles wrote at the head of the paper, " It must not be expected I shall make the least alteration in these conditions. Nor could all the art of the Saxon plenipotentiaries soften him in any one particular.

Augustus received these mortifying terms, and signed them after some pause, at a time when it was in his power to have demanded better. Fortune had thrown success in his way, quite against his consent, while he was making the most abject submission that a prince could submit to : in short, he was just returned, for the first time, from a victory over the Swedes, while his plenipotentiaries were asking a peace of their king.

Prince Menzikoff, generalissimo of the Russian army, brought into Poland a body of 30,000 men, at a time when Augustus no longer desired their assistance. The king had with him some Polish and Saxon troops, in all about six thousand. Surrounded amidst this small body by prince Menzikoff's army, he trembled lest these auxiliaries should discover his negotiation. At this nice juncture 10,000 Swedes, commanded by general Meyderfield, appeared in sight, at a

place called Calish, on the borders of Posnania. As Menzikoff pressed the king to give them battle, the king sent privately a trusty person to inform the Swedish general of the treaty that was on foot, desiring him to retreat. Meyderfield took this for a snare only, and immediately in that imagination hazarded a battle, in which about 3000 of his men were killed, and four or 5000, together with himself, taken prisoners. The king had just entered Warsaw, and sung *Te Deum* for his victory, when he signed the treaty that deprived him of his crown, and then set out for Saxony, in hopes to soften his implacable master.

Charles, far from relaxing in any one article, was the more severe upon account of the battle of Calish. He continued in Saxony near five months longer, and governed there with as high a hand as he had before done in Poland. Though he often saw and dined with Augustus, if the conversation ever went beyond common civilities, the latter was sure to get nothing by it. Not the least thing he could request, if contrary to the humor of the conqueror, was ever granted him in return for the loss of his crown. His royal title was erased out of the prayers of the church, and omitted in all public instruments.

But the most grievous thing exacted of him, was the delivery of count Patkul, who was then shut up in the castle of Konisting in Saxony. The czar loudly demanded back his ambassador, and the king of Sweden made terrible threats if he was not surrendered. Augustus thought of an expedient, in this dilemma, that might both satisfy the king of Sweden, and preserve the unhappy count. He sent an order in public to deliver up the prisoner to the Swedish troops, and another in private to let him escape. The governor knew Patkul to be very rich, and would willingly have made him pay for that liberty he was commanded to give; which the count, informed of the king's intentions, and relying on the law of nations, refused to comply with: so the negociation went on till the Swedes arrived, and

it was too late to think of his preservation. They carried him to Alt-Ranstadt, where he was three months bound to a stake with an iron chain, and then removed to Casimir. A council of war was called at this last place, and Charles, forgetting he was the czar's ambassador, ordered sentence to pass on him, that he should be broken alive and quartered. A chaplain came to let him know he must die, without informing him of the manner how; and this gallant man, who had braved death in so many battles, now gave way to human weakness, and poured out a flood of tears. He desired the chaplain to visit a Saxon lady, who had every advantage of birth, merit and beauty, and to whom he had thoughts of being married about this time; to offer her all the consolation in his power, and assure her of the tenderness of his passion.

When he was led to the place of execution, and saw the instruments of torture prepared, he fell into convulsions, and threw himself into the arms of the minister. And upon hearing the sentence read by a Swedish officer, "This is the express order of his majesty, *our most merciful lord*, that this man, who is *a traitor to his country*, be broken upon the wheel and quartered, for the reparation of his crime, and for an example to others;" he cried out, "What mercy? I have served my country too well." He received sixteen blows, and endured the longest and most dreadful tortures that can be imagined. Thus died the unfortunate John Renold Patkul, who had been a subject to three princes, and was now ambassador extraordinary from the czar of Muscovy.

His members were quartered, and remained exposed upon gibbets till the year 1713, when king Augustus, having regained the throne, ordered those testimonies of the necessity he was reduced to at Alt-Ranstadt to be collected together. They were brought to him in a box to Warsaw, in presence of the French ambassador; to whom the king shewing the box, only said, "See the members of Patkul;" and no one pres-

ent ventured to speak farther on so tender a subject.

The Swedes accuse Patkul of forming the plan of that triple alliance, between Muscovy, Poland and Denmark, for bringing these powers at once upon Charles XII. which was the reason, say they, that Charles confirmed the sentence which his father had procured against him, and continued so implacable in his resentment. De la Motraye, upon this supposition, endeavors to vindicate the king of Sweden from the charge of barbarity and injustice, which all the world has brought against him. But Voltaire, who would doubtless have been glad to bring off his hero, with his usual free good sense, confesses, "That though those who looked upon him only as a subject, who had rebelled against his king, said that he deserved his death: those who considered him as a Livonian, born in a province which had privileges to defend, and who recollected that he was driven from Livonia, only for having supported those rights, called him a martyr to the liberties of his country: that all agreed, that the character of ambassador to the czar ought to have rendered his person sacred; only that the king of Sweden, brought up in the principles of arbitrary power, thought he had done no more than an act of justice, whilst all Europe condemned his cruelty."

When the czar heard of the treaty of Alt-Ranstadt, and that his ambassador was delivered up in consequence of it, he spread his complaints over all Europe. He wrote to the emperor, the queen of Great-Britain, and the states general, accusing king Augustus of treachery and cowardice, conjuring those powers to mediate for the sending back his ambassador, and not to become guarantees for the treaty of Alt-Ranstadt. But these letters had no other effect, than to shew how much the king of Sweden was at that time regarded. The allies guaranteed the treaty, and did not think fit to provoke a prince of Charles' character at a time when it was so much in his power to be revenged on the empire. The czar, who was then at Smelensko,



with 20,000 of his best troops, and 30 or 40,000 Cossacks under the hettman Mazeppa, found all his measures thwarted by the weakness of his ally, and was obliged to retire into Ingria and Livonia, to secure his conquests in those parts.

When the news came of Patkul's execution, it was proposed in the czar's council to retaliate on the king of Sweden, by treating the Swedish officers, who were prisoners at Moscow, in the same manner that the king of Sweden had treated the minister of his czarish majesty. But the czar would not consent to a proceeding so barbarous, which besides would have been attended with very fatal consequences, as there were more Muscovite prisoners in Sweden than there were Swedes in Muscovy. He resolved on a revenge more advantageous, as well as more honorable, by supporting the party in Poland who stood up for their liberty against the Swedes. Having received a formal notification of the treaty concluded at Alt-Ranstadt, his majesty was requested to take the republic under his protection. This he had now a good opportunity of doing, while Charles and Stanislaus, with the main body of the Swedish army, lay idle in Saxony; and general Leuwenhaupt, who was left in Poland with about 20,000 men, was unable to guard the passes. Accordingly the czar re-enters Poland, with about 60,000 men, whom he divided into several bodies, and marches forwards; with a flying camp, till he came to Zolkiew.

His majesty then wrote to the general of the crown, the primate chosen by Augustus, (for there was at this time another elected by Stanislaus) and the rest of the grandees, to represent to them, "that he concluded an alliance with the republic, and not in particular with Augustus; and that he was obliged to perform all the articles thereof, and assist the republic with all his force against the Swede, who not being satisfied with having obliged Augustus to abdicate his throne, would impose upon them a king of his own election: that his majesty would shortly repair to Leopold, to concert measures

with the republic ; and in the mean time would assist it with such an army, as should enable the Poles to vindicate their independency."

The primate, upon this, held a council with the officers of the crown, in which an assembly was appointed to meet at Leopold. In this assembly the throne was declared vacant ; and the Poles were admonished to acknowledge Stanislaus only as palatine of Posnania. The primate also wrote to the emperor, the queen of Great-Britain, the kings of Denmark and Prussia, the states-general, the pope, and other potentates, to acquaint them with the vacancy of the throne. The general of the crown published his *Universalia*, forbidding the forces of the republic to receive any orders either from Augustus or Stanislaus ; and promising a reward to the person who should deliver up, dead or alive, M. Smigieski, a gentleman who had till lately been the chief partizan of Augustus, but had now declared for Stanislaus. Several pathetic speeches were made in this assembly, to explain the occasion of their meeting, and represent the state of their country ; and the confederacy of Sendomir was renewed, as the most effectual means to put them in a condition of asserting their liberties.

Prince Dolhorucki, the czar's ambassador, had a public audience of the grand council, to which he was conducted with the utmost ceremony, and placed between the two chief ministers of the republic. There he delivered a letter from his czarish majesty, importing, "That notwithstanding the republic seemed to be reduced to the last extremity, by the retreat of king Augustus, yet they were still in a condition to retrieve their affairs, if they would concur in the measures that should be proposed to them by the czar, whom no private advantage should separate from their interest—concluded with an exhortation to take vigorous measures against their common enemy, and an assurance that the czar would restore to the republic such places in the Ukrain as formerly belonged to it." The pri-

mate, in the name of the republic, “ returned the czar thanks for his affection and friendship, and assured his minister that the council would not separate till they had taken such resolutions as the distressed condition of their country required.”

Poland was now in a fair way of having three kings, without knowing which she must obey at last. In the interim of these consultations, the czar, with his son, prince Menzikoff, and other persons of distinction, arrived at Leopold. He was complimented upon his arrival, and entertained suitably to his dignity. He assisted at their debates, and at the consecration of a new bishop of Cujavia, whom he presented with a crucifix worth 15,000 rix-dollars. After several conferences between his ministers and those of the republic, his majesty returned to Zolkiew, leaving prince Dolhorucki behind as his plenipotentiary. And as a report was now spread, that the czar intended, at the diet of Lublin, which was to be held soon after, to propose his son, the czarewitz, then seventeen years of age, to be king of Poland, his majesty sent away that prince to Moscow, to prevent any suspicions of that kind, and ordered 50,000 florins to be paid to the Polish troops, and 300,000 to those of Lithuania.

The following letter, written by his czarish majesty to the great general of the crown, and dated from Zolkiew, February 7, 1707, will fully explain his sentiments in regard to the kingdom of Poland, and the present war :

“ The king of Sweden having by force and management, compassed his designs against king Augustus, seeks with no less cunning to gain his ends of us and the republic, and to render fruitless our good dispositions to maintain the common interest : with this view, his ministers in all foreign courts insinuate, that he is treating of a peace separately with us. We do not deny that formerly, at Strolitza, when several foreign ministers sounded our inclinations towards peace, we intimated, that out of christian duty, and to spare the

effusion of blood, we should be always ready to hearken to all propositions of peace which the king of Sweden should offer ; but, on condition that such peace should be negotiated openly, and with the consent and participation of the republic ; and concluded by commissioners appointed by all the nations concerned. We never did, or shall, entertain any thoughts of treating of peace secretly, by the intervention of any foreign courts ; preferring to all interest and advantage, the reputation, honor, and inviolable good faith of a monarch, in the strict observance of all his alliances. We therefore assure your lordships, that we have not yet entered into any manner of negociation of peace with Sweden, nor for the future, will enter into any, otherwise than we have already declared, with the consent and participation of the estates of the republic : being absolutely determined to keep inviolably the alliance and guarantee we are engaged in with the republic."

While these things were transacting in Poland, Narva was strongly fortified ; the works went on incessantly at Petersburg, and a fleet was getting ready in the gulph of Finland. The Swedish admiral had already made another attempt, with as little success as before, on the czar's new city ; upon which his majesty, in order to divert the enemy from molesting his young colony, made a diversion in their own country, before he set out for Poland, and in the depth of winter laid siege to Wyburg, the capital of Carelia, with 18,000 foot and 6000 horse. The siege lasted three weeks, with great vigor, and 1500 bombs were thrown into the town ; but the place being strongly garrisoned, and the sea open behind it, there was no possibility of taking it at this time. These motives, however, gave the Swedes to understand, that he was not only in a condition to repulse their attacks, but to annoy them when he thought proper : which kept them quiet, and made his majesty easy with regard to the conquered provinces during his expedition into Poland, whither he now drew the greatest part of his troops.

While the conferences were held at Leopold, the czar privately drew from the emperor, who was now terribly alarmed at the king of Sweden's neighborhood, a new acquisition of German officers, to whom he gave great encouragement. Also, in memory of the battle of Kalish, he gave his own picture, set round with diamonds, to all the Muscovite generals and colonels, who were concerned in it. The inferior officers had medals of gold, and every common soldier a medal of silver, all struck in his new city of Petersburg, where arts and sciences now advanced in the same proportion as military skill in his army.

The assembly being transferred, at the czar's desire, from Leopold to Lublin, the throne was again declared vacant, and a diet called for a third election. But the change of place did not lessen the disorders and uncertainty that had before reigned among them at Leopold: so that while they owned neither Augustus nor Stanislaus, they could not resolve upon a new election. Mean time the partizans of the two kings made war upon one another; the Swedes destroyed all that opposed Stanislaus, and the Muscovites all that acknowledged him. The Poles in general, ruined by their own troops, by Swedes, and by Muscovites, equally hated their two kings, Charles XII. and the czar.

When the assembly first met at Lublin, his czarish majesty made an excursion thither with a guard of 3000 dragoons, and exhorted them to unanimity in their proceedings: but because his presence should be no obstruction to their freedom of debate, he immediately returned to his army, and from thence wrote again his resolution never to make peace without them, and that in conjunction with them, he would give the king of Sweden battle the first opportunity. All this had no effect on that divided people, who, while they courted his assistance, let his majesty see that he had nothing but his own power to depend upon. The assembly continued some time sitting, without coming to any resolution: which the czar observing, he

into Lithuania with the body of his army, leaving only 40,000 horse in Poland, which the king of Sweden was now ready to re-enter. King Stanislaus immediately set out from Alt-Ranstadt, with general Renchild, sixteen Swedish regiments, and a great sum of money.—The assembly dispersed at his approach, and as the towns in Poland are all open to the first comer, he was acknowledged wherever he passed along. Count Siniowski, grand general of the crown, of the nomination of Augustus, a man of great abilities and much ambition, was the only one who disturbed his government. The troops of the crown, who continued under his command, had scarce any other pay but the liberty of plundering with impunity; and as he could not get to be elected king, which he had much labored at, he was content to be the head of a third party.

The king of Sweden took leave of his camp at Alt-Ranstadt, in September, 1707, followed by an army of 43,000 men, shining with gold and silver, the spoils of Poland and Saxony. Count Leuwenhaupt, one of the best of his generals, was ready to meet him with 20,000 more. Thus the abdication of Augustus, far from restoring peace in Poland, did but render the condition of that unfortunate people worse than ever. As the Muscovites had lorded it over them all the summer, the Swedes now did the same in their turn.

The czar had left Poland, and returned thither again about twenty times during the course of the war. The country lying open on all sides, left him at liberty to appear there as often as he thought proper, and even to advance as far as the king of Sweden. But now, upon that king's appearance with such extraordinary force, the czar thought fit to withdraw to the frontiers of Russia, and from thence to take a journey to Moscow, where he had not been for two years before. His stay there was short: for having caused the ring-leaders of the rebels, who had been in arms at Astracan and Asoph, to be exemplarily punished, he returned to **Minski** at the latter end of January, 1708, and gave

orders for a large body of men to march into Lithuania. Prince Menzikoff, who commanded there, had sent his majesty frequent intelligence of the progress of the Swedes: and indeed king Charles, though he continued in Great Poland, longer than he expected, on account of the heavy rains that made the roads impassable, had at last taken the advantage of the first hard frost, and passed the Vistula on the 9th of January over the ice. He was followed by his baggage and artillery: but the ice breaking in some places, several horses and waggons were lost. Thence he continued his march into Lithuania, and expecting every day to be joined by general Leuwenhaupt. The badness of the weather no more retarded his march: he obliged the Muscovites to abandon Grodno, Tycockzin, Wilna, and several other places, and to retire behind the lines they had made about Minski, where a general rendezvous was appointed.

Notwithstanding the strength of the king of Sweden at this time, the czar was so much his superior, and had such a number of good officers, that people rightly imagined he did not retreat thus hastily through fear, but only to draw the enemy into his own territories, where they must either fight him with great disadvantage, or retire through a desolate country, which could not afford them any subsistence. The king of Sweden, however, was not of this opinion, or did not apprehend those fatal consequences from the stratagem which he soon after experienced. It was enough for Charles that he drove all before him, and that his own troops had the advantage in most of the rencountres that happened.

Twice, however, during this victorious march, the Swedish hero was in danger of his life, or at least his liberty. The first time was in a forest, whither he had advanced with but a handful of men, amidst whom he was attacked and almost surrounded by a large body of Muscovites: but another detachment of his troops opportunely came up, and prevented the loss of

their king. A second time was in Grodno, whither, notwithstanding his danger, he advanced in the same rash manner before the body of his army, with only 600 of his guards. At the head of these he entered the town, where the czar then lay with 2000 men, who, ignorant of the enemy's strength, mistaking that small number for the vanguard of his army, thought proper to retire before him; but the czar learning the same day, from a Polish deserter, to what an inconsiderable body he had abandoned the town, and that the rest of the Swedish army was five leagues behind, his majesty sent back a detachment of 1500 horse, to surprise king Charles in the night. The Muscovites advanced to the first guard without being known, and there met with a gallant reception for several minutes, from only thirty men. Charles, who lay at the other end of the town, was instantly there with the rest of his 600, and being soon after joined by general Renchild's regiment, he repulsed the Muscovites, and pursued them. Thus, by mere dint of his good fortune, he came off a victor, where every one expected he must have been a captive.

The czar considering that he had neither magazines nor retreat in the palatinate of Minski, thought proper to draw off his whole force to the Nieper, where he might wait for the enemy behind good lines. Where ever the Swedes came, they found the country their own. All seasons had long been equal to both armies, and they both made excessive marches every day, though it was now the midst of winter. The design of the Swedes was to intercept the Muscovites; but the Muscovites were equally expeditious with themselves, who had now no other advantage than the terror of their king's name: and the conduct of Peter was ever more than an equivalent to that: for he not only marched off his own army, but prevented the Swedes from following it, and obliged them, for want of forage and other necessaries, to stay and encamp about Wilna till the following May. General Baur, who was sent be-



fore for that purpose, had laid waste all Livonia, and by posting his men along the Duna, remained master of that river: and as the czar suspected the king of Sweden might then turn towards Volhinia, he ordered the inhabitants of that province to destroy the country for thirty miles round, and to retreat beyond the Nieper, where his majesty would give them other lands to cultivate. Besides this, general Goltz, with 15,000 Russians, and 12,000 Volosques, was ordered to attend the motions of the enemy, and gall them in the flank.

While the Muscovite army lay between Poloczko and Smolensko, and the Swedes were pent up in the midst of Lithuania, king Charles breathed nothing but vengeance against the czar; declaring, "He would never give him peace, till he had obliged him to resign his crown to his son." It was believed that the czar, at this time, seeing his people discontented with the long war, especially as it now threatened their own country, would have been pleased to find his enemy less implacable; and some assert, that he was even prevailed on to write a letter to the king of Sweden, to offer him terms; but that the latter sent it back unopened, and told the person who brought it, "that as he hoped shortly to be at Moscow, he would there treat with the czar by word of mouth." This prince should have considered, that the success he had in Poland was no argument that he could as easily succeed in Muscovy, where the people have very different notions of the power of sovereign princes.

From Grodno to the Borysthenes eastward, lies nothing but morasses, desarts, mountains, and vast forests. The king of Sweden provided himself with biscuit for this toilsome march, and after he had passed the forest of Minski, through which his men were obliged to hew their way, he found himself on the 25th of June, 1708, before the river Berezine, over against Borislow. General Goltz, with about twelve or 15,000 of the best Russian troops, was encamped in that place, in order to dispute the passage: but the

king, getting some regiments on the bank in sight, as if he proposed to attempt it there instantly, amused the Muscovites while he marched his army up three leagues higher, where he threw a bridge over, and then cut away through a body of 3000 Muscovites, who defended that post. General Goltz, hearing the Swedes were coming up, did not stay to receive them, but marched towards the Borysthenes, laying all the country waste as he went along.

A body of horse was detached from the Muscovite army, to stop the enemy at the pass of Holowzin, which was rendered strong by the adjacent morasses and woods, and a little river named Wabitz. Soon after the Muscovites arrived there, the king of Sweden approached, with his whole army, to attack them. Hereupon four parties, one of field-marshal Czeremetoff's division of infantry, another of prince Menzikoff's horse, a third and fourth of prince Rebnin and general Goltz's division, were commanded to post themselves within half a mile of Holowin. General Allart, with another division of foot, and a brigade of horse under lieutenant-general Pflug, were ordered to pass three miles distant, which it was thought the enemy would attack.

At three o'clock in the morning, July 14th, 1708, the Swedes, by favor of the darkness and a hard rain, began to advance against the division of general Rebnin, who commanded divers posts, and had begun to make an entrenchment, and a communication by bridges, with the other divisions. He had but 5000 troops, upon whom the Swedes fired briskly with their cannon, and endeavored to break in between them and marshal Czeremetoff. As this attempt was not expected, there were only some centinels placed in the passage, to give notice of what happened; and prince Rebnin, finding himself unable to stand the attack of the whole Swedish army, retired over pontoons to Czeremetoff's division, in pretty good order. General Goltz joined the field-marshal-general about the same time. The

Swedish cavalry charged these three united divisions, who sustained their shock about four hours, and did considerable execution. But the ground was so narrow, that the Muscovite cavalry could not second each other, and push the enemy with sufficient vigor; so that the victory fell to the Swedes. The king pursued the Muscovites into the adjacent woods, and there halted, and cast up an entrenchment. The Muscovites lost a major-general, about 2000 inferior officers and soldiers, and ten pieces of cannon. The Swedes also lost a major-general, and almost an equal number of soldiers.

Of all the battles the king of Sweden ever fought, he was in this exposed to the most danger, and shewed the greatest abilities. The fire was so terrible for an hour and an half, that some officers, who had been in several battles, confessed they never saw the like. The king was on horseback at the beginning of the action; but captain Gullensteirn, a young Swedish officer whom he respected, being wounded, his majesty gave him his horse, and fought during the rest of the action, at the head of his foot guards, exposing his person to the greatest danger. After the battle, the Muscovites repassed the Borysthenes, and joined their main army in the entrenched camp. Here the czar arrived in about two days more, having been detained at Smolensko for some time past, by a fit of sickness; and from this hour he never left his army again, unless in one short excursion to Veronitz, till he entirely defeated the Swedes at Pultowa.

Mohilow, Bychow, Copitz, and some other posts along the Nieper, being abandoned by the Muscovites, fell into the hands of the king of Sweden, who found a plenty of every thing in this country. The czar retreated towards the province of Smolensko, in which lies the great road from Poland to Moscow; and the king of Sweden marched so close after him, that frequent skirmishes happened between the rear guard of the Muscovites and the van-guard of the Swedes.— Though the latter had generally the advantage, they

did but weaken themselves even by conquering; for those actions were never decisive, and the Swedes could receive no reinforcements, as the Muscovites frequently did.

Among the exploits in this march, the king of Sweden, with only six regiments of horse, and 4000 foot, attacked 10,000 horse and 6000 Kalmucks near Smolensko; broke their ranks on the first onset, at the head of his Ostrogothic regiment, and advanced upon them so far through rough, hollow ways, that he found himself in the utmost danger. The Kalmucks, who had lain concealed, broke in between the king's regiment and the rest of the Swedish army. In a moment the regiment was surrounded, and the king's horse being shot, he was obliged to fight on foot, encircled by a few of his officers. So many of these were instantly taken and slain, that at last only five were left near his person. It is said he killed above a dozen of the enemy with his own hand; but, quite spent with fatigue, must have surrendered or fallen, had not colonel Dardof, with inexpressible bravery, forced his way through the Kalmucks with a single company, and brought his majesty off. The rest of the Tartars were cut in pieces by the Swedes, and Charles, whose good fortune had never yet left him, mounted a fresh horse, and pursued the Muscovite cavalry two leagues.

Never was more action in any one campaign than in this; not a week passing without some considerable skirmish. Within a few days of that now related, there happened another, in which the Muscovites had the advantage. The army of the czar being encamped near the rivulet Bela-napata, and the Swedish army at the distance of but one league, near a place called Malaticze, and covered by the advantage of marshy ground on the side of the rivulet Czar-napta, the Swedes resolved to take post on this rivulet, the passage of which they expected to have disputed with them. For this purpose the king of Sweden detached four regiments of foot, and one of cuirassiers, consist-

ing in all of 5000 men, the best in his whole army, under the command of general Rosen. These regiments advancing to the rivulet, to facilitate the passage of the whole army, the czar ordered prince Galliezin to march against them with eight battalions and thirteen squadrons of prince Menzikoff's horse. As the way was full of difficult morasses, the cavalry were obliged to dismount; and though they threw a great number of fascines into the most boggy places, some of the soldiers sunk in up to the breast. The prince, notwithstanding, continued his march, and at five in the morning, on the 9th of September, passed the rivulet at the head of his troops, and by favor of a thick mist, approached the enemy. Having viewed their situation, he ordered them to be instantly attacked, which they accordingly were, with a terrible discharge. The Swedes received the fire with great firmness, and the action was very obstinate on both sides. At last, astonished at the intrepidity of the Muscovites, whom they found to be their equals in the art of war, the Swedes began to give way, and were exposed to a continual slaughter for two hours together, in which all the five regiments were entirely ruined. Prince Galliezin signalized himself in this engagement, and by appearing every where among the thickest of the foes; contributed not a little to the victory. The Muscovites lost about 600 men, and had 1000 wounded.— They took five colors, two standards, and a very considerable booty. After the action was over, the czar, to testify his satisfaction with the prince's conduct, conferred on him the order of St. Andrew.

Charles, after this action, made a review of his whole army, and taking an account of their provisions, found he had not a sufficiency for five days. There was no possibility of getting more in the country where he was, and the Muscovites had besides made all the roads impassible. This obliged him to turn to the right from the high road of Smolensko towards the Ukrain, or country of the Cossacks, which the Muscovites also

took care to lay desolate. He met with another blow near Lodzin, by major-general Mikush, on the 17th of September. Then, after a counter-march for two days, he passed the river Soza at Czarnikow, and advanced towards the Ukrain as far as Peczop.

His army being by this means fatigued, in greater want than ever of all things necessary for the support of life, and at a great distance from the body under Lieuwenhaupt, (who was to bring them 7000 waggons loaded with all sorts of provisions and ammunition, which he had collected in Livonia and Courland,) he was obliged to wait for the succours with which they had so long flattered themselves. Leuwenhaupt, that he might obey the orders, and supply the pressing necessities of his master, hastened his march as much as possible, and passed the Borysthenes at Sklow.

His czarish majesty, who had made all imaginable dispositions to break the enemy's measures, gave orders to the field-marshal Czeremetoff, and to the lieutenant field-marshal Goltz, to harrass, the most they could, the king of Sweden; while he himself would endeavor to engage Leuwenhaupt, with a body of ten regiments of horse and six battalions of foot. His majesty had sight of the enemy the 8th of October, on the banks of the little river Pronia; and the enemy made as if they would oppose his passage; but no sooner were seven field-pieces brought up to cannonade them, than they struck off towards the village of Lezno.

Towards the evening his czarish majesty gave orders to his generals to hold themselves ready to march the next day, in order to attack the enemy. About four in the morning the army began to march, and about nine, at some distance from Lezno, met the enemy, who had sent before some parties for intelligence.

Leuwenhaupt was no sooner informed of the Muscovites march and approach, than he drew up his army in order of battle, and made all possible dispositions to give them a good reception. To that end he caused two battalions to advance 1000 paces before his camp,

to dispute their passage through a small morass, by which they were obliged to come at him.

Upon this, his majesty ordered prince Menzikoff to command colonel Campbell, who had the vanguard, to cause his regiment of dragoons to dismount and attack the enemy's two battalions; who made so quick a fire upon the Muscovites, that they had hardly time to form themselves in order of battle. Colonel Campbell, observing how active the enemy were, caused five squadrons, who had dismounted, to advance, that he might give opportunity to the rest of his troops to put themselves into a posture to follow them; and these dismounted dragoons having stood the enemy's fire for some time, his czarish majesty caused them to be supported by four battalions of his guards, and two of Ingermanland. The Muscovites, pouring in their shot upon the two battalions, killed above half of them, gained the passage, and so facilitated their drawing up in batalia before the enemy's front.

General Leuwenhaupt, perceiving his vanguard was beaten, resolved to prevent the Muscovites, and caused his army to move up and meet them in batalia. Then his czarish majesty observing that the enemy's line extended wider than his, ordered prince Menzikoff to cause four regiments of dragoons to alight; and they were immediately placed on the left wing, with two regiments of horse to cover their flank, under the command of General Pflug. The right was commanded by the princes of Galliezin and Darmstadt, whose flank was covered by two regiments of dragoons of prince Menzikoff's guards. All these dispositions being made by about eleven o'clock, the signal for attacking the Swedes was given by a general discharge of all the artillery. The Swedes began to advance with great fierceness and resolution, and the fight being hot and obstinate on both sides for above an hour and an half, the victory hung in suspense. During the terrible fire which was made every where, his czarish majesty appeared in the places of most danger, to ani-

mate, by his valor and presence, all the officers and soldiers; and observing that the left wing suffered much, he caused it to be reinforced by prince Menzikoff's regiment of guards.

The Swedes, observing how well the Muscovites acquitted themselves under the eye of their august monarch, began to give ground, yet drew off in order of battle. Then the Muscovites redoubled their efforts to improve that advantage: and the enemy being driven back to their waggons and baggage, action was for some time forborne on both sides. About three o'clock the czar's cannon coming up, began to play again: and his majesty being informed that general Baur was within half a league of him, with 4000 men, thought fit to wait a little for his arrival.

About four o'clock general Baur came up with his body, and was obliged to endure the fire of the enemy's artillery before he could join the right wing, where he was to post himself. From this junction his czarish majesty began to entertain hopes that all would end well; and ordered that neither the right nor the left should renew the fight one without the other: but the left wing having stood a good while without attacking, the impatience of all the officers and soldiers superseded that order. The right wing renewed the attack likewise with the utmost vigor.

The Swedes seeing themselves repulsed, caused two battalions and ten squadrons of their reserve to advance, and charge the Muscovites right in flank; but they were so well received, and afterwards so closely pursued, that of the two battalions, not above fifty men escaped. Upon this advantage, the left and centre of the czar's army pushed forwards among the enemy's waggons, breaking all their left wing. On their right Leuwenhaupt rallying his troops, faced the Russians who were among the waggons, and caused such a fire to be made on the battalions and squadrons, as obliged them to retire. But the centre and left wing advanced at the same time against the Swedes, who



were obliged to face to the right about to make head against them. The charge was renewed with greater fury than before, both by the horse and foot; and their fire, which the Swedes answered duly, did not cease till it was dark night, when neither party could any longer distinguish their own men from their enemies.

In the night, his czarish majesty considering the difficulty of dislodging the enemy from behind their waggons, forbade the officers, on pain of being cashiered, and the soldiers of being hanged, to quit their ranks to rifle the dead: so the army kept all night under arms, watching the enemy. In the mean time the trophies of the day were presented to his majesty, consisting of forty-seven colors and standards, and sixteen cannon, which they had gained, were added to their train of artillery.

Thus the Russians passed the night, which was very cold; and towards the morning they saw the enemy kindle fires about their waggons. His czarish majesty ordered that fires should be also made in the front of his right line, and that his men should hold themselves in a readiness against day-break: which being come, they marched towards their enemies' waggons, expecting to meet no less resistance than before: but they found that Lieuwenhaupt had made use of that stratagem to cover his flight, abandoning to their discretion all his wounded, and 7000 waggons, designed to supply the want under which the army of the king his master labored.

General Pflug was immediately ordered with 1000 grenadiers, on horseback, and 2000 dragoons, to pursue and harrass the flying enemy. He had not marched above half a league, when he found the remains of the enemy in a wood; and falling upon them, he made a slaughter among them for the space of a league and a half, to Propoisk, where the rest of them, to the number of 3000, retired into the church-yard.

General Pflug advancing to force them, they made a signal that they were desirous to capitulate; and he

sent a lieutenant-colonel, with six grenadiers, to receive their offers of capitulation: but most of the Swedish soldiers being drunk with brandy, would not agree to their officers' propositions, and many of them firing, killed two of the Muscovite grenadiers. The lieutenant-colonel seeing their headiness, retired, and general Pflug resolved not to spare them. His grenadiers and dragoons entered the church-yard, and sword in hand, killed all that resisted. During this execution, part of them fled towards the river Soze. General Mikusch pursued that party two hours, and saw count Leuwenthaupt swimming through that river among his men; whereupon he swam it with his detachment, and coming to the other side, most of the Swedish officers begged mercy. The general gave them quarter, but caused the soldiers to be put to the sword. He then rejoined general Pflug with all the officers and booty.

The next day his majesty caused thanks to be solemnly returned to the Almighty for this signal victory, which cost the enemy almost twenty regiments amounting in all to 16,000 men, and among them major-general Stackelbergh, who was killed in the field of battle, with most of the officers who were not taken.—His majesty had 2673 prisoners, 103 officers, 47 colors, 10 standards, 16 cannon, 7000 waggons, and all the arms and baggage, the victory being complete. On his side were lost 70 officers, killed or dangerously wounded, 1277 soldiers killed, 2734 wounded, and among them his highness the prince of Darmstadt, general Baur, colonel Weiden, and two Muscovite colonels.

In the beginning of this battle, his czarish majesty, seeing himself in some danger of being defeated, ran to the rear-guard, where the Cossacks and Kalmucks were posted, and commanded them to fire upon every man that ran away, even upon himself, if he should prove so cowardly. And this victory was the more glorious to his majesty, because, as he declares himself in his circular letter, not 10,000 of his men were

engaged in the action : which entirely destroys M. de Voltaire's assertion, in his history of Charles XII. that the czar lost above 20,000 soldiers. As for general Leuvenhaupt, he did indeed escape to his master's camp, but without either provisions or an army, which did but heighten the distress of that now unfortunate monarch.

But though fortune had begun to thwart the measures, she had not yet broke the spirit of the king of Sweden. He expected to be reinforced from two other quarters, from Poland by king Stanislaus, and the palatine of Kiow, and from the Ukrain by general Mazeppa, who had revolted from his allegiance to the czar. I promised before some farther account of this commander, which I shall here introduce.

Ukrania, one of the most fertile countries in the universe, (though the southern part of it be uncultivated and desart, through its calamitous situation) has always aspired to be free ; but being surrounded by the dominions of the grand seignior and Poland, it has ever been at a loss for a protector in one of those two estates. It has been successively under the Poles and Muscovites, the latter of whom at last assumed the right of nominating their general, or hetman, which is the name they give their prince. Upon the deposition of Samuelerrick, Mazeppa, a Polish gentleman, born in the palatinate of Podolia, was elected. He had received some tincture of polite learning at the court of John Casimir, to whom he had been page.— But an intrigue being discovered between him and the lady of a Polish nobleman, the husband caused him to be whipped, and then sent to seek his fortune, tied upon the back of a wild horse. As the beast had been brought out of Ukrania, he fled thither with Mazeppa, who was half dead with hunger and fatigue. He was relieved by some of the country people, among whom he continued a long time, and signalized himself in several excursions against the Tartars, their southern enemies. But the superiority of his understanding

made him soon become considerable, and his increasing reputation induced the court of Russia to chuse him hetman.

Mazeppa, while a prince, did not lose the reputation he had before acquired. He signalized himself on many occasions in his master's service, especially in the present war against the Swedes: but upon some disgust, the occasion of which is variously related, he thought that by embracing the part of the enemy, he had an opportunity of rendering himself independent; and did not doubt but he should bring the greatest part of the Cossacks into his sentiments. He was to meet the king of Sweden near the river Desna, with 30,000 men, all properly accoutred and provided. It was chiefly for this reason that Charles directed his march towards the Ukrain, and ordered Leuvenhaupt to join him there, to the astonishment of all his officers, who were not in the secret.

General Leuvenhaupt had with him, before his defeat, 600,000 rix-dollars in money, 6000 barrels of powder, 5000 tons of musket-bullets, and 20,000 small arms; which latter were to arm such of the revolting Cossacks, as might not be able to furnish themselves. The disaster of that general deprived the king of Sweden of all these supplies, and the timely discovery of Mazeppa's plot prevented him from keeping his promise, and kept the Cossacks to their allegiance, notwithstanding the defection of their commander; who appeared at last rather as a fugitive than an ally, followed by only 6000 men.

The hetman, finding his subjects not so complying as he expected, had endeavored all in his power to intercept any provisions from being brought to the czar, and to harrass the country. To punish this treachery, prince Menzikoff was sent with 24,000 foot and 6000 horse, to the east side of the Ukrain; where having received the submission of the greatest part of the Cossacks, he advanced to Batturin, Mazeppa's capital, which the hetman had fortified, foreseeing what would

happen, and garrisoned with 6000 resolute soldiers, furnished with every thing necessary for a defence.— There was only the river Desna, which had no bridge, between this town and the Swedish army: yet the prince came fairly up, and attacked it in form, while the Swedes in a manner looked on. In two days time he raised three batteries, and fired so furiously, that in one night and a day, he made a tolerable breach, which he ordered to be immediately stormed. The garrison defended themselves with much obstinacy, and killed the besiegers by heaps in the ditch. But the Russians, animated by their general, fell on again with such fury, that they entered the town sword in hand, and cut all the Cossacks in pieces. This execution effectually awed the rest of the nation, and obliged their chief to fly in the manner we have related.

After the reduction of Baturin, his Swedish majesty retired between Starodub and Czernikow, to a very advantageous camp, which he caused to be entrenched, that his troops might not be surprised by the detachments from the Muscovite army, which gave them continual alarms. Of the few Cossacks who revolted with Mazeppa, several came back to their allegiance on the encouragement of a general pardon, which his czarish majesty caused to be published for all those who within four weeks should quit the Swedish service, and a promise that they should be restored to their honours and offices. His majesty also caused a proclamation to be issued, promising a reward to those who should bring in general Mazeppa, dead or alive.

On his majesty's arrival at the head-quarters of the Cossacks, he caused the sentence pronounced by a council of war against Mazeppa, to be executed in the presence of prince Menzikoff and count Golofkin, both knights of the order of St. Andrew. A herald tore the traitor's patent of knighthood, and threw the pieces on the ground; took off a wooden statue, made for

the occasion, the blue ribbon and medal of the order, and then threw down the statue. The hangman came next, tied a halter about the neck of the statue, and dragged it to the place of execution; where the sentence against him was read aloud, and he thereby declared to be fallen from his honors, titles and dignities, and to be condemned to be hanged. The hangman tore in pieces the arms of his family, broke his seymitar, and hung the statue on the gibbet; a great multitude of people attending. This done, the principal men of the Cossacks repaired to the great church; and after divine service, they assembled in the church-yard, and proceeded to the election of a new general; which fell upon M. Skoropacky, who was declared with the acclamations of the assembly; and a triple discharge of artillery and muskets, was made by the Cossacks, who were drawn up in order. The new general, accompanied by a great number of officers, went immediately and prostrated himself at the feet of his czarish majesty, who confirmed his election.

All this while there continued to be frequent rencoures between parties of the two armies, with various successes; though the Swedes in fact were always sufferers, as they could not repair any of their losses. Neither king Stanislaus, nor the palatinate of Kiow, with all their art, was able to bring them the least succour; such effectual means did the czar take to prevent the junction of the enemy's forces, as well by the army in Poland, under general Goltz, as by the detachments perpetually sent from his main army at Smolensko. But what more than all gave the Russians the advantage, was, they had plenty of every thing in their camp; whereas, on the contrary, the Swedes suffered by want of provisions, which, with the extreme cold, induced many of them to desert to the Muscovite army. In one of these actions, about this time, between Prilack and Haydicks, six thousand Swedes were defeated, and a great number of them taken prisoners.

The Muscovites so well secured the passes, that no letters could now come from the Swedish camp, not even to king Stanislaus, who was very impatient to have a true account of their condition.

It is impossible to describe the wretched state of the Swedish hero at this time, more sensibly than his own historian, M. de Voltaire, has done it.

“The memorable winter of 1708-9, which was still more terrible in those frontiers of Europe than with us, carried off part of his army. Charles resolved to brave the seasons, as he had done his enemies, and ventured to make long marches with his troops, during the excessive severity of the weather. In one of these marches 2000 of his men were frozen to death almost before his eyes. The horsemen had no boots, and the foot were without shoes, and almost without clothes.—They were forced to make stockings of the skins of beasts, in the best manner they could. They often wanted bread. They were obliged to throw the greatest part of their cannon into quagmires and rivers, for want of horses to draw them along. So that this once flourishing army was reduced to 24,000 men, ready to perish for hunger. They neither received any news from Sweden, nor could send any thither. In this condition, only one officer complained. “How, says the king, are you uneasy that you are so far from your wife? If you are a true soldier, I will carry you to that distance, that you shall scarce hear from Sweden in three years.”

“A soldier, in presence of the whole army, ventured with a murmur to present him with a piece of bread, that was black and mouldy, made of barley and oats, the only food they then had, and of that not a sufficiency. The king received the piece of bread without the least emotion, eat it entirely up, and then said coldly to the soldier, “it is not good, but it may be eaten.” This little turn, if any thing may be called little which serves to increase respect and confidence, contributed more than all the rest to support the Swe-

dish army under extremities, which would have been intolerable under any other general."

Yet, resolute as the king of Sweden was, the cold at last obliged him to a suspension of arms. In the month of February, he renewed hostilities, and soon found his little army yet more reduced. The 18,000 Swedes that were left, must even now have perished, had not Mazeppa, notwithstanding some conditions said to be offered him by the czar, continued faithful to his new ally, and procured a subsistence for him and his troops. Charles did not yet despair, with his 18,000 Swedes, and as many Cossacks, of penetrating as far as Moscow; and with that view, towards the end of May, went and laid siege to Pultowa, upon the river Vorlat, on the east of Ukrania; which, if he could take, a passage would be open at least into a land of plenty.

Mazeppa, who had correspondence in the town, was confident the king would soon be master of it: but Charles perceived, from the first, that he had taught his enemies the art of war. Prince Menzikoff, notwithstanding his precaution, threw fresh troops into the town, which increased the garrison to almost 10,000 men. The advanced works were however carried, and two attacks had been given to the body of the place, when the king, having rode a little too near, received a shot from a carbine, which shattered the bone of his heel. He continued afterwards on horseback for near six hours, and gave his orders with such composure, that no man suspected he was wounded: At last one of his domestics perceived that his boot was bloody, and the king's pain at the same time grew so violent, that they were forced to carry him into his tent, where he held his own leg while the surgeon made his incisions. As they were laying on the dressings, he gave orders for an assault the next morning; but was immediately obliged to alter that resolution, upon the news being brought him that the czar appeared with an army of 70,000 men. In this situation, and incapable as he



was of acting himself, he sent for marshal Renchild into his tent, on the 26th of June, O. S. at night, and without calling any council, commanded him to attack the czar the next morning. Renchild knew his master's temper, and did not dispute his will.

It was on the 27th of June, 1709, that the decisive victory of Pultowa was fought, between the two most famous monarchs then in the world: Charles XII. illustrious by a course of nine years victories, flattered with the title of Invincible, which one unhappy moment might deprive him of; and Peter Alexiowitz, no less illustrious by nine years fatigue, honored by the nations round him with the surname of Great, of which no defeat could deprive him, as no victory bestowed it on him. An action of this importance deserves peculiar regard, even in a work where brevity is studied; and therefore I shall give all the circumstances of it, as they were published by authority.

The Muscovites having passed the river Vorslat with their whole army, the 20th of June, they encamped within a league of the enemy till the 24th. That day they advanced within a quarter of a league of the enemy's army, and encamping, caused an entrenchment to be thrown up before their camp, to prevent all surprise. Their cavalry was posted in the woods, covered by redoubts furnished with cannon; and though the czar gave out orders for preparing to attack the enemy, they prevented them, according to their usual temerity. On the 27th, early in the morning, while it was yet dark, the Swedes came out of the defiles, where they had lain all night on their arms, and attacked the Russian cavalry with their horse and foot so vigorously, that notwithstanding they were repulsed several times, and beaten off with great loss from the redoubts which they assaulted, the cavalry, who could not be assisted in time by their infantry, were obliged to retire towards their entrenchment; but soon returned to the charge, entirely defeated the enemy's right

wing, and took prisoner general Schlippenbach, who commanded it.

While this was doing, the czar detached prince Menzikoff, general in chief, and lieutenant-general Rentzel, with some horse and foot, towards Pultowa; as well to cut off the troops who were advancing to the assistance of the enemy, as to attack those left in the trenches, under general Rosen, and so to relieve the town from the blockade. The prince marching accordingly, met in his way the enemy's body of reserve of 3000 men, whose right wing was flanked by a wood: after some resistance, he broke them, put some to the sword, gave quarter to the rest, and returned to the main army, leaving lieutenant-general Rentzel to proceed on to Pultowa; at whose approach, general Rosen retired with his regiments into the works they had made. However, Rentzel attacked him, and forced him, after some resistance, to surrender with all his men at discretion.

On the other hand, the Swedish horse having in retiring joined their foot, all their army drew up in order of battle against the Russian front, at the distance of about a quarter of a league. The czar, at the same time, caused two lines to move out of the entrenchment, leaving the third to guard the camp; and drew up his army in such a manner, that his infantry made the main body, and the cavalry the two wings. The right wing was commanded by lieutenant-general Baur, in the room of lieutenant-general Renue, who was wounded in the first engagement. The left was led by prince Menzikoff, and the main body by the czar in person; the field-marshal Czeremetoff, the generals of foot, prince Repnin and M. Hallard, as also lieutenant-general Belling, attending each at his post. Lieutenant-general Brous had the direction of the artillery.

The Russian army being in this posture, no sooner began to move towards the enemy, than, contrary to expectation, the latter had the courage, after the re-

pulse they had received, to advance to meet them.— About seven in the morning the fight began, and the fire grew thick on both sides; which the Russians continued with such bravery that they defeated and broke the enemy after a battle of half an hour, and put both their horse and foot to the route. The latter, not daring to halt, or make farther opposition, were driven, like a herd of cattle, with sword, bayonet and pike, quite to the woods. Major-general Stackelbergh was the first prisoner taken; then general Hamilton, field-marshal Renchild, the prince of Wirtemberg, cousin to the king of Sweden, many colonels and subaltern officers, and some thousands of horse and foot, a great number of which yielded themselves voluntarily with their horses and arms.

The Russian cavalry pursued the enemy full speed, about half a league: so that the plains and woods, for three leagues round Pultowa, were strewed with the enemies' bodies; the number of their killed being 8 or 10,000. It is worthy of remark in this action, that it was only a line of foot of ten thousand men who defeated the enemy, the other line not being engaged. And when the Swedish foot advanced, the Muscovites gave them but one fire, after which they charged sword in hand, and broke in upon the Swedes line of battle with such fury, that they were immediately disordered, and began to retire. The czar was very active during the whole dispute, and rode down four horses while it lasted. His majesty received a shot in his hat. The engagement was wholly ended about eight in the morning.

The generals who were prisoners, dined with his majesty, and were used with great generosity. His majesty discoursed upon the change of affairs, addressing himself particularly to general Renchild, and enquired into the real number of the Swedish troops.— He was answered, “That his majesty of Sweden had only an exact knowledge of his forces, and never communicated further to his officers than was exactly ne-

cessary for their obedience, and the execution of his orders; but he believed the army consisted, at the beginning of the engagement, of 30,000 men, 19,000 of whom were regular troops, and the rest Cossacks." The czar observed to him, "That he thought that a small force to march so far into an enemy's country." The general said, "His duty was only to obey."— Upon which his majesty took off his own sword, and gave it to the general, desiring him to wear it as a testimony of the esteem he had for so good a servant to his prince.

It was not at first known what was become of the king of Sweden. The litter he made use of, on account of the wound in his foot, was found broken to pieces, and general Renschild was full of apprehension for his majesty. That prince had endeavored to sit on his horse at the head of his troops, but found it impossible; and when he was taken out of his shattered litter, all covered with blood, and carried upon pikes by four grenadiers, he cried out, Swedes! Swedes! in hopes to rally some of his regiments. His majesty escaped almost to a miracle, in count Piper's coach, having none of his own since he left Stockholm, and got into Turkey, where we shall have frequent occasion to visit him.

Prince Galliezin, with the regiments of Ingermerland and Astracan, and foot soldiers mounted behind each trooper, and lieutenant-general Baur, with ten regiments of horse, were immediately despatched in pursuit of the flying enemy. Count Piper seeing no way to escape, as also some secretaries of the chancery, came voluntarily to Pultowa, and yielded themselves prisoners. The next day prince Menzikoff went after the Swedes, and was followed by some regiments of foot. Those who were detached to bury the dead, reported, that they counted above 8000 bodies of the enemy on the field of battle; besides those who fell in the pursuit, whom they buried in several places. The Swedes abandoned above 3000 waggons, which fell in-

to the hands of the Russians. The prisoners taken, in the fight and pursuit, were in all 2978. The trophies were, 14 standards of horse, 29 of dragoons, 93 colors, of which six were of the regiment of guards, in all 137 standards and colors : cannon only four pieces, because the enemy brought no more into the action : one pair of kettle-drums of silver, belonging to the regiment of guards, and three pair of copper.

Prince Menzikoff, who marched the 28th, could not overtake the Swedes till the 30th, notwithstanding all the expedition he made ; for they retired precipitately, leaving behind them the greatest part of their baggage. That day his highness discovered them, posted very advantageously near the small town of Perewoloczna, at the foot of a mountain on the bank of the Borysthenes ; and was informed by the quarter-master of a regiment, and some Walachians, who were taken prisoners, that the king of Sweden had passed the Borysthenes by swimming, with major-general Spar and Lagercron, and 300 of the best mounted troopers, about three hours before ; and had left on this side the remains of his army, under the command of general Leuwenhaupt. Whereupon, without loss of time, his highness caused his body of men, which did not exceed 9000, to advance against the enemy. And the prisoners having added, that they believed they might be disposed to surrender themselves on terms of capitulation, his highness summoned them to yield, intimating to them that they were deprived of all means of escaping by a retreat, and that if they rejected his offer, they were not to hope for quarter, but should all be put to the sword.

Hereupon the enemy sent major-general Creutz, colonel Duekep, lieutenant-colonel Trautfetter, and adjutant-general count Douglass, to capitulate ; and an agreement was presently made, signed afterwards by prince Menzikoff and general Leuwenhaupt, pursuant to which, the enemy, who, contrary to all expectation, were yet 16,287 men strong, well armed, and mostly

horse, yielded themselves prisoners of war, and laid down their arms; surrendering that day to lieutenant-general Baur, together with the camp chest or treasure, the military chancery, all the colors, standards, kettle drums, and drums. Thus all the enemy's army were subdued by, or submitted to, the victorious arms of his czarish majesty, some few hundreds excepted, who escaped with their king; in pursuit of whom several thousand horse were also sent, who overtook, and cut to pieces 200 of his chosen band, and sent back about 100 prisoners. His czarish majesty came up in person and joined prince Menzikoff, just at the time when the Swedes laid down their arms.

By the capitulation, I. All the Swedish troops, without exception, commanded by count Leuwenhaupt, as well generals and officers as soldiers, were, with their servants, to yield themselves prisoners of war to his czarish majesty. II. All private soldiers, troopers, dragoons, and musketeers, were to lay down their arms and to remain prisoners of war till their exchange or ransom; but to keep their mounting, and all that they had, except their arms and ammunition: and all their horses, except those belonging to the officers, were delivered to his czarish majesty. III. All the generals, and other officers, were to keep their baggage and equipages, and their persons were to be released without ransom or exchange, as soon as peace was made between his czarish majesty and the king of Sweden. In the mean time, they should be honorably used, and permitted to go, for a while, to their own country, on their parole. IV. The Swedish artillery, all the ammunition, colors, standards, and instruments of music, should be delivered to his czarish majesty; as likewise the military chest of the king of Sweden. V. The Zaporogians, and other rebels, now among the troops of Sweden, were to be immediately surrendered to his czarish majesty.

The total of prisoners taken by this capitulation, were 16,287 persons, besides Charles Guntser, chamber-

lain, Sirchigel, apothecary to the household and army. Schimbers, quarter-master, Asil, Bier, and Brampt, commissaries, five purveyors, and other servants of the king's household. The trophies were, colors and standards, 142; brass cannon, four five pounders, one of five pound and a half, twelve of three pound, three Russian pieces of three pound, taken by the enemy at Wesprick; two howitzers of sixteen; two or three mortars of six, and four of three, with two iron cannon of three pound. The killed and wounded on the part of the Russians, in this great action, according to the printed list, were only 4636.

The first care of the czar was to acquaint the emperor, the king of Prussia, king Augustus, and the states, with the great success of his arms; and he dispatched likewise a captain of his guards to the duke of Marlborough. The sieur Matucof, his ambassador at the Hague, having received the orders of his master, notified the defeat of the Swedes to the states general, by way of memorial, which he delivered to the president of the assembly, August 28. That minister also made a most magnificent entertainment on the occasion, which lasted three days, as the victory had done, from the beginning to general Leuwenhaupt's surrender.

The king of Sweden having passed the Borysthenes, continued his retreat, with all imaginable speed, towards Tartary, and made no stay till he came to Oozakow the chief city of the Tartars of that name, not far from the Black Sea. He was very well received by the Bashaw, and thought fit to continue there till he was cured of the wound he had received at the siege of Pultowa. He wrote from thence to his mother, the regency of Sweden, and some of his ministers abroad, that he hoped to be well in a few days, and to join by the way Hodolia, his forces under general Crassau.

King Augustus, having received advice of the defeat of the Swedish army, did not think fit to defer his departure for Poland, which he had before concert-

ed; and on the 24th of June passed the Oder, directing his march towards Cracow. Several senators, and other persons of note, immediately declared for that prince, and abandoned king Stanislaus, who knew not which way to retire.

Thus did Providence baffle, in an instant, the great designs of the king of Sweden, and shew, by this terrible instance, "That moderation is a virtue no less necessary in princes than in their subjects." As long as that prince pursued a just satisfaction for the invasion of his territories, providence led him by the hand, and blessed all his enterprises; but when he carried his resentment beyond natural bounds, his affairs had immediately another aspect, and he soon stood reduced to the lowest ebb of fortune.



## BOOK V.

*From the king of Sweden's retreat into Turkey, to the czar's triumph for his naval victory over admiral Ehrenschild.*

**B**EFORE we proceed in our history, let us reflect a little more particularly on that extraordinary event which has been related at the end of the foregoing book. The two monarchs of Russia and Sweden had been nine years at war, and every thing seemed to promise a happy conclusion to the latter. Fortune looked as if she had entered into a covenant with that hero, and abandoned her character of inconstancy in his favor. By the authority of his arms, he had constrained a free people, under the form of an election, to receive a new sovereign from his hands: he had obliged the lawful prince to descend his throne, and fly to the succor of his hereditary estates, already exposed to pillage and desolation. He was now marching against enemies whom his people despised, and without regarding their number, thought only of sacrificing to the resentment of their prince. In these circumstances the king of Sweden undertook to advance to Moscow, and there dethrone the reigning emperor.

What shall we think of such an ambition, so seemingly disinterested? The most celebrated conquerors, before Charles, far from content with immortalising their names, joined advantage to glory, and were not so fond of an historical life, as to neglect the increase of their own power. But the king of Sweden pretended to a system more refined. Does he think himself unjustly attacked by his enemies? his resentment instantly becomes personal, and he declares an irreconcilable enmity, till he has deposed the aggressors. To dethrone monarchs, to give them successors, to dispose

of crowns at his pleasure, this was the whole of the king of Sweden's heroism. Without examining such a conduct by the precepts of religion, or the laws of nations, let us only ask of his Swedish majesty, supposing he had infringed a treaty, would he have allowed himself liable to be dethroned with justice? would he not have said, "It belongs only to God to chastise princes, and deprive them of their dignity?" Let us apply this maxim to himself, and add to it, that to lay waste a nation in order to oblige them to change their master, is neither less nor better than to destroy a million of innocent men, because one among them has been judged culpable. Thus if we allow the king of Sweden all he could pretend to plead, that he was unjustly attacked at the beginning of the war, we shall find him inexcusable in the prosecution of it.

Big with the sentiments of his own intrepidity and good fortune, and the bravery and fidelity of his troops, nothing appears impossible to this second Alexander. He almost forgets his mortality, despises every obstacle, every danger, and braves even death itself. The Muscovites fly before him, and secure themselves in their own country, behind strong entrenchments. The invader attempts to break through them, and succeeds. But the czar, in the mean time, opposes other barriers, which the Swedes are unable to force, and his troops are convinced, in several rencountres that the enemy is not invincible. His majesty wishes however for an accommodation, and sends his proposals. The king of Sweden, inflexible to the last, will give no peace unless the czar be deposed, and the charge of the war re-imbursed. Muscovy must resign at once her monarch and all her riches. A very unreasonable price, to buy off a precarious action!

The fatal hour comes: the Muscovites approach, and the Swedes attack with their usual confidence. But scarce is the battle begun, before these dethroners fly, are pursued, and the remainder of their army taken captive by a party weaker than themselves. The

king of Sweden would now submit to a peace, but offers are too late. That thunderbolt of war, who spread terrors wherever he came, is obliged to traverse a large river in a little boat, and become an exile among infidels. In proportion as king Charles is depressed, the czar Peter is advanced, and the Muscovites have now reason in their turn to contemn the Swedes.

But who can help being charmed with this conquering czar, when they see him after the victory entertaining at his table the Swedish officers, and drinking "a health to his masters in the art of war?" Count Renchild's repartee, (upon the czar's telling him that by his masters he meant themselves, the Swedish generals) "Your majesty is very ungrateful then, to use your masters so ill," was not half so pleasant as the monarch's behavior was grand. Was there ever a hero more moderate, more humane, more the master of his fortune? never had a prince greater provocation to be most sensibly provoked. His proposals had been rejected, his ruin contrived, and the utmost efforts made to effect it. How must the cruel tortures, the unprecedented murder of count Patkul wound his majesty's heart? could a great emperor be treated with more indignity, than by putting his ambassador upon the rack, by executing as a criminal the man who represented his sacred person? Even admit that Patkul was a rebel subject, the king of Sweden ought at least to have waited till the czar had degraded and given him up, and not have thus violated the law of nations. But the czar, in the midst of victory, forgets all injury to himself, and seems to remember only the misfortune of the vanquished. He treats them as their own king would have done, if they had once again made him victorious.

The offer of peace which king Charles had made, was while the Muscovites were yet in pursuit of his army, before the surrender at Perewoloczna. If the czar had then agreed to it, he had been prevented of half his triumph, and must have lost the last great fruit

of his victory. But no sooner was the action complete, and the fugitive king got into Turkey, than the Russian monarch appeared as much as ever desirous of an accommodation. Without taking so much advantage of the success of his arms, as to insist upon hard and unreasonable terms, he permitted general Meyderfield to go to his master, and sent to Stockholm the Swedish secretary Cederheism, with very moderate proposals for beginning a treaty; insisting only on Ingria and part of Carelia, which he had already in his hands, with the town of Wybarg for a barrier; and Revel was also mentioned, but with the intention to be given up by way of abatement, during the negociation. The king of Sweden received these proposals as if he had been yet a conqueror, called them "the impudent pretensions of a forsworn enemy," and wrote to count Piper, then a prisoner, ordering him to take proper measures with the czar for setting all his prisoners at liberty. This was the first time he ever consented to a cartel, though the czar had often took pains to procure one by the interposition of several other powers.

A neutral prince, of Charles's character, would have blamed the czar for making these concessions. But that monarch, who had himself seen most of the courts in Europe, wanted to put in practice the knowledge he had acquired in his travels, and apply it all to the good of his subjects. His troops were already formidable by land, and his fleet was growing so by sea. What remained then but to open the source of riches to his subjects, to cultivate the arts, encourage industry, provoke emulation, and set a pattern of politeness? This could not be all effectually done in a time of war, though carried on with advantage. Besides, the justice his majesty so much loved, was no longer a motive for continuing this public calamity. But the obstinacy of the enemy obliged him to alter his measures, and to send fresh orders to his ministers at the courts of Saxony and Denmark for concluding a new alliance against the king of Sweden. In the mean time he hastened

towards Poland, in person, with a design to join general Goltz, and the great General Siniauski. But falling ill at Kiow, through a fermentation of blood occasioned by his late fatigues, he was obliged to stop there for some time, and content himself with only sending some regiments before, by way of reinforcement.

The restoration of Augustus to his throne, and the re-establishment of peace in Poland, were some of the happy consequences of the battle of Pultowa. Stanislaus, raised tumultuously and in haste to be a king, falls from his grandeur like a fine edifice erected against the rules of proportion, with hardly the hopes of recovering his former condition as a subject. His rival published a long manifesto, the reasons in which were thought strong and persuasive by all Europe. No one could doubt what he there alledged, that a superior force had obliged him to renounce his royalty. If he had not taken that resolution, his hereditary estates had been ruined, and his natural subjects had felt all the fury of a victorious army. Forgetting therefore that he was king of Poland, he preferred the safety of a people given him by God, to that of a nation which had thrown themselves into his hands, and a great part of which was disloyal. After the victory of Kalish, he had nothing to do but to fall upon the rebel Poles, who, by the absence of their protector, must have become an easy conquest: but his majesty, intent only upon rescuing his Saxons from the danger that threatened them, sacrificed his own interest, and no longer regarded his crown.

If any one should demand whether king Augustus, though he might abdicate a throne out of tenderness and compassion, could with a safe conscience break his engagements with the king of Sweden? the answer was deducible from his manifesto. That when a prince, no longer able to defend himself, desires to treat of peace, and accepts the condition prescribed by the enemy, he then submits to the law of the strongest, and is obliged to keep to the engagement, till a lawful and

favorable opportunity presents for recovering what he has lost. This was the situation of the king of Poland. He was assured that Saxony should not be brought into the quarrel, and yet, while he relied on this assurance, the king of Sweden enters that electorate, and acts there as sovereign. Unwilling therefore to hazard his few faithful Poles, and finding himself too weak with his Saxons alone, he endeavors to disentangle himself with as much honor, or rather as little disgrace as possible. On this principle he proposes an accommodation, nominates two ambassadors, and invests them with full power. They, far from acting up to the noble generosity of his majesty's procedure, betray the prince who delegates them, and give up all his interests. As he regards his subjects more than his own rights, he ratifies this shameful agreement: but as all this was extorted by actual violence, he holds it no longer obligatory, than the necessity of his affairs remained.

It was farther urged that the king of Sweden had no right to attempt the deposition of a prince, who had been elected by the laws of his kingdom. He could be legally dethroned only by the nation, upon full conviction of his infringing their constitution. Nor could Augustus himself, according to equity, surrender up his sceptre, without the consent of his electors. Was there any wonder then that he resumed a post, from which he had been driven by oppression, and with the sword, as it were, held to his throat?

Besides, let the treaty of Alt-Ranstadt be ever so valid, did not the Swedes violate it first? these guests, according to the manifesto, had acted like a very cruel sort of friends. They did not observe their engagements, either according to the letter or the spirit of them. The winter quarters that were to be granted them, which lasted above a year; their immoderate contributions, which amounted to several millions; the letter of congratulation to Stanislaus, with many other grievances, were in no sense stipulated by the treaty.

Whence it was inferred, that his Polish majesty was sufficiently disengaged by the conduct of the Swedes, allowing the treaty itself to have been ever so sacred—These were the principal arguments in that king's declaration.

At the same time Augustus imprisoned Pflingsten and Imhoff, the plenipotentiaries who had signed his abdication, for having exceeded their orders, and betrayed their master. His Saxon troops, which had so irritated the Poles as to become the pretence of his deposition, brought him back to Warsaw, attended by those very palatinates who had already sworn allegiance both to him and Stanislaus, and were now come to renew their oath to him. Even Siniauski, finding he could not be king, was willing to remain great general under his old master. The pope absolved the people from their oath to Stanislaus, which had no little weight in such a nation as Poland.

As the king of Poland forgot the treaty of Alt-Ranstadt, agreed to when Charles lay in his hereditary dominions, the king of Denmark likewise forgot the treaty of Travendal, concluded when the same prince invested Copenhagen. He renewed his pretensions to the dutchies of Holstein and Bremen, and resolved if possible to get possession of them. Augustus and he had an interview at Dresden, where they settled the division of their intended conquests. From thence they went to Potsdam, in hopes to bring the king of Prussia into their measures, who had formerly some pretensions on Swedish Pomerania. But that monarch, unwilling to engage in these new commotions, entertained them splendidly, desired them to stand godfathers to a child of the prince-royal's, and let them depart without any promise on his side. The duke of Mecklenburg was provoked to see the Swedes in possession of Wismar, the finest city in his dutchy; and as he was to marry the czar's niece, he could with the greater security join in the alliance. The elector of Hanover, afterwards king of Great-Britain, had also

a prospect of enriching himself with some of Charles's dismembered provinces ; as the dutchies of Bremen and Ferden, now in possession of his present majesty, actually are.

The czar, more powerful than all his allies put together, became at this conjuncture, what Charles had been before, the arbiter of the north. He sent an army into Poland, to assist Augustus in the recovery of his throne ; but whereas the king of Sweden had acted only for revenge or glory, his czarish majesty had the wisdom to consult his own interest. The Swedish hero had succored his allies, and defeated his enemies, without insisting on the least advantage, as the fruit of his victories : but the Russian monarch acted more like a sovereign than a hero, and assisted the king of Poland only upon the condition that Livonia should be delivered up to him. That province, for the sake of which Augustus had kindled the war, was now to remain to the Muscovites forever.

On the 5th of September, 1709, the czar of Muscovy, with the hereditary prince, and several persons of note, arrived at Lublin. The same day in the evening, the prince Menzikoff, Golofskin, and Dolgorucki, the sieur Oginski, and several other generals, arrived there also ; as did the next day field-marshal Goltz, having left the army under his command at a little distance on the other side of the river. That general was favorably received by the czar, who the next day viewed his army. His majesty held a council, when 1000 dragoons were detached towards Warsaw, to secure some posts upon the road, and another detachment of 4000 was sent to take a post on the Vistula. From this place his majesty published a declaration, inviting all the Poles to return to their allegiance.

An interview having been appointed at Thorn, between the Russian and Polish monarchs, the latter, upon advice that the czar intended to come by water, took boat on the 8th of October, attended by the whole



court, and went up the Vistula ; where he met his czarish majesty, who immediately left his own boat, and came into that of king Augustus. They embraced one another very tenderly, and both expressed their joy and satisfaction to meet again. The czar congratulated king Augustus on his happy return into his dominions, and king Augustus congratulated the czar on the signal victory obtained over their common enemy : after which the Polish senators, and Saxon ministers, that were present, paid their respects to his czarish majesty, complimenting him on the same subject. Some of them expressed themselves in the following words, "That they had prayed to God for a victory, but had not expected it so complete and entire." To which the czar was pleased to answer, "That they had put up their prayers for it according to human frailty, but that God had given it according to his infinite mercies."

Their majesties being landed near Thorn, the czar received the compliments of the magistrates in a body, and after having returned them an answer by the great chancellor count Golofskin, the monarchs got on horseback, and went to a house upon the market place, prepared for the czar, who rode on the right hand. King Augustus, after a short stay, went from this house to his own palace. The czar dined with his majesty, and had again the right hand at table. During that entertainment, which lasted till late at night, the trumpets, kettle-drums, and other music, were playing, and the people assembled in great numbers under the windows, to see both the monarchs ; with which the czar was so well pleased, that he desired his Polish majesty to distribute some hogsheads of wine amongst them. This being done, nothing but *Long live the czar and the king* was heard through all the streets. The Polish senators were extraordinarily well satisfied with the good intentions his czarish majesty expressed towards the republic.

Augustus and Peter having taken such measures here as were thought requisite, the former departed

for Saxony, and the latter to Marienwerder, where he was to meet the king of Prussia, who arrived there on the 25th of October. M. Graben, governor of the place, caused the castle to be fitted up for the reception of his master and the czar ; but the little time he had to make these preparations, would not allow to receive them with as much magnificence as he intended. The king being informed that the czar was coming down thither by the Vistula, went above half a mile out of the town, and received him at his landing, giving him the upper hand ; and they expressed all imaginable respect towards each other. They got into the same coach, in which sat likewise the sieur Keyserling, envoy of the king of Prussia, and proceeded to the castle ; the garrison and burghers being on their arms, and saluting them with three salvos. Prince Menzikoff and count Wertembergh came together in the same coach, and afterwards the chief officers of both princes. In this interview, besides confirming former alliances, it was concluded that the duke of Courland, nephew of the king, should have his dutchy restored to him.

Prince Menzikoff received here a letter from brigadier Kropotock, who was left on the frontiers of Podolia with a body of troops, giving an account that having received intelligence by his spies, that the Swedes, who made their escape over the Nieper after the defeat near Pultowa, were on their march for Moldavia or Transylvania, to retire by the way of Hungary, that general marched with the forces under his command, with all possible speed, to cut off their retreat ; and that arriving not far from Tsernjatoka, a little town on the frontiers, he received intelligence that the enemy were but a short distance from him. His foot being fatigued by the long marches they had made, he detached colonel Traskey, with the horse, and gave him orders to attack the enemy and amuse them with skirmishes, to give time to the foot to come up ; which orders he executed with a great deal of con-

duct, charged them several times, and took a captain, a lieutenant, two ensigns, and six private men, prisoners. The enemy being thus overtaken, retired into a wood, which, as soon as the commander came up with his infantry, he caused to be surrounded, and attacked them therein. They made at first a brave defence, but not being able to resist such a body of troops, they surrendered prisoners of war, to the number of 250 men, including officers. The Swedes had 500 Cosacks with them, who fearing to be punished as rebels to their prince, fought desperately; but were all killed on the spot, except some few who threw themselves into the river Pruth, to make their escape; and most of them were drowned. Thus was destroyed a great part of Charles' remaining little army, who had retired with him into Turkey, and were now sent to reconnoitre the state of affairs in that quarter.

From Marienwerder the czar went to Mittaw, where he gave audience to the Courlanders, and to mitigate their complaints, released them from part of the contributions which his general had levied on them. His majesty then went to Riga, and set fire to the first bomb thrown into that place. From thence, leaving the siege to be carried on by his generals, he made the best of his way through Petersburgh, to the neighborhood of Moscow.

On the first of January, 1710, the czar made his entry into his ancient capital, with an unheard-of magnificence. All the Swedish prisoners, generals, officers and soldiers, taken in the battles of Lesno, Pultowa, and the surrender at Perewoloczna, were led therein in a triumphant manner. Amongst the former, were count Piper, first minister of state, and great master of the household of the king of Sweden; the general field-marshal Renchild, general Leuwenhaupt, governor of Riga, and major-general Schlippenbach, Kreutz, Kreuse, Rose, Stackelbergh, Hamilton, and several others. The cannon, standards, colors, kettle-drums, and other trophies taken in those battles, were carried

in this solemnity by the persons who took them. It was certainly one of the finest spectacles that ever was seen in these parts of the world, and perhaps in any other since the declension of the Roman empire. The streets and public places through which the czar went, were adorned with seven triumphal arches, and crowded with an incredible number of spectators, both Muscovites and foreigners.

The czar having used the Swedish prisoners, after the battle of Pultowa, with so much humanity and civility, the usage they met with in this entry, seemed surprising to many people, as the Christians had long ago abolished the custom of leading prisoners of war as captives, and exposing them to the view and contempt of the mob. Men of honor, whom a cross fortune throws prisoners into the hands of a generous enemy, ought to be pitied, and their condition should be made as easy as is consistent with the use and custom of war. This is the practice of all civilized nations, at least in Europe, which made the conduct of the czar appear somewhat unjust: but if we consider that that prince had received many intolerable provocations from the Swedes in their prosperity, and that it was his interest to persuade his subjects both of his own great capacity in war, and that the Swedes, of whom they were so much afraid, were not invincible; the reasons arising from these considerations, are sufficient to excuse, if not altogether justify, what the czar did in this entry; and rather the more, because his majesty's temper was known to be averse to pride and ostentation.

On the same day his czarish majesty treated all the chief persons of quality, and the foreign ministers, to a public dinner. In the evening a sumptuous fire-work, in which were several representations and inscriptions, was prepared, and went off with great exactness.—The chief machines were a phaeton struck with a thunderbolt, and another figure in allusion to a late medal struck in Sweden. Two pillars were first lighted, which supported imperial crowns, and were adorned

with a great variety of blue, green and pale flames.— When they had burnt some time, a lion moved forward, on whose approach the first pillar broke short at the pedestal; but as he advanced near the second, a spread-eagle, representing his majesty's arms, launched a rocket, which blew up the lion's head and neck, and the pillar remained firm to the last.

In order to introduce a very particular affair, which happened during the czar's residence at Mescow, it is necessary to turn back to some particulars, which we did not before mention, for fear of breaking the thread of history that regards the king of Sweden's expedition.

While the czar was defending his own dominions against the invader, an accident happened in England, that had like to have broken off the good understanding between the courts of London and Petersburgh. M. Andrew de Matueof, his czarish majesty's ambassador to the queen of Great-Britain, was arrested by one Moreton, a lace man, in Covent-Garden, and other tradesmen; who finding his excellency had audience of leave of her majesty, and imagining, or pretending to imagine, that he would leave the kingdom *incognito*, employed some bailiffs to secure their debts. The ambassador, justly surpris'd at this treatment, so contrary to the law of nations, and perhaps not readily submitting to the authority of these officers, was very roughly handled by them. Upon this, he made application for redress, to her majesty, and her council, who immediately took care to confine the parties concerned, for having thus, in contempt of the supreme authority, put this affront upon him. Various stories flew about, in regard to the particular reparation insisted on by the ambassador; but this is certain, that his excellency at last retired into Holland, after several letters had passed between him and Mr. Secretary Boyle; and the queen ordered her attorney-general, a little before Michaelmas term, 1708, to prosecute those who had been guilty, in the Queen's-Bench. In the mean time

the czar wrote a letter to the queen, which we shall here insert, because it contains several circumstances of the affair, as they were represented by the ambassador.

“ We cannot forbear notifying to your majesty, with how great trouble of mind and horror, by the humble remonstrance of Andrew de Matueof, our ambassador at your court, chargèd with several important commissions, we have received an unexpected piece of news, viz: That the said ambassador, after having obtained an audience of leave of your majesty, at London, the place of your residence; out of premeditated malice, and of set purpose, (as it appears) was set upon, in the open street, by several bailiffs, who received their commissions from a certain viscount or sheriff, and acted like robbers, against the public laws of nations, with an unheard-of and unparalleled barbarity: for by dispersing his servants, violently breaking his coach, taking away his sword, cane and hat, and tearing his clothes, they put upon him such a notorious affront, as no civilized person would presume to offer to a foreign minister of his character, nor even to a commoner, unless he would run the risk of being most severely punished: and what most of all enhances the heinousness of the fact, while our said ambassador, crying out for help against the outrage and robbery, had got together some persons, who intended to rescue him out of the hands of the pillagers; and when they, for that purpose, had stopped the coach, and being desirous to know the cause, brought him into the next victualling-house; the audacious miscreants produced a warrant from the magistrate to detain the said ambassador, for the sum of fifty pounds sterling, due from him to certain merchants; and when the people, who ran together, began to separate again upon the discovery of the matter, they forthwith hurried him into a hackney coach, taken by force, and delivered him up to be confined in a certain infamous house, called *The Black Raven*. And although our said ambassador had noti-

fied this unheard-of and flagitious outrage to the secretary of state, nevertheless he could not be found ; and secretary Walpole only came to the said house, not to set him at liberty, (as it most evidently appears) but to be an eye-witness of this barbarous usage, the like to which was never yet seen under the sun.— Neither did he offer any assistance to our ambassador, as a person skilled in the public law of nations, which protects the character of an ambassador from all manner of insults, but went away : so that our said ambassador being destitute of all help, and forsaken, was forced to redeem himself from the house of bondage, and, after a long space of time, to procure his liberty.

“ Forasmuch, then, as our majesty is apparently assaulted by this wicked attempt, and indignity put upon the person of our ambassador, such as was never practised, nor even heard of, in the whole world, much less among civilized people ; not only profaning, but quite subverting the law of nations : therefore, we hope that your royal majesty will have a due regard to the grievous affront offered to us in the person of our ambassador, together with the infringement of the law of nations ; occasioned primarily by the sheriff, as the author of the whole mischief, inasmuch as the said sheriff countenanced so audacious an attempt, and looked upon the detaining of our ambassador as a trifle ; and secondarily by the bailiffs, who presumed to abuse our said ambassador, in the open street, after the above mentioned manner ; and lastly by the merchants, who occasioned his confinement, (as is evident from their malevolent instigation, in order to overthrow the ancient friendship established with us and our empire :) Wherefore, we being persuaded that your majesty will esteem those persons no otherwise than as the most profligate of pillagers, and violaters of the laws of nations, proportionably to their guilt, we entreat your majesty to consent, that, for an example to others, a diligent search be made after the rest of the accomplices of the crime, and that a capital punishment, ac-

ording to the rigor of the law, be inflicted on them all, at least such an one as is adequate to the nature of the affront which every particular person put upon the ambassador.

“The same ambassador, by virtue of the instructions given him on this subject, will more largely explain our request to your majesty ; which has been already declared by our ministers to your majesty’s resident in our court. On these considerations, we have reason to hope from your majesty’s justice such a satisfaction for this intolerable outrage ; and the rather, in regard that your majesty’s honor, and the reputation of all your subjects of Great-Britain, will, by this means, become famous throughout the whole world ; and we shall be certainly assured of the continuance of your royal friendship, and all effects of a contrary opinion will be entirely removed ; and lest, upon failure of a satisfaction worthy of, and equivalent to, the injured honor, we be compelled to obtain it by way of reprisal, which indeed would be very irksome to us, upon account of that particular esteem we have for your majesty’s friendship. Finally, we wish your majesty health and a prosperous reign.”

In pursuance of the queen of Great-Britain’s command, an information was tried at the Queen’s-Bench, Westminster, the 14th of February, before the right honorable the lord chief justice Holt, for the queen, against Thomas Moreton, Isaac Spilteumb, Andrew Slan, Edward Young, and ten others, for meeting, consulting, and conspiring to arrest and imprison the Muscovite ambassador : for which they were all found guilty, excepting Young, saving the special matter of the privilege of ambassadors, to be argued before the judges the next term. There were present in court, the right honorable the earl of Sunderland, the right honorable Mr. Boyle, the lord Halifax, and several other persons of quality.

The proceedings in England were not sufficient to satisfy either the czar or his minister ; and something



farther being insisted on, Mr. Whitworth, her majesty's envoy at the court of Russia, was invested with the character of ambassador extraordinary, for the particular occasion, to make reparation by a public excuse; which the czar received during his abode now at Moscow, in presence of the nobility and foreign ministers.

The eighth of February being appointed for the solemnity, the chief carver of his czarish majesty, accompanied by the cup-bearer, who officiated as master of the ceremonies, went from the court in one of his majesty's coaches, to the house of the British ambassador, being followed by twenty other coaches of the grandees, some to make up a train, and others for the ambassador's secretary and gentlemen, who were all richly clothed. Being come to the ambassador's house, the carver and cup-bearer went up to his apartment, where they declared the business they were come about; and after some moments conversation, they went into the coach with the ambassador, who took the place of honor: the secretary and gentlemen of the embassy went in the coaches appointed for them, each according to his rank.

Arriving at the court, the two regiments of guards, who were there drawn up, made the salutes of honor to the ambassador, and remained standing in parade during the whole audience, making a very fine show. Monsieur de Naraskin, gentleman of the bed-chamber to his czarish majesty, received the ambassador at the foot of the stair-case. Prince George de Scherbaty, counsellor of state, performed the like honors to him at the top of the stair-case, and monsieur de Mussin Puschkin, privy-counsellor, complimented him in the ante-chamber. The ambassador was conducted to the hall of audience, where his czarish majesty was standing uncovered under a canopy, leaning against a table, having an armed chair behind him; the grandees and ministers of the court, with the generals of his army, standing on each hand of him.

As soon as the ambassador came in sight of him, he made his first obeisance, in the middle of the hall his second, and the third when he had ascended the estrade on which his czarish majesty stood ; where standing, and with his hat off, his excellency made a speech in English, of which the secretary of the embassy read aloud a translation in the German tongue, signed with the ambassador's hand, to the end the foreign ministers, who had been invited to assist at this solemnity, might understand the contents of it ; and then one of his czarish majesty's secretaries read it out in the Russian language, for the information of the lords and gentlemen of the empire. After the speech was ended, the ambassador delivered to his czarish majesty the queen of Great-Britain's letter, to the following effect :

“ We have already written to your imperial majesty, to declare to you the great grief we conceived for the unhappy affront which was offered to your ambassador, before he left our court. We have since received the letter which your imperial majesty wrote to us upon that subject ; and we can assure your imperial majesty, that we were touched with true sorrow, when we saw how highly you resented the violence which had been offered to your imperial majesty's own person, in the character of your imperial majesty's ambassador ; and we were the more grieved on this occasion, when we reflected on the insufficiency of our laws, to give as ample a satisfaction as we desired to make, as well for the just sense we ourself had of the indignity which had been offered, as to convince your imperial majesty how much we were inclined to make a suitable reparation of the injury done so good a friend and ally. But we must confess, that at the same time we had a singular pleasure, in observing your imperial majesty's desire to prevent the misunderstanding which might arise therefrom ; and the great esteem you shewed for our friendship, as well as the care you expressed to preserve and cultivate it, by reciprocal marks of friendship and affection.

“Wherefore we promise ourself from your goodness, that upon the representations which from time to time have been made to you in our name, by our envoy extraordinary at your imperial court, your imperial majesty will be pleased to examine into the nature of this affair ; whereby your imperial majesty will see, that we have not the least inclination to favor the criminals, nor to screen them from justice : but that there are 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 equally 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 laws do not empower us to do.

“Nevertheless, we have not been wanting, at the same time, to use all the means which we judged most effectual, to persuade your imperial majesty, and the whole world, of the sincerity of our intentions, and of our endeavors in this affair. And to the end the guilty might be punished, so far as the laws and constitutions of our kingdoms, which were then in force, would permit ; we gave express orders to our officers of justice, and to our ministers, to prosecute them with the utmost severity.

“That prosecution has been long continued with very great diligence, and nothing has been omitted to bring it to as speedy a conclusion as possible. But after all, the matter is such, that we find ourself obliged to inform your imperial majesty, that as well because of the different pleadings in favor of the criminals ; the slow, but indispensable manner of proceeding in a law-suit of so great importance ; as of the case itself, which is of an extraordinary nature, against which no sufficient provision is made in the ancient statutes of these kingdoms ; it has not hitherto been in the power of our

counsel learned in the law, to obtain a sentence, nor a final decision of this affair.

“Wherefore, considering all these inconveniences, and foreseeing the delays which might probably happen in the ordinary course of law ; and desiring, at the same time, to give you signal marks of our sorrow, as also to shew you the indignation of all our subjects on this occasion, we have passed an act of parliament made in the most solemn manner, by the great council and assembly of our kingdom of Great-Britain, wherein is made a declaration as authentic as possible, of the just horror which our subjects in general have against this violent insult ; and all the acts and proceedings, which relate to the arrest of the person of your imperial majesty’s ambassador, are annulled, and razed out of the registers of our courts of justice, and those who had a share therein are branded as infamous criminals, and obnoxious to the laws which were then in force. And if any person hereafter durst commit the like offence, or any ways violate the privileges of ambassadors and other foreign ministers, they will be liable to the most severe penalties and punishments, which the arbitrary power of the judges should think fit to inflict upon them, and to which no bounds are given in this new act. So that insults of this nature will be prevented for the future, and the security which all princes’ ministers ought to enjoy will be firmly established and preserved by this famous law. And this will remain as a monument to all posterity, of the deference which has been shewn to your imperial majesty ; and all the ministers which shall come for the future, will be indebted for this extraordinary act for their protection, to the particular consideration which we and our people have had for your imperial majesty’s honor. As therefore your imperial majesty cannot but see, that we have used our utmost endeavors in prosecuting the criminals, and in causing them to be punished, though not with the success we could have wished : and since we have procured an act to be made by the represen-

tatives of all our subjects of Great-Britain, as well for reparation of what has been done, as to prevent the like insolences for the future ; we instantly pray your imperial majesty to accept of all that we have done on our side, as the most we could do here for your satisfaction ; whereby your imperial majesty will give us the strongest proof that can be, of your constant affection towards us ; and you may be assured, that we shall not fail on our side, to do all that lies in our power, on all occasions, to shew you our gratitude by our firm friendship and esteem.

“ And to the end that nothing may be omitted, which is in our power to do farther, by way of suitable reparation, we have thought fit to make choice of some worthy and able person, to declare to your imperial majesty, in the most public and solemn manner, the indignation we conceived at the affront offered, and our concern that it is not in our power to cause the criminals to be punished according to their deserts.— And as our trusty and well beloved Mr. Charles Whitworth has merited our royal approbation, by his ability and experience in all the affairs which have been entrusted with him, as also by his good conduct at your imperial majesty’s court, for several year past ; we have, therefore, given him a special power and commission to represent our person, as our ambassador extraordinary upon this occasion, and to make such excuses and declarations in our name, as will, we hope, give your imperial majesty entire satisfaction. And we do hereby desire your imperial majesty to be pleased to admit and receive the said Mr. Charles Whitworth as our ambassador extraordinary for this end, and to give entire credit to all that he shall say to you in our royal name, as if we were present to do it in person. We will only add, as a mark of our esteem for your ambassador himself, who suffered this insult, that as we were sensible of his personal virtues and great qualities, during his residence at our court, so we were more particularly concerned, that such an injury should

be offered to a gentleman of so great merit and consideration, being besides, the ambassador of so great a prince, and so good an ally. And so praying, that the great dispenser of all good things will vouchsafe to pour forth his heavenly benedictions upon the person and kingdom of your imperial majesty, we recommend you to his holy protection. ANNE R."

His czarish majesty having received this letter from the hands of the ambassador, delivered it to the count de Golofskin, and was pleased to make the following answer in his own tongue :

"It was but requisite, that her majesty the queen should have given us satisfaction, by punishing the criminals conformably to our demands, in the most rigorous manner, as is the custom in such cases throughout the universe ; but seeing her majesty has ordered you to make excuses in the quality of her ambassador extraordinary, conferred upon you expressly for this purpose, and to remonstrate, that her majesty could not inflict such a punishment upon them, because of the defect, in that particular, of the former established constitutions of her kingdom ; and that with the unanimous consent of the parliament, her majesty has caused a new act to be passed to serve as a law therein for the future ; we accept all this for a proof of the affection her majesty has for us, and for sufficient satisfaction ; and we will give orders to our ministers to settle entirely this affair with you in a conference."

His czarish majesty having concluded his answer, the ambassador retired backwards out of the hall, making three obeisances, in the same manner as when he came in, and was conducted back to his house with the same ceremony, and the same train. The chief carver treated him three days successively by express order of his czarish majesty, with the greatest plenty, delicacy and magnificence ; the officers of his majesty's household serving at table.

The ninth of the same month, the ambassador came to the house of count de Golofskin, great chamberlain,

and there had a conference with him, and other ministers of his czarish majesty ; in which this troublesome affair was terminated, to the mutual satisfaction of the two powers ; and the ancient friendship between the two crowns renewed, on condition that certain articles, which were stipulated, should be performed. After which his czarish majesty was to acquaint the queen that he is content with the foresaid satisfaction, by a letter, which should be delivered to the ambassador, Mr. Whitworth. All this was accordingly done.

The defeat of the Swedes at Pultowa produced one advantage, with respect to the establishment of arts, which undoubtedly the czar himself did not expect. After the triumph at Moscow, about 3000 Swedish officers, and near 20,000 soldiers were dispersed all over his dominions, especially in the vast country of Siberia, which, taken in the utmost latitude, extends to the borders of China, and is the place of exile for Muscovite criminals. Almost all these prisoners, destitute of a plentiful subsistence, and considering the distance and uncertainty of their return, took to the exercise of such different professions as they had knowledge of, and in which necessity soon made them expert. Even masters of languages and mathematicians, sprung up among them. They became a sort of colony, which civilized the ancient inhabitants ; and many curious arts, which, though well known at Moscow and Petersburgh, would have been many years in travelling to Siberia, were by their means conveyed thither in an instant. All the distinctions which fortune makes among men, were lost with the liberty of these people. The officer who could follow no trade, was forced to cleave and carry wood for the soldier, that was now turned tailor, draper or smith, and got a subsistence by his labor.

Count Piper, the king of Sweden's prime minister, was the most severely used of all the prisoners, as the czar suspected him of having persuaded his master, for a sum of money given him by the duke of Marlborough, to turn his arms out of the empire into Rus-

sia. He was a long time confined at Petersburg, and died some years after at Moscow.

Frequent rumors were every day spread over Europe, that the king of Sweden was upon the point of returning home, and sometimes that he was upon the road. Mean while the czar and his allies made the best use of that monarch's absence, and stripped him of almost all his territories, but Scandinavia only.— General Crassan had drawn off his army, consisting of 12 or 13,000 men, from Poland into Pomerania, which was now to have been the seat of the war. This storm alarmed the emperor and the German princes, who, with the queen of Great-Britain and the states-general, were then at war with France, and occasioned that famous act of neutrality for the empire, which allowed the northern allies to attack the king of Sweden any where but in Germany. The czar and the king of Poland came into this treaty, and caused an article to be inserted, that the Swedes in Pomerania should not depart thence to defend their other provinces. An army was to be raised in the empire, and encamped on the Oder, to preserve this neutrality: but the king of Sweden protested strongly against the articles that tied up his hands, while it left his enemies at liberty; and at last the whole project came to nothing for want of the quotas being sent in.

The marriage of Anne Joannowna, at present empress of Russia, to Frederick William, duke of Courland, was celebrated during the czar's residence at Moscow. But the young prince falling ill, left her a widow a few days after marriage. About the same time his majesty received news of the taking of Elbing, a considerable town in Polish Prussia.

It will not be improper to insert a particular account of that action, which was certainly very glorious to the forces of the czar.

Major-general Nostitz having pretended to make preparation of all things, that he might the better succeed in the design he had formed to carry the place by



assault, commanded out 2000 men, and divided them into seven bodies, to make five real attacks, and two feigned ones, at five o'clock next morning; with orders, in case one of them should succeed, to push the Swedes home without giving them time to recollect themselves. Pursuant to this order, the troops moved under the command of brigadier Balek, and after they had passed the ditches, they scaled the wall on the side of the new town, and of the corn magazines, and entered the place, notwithstanding the fire of the cannon, with which the ramparts were well provided, and the opposition of the main part of the garrison; and besides, the bastions and works had mines under them. The Swedes were pushed to the bridge of the old town, over the river, where for some time they made an obstinate resistance; but in the end, they were obliged to give way, and were pursued to the great square of the old town, where brigadier Balek made all the garrison prisoners, with the two lieutenant-colonels who commanded them.

This action was the bolder, because the town was fortified with twelve royal bastions, two ditches filled with water, and a high wall with ramparts of turf. Major-general Nostitz, in consideration of the gallant behaviour of the commanding Swedish officers in this action, returned them their swords till the czar's pleasure should be known. Those officers confessed that they could not conceive how the major-general came to hazard such an enterprise, and yet less how it came to succeed so happily; attributing the success entirely to the good conduct and bravery of the officers and soldiers of his czarish majesty. The prisoners were the lieutenant-colonels Bethun and Jager, 10 captains, 13 lieutenants, 12 ensigns, 95 subalterns and gunners, 766 soldiers.

The major-general re-fortified Elbing, and put into it a strong garrison, which was the more wondered at, because an agreement was said to have been made between the czar and the king of Prussia, for the im-

mediate delivery of this place to the latter. It is certain the prince of Holstein demanded it in the king's name; but the Muscovite general denied his having knowledge of any such agreement, and refused to comply without an express order from his master. He gave a like denial to the Polish diet, who also demanded it for the republic, to whom it formerly belonged. That assembly in the mean time was greatly divided in itself; the members making the continuance of Russian troops in Poland a pretext for their animosities; refusing to come to any resolution on the state of the nation till those troops were sent out of the kingdom. This reason alone would have obliged the czar to continue them, lest he should lose the fruit of all his victories.

His majesty left Moscow the latter end of February, in order to go into Poland; but first he undertook the siege of Wyburg, which would open his troops a way into the great dutchy of Finland. He came before the place in April, with 23,000 men, 80 pieces of cannon, 26 large, and 250 small mortars. He was here in some danger of being surprised by a Swedish fleet of 13 sail, which, however, only shewed itself, without attempting any thing. Admiral Apraxin was left to carry on the siege, who attacking the suburbs, the Swedes quitted them, having set their magazines on fire. The Muscovites put out the flames, and seized on three ships in the port. The siege continued till June, when the governor obtained leave to march out with arms and baggage; but count Apraxin, upon his quitting the place, caused him and his garrison to be detained prisoners of war, as a reprisal for several practices of the Swedes, contrary to the laws of nations and the usage of war. That general published a sort of manifesto, containing the reasons which induced him to this seeming breach of the capitulation, which consisted of three articles. I. That a Muscovite ship being sent to Sweden with a flag of truce, as had been often practised in the like cases, had been detained

contrary to all manner of justice. 2. Because the resident of the czar, who was at Stockholm in the beginning of this war, had been detained, and had his effects confiscated, though the Swedish minister residing at Moscow, was sent back without molestation. 3. Because the subjects of his czarish majesty, who were come into Sweden in time of peace, to carry on a trade beneficial to both nations, were detained upon the beginning of the war, and had their effects confiscated. The number of the garrison, including the sick and wounded, was near 5000 men. There was found in the town a large quantity of arms and ammunition.

The garrison of Riga, which surrendered about the same time, had a better fate than that of Wyburg. The siege of that place had been a long time carried on, with various hopes of success, and was now reduced to a blockade. On the 22d of January past, the laboratory for bombs had taken fire, which in an instant blew up the whole house, and the magazines adjoining, to the great terror of the garrison, of whom near 2000 were entirely lost. General Czeremetoff had after this offered very honorable conditions to general Stromberg, the governor, to induce him to surrender; but the intrepid Swede returned to those civilities only from the mouths of his cannon, expecting, but in vain, to be relieved by sea.

At last, on the 29th of June, being the feast of St. Peter, whose name his czarish majesty bears, when the general officers were at dinner with field-marshal Czeremetoff, the Swedish governor sent out one to notify that he desired to capitulate, and would send out deputies for that purpose. The next day the field-marshal sent into the town for hostages, two colonels and an auditor; and his coaches brought back to the camp 11 hostages from the town. Being conducted into the presence of the field-marshal, they made a speech to him; and he nominated two colonels and one auditor to treat with them. They delivered about 65 articles,

upon which his excellency having deliberated with the other generals, sent them back into the town, with his resolution, by the Swedish auditor, who was ordered to return at nine the next morning with that of count Stromberg. The auditor came at the time limited, but it was only to desire some delay for the governor ; which being refused, the governor sent out his resolutions in the afternoon ; and the whole was agreed, signed and exchanged. By virtue of the capitulation, the garrison was to be conducted to Revel, and thence transported to Stockholm : but this last particular was never complied with, for reasons published by the field-marshal. The town and citadel were immediately garrisoned by seven Muscovite regiments, commanded by prince Repnin. What forced the governor to surrender, was the famine, which was so great, that at least 100 men of the garrison died every day during the last weeks of the siege ; and of above 10,000 of which the garrison consisted when the place was invested, no more than 1800 were left able to bear arms. Sixty thousand of the town's people perished likewise during the siege, partly by famine, and partly by the plague. The Swedish garrison went out with the usual marks of honor, of drums beating, colors flying, arms and baggage, and six cannon, with powder and ball for six charges each. But prince Czeremetoff detained the remains of the two regiments of Carelia and Wyburg, alledging that they were become subjects of the czar, by his late conquests. And so favorable an impression did the prince give of his master's government, that a great number of officers, and almost all the Livonians, put themselves voluntarily under his protection. There were found here 5000 pieces of artillery ; but no provisions, and very little ammunition.

The old garrison of Dunamuyden-Schans, who were at first 1200 men, having been almost all swept away by the plague, the Swedish squadron put in a reinforcement of 700 men. But the contagion continuing to rage among these likewise, near 200 of them were

presently carried off, and M. Stackleberg, the governor himself, was sick. In this extremity of the place, the Muscovites raised batteries against it, and it surrendered in about a fortnight.

The town of Pernau was obliged, on the 21st of August, to follow the example of Riga, and submit to the czar; who sent a detachment to besiege Kexholm, in Carelia, and another to besiege Revel, the only place of note the Swedes remained masters of in Livonia. Revel surrendered on the 8th of October, the garrison being reduced to the last extremity, through sickness and want of provisions. Of 50,000 inhabitants in this place, but 3000 were left. Kexholm capitulated on the 19th of September, as Arenberg, in the isle of Oesel, had done on the 14th. In these places were large quantities of military stores.

The czar being now master of all Livonia, he published a proclamation, promising the inhabitants a renewal of their privileges, encouraging trade and navigation, and inviting foreigners to come and settle in that country, which war and pestilence had almost depopulated. Ships of other nations, which came into the Livonian harbors, were treated with all possible civility, and nothing was neglected by his majesty, to render his government acceptable to these new subjects.

The allies of his ezarish majesty were not so fortunate as himself. King Augustus, harrassed as he was by the diet at Warsaw, had not time for action, and his troops could only watch the motions of general Crasau, in Pomerania. The enterprize against Schonon, by the king of Denmark, had a very different success from what most people imagined, notwithstanding it was undertaken at the most favorable juncture that ever the Danes could have wished for. Sweden exhausted; its army entirely defeated or taken prisoners; their king wounded, and forced to take refuge in the Turkish dominions; Livonia exposed to the ravages of a powerful enemy; were all very promising circum-

stances, which seemed to assure the Danes that their design could not miscarry. They had all imaginable success in the beginning of this war. They landed in Schonen without any opposition. The Swedes fled before them as far as Christianstadt and Carelshaven ; but when these conquerors, flushed up with this success, meditated the design to go and burn the Swedish fleet at Carelscroon, the Swedes marched against them, forced them to abandon Cristianstadt, and return towards Helsingburg. Within three miles of that place they were entirely routed by general Steinbock, at the head of 8000 old troops, and 12,000 new ones, who, on this occasion, out of a natural antipathy to the Danes, behaved with the intrepidity of veteran regiments, obliged the general to fight sooner than he intended, and cut to pieces all the king of Denmark's guards. The remains of the Danish army retired under the cannon of Helsingburg, and in five days after the battle returned to Zealand, having first killed their horses and destroyed their provisions, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy.

We must now leave the affairs on this side of Europe, and turn to a new scene of action, which had like to have proved fatal to his czarish majesty, and in him to the whole Russian empire. Even the faults of great men ought not to be concealed, and they are usually themselves the first to acknowledge their mistakes. The czar Peter, whose great genius but two years before had been too hard for the warlike king of Sweden, in 1711, had like to have fallen a sacrifice to a raw, inexperienced grand vizir, who never before made a campaign.

Ever since the king of Sweden had been in Turkey, he had used all possible means to occasion a rupture between the Ottoman porte and the czar, to whom he was still irreconcilable. General Poniatowski, a person of extraordinary abilities, and who had saved his master after the battle of Pultowa, was now agent of his intrigues in the seraglio. Several persons of the

first rank there, and particularly the sultan's mother, received such favorable impressions of the young christian hero, that they did all in their power to second his designs, and things were long there in a very fluctuating state with regard to Russia. War was sometimes threatened, and then again peace was confirmed; and as there had been several grand vizirs during these two years, it was given out, though with little foundation, that the king of Sweden advanced and disgraced them at pleasure, according as they seemed inclinable to execute his revenge. At last Baltagi Mahomet, who had been formerly a cleaver of wood, had the seals given him; and the party of king Charles at that time prevailing, the first command this minister received, was to march against the Muscovites with 200,000 men.

The palatine of Kiow, who fled with the king from Pultowa, had great sway over the kam of Tartary, as that prince always has among the Ottoman ministers. Soon after his misfortune, the palatine made a journey to the kam's court, from whom he received many signal favors, and in particular, firmly engaged him in the king of Sweden's interest. From this time forwards, all proper measures were consulted for bringing the porte into the same sentiments, and breaking the peace between Turkey and Russia, which, however, had been renewed in this very year. But now, what by insinuating the exorbitant greatness of the czar, especially since his defeat of the king of Sweden, and the danger which threatened the Ottoman empire from the increase of his power in the Black Sea; the bashaw of Bender, the mufti, the captain bashaw, or admiral, and at last the sultan himself, and the whole divan, (in which the kam of Tartary was present, and made a long speech) were brought to look upon a rupture as necessary; and accordingly the Russian ambassador was imprisoned in the castle of the Seven-Towers, according to the practice of the Turks in such cases, about the middle of November, 1710, just at the time

when the new vizir Baltagi was advanced to his office. No sooner did the czar hear of this step, but he began to make preparations for his own defence. Yet willing, if possible, to prevent a rupture, he wrote several letters to the sultan, offering to refer their differences to other potentates. He received no answer to these, but instead thereof, heard that a manifesto was sent to all the officers and governors of the Ottoman empire, commanding them to prepare for the ensuing war. Upon this he gave orders for the defence of Asoph, and sent thither vice-admiral Vander Cruys, with 300 good sea-officers, leaving to prince Menzikoff the command of all his forces in Livonia, Ingria, and Finland. He then set out in person for Moscow, the more readily to attend his new levies, and to despatch an army into the Ukrania. The generals Repnin, Al-lard and Galliczin, conducted across Poland, in three columns, the best part of his troops that were in Sam-gitia and Lithuania; which he soon increased to 100,000 men, by ordering one in four of all that were able to bear arms, and the second of all the valets of the nobility, to repair to his standard. Apaka Taquin, prince of the Kalmucks, sent him 25,000 men; and prince Romanadowski advanced against the Tartars with the militia, which made the whole army 150,000, exclusive of prince Menzikoff's forces. His majesty also published a manifesto, setting forth at large the infidelity and treachery of the Turks, and asserting the justice of his own cause. And as the sultan had sent an aga to Vienna, to prevent the emperor's taking umbrage at this rupture with the czar, his Russian majesty transmitted thither a short declaration, that it might be communicated to the Turkish minister, and vindicated himself in case his proposals were disregarded. As this piece contains a brief deduction of the whole quarrel, I chuse rather to give it a place, than represent the particulars of it in other words.

“WHEREAS we have received information, from divers places, that the Ottoman porte endeavors to jus-



tify the violation of peace, by a war already declared against us, and actually begun, by the irruption of the Tartars into our territories: and for that purpose, charges us with several groundless matters, by which, they pretend they were forced to come to a rupture; and amongst others, as if we were not inclined to continue in peace with them, but had actually resolved to begin a war: as also, that contrary to the peace concluded with the Ottomans, we had erected several new fortifications on our frontiers; suffered our troops to enter the Turkish dominions; and that we would not give them leave to convoy the king of Sweden in safety back to his own territories: we have thought it necessary to declare here openly, that we never had the least intention to break, in any manner whatsoever, the peace concluded between us and the Ottoman porte, and to enter into a war with the Turks; but the same has hitherto been religiously and inviolably observed by us. The fortifications erected by us, are likewise in no respect against the treaty, but upon our own territories, which partly belonged to us of old, and partly were yielded to us by the treaty, and the limits marked out by the commissaries on both sides, which have been fixed many years ago; and it is therefore to be wondered, that the porte should take occasion to complain thereof at this juncture. Our troops never entered on the Turkish dominions, but remained only upon the frontiers; and although they did some time ago, according to the laws of war, pursue their enemy into the Turkish territories, and seized them therein; which, however, was done in such places where there were no inhabitants; yet all this, as well as other matters, were fully settled and adjusted, in the confirmation of peace renewed last year, whereby the porte did likewise stipulate with our ambassador, that they should convoy the king of Sweden, with 500 Turks, through Poland, and that we should guard him by our officers from the frontiers; to which we not only consented, but also promised to procure the like consent from the king

and republic of Poland. But this being not accepted by the porte, on account of several pretences, we did at last, in two of our letters to the sultan, and by our ambassador and privy-counsellor Tolstoi at Constantinople, declare that we would suffer the king of Sweden to pass through Poland free and unmolested, into his own dominions; and to that end did permit him a guard of 5000 Turks, to send him safe through Poland; whereby our peaceable temper sufficiently appears, and that on our part, we have contributed whatever might prevent all manner of disturbance, and maintain a good correspondence, and neighborly friendship with the Ottoman porte: and that all the world may be sensible thereof, we confirm here, with our former declaration, and offer, before a tedious war be commenced, to accommodate matters with the Porte, and to live in a neighbourly amity with her, as formerly: and notwithstanding, in order to provide for our preservation and security, (after we have been informed from all parts of a rupture, and that the war is actually declared against us at Constantinople, and our ambassador carried prisoner to the seven towers) we have caused our troops to march to the Turkish frontiers; they shall, however, not undertake any hostilities, provided the Turks live on their part peaceably; put a stop to all preparations of war, and set our ambassador, with all his retinue, at liberty; and we will, as soon as we are sufficiently assured of these things by the Ottoman Porte, order our forces to withdraw from the frontiers, and facilitate, as much as in us lies, a friendly accommodation. So we willingly accept, and herewith desire the mediation of his imperial majesty, her majesty the queen of Great-Britain, and their high mightinesses the states general. But in case the porte, without any occasion given her by us, should persist in her resolution to break the peace with us, and begin the war with us; we declare before God, and all the world, that we are excusable, and not guilty of all the blood that may be spilt on this occasion: and we have

an entire confidence in God, that he will assist our just cause, and prosper our arms with victory, against an enemy who breaks treaties, and who but a year ago, by so many oaths and promises, confirmed and renewed the peace with us."

Every unprejudiced person must be convinced, from this declaration, that the czar was forced into this war. There was no avoiding it, and his majesty made all possible preparations, notwithstanding the business he had already on his hands. The kam's sudden irruption was attended with bad consequences; he took several small places, penetrated as far as Samara, and burnt 150 small vessels that lay there for transports. His son, the sultan Galga, and Potocki palatine of Kiow, advanced along the Borysthænes, distributing manifestos every where as they went, and raising contributions on the country; but at last, sitting down before Bialocerkiw, prince Galliezin came up before they could take the citadel, put them to flight, killed 5000 of their men, and retook all the prisoners, and the booty they had made.

The czar had created a senate at Moscow the year before, consisting of nine boyars; and having settled with these the affairs of government in his absence, he went directly to the main army, which, with an expedition scarcely credible, marched to the borders of Moldavia, over a tract of near 2000 miles. They were in all about 80,000 men, of whom half at least were horse. The czar expected Cantemir, hospodar or prince of Moldavia, who had lately been so created by the porte, to join him with all the forces in his power, which he did not doubt would be the greatest part of his subjects. But the Moldavians are often in a different interest from their master, and as the Turks never oppress them, they had rather live under their protection than under that of the Muscovites, who on former occasions had used them ill. It was to little purpose therefore that his majesty published a manifesto, addressed to them and the Walachians, exhorting them

to join and assist him, and promising to come upon the banks of the Danube, in order to redeem them from the Turkish yoke, and establish them in the free enjoyment of their religion and liberties. Nor had the declaration of Cantemir himself, upon his going over to the czar, any better effect, though it threatened the severest penalties on those who assisted the Ottomans.

Brancovan, hospodar of Walachia, had also promised to revolt to his czarish majesty, as soon as he should appear in Moldavia with 30,000 men. This was a fatal agreement to the Russian monarch, who, depending on the supplies which Brancovan was to bring, advanced over the Pruth of Jassy, the capital of Moldavia, where Cantemir indeed joined him; but the other, knowing his stipulation to be discovered by the porte, made a merit to the Turks of betraying the czar, and leaving him destitute of provisions, among a people no way his friends. In this situation the Turkish army found him, and his majesty, pent up between them and the river Pruth, was so sensible of his own danger, that he was heard to say, "I am at least in as bad a condition as my brother Charles was at Pultowa." As the several particulars of this march, and the action and peace that followed it, fill up one of the most remarkable periods of the czar's life, and the only considerable one wherein he was unfortunate in his own person, I shall relate as many of them as are come to light; for all are not so even to this day.

When his majesty first came upon the borders of Moldavia, victory seemed to attend him. Three thousand Turks that were posted over against Ruskow, to dispute the passage of the Niester, fled before 2000 Muscovite grenadiers, and all the army passed over without molestation. When he came near the Pruth, an advanced party of dragoons, commanded by general Renne, surprised a small garrison near the mouth of that river, where the Turks had made a magazine. It was apparently then his interest to have marched directly to the Danube, and prevented the Ottomans

coming over : but the grand vizir, after some months tedious preparation, came forward with such expedition while the czar was at Jassy, that he crossed that river above the mouth of the Pruth, before his majesty well knew him to be upon the road, and surrounded the Russian army, already pretty much reduced, with 150,000 men. Mean while, 40,000 Tartars galled it on the right, left and rear, by continual excursions, in which they surprised and carried off many people, and a prodigious number of horses. They also cut off all provisions and intelligence, so that the czar knew nothing of what the enemy was doing. The Moldavians and Walachians that had joined him, seeing the Turks approach, immediately went over to them ; only the hospodar of Moldavia, with a few other persons of note, continued faithful to his majesty.

The enemy being advanced, appeared at least three times as numerous as the Russians. Hereupon the czar caused his army to retire, and disposed it behind a line of chevaux de frise, where the enemy came up and attacked it. The Turks were received with such a strong and regular fire, that after an action of four hours, in which the Janissaries were often relieved, they retreated towards evening out of the reach of the Russian artillery. The Russians then enlarged their entrenchments, and posted 10,000 dragoons to defend them against 20,000 Janissaries, who came up the next morning, supported by a large body of horse. This day there was another obstinate engagement, in which abundance of lives were lost, though more of the Turks than of the Russians. But the former being still reinforced, and seeming resolved to carry the lines, and the Tartars at the same time harrassing them in the rear, assisted by 10,000 Turkish foot, his majesty thought proper to turn the action into a running fight. The men took up the chevaux de frise, which they carried by relieving each other, and when the enemy pressed too closely, threw them down again in a line, and poured in a fresh volley of shot upon them. At

last, finding a convenient situation to encamp and entrench, the czar halted again, and the Turkish infantry coming up, both armies were furiously engaged till night. In these two days actions, the Turks lost about 12,000 men, and the Russians about 7000. There was yet a probability that the latter would be entirely victorious, had the enemy been all in front; especially as the Turks began to be disheartened, and to call to mind some of their old prophecies, from which they conjectured providence was against them.

At last the vizir came up with the whole Turkish army; but dared not to attack the Russian camp, which was defended in front by a morass, on the right wing by a winding branch of the Pruth, and on the left by a hill, which they had entrenched. The indefatigable count Poniatowski, who was at this time in the vizir's camp, would have had that minister starve out the Russians, which he might have infallibly done: but the vizir chose rather to bring up his artillery and cannonade them in their camp with 50 large field-pieces. The Russians had no possible defence against these; nor could they attempt to cross the river, on account of the whole Tartar army, which now hovered over the opposite shore. In this distress the soldiers and inferior officers were for drawing out immediately, and giving battle in the open field. But the czar was too prudent a general to risk his whole army, and his own liberty, while he could possibly prevent it, against near ten times the number of men, and who had the advantage too of situation. His majesty afterwards confessed, that in all his life he never felt so much uneasiness as now. Not a general in the army had presenc of mind, on this occasion, to think of any salutary means for their preservation.

In the midst of this general consternation, the gallant Catharine, already the partner of his majesty's bed, and who never forsook him in the 'greatest extremity, had the good fortune to hit on the expedient wanted. She held a private council with the general

officers, and the vice-chancellor Schaffirof, in which she proposed the sending a letter to the vizir, to sue for peace. They all came into her sentiment, and the vice-chancellor wrote a letter in his master's name. The czar had shut himself up in his tent, commanded that nobody should come near him, and, in despair of relief, without provision for one day's subsistence, given orders for an attack the next morning, with bayonets at the end of the soldiers' muskets. Catharine, notwithstanding his prohibition, boldly carried in the letter, and with much difficulty prevailed on him to sign it. She instantly sent it away, accompanied, some say, with all her own money and jewels, and whatever she could borrow from the general officers; but de la Motraye, who was in the Turkish camp, denies that any other presents were brought than some fine skins of sables. However that was, the message opened the way for a treaty, and his majesty's wisdom accomplished all the rest. Schaffirof was admitted to the vizir's tent, whose first demand was, that the czar, with his whole army, should surrender at discretion. "My master, (says the chancellor) intends to give you battle in a quarter of an hour, and all his men will sooner be cut in pieces than submit to dishonorable conditions." Osman Aga, the vizir's lieutenant, seconded the Russian minister: and as the vizir himself was no soldier, he thought it safer to take the advice of one that was, than hazard a battle with troops who must needs be desperate. He granted a truce for six hours, and in that time a treaty was concluded, by which the czar agreed to give up Asoph, with its territories and districts; to demolish Taiganrog, and other forts which he had erected on the Turkish side; not to concern himself with the affairs of Poland, nor with the Cossacks who had been under the Porte; to grant the king of Sweden a free and safe passage, and to release all Turkish prisoners. On these conditions he had liberty to march off with his whole army, with all their baggage and ammunition, as if they had returned from a victory.

Poniatowski, when he saw the czar's fate, as he thought, inevitable, had sent post for his master to come to the camp, and feed his eyes with the spectacle of his rival's misfortune. Charles arrived just as the peace was concluded, and was greatly mortified to find the vizir inflexibly just to his agreement. He begged only 20,000 men, and promised with those to recover the advantage which the other had given away. Poniatowski used all his eloquence to persuade the Turk to a compliance, and urged the czar's protestations of friendship to the king of Sweden in 1700, at the same time that he was preparing to fall upon his dominions, as a reason for infringing this treaty in the king of Sweden's favor. But all would not do, and the king of Sweden, after a little reproach thrown on the vizir, scornfully turned round on his heel, and rode back to Bender. This memorable peace was signed on the 21st of July, 1711, to the immortal honor of the czarina (for by that title she was soon after acknowledged) and the entire ruin of all Charles's intrigues, during the two years he had been in Turkey.

The vizir had insisted, during the treaty, that the hospodar Cantemir should be delivered up, as a rebel to the sultan; and most of the czar's courtiers were for agreeing to it; but his majesty would by no means consent to sacrifice the life of a prince, who had already abandoned a principality in his service. The hospodar was therefore shut up in the czarina's coach, and the ambassadors were ordered to tell the Turks that he was not in the army; so that the article for surrendering him was thrown out. He continued ever after in high esteem with the czar, who settled on him several estates, and a pension of 20,000 rubles per annum. Cantemir was a very learned prince; he wrote a history of the Ottoman, or (as he calls it) Othman empire, in Greek and Latin, and had a son not long since ambassador at the court of Great Britain.

The czar had two other unfortunate princes under his protection. Conto Cantacuzeno, son, by a sister of



prince Cantemir, to the hospodar of Walachia, who was strangled at Constantinople, was a major-general in the Russian service, and had a pension of 5000 rubles. The other was Militetski prince of Georgia, who was divested of his sovereignty by the schah of Persia, and died at Moscow. An only son of this prince, whom the czar had promised to restore to his father's dominions, was taken prisoner in the battle of Narva, where he commanded the artillery.

His ezarish majesty never ceased, during all these transactions, to carry on his designs at Petersburgh, and in particular to prepare a good fleet: but the situation of affairs would not yet suffer him to honor that place with his presence. Since the Swedes would not consent to the execution of the neutrality, as stipulated by the alliance against France, his ezarish majesty, and the kings of Poland and Denmark, were no longer obliged to observe it. They all joined now in a body, to push general Crassau in Pomerania, where he lay for some time unmolested. The king of Poland published a long manifesto, in which he set forth the reasons of these new hostilities; urging, that the king of Sweden, notwithstanding what had been concerted for the peace of the empire, had greatly augmented his army there; had ordered some Danish ships to be attacked, which belonged to provinces included in the neutrality; had protested against the said neutrality; had sent the rebel Smiegieski, with a manifesto from Stanislaus, and some troops, to make an irruption into Poland, and excite the Poles to rebellion; concluding, that the measures now taken by the northern allies, were not contrary to the interest of the emperor, or of the allies against France."

The king of Denmark entered Pomerania, with a body of 20,000 men, on the 7th of August, 1711, and being joined in September by 12,000 Saxons, the united troops invested Stralsund. This place, strong by nature, and well fortified, could not be taken without first securing the island of Rugen: but the Swedes hav-

ing there a powerful army, which they constantly increased by new recruits ; being able likewise to bring provisions into the town, and keep the sea open by their fleet ; it was found impracticable, after some efforts, to take either the town or the island at this time ; though 15,000 Muscovites, and a strong Danish fleet, came up before the enterprise was abandoned.

Some time was spent on the frontiers of Tartary, in settling matters with the Turks according to the treaty, before the czar could appear personally in these western parts. At last he arrived at Warsaw in Poland ; went from thence to Carlsband, where he drank the waters ; proceeded next to Dresden ; and having concluded a negociation with the king of Prussia's minister, arrived at Targau on the 24th of October. Here he staid to solemnize the nuptials of his only son, with the princess Charlotte Christina Sophia of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel ; a match that had been concerted for some time before. The marriage was performed by a Greek priest, with no great ceremony ; the czar utterly refusing all extraordinary pomp and expense, which the duke of Wolfenbuttel would gladly have been at. The consequence of this union was still less happy than the solemnization of it was splendid, as we shall see hereafter. What the czar aimed at in thus varying from the custom of his ancestors, who had seldom or never married their sons out of their own dominions (besides his general reason of establishing an intercourse with foreign nations) was in particular to get admission, by this means, into the diet of the empire. But this project of his never succeeded ; and though some time after he offered, as sovereign of Livonia, to receive from the emperor the investiture of that duchy, which had formerly been a fief of the empire, promising as a member to send 25,000 men for his quota against France, the diet was too cautious to accept his proposal, pretending that it might engage them in all the quarrels in Poland, but really dreading to have so powerful a prince admitted into their college.

The czar, immediately after the wedding, set out for Silesia; and at the beginning of November the czarewitz, with his new consort, departed on his way to Petersburgh. When they came to Königsberg in Prussia, his czarish majesty again met them, and they were all magnificently entertained by the governor. They then continued their journey, through Riga and Revel, where the czar was most respectfully received by his new subjects, and arrived in December at Petersburg, whither his majesty was now called by some new troubles with the Turks, excited by the Swedish and French factions.

It was agreed by the treaty of the Pruth that the king of Sweden should have free liberty to return to his dominions, and the vizir did all that he was able to send that monarch home; but he being soon after deposed (though not, as was pretended, by the king of Sweden's influence) and Charles continuing obstinately resolved that he would not return, but on certain conditions of his own imagining, the czar, who expected the execution of this part of the treaty, had not been over hasty in performing his own. This was represented to the sultan, under the administration of a new vizir, so much to his majesty's disadvantage, that a resolution passed at the porte for renewing the war, and the circular letters were issued out to the several bashaws. But the vigilance of the czar and his ministers at Constantinople, prevented the bad consequences of this resolution; his majesty, by ordering Asoph to be immediately demolished, and the ambassadors, by remonstrating their master's case in an audience obtained of the vizir, in which they were seconded by the English and Dutch ministers. The letter for renewing the war was dated in December, 1711, and in the April following a new treaty was concluded between Russia and the porte, by which the czar agreed to withdraw his troops out of Poland, and to let the king of Sweden return unmolested to his dominions, when and in what manner the sultan pleased. Neither par-

ty was to erect any forts between Asoph and Ciraski, nor at Kamenieck and Savar ; but the sultan might rebuild the fort of Cinola, over against Asoph. The czar was to restore or pay for sixty pieces of brass cannon that were in Asoph when he took it ; and this peace was to continue 25 years, within which time it might be renewed.

This treaty, concluded and executed with great sincerity on both sides, was a new mortification to the king of Sweden ; and as the English and Dutch ministers, sir Robert Sutton and count Colyear, were thought to be instrumental in procuring it, that prince could not help expressing his resentment against them. Sir Robert, in particular, was branded as acting without order from his mistress, and his majesty even wrote to England, to accuse him with espousing the czar's interest, and requiring no less satisfaction than the having him recalled and disgraced.

But neither had these remonstrances any effect against the English minister, nor did the treaty which occasioned them long continue. The sultan again suffered himself, before the end of the year, to be prevailed on by the kam of Tartary, and the French and Swedish ministers, upon the pretence that some Russian troops were still in Poland. This indeed was the only article in which the treaty of Moldavia was not precisely executed ; nor was it fairly infringed even in this, since Elbing and Thorn, the towns his czarish majesty held in Poland, were conquests made upon the Swedes, and of right to continue in his possession till the war with Sweden was over. But as the sultan, at this time received all his information from persons in the interest of Charles, (one of whom, an aga of the Janissaries, was sent expressly into Poland to learn the truth of the affair) he was made to believe what the faction thought proper. War was actually declared against Russia, and the czar's two ambassadors, count Schaffirof and young Czeremetoff, were imprisoned in the seven towers. The sultan came with his whole

court to Adrianople, in order to be nearer the place of action. His resentment even fell upon the ambassadors of the czar's ally, king Augustus, who were seized and imprisoned upon the road: it was resolved that Charles should be conducted home with splendor, that Stanislaus should be replaced on the throne of Poland; and the war, in short, seemed inevitable.

The great actions of sovereigns, which make such a figure on the theatre of life, are often no more than the effects of intrigue, in which the monarch is perhaps the dupe of his own creatures. This was now the case with sultan Aehmet, whose favorite, Ali Coumourgi, having some designs in view, which required the friendship of the czar, turned the tide of all these preparations, persuaded his master that he had been imposed on by persons in the interest of the king of Sweden, brought over the vizir and mufti, who had before declared for war, and got the treaty renewed. Augustus, at the same time, found means to gain the kam of Tartary, the most dangerous enemy the czar had on that side; and the king of Sweden, who was big with expectation of his favorite revenge, saw himself at once deserted, and received orders to leave the Turkish territories. Everyone is acquainted with his obstinate behavior on this occasion, and the violent measure the Turks were obliged to take, in order to reduce him to reason. He beheld with regret those ambassadors caressed, who had just before been imprisoned; and was a witness to the public rejoicings they made in Constantinople, to which all the foreign ministers were invited, upon the anniversary of the battle of Pultowa.

Among the other spectacles, exhibited during this entertainment, were two beautiful figures, each of two hearts united; the one inscribed, "Long live the emperor Peter I. and the empress Catharine;" and the other, "Long live the prince imperial Alexis, and the princess Charlotte." We have related the marriage of this latter couple, and must here take notice, that

the czar, during the dispute between him and the Turks, had publicly solemnized his marriage with his consort Catharine, to whom he was long before privately betrothed. This ceremony was called his majesty's old wedding, to signify its being only a publication of what was before done; and the nobility were invited to it under that denomination. The czar appeared in the habit of an admiral, attended by his sea officers, two of whom were the bride men, and who in general had the chief share in the solemnity. It was celebrated at prince Menzikoff's palace, where the evening was concluded by a splendid ball. The habit of admiral was so much the more proper at this time, as the Muscovites now first began to see a fleet growing up at Petersburg, to which his majesty contributed not only his personal directions, but even his bodily labor. One ship, of 5½ guns, in which himself had been chief carpenter, was soon after launched and called the Pultowa. He also put on the stocks many galleys, a sort of vessels before unknown in those seas, but which were indeed the most proper for the shallow coasts of Sweden and Finland. We shall soon see what use he made of them.

Prince Menzikoff was already in Pomerania, at the head of 36,000 men, when his czarish majesty arrived there, with his consort and son; but as the attempt on Stralsund had failed of success, and the united armies had nothing farther to do this season than to secure themselves behind their lines, and to keep Stetin blocked up, the active spirit of this monarch would not suffer him to attend these slow operations, but carried him away to Berlin, after he had given the command of his troops to king Augustus. Here mutual civilities passed for some days between their czarish and Prussian majesties, and then the former set out for Carelsbad, in order to drink the waters, from which he had before received benefit. Mean time count Steinbock made a sally out of Stralsund, leaving the defence of it to the burghers and a select garrison. It was ex-

pected he was going to force the enemy's lines; but instead of that, he took on a sudden the route of Mecklenburg, got possession of Rostock, and laid the whole dutchy under heavy contributions. This success of the Swedes, and the hazard there was on both sides in coming to a battle, induced king Augustus to think of a cessation of arms, which was agreed to for three months.

This separate agreement of the king of Poland a little startled the czar and the king of Denmark, who began to suspect him of carrying on a private treaty. The Danish monarch was then coming back from the dutchy of Bremen, where he had bombarded Stada, a strong town on the Elbe, and obliged the garrison, after a vigorous defence, to surrender at discretion, before count Steinbock could come up to their assistance. He had burnt the place to ashes, which served Steinbock soon after for a pretence to exercise a much greater cruelty. His majesty's intention was to join as soon as possible the Muscovite troops, which were also advancing to meet him; but he had the misfortune to be strengthened only by a few Saxon squadrons, before the Swedish general came up with him, on the 20th of December, 1712, at a place called Gadebush, near a river of that name, in the dutchy of Mecklenburg. The Danes and Saxons were posted with a morass between them and a wood before, which, with the superiority of their numbers, gave them all possible advantage. Steinbock, notwithstanding, led on his troops, which were about 12,000, over the morass, through the fire of the Danish artillery, and began one of the most bloody engagements that ever had happened between the two nations. After an action of three hours, the Swedes remained masters of the field, having entirely routed the Danes.

As the Saxons did not engage, they made the best of their way to rejoin the Russians, that they might be in a condition together to oppose the victors, who, it was now thought would attempt to penetrate into Poland.

But count Steinbock, far from doing as they expected, and as in policy he ought to have done, turned away towards Holstein, in order to take up his quarters in the king of Denmark's territories, for which he had the directions of the Swedish regency. Here the first thing he attempted was upon the town of Altena, which stood a little below the city of Hamburg, and by the encouragement of its sovereign, the king of Denmark, was become no insignificant rival in trade to that famous mart. Steinbock peremptorily summoned the inhabitants to evacuate the place with their effects, telling them he was resolved to destroy it immediately. The magistrates fell on their knees before him, and offered him 100,000 crowns for the ransom of their town: but he insisted upon twice that sum, and as they could not instantly raise it, the soldiers, who had already their torches lighted, began to kindle the flames. A strong north wind assisted them, and by 10 o'clock in the morning, on the 10th of January, 1713, there was scarce any sign of a building, where the midnight before stood a large and populous town. Bed-rid old people, and women newly delivered, were obliged to escape into the fields, where most of them perished by the extreme cold weather. Not a soul of them could get admitted into Hamburg; for which the Hamburgers pretended the infectious distempers that had been in Altena, but were suspected of acting thus from another motive, that mean one of utterly suppressing the people they had feared.

Steinbock excused himself to the generals of Poland and Denmark, and the ministers of other powers, who complained of this unwarranted piece of cruelty, by urging what the Danes had before done at Stade, though indeed that was far from being a parallel case. "War, he said, was not the theatre of lenity and moderation; nor was Lewis XIV. who permitted the burning of the Palatinate, or marshal Turenne, who executed it, ever thought more barbarous than other men. If there was any blame in such things, the charge must fall upon



the northern allies, and not on him, who had but followed their example."

While the Swedes and their enemies were acting on these terms of violence against each other, his czarish majesty had the pleasure to see all his great designs going forward at home, and to hear that the fame of his actions had reached the centre of all Asia, and brought an ambassador from Persia to Moscow, where he had made a most magnificent entry, and now waited his majesty's return. The czar, however, did not go thither immediately, but having first concerted the operations of the next campaign, paid a visit to the unhappy remnant of the inhabitants of Altena. He greatly compassionated their distressed condition, distributed 1000 rubles among their poor, and promised them considerable privileges in their trade with his subjects.

About this time the starost Grudzinski, who had gone over to the king of Sweden, made an irruption into Poland, surprised general Baur's regiment, and met with such success, that if the king of Sweden and Stanislaus, had been there in person, the latter, in all likelihood, would have regained the throne. But the insurmountable obstinacy of Charles, which kept him still a voluntary exile in a remote country, defeated all the good effects of the advantages gained by his troops, was the reason that Grudzinski was again surprised in his turn, and that Steinboeck himself lost, by piecemeal, all that he had gained in several great actions. Such a fatal influence has the absence of a chief upon all military affairs, and so contrary was the conduct of the Swedish to that of the Russian monarch, whose want of prudence never threw a shade over the lustre of his valor, except we allow, (what may yet be disputed) it did so in the fatal action at the river Pruth.

The troops of the allies now advanced by several ways, in order as well to enclose the Swedes, as to be able to join on a proper occasion. Four thousand Russians, under general Baur, carried the bridge of Hollingstedt, which was defended by a party of Swedes,

made several prisoners, and afterwards broke down the bridge; Steinbock, upon this, perceived the mistake in his own conduct, and had no way to prevent his immediate ruin, but by entrenching himself between Frederickstadt, Husum and Tonningen. Hither the czar advanced, and on the 12th of February, at the head of only five battalions and some dragoons, attacked and became master of the entrenchments: upon which the garrison at Frederickstadt betaking themselves to flight, his majesty took possession of the town, with all the enemy's baggage, and about 300 prisoners. The distress to which general Steinbock was now reduced, occasioned that famous retreat into Tonningen, which not only for that season put an end to all action in the field, but gave a pretext for the sequestration of the duke of Holstein's estates, that prince being then a minor.

The bishop of Lubeck, uncle to the duke, governed this unhappy and divided country, under the name of administrator; and being willing at the same time to prevent the loss of the Swedish army, to preserve the appearance of a neutrality, and to avert the war from the dominions of his pupil, he had recourse to artifice, the mean and dangerous refuge of weak minds.—When Steinbock demanded of him admittance into the castle of Tonningen, he ordered Wolf the governor to receive the Swedish troops, but never to own he had any such order, and take all the blame of the action on himself. They were accordingly admitted; but the duke, the administrator, and Steinbock, all paid dearly for their contrivance: for the czar, with the kings of Denmark and Poland, resenting this infraction of the neutrality, formed the blockade of Tonningen, and so effectually kept all provisions from the little Swedish army, (which still consisted of about ten thousand men, including the sick and wounded) that the general was obliged, on the 17th of March, 1713, to surrender that and himself to the king of Denmark. It was in vain that he pretended he had got into the

town by stratagem, and that the governor swore the same : a copy of the treaty was found among the general's papers, and Wolf afterwards confessed the secret. It was in vain that the administrator applied to the courts of Berlin and Hanover, to beg their mediation with the king of Denmark ; who was glad of this occasion to seize the young prince's territories, most of which he has kept ever since. Pomerania, all but Stralsund, the isle of Rugen, and some neighboring places, fell immediately after into the hands of the allies, and were sequestered in the keeping of the king of Prussia. At the same time the dutchies of Bremen and Verden, since made over to the elector of Hanover, were filled with Danish garrisons.

Whatever was conquered on that side, though by the troops of the czar, was got only for those allies who were members of the empire ; a rank which his majesty had not been able to obtain. This made him the more intent on another part of the war, in which, as he acted alone against the enemy, so he had no rival in his claim on the new acquisitions. He left Toningen even before Steinbock surrendered, and assured his allies that he would find work for the Swedes on the side of Finland. In his way home he took the courts of Hanover, Wolfenbuttel and Prussia, conversed with the sovereigns of each, and was particularly charmed with the princess dowager Sophia, at that time heir to the crown of Great-Britain : then posting from thence to Dantzick and Konigsberg, he found the czarina at Riga, newly delivered of a princess, whom he called Maria Petrowna. Prince Menzikoff had the command of the Russian forces that were left behind in Germany, where he added not a little to the glory of his majesty's arms, in the reduction of Stetin, taking the isle of Rugen, and driving away the remains of the Swedish troops : then, having in his way raised contributions on the cities of Hamburgh, Lubeck and Dantzick, upon some pretensions, which soldiers never want, took the road to Petersburgh, where

the czar was newly arrived from his expedition into Finland.

For no sooner was the monarch in his new capital, but he made preparations for a descent on that country. Having got together from Revel, Narva, and other parts, about 200 transports; with these, 20 men of war, and 100 gallies, he set sail from Petersburgh, and meeting with a favorable wind, landed 12,000 men at Helsingfors, a small town on the gulph. General Lubekker, who was posted there with some Swedish troops, made no resistance, but retired precipitately to Abo, the capital of the province. Ill success on the side of the Swedes had quite changed the face of the war, and the terror, which for some years they every where carried, was now transferred to the Muscovites. The czar forced the passage of Caresloio, defended by 800 men, and coming up to Abo, found the place abandoned to him. His majesty took here a very valuable collection of books, which he transferred to his new library at Petersburgh.

The Swedish army, consisting of 7000 old soldiers, was retreated to the side of Thavasthus, and there lay strongly entrenched, at a place called the *Passage of Pulkona*. Lubekker being recalled, general Arnfeldt was sent in his room, and brought with him a large body of new recruits. This addition of strength, and the advantage of their situation, obliged the Russians to halt when they came within sight of their camp, and cover themselves also with an entrenchment. As there was no coming at the enemy in front, the Russian generals Apraxin, Butterlin, and Shermishew, attempted to pass over some deep morasses in their rear, that were now covered with water. While the Swedes thought themselves prepared for a long defence, advice was brought their general that 7000 Muscovites were coming over about a quarter of a league behind them, having got together a number of boats, pontoons and floats of timber. Arnfeldt posted a party of horse where he expected them to land, with a large body of

foot to support it. But the wind turning in favor of the Russians, brought such a thick fog upon the Swedes, that they did not perceive their enemy till prince Galliezin attacked their horse, and obliged them to retire. The 7000 men were almost landed before general Arnfeldt came up with the foot, when a warm action instantly began. At the first charge of the Swedish infantry, some of the Russians were driven back into the water; but these soon recovering their ground, after an action of four hours, the entrenchments were carried, and the Swedes put to flight, who retired towards Tammerfort. The Russians lost 700 men in this battle, but slew more of the enemy, took above 200 prisoners, with several pieces of cannon and eight colors. The Swedes would have rallied soon after the fight, had not prince Galliezin pursued them and given them another route near Lapla, where Arnfeldt had again entrenched; but could not now make head any longer. The whole province of Finland soon fell into the hands of the czar, who immediately fortified Thavasthus, to prevent the Swedes from penetrating into it again.

The czar was not present in the battle of Pulkona, having employed himself in the mean time at sea, where he narrowly escaped being cast away on the rocks. As the country suffered much in this war, his majesty ordered a manifesto to be published, wherein he charged the continuance of it to the king of Sweden, to whom he had frequently offered peace on very equitable conditions. Then, to make the best use of the present low condition of the enemy, he ordered colonel Schubajof, governor of Wyburg, to attack Nyslot, the chief fortress of Savolaxia, with a detachment of men from his garrison, and a train of artillery.—The governor did it with good success, and the place surrendered, by capitulation, on the 29th of June, 1714.

There had been a congress held at Brunswick since the battle of Pulkona, in the intermediate winter; but

as the conferences there came to nothing, his czarish majesty again resolved on a vigorous prosecution of the war, and to that purpose concerted new measures with the king of Denmark. In the mean time the arts of peace were not neglected, especially those which regarded the city of Petersburg, whither families from other parts were continually transferred, foreigners were allured by all the baits of encouragement, and where arts and sciences abundantly flourished. His majesty attempted at this time, to bring thither the trade which had hitherto been at Archangel; but this could not be fully effected till some years after, when the war was entirely over, and the navigation of the Baltic became free and open.

While prince Galliezin was in Finland, the czar put to sea with a fleet, to make a descent on Aland, an island about ten leagues from Stockholm. Europe was surprised to see 30 ships of the line, 80 gallies, and 100 half-gallies, with 20,000 men on board, set sail from a place where a few years before was neither ship nor harbor. The Swedes were alarmed, and sent out all the strength they could, under the command of admiral Wartrang, who at first gained some advantages on the coast of Abo. Admiral Apraxin commanded the Russians, and the czar served under him as rear admiral. They came up to the coast of Revel on the 15th of July, and on the 16th they saw the Swedish vice-admiral Lillie, with fourteen men of war. The czar, as rear admiral, desired to be sent with 25 gallies, to take a view of the Swedish fleet; which being granted, and his majesty judging, upon observation of Wartrang's situation, that their design might be to attack the Russian fleet, he sent for the admiral to come and join him.

Thirty-five gallies, in two squadrons, passed by the next day, between the Swedish fleet and the shore, and afterwards the whole Russian fleet forced a passage, with the loss of only one galley. Commodore Ismaiewitz, with 20 gallies, blocked up the Swedish rear-ad-

miral, and an officer was sent to summon him to surrender; which the rear-admiral refusing, an action ensued between him and the Russian van-guard, conducted by the czar in person, which lasted three hours, and ended in the taking of rear-admiral Ehrenschild, after he had made a most gallant defence. This victory, which was complete, was the more to the czar's honor, as the Swedish ships that engaged were much larger than the Russian, and threw a greater weight of metal. The Swedes lost near 1000 men, killed and taken, and as many vessels as mounted 116 guns, which, with the prisoners, were sent to Revel. The same day 16,000 Russians were landed in the isle of Aland, where they took prisoners all the Swedish soldiers, and sent them on board the czar's fleet. His majesty reduced the fort, and all the strong places in the island, intending to transport thither his troops that were in Finland, and to make a descent in the neighborhood of Stockholm, at the same time that the king of Denmark landed an army in Schonen. But the season putting an end to all the operations of this year, his majesty retook the route of Revel, and returned to Cronslot, with Ehrenschild's ship, three lesser ones, a frigate, and six gallies, all taken in the late action.

From Cronslot he sailed in triumph to Petersburg, followed by his victorious fleet and the ships he had taken. He was received under a triple discharge of 150 cannon. Then going on shore, he made a public entry through the city, with much the same ceremonies as before at Moscow; but with more secret pleasure to himself, as being done amidst 40,000 houses, all of his own raising in ten years time, and for a naval victory won by a nation who till his reign knew not what a fleet was.

This was indeed a new spectacle for Muscovy, and what the czar himself was perhaps surprised to exhibit so soon. The victors marched under a triumphal arch, and the czar, who triumphed less as the sovereign of Russia, than as the author of her marine, and the first

who had in person shown the use of it, appeared only in his quality of rear-admiral, in which he had fought. They proceeded to the citadel, where the vice-czar Romanodowski, seated upon a throne, and surrounded by twelve senators, ordered the rear-admiral to be brought before him, and received at his hands a relation of the battle. Then, after having asked him several questions, with the approbation of the council, he made him a vice-admiral in reward of his services. The slaves of the Romans was unnecessary to the czar Peter's triumph, whose only aim was to make his subjects emulous of merit. It must ever be remembered in these ceremonies, which might otherwise in some particulars appear insipid, that military subordination was one of the novelties the czar had introduced in Russia; and there could certainly be no way so effectual to recommend the innovation, as by thus submitting to it himself.

The Swedish rear-admiral, who had received seven wounds, was treated by the czar with the same generosity that general Renchild had been before. While they were sitting at table together, his majesty pointed him out to the Russian nobility, as an example of bravery, and fidelity to his master; telling the Swede at the same time, with a smile, that he forgave him the deaths of all the brave Russians he had slain him. There was something inexpressibly grand in his behavior on these occasions, which is peculiar to souls of the first rank, who alone can love that merit in others for which they value themselves; while weak minds are ever jealous and envious of every reputation but their own.



## BOOK VI.

*From the king of Sweden's return to his dominions, to the death of the Czarewitz.*

**T**HE king of Sweden having at last quitted the Turkish territories, in October, 1714, and rode incognito through Germany to Stralsund, after performing things at Bender beyond what romance ever feigned, his czarish majesty had again this formidable and active enemy to make head against. He was now strengthened however by his alliance with Denmark; whereas in the war in Poland and the Ukrain, when Sweden was in a much better condition, he had no assistant. But there was something to be done at home, before this monarch could again venture on a foreign war; and therefore, while the preparations were making, his majesty went on board one of the Russian vessels, which had a share in the late victory, and was built at Petersburgh; where, sitting amidst several old Russians, he addressed a discourse to them to the following effect:

“Is there a man among you, brethren, who thirty years ago thought of being employed with me in the art of ship-building? who ever dreamed of coming to settle on the shores of the Baltic, in a country conquered by our personal fatigues; to see soldiers and seamen, brave as we now behold, sprung from Russian blood; our sons coming home able men from remote countries; foreign artificers and tradesmen living in our dominions, and the most distant potentates shewing us marks of their esteem? The sciences, which inhabited antient Greece, expelled thence by the fatality of the times, spread first into Italy, and afterwards dispersed themselves over the rest of Europe:

but the perverseness of our ancestors fixed their utmost limits in Poland, where a better taste in the governors opened the eyes of the commonalty, and made them what the Grecians had been before. If you will but second my designs, and endeavor to shake off your blind obstinacy, and become voluntary agents in the pursuits of knowledge, Muscovy shall now shine forth in her turn. Who knows but the day may one time come, when the arts shall quit their abode in England, France and Germany, and transfer themselves for some centuries to dwell among us? Let me only recommend to you diligence and devotion, which I am persuaded, even in our life-time, will enable us to put other nations to the blush, and raise to the utmost the glory of the Russian name."

Though the old Russians outwardly applauded this speech, they did not yet seem very earnest to improve the contents of it. The czar, after near twenty years labor, was almost single in his great designs, which no genius but his own could ever have pursued amidst such discouragement. But as the men, especially the elder sort, appeared yet too uncomplying, he wisely concluded that the surest way to prevail on them, was to bring the fair sex, whose opinion and example are seldom ineffectual, to see the beauty of what he proposed. With this view he made an order, that the married nobility, who were in a condition to travel, should take their ladies along with them; and as this gave them a liberty which they had hitherto wanted, the women were infinitely pleased with the injunction, and did not a little contribute to promote the ends of it. We have since beheld yet more: we have seen two women sovereigns of Russia, who of their own choice have pursued the steps which the czar Peter had trod before them.

Ascherbi, ambassador from the kam of Usbeek, arrived at Petersburg on the 17th of May, with a retinue of 16 persons. He had an audience of the czar the next day; in which, after paying his compliments

in the eastern way, he recommended his master to his majesty's protection; desired that a neighboring Tartarian prince, the vassal of Russia, might be enjoined to live in amity with the Usbecks; offered the czar 50,000 soldiers on occasion, and some advantageous articles with regard to a trade with China. Then he laid at his majesty's feet a valuable present of silks and furs, styling him all along *the wise emperor*; which title, as it is the highest distinction in his country, may shew the good sense of a people whom we are apt to call barbarous. This ambassador was first minister to his master, and had been formerly his governor. He gave pertinent answers to several questions his majesty put to him, on which the czar made judicious reflections. M. Weber, his late majesty's minister at Petersburg as elector of Hanover, was present at these conferences, and has given a very particular account of them.

It was during the czar's abode this time at Petersburg, that he instituted the order of St. Catharine, in memory of the service he had received from the czarina at the river Pruth. That princess, who was chief of the order, and had the liberty of conferring it on what ladies she pleased to honor, appeared first in her collar on St. Andrew's day. The present czarina continues to wear it as sovereign, and has lately bestowed it on her royal highness the princess of Hesse Cassel, daughter of his Britannic majesty. A chapter of sister knights, all equally industrious with those I have mentioned, as it adds to the glory of the great institutor, may it not rival some more ancient orders of the other sex?

The administration of the czar's affairs, chiefly through his own necessary absence, had been greatly perverted since the year 1706. His majesty searched into the bottom of the disorder; found why his army had suffered so much, and been so ill paid; why so many workmen had miserably perished, trade had so sensibly decayed, and poverty spread over the country. The confusion his finances were in, and the misappli-

cation of monies raised, appeared to be the source of all these misfortunes. The czar Peter would screen no man from the infamy of his crimes : he instituted a grand inquisition, of which prince Dolhorucki was president, and the scrutiny was carried on with such severity, that most of the great men in the empire were found guilty. Menzikoff, Apraxin, and Bruce, as their commands in the army kept them continually from Petersburgh, excused themselves from the impossibility of their inspecting the matters under their care, and so threw off part of the blame on their unfaithful servants ; but had their purses, however, well drained, to make reparation. The rest, as they had nothing to urge in their own vindication, either underwent some bodily punishment, or were banished to Siberia, and had their estates confiscated.

The same cause which had contributed to this maladministration, had in some measure retarded the public buildings at Petersburgh. But now his majesty was on the spot, he not only carried on with vigor those that were already begun, but set others on foot. The fortifications were enlarged, the citadel strengthened, and in short, 40,000 men were found insufficient to carry on the several works : six thousand Swedish prisoners were sent for from the river Wolga, and the peasants of Finland were pressed into the service. In the mean time the encouragement to foreigners was renewed. They had lands given them to build on, and were exempted from taxes for ten years ; but whereas a great part of the houses were hitherto of wood, all who built for the future were enjoined to use only brick for the walls, and tiles for the roofs. Near 12,000 families were at this time introduced here from other places, and among them the czar John's widow, with the princesses her daughters.

When his majesty was the last year in Holstein, to animate the war there against the Swedes, he had spent a great part of his time in making observations of various kinds. He had caused his engineers to take

the plan of every city, and the designs of all the different mills and machines which were not in Russia. He had informed himself of every particular relating to husbandry, as well as the mechanics. At the city of Gottorp, which then belonged to the king of Denmark, he saw the famous globe, celestial and terrestrial, that was made from a design of Tycho Brahe, and so large that twelve persons might sit in the inside of it, round a table, and make their observations by turning it about. A curiosity so extraordinary could not but strike a man of Peter's temper, and make him desirous to have it in his own possession; nor could the king of Denmark deny it to his request. The great difficulty was how to get it home without damage, which was done first by conveying it in a frigate to Prussia, and from thence in a great sled over the snow to Riga, where it was again shipped for Petersburg. A large room was built there on purpose to receive it, for the use of the astronomers.

Though the northern war still continued, the disposition of things with regard to the czar was so altered, that all the difficulties of it might be said to be surmounted. I shall be the more brief, therefore, in the history of his following campaigns, which, as they do not afford such a variety of actions as the preceding, so are the affairs of them more complicated with those of other nations. The czar did not now fight to conquer, but to secure the possession of what he had conquered by an advantageous peace.

The king of Sweden, upon his return home, found himself surrounded with new enemies. The same obstinate temper that kept him from treating when in exile, occasioned him, the next day after his arrival at Stralsund, to give orders for renewing the military preparations, though he was then shut up in almost the only town that was left him of all his foreign dominions. He demanded the restitution of Pomerania, in very high terms, of the king of Prussia, in whose hands it had been sequestered by the allies. This de-

mand procured a manifesto from that prince, in which he set forth the reasons of his not complying with it, and asserted the justice of what he had done. Mean while the Prussian forces, with the Danes and Saxons, in all 36,000 men, invested Charles in Stralsund; the troops of Hanover, and others of Denmark, laid siege to Wismar; the czar, with 20 men of war, and 150 transports, having on board 30,000 soldiers, kept the Baltic, and hovered over the coasts of Sweden.

Never was a place attacked or defended with more bravery than Stralsund. According to the accounts of persons who were there, the actions performed by the king of Sweden, as well in the town as in the isle of Rugen, almost surpass belief, and were equalled only by what himself had done before. When the enemy had been two days in possession of the horn-work, and there was no possibility of a longer defence, he made his escape in a little bark, with only ten men, the ice being broke to let the vessel out; and in this manner he passed under a battery of twelve cannon. The next day, which was the 21st of December, Stralsund surrendered, and the king arrived safe at Isted, in Schonen. Wismar capitulated on the 24th of February following; which left the allies no more to do on that side the Baltic, and every one expected to see them invade Sweden itself.

Though the czar had hitherto done more than all the rest in the prosecution of this war, it was now owing to him that king Charles was not utterly ruined. At the same time that the Danes and Prussians could not conquer without him, they seemed resolved to let him have no share in their victories. His majesty had sent into Pomerania 12 or 15,000 men, under prince Czeremetoff, to facilitate the taking of the invested towns, and expected to have Wismar put into the hands of the duke of Mecklenburgh, then newly married to his niece, that the Russians might always have a retreat for their ships on that side: but so far were his desires from being complied with, that his troops were not

even suffered to appear in the siege. This, and some other signs of jealousy that for two years past had been shewn the czar, made him grow cold in a quarrel which it was no longer his interest to continue, and prevented his making a descent on Sweden, though he had it entirely in his power. Thus the jealousy of the czar's allies provoked him to spare an inveterate enemy, whom else he must have destroyed in his own defence; unless, what was not then likely, he could at last have persuaded him into pacific measures. All the Russian forces did this winter, was to make a few other conquests in Finland, where the Swedes that remained, were shut up in the fortress of Cajaneburg, situated on an inaccessible rock.

Having taken this view of the state of the war, I must turn back a little to some other affairs, which passed during his majesty's residence at Petersburg. He not only set up a new academy there, for riding, mathematics, and foreign languages; but took as much pains to know the true state of other countries, as to reform that of his own. With this view he sent M. Artiem Wolinski his ambassador into Persia, accompanied by several learned men, with instructions to get all possible information concerning the strength, extent; and condition of that empire. A very laudable curiosity this, and well deserving the expense of an embassy. But perhaps the reader may not be displeased to hear of two foreign ministers that arrived in the czar's dominions, the one at the beginning, the other about the end of the same year, on very different errands. The first was from the kam of the Kalmucks to prince Menzikoff, who had some time before presented the kam with an English made coach. One of the wheels of this machine was broke, and the subject of the embassy was, to entreat that his highness would send the monarch a new one. The other was from the emperor of China to Gagarin, governor of Siberia, praying that he would send him an able physician, and some medicines, that would provoke to

venery. Mr. Garwin, an English surgeon, went to China on this occasion, carrying with him the drugs desired.

As Russia is a country of such vast extent, there never passes a year without some alarms on the frontiers; which very little, if at all, affect the court, and sometimes are even over before the news of them come thither. The petty Tartar princes who are under the czar's protection, and those who are tributary to other monarchs, frequently decide their differences between themselves, or with very little assistance from the Russian governors. Thus there have been wars for years together between the vassals of Russia and those of China, without the emperors on either side engaging themselves, or their own proper forces therein; and at last peace has been made, and the limits fixed, by the lieutenants on either part. The Cossack, Cuban, and other Tartar nations, are often in arms to throw off their allegiance, and as often suppressed with little loss. For this reason I have omitted most of the insurrections of these people, as they were not attended with any consequence worthy a place in history; and shall only just observe here, that somewhat of this nature happened this winter; that the kam of Cuban's son was hanged, and a great many men and horses taken.

The most dangerous of all these irruptions are from the Tartars who are vassals to the porte, by whom they are usually spirited up and supported; and this is frequently the prelude to a rupture between the two empires. The czar apprehended they might attempt something this year in Poland, where affairs were yet in great confusion, and ordered some regiments that way to have an eye over them. But his majesty refused to carry his arms into that kingdom, though Augustus applied to him for succor against his mal-content subjects; chusing rather the peaceable province of becoming a mediator between the king and the republic; an honor, says M. de Voltaire, perhaps equal



to that of setting up a king. M. Darzow and prince Dolhorucki were his plenipotentiaries on this occasion ; but the negociations lasted a long time.

I before mentioned the marriage of the czarewitz with the princess of Wolfenbittel, and just hinted at the misfortunes of that amiable princess, who, by the gracefulness of her person, the submission she shewed to their majesties, and her uncommon humanity to all sorts of people, had commanded veneration from every rank and degree. She had the year before borne a daughter to her husband, at a time when he was absent at Carlsbad, in Germany, whither it was thought he went purely to be out of the way. On the 22d of October, 1715, she was delivered of a prince, who after his majesty, was christened Peter, and who succeeded the empress Catharine by the name of Peter II. But at the same time that Russia had a monarch given her, she lost one of the greatest ornaments she had ever enjoyed. The princess died on the first of November, in the 21st year of her age, having for five days before endured the most acute pains, and yet kept up a spirit of fervent devotion, giving comfort and admonitions to her weeping servants, who joined in prayer for her departing soul.

There is something uncommonly affecting in the history of this lady, as it is given us by M. Weber, who knew her personally, and was at Petersburgh when she died. The czarewitz knew it was his father's intention, as well to reclaim him from his indolent wicked course, as to make an alliance in the empire, to marry him with a German princess of high rank and generous education. But the depravity of the son's conduct had almost weaned the father of his paternal affection, and made him drop some intimations that unless he gave timely hopes of amendment, he should be deprived of the succession and thrust into a convent. Though he had an aversion to all foreigners, the young prince was wrought upon by his favorites, on the sight of his own danger, seemingly to fall in with his father's sen-

king of Denmark's territories, which they were ready to enter; but at the same time not to assist the Danes in making conquests on Sweden, which was already sufficiently reduced. The czar then proceeded to Altena, where he was met by the Danish monarch, who continued with him for some time in the neighborhood of that place. Here was concerted the famous descent on Schonen, in order to draw the king of Sweden out of Norway, into which he had now penetrated with 24,000 men. M. de Voltaire observes, that the world had not seen any general since Hannibal, who, when he could not make head against his enemies at home, went to attack them in their own dominions. But king Charles seemed little to regard what he lost, provided he could still conquer. Barren rocks, amid snow and ice, were more pleasant to him, when taken from an enemy, than the beautiful provinces he had been stripped of in the east and south.

From the dutchy of Holstein the czar and czarina went to Copenhagen, where they spent three months in the diversions of the Danish court. But at the same time that these were outwardly the czar's employment, he visited all the colleges, all the academies, and every private man who had acquired reputation in the learned world. There was no manner of ceremony in these visits, and it was just the same to the czar Peter whether the student waited upon him, or he upon the student. Every day he went out in boats, with two engineers, upon the coast of Denmark and Sweden, measuring all their bays, sounding all their depths, and making such exact charts of the whole, that not the smallest bank of sand escaped his notice. It was a proof that his ally had the highest veneration for his person and genius, since he did not attempt to hinder his getting these exact informations, which were almost enough to have excited jealousy.

There was yet a greater token of respect shewn to Peter the Great, during his residence at Copenhagen, when nations the most experienced in naval affairs, paid their submission to him, the first Russian who had

ever known the sea. The English and Dutch squadrons, under sir John Norris and commodore Grave, arrived in the sound to join the Russians and Danes, and all the flag-officers unanimously agreed to confer on him the command of this united fleet of four nations. In this quality the czar hoisted his flag, on the 13th of August, on board one of his finest ships; and his majesty declared that he never in his life had more satisfaction than in receiving this honor.

Notwithstanding that measures were so well concerted, and the defence of Norway neglected in favor of the intended descent, the orders for it were on a sudden countermanded, after the necessary dispositions had been agreed on, in a council of war between the two monarchs. All Europe was amazed at this behavior in the czar, who coldly alledged that the season was too far spent. The king of Denmark complained aloud of this breach of articles, in a manifesto, which leaves "providence and time to discover what might have induced his Russian majesty to take a step so prejudicial to the northern alliance." In the mean time no one doubted but he had very strong reasons for this piece of conduct, though they were not as yet apparent.

The king of Denmark was doubtless the first who proposed this invasion, and the czar readily came into it, as the only apparent means at that time of bringing the king of Sweden to terms. But after he saw, from repeated instances, that of all the allies his interest was the least regarded, and that the only way to secure himself, was to depend less upon others; he began to look with another eye on this attempt, which might possibly cost him the flower of his troops, and, if successful, would procure a peace for the rest, and bring the whole weight of the war again on himself. In this situation, it would have been hard for him to keep his new acquisitions; as probably one article of a separate agreement might be to assist the Swedes to

regain them, and so he would not only be left in the lurch, but pushed by those very allies whom he had hitherto supported. An accommodation between him and the king of Sweden, he knew, would be very hard to bring about; for as, on the one side, he should never consent to part with those sea-ports, which were so necessary for carrying on his vast designs; so the king of Sweden, on the other, would use all possible means to get them restored. But then the czar was so well acquainted with the heroic temper of his enemy, that he had some hopes of working upon it by a nicety of honor. The king of Sweden, he rightly judged, must be now less exasperated against him, who had alone carried on the war with various success, and frequently made overtures of peace, than with the rest of the confederates, who, in breach of treaties, had taken the advantage of his misfortunes, fell upon him in an ungenerous manner, and made a partition of his provinces.

It is one great character of a true politician, that he knows how to accommodate himself to the genius of an adversary. The rest of the allies, on all occasions, had used the most unbecoming reproaches against the king of Sweden: but the czar, on the contrary, always spoke of his brother Charles with the utmost civility, maintained him to be the greatest general in Europe, and even publicly averred that he would trust more to a word from him, than to the strongest assurances, and even treaties, from some others. These kind of civilities, he had good reason to think, would make a deep impression on the mind of that gallant hero, and persuade him rather to sacrifice a real interest to a generous enemy, than to gratify, in things of less moment, those by whom he had been inhumanly used. And if this did not succeed, he should however make his confederates uneasy, by seeming inclined to come to a negociation, which must engage them to be the more solicitous to keep him in the alliance, by granting such concessions as he should require for his

own interest: in the mean time the Danes and Swedes were weakening each other, and his own troops were maintained in the territories of the allies.

All these particulars were the conjectures at that time, though no-body then knew how far they were true. But they were undoubtedly the real sentiments of his czarish majesty; and he found in the king of Sweden a greater disposition to favor them than he had at first expected. Baron Gortz, formerly prime minister to the duke of Holstein, and now to the king of Sweden, whom he governed more than any man had ever done before, had formed a project for reconciling the courts of Sweden and Russia, and at the same time flattering to the high spirit of his master. This man was in the cabinet what Charles was in the army, as capable of disturbing the peace of Europe, and as resolute in the execution of his designs. He had long discovered the czar's uneasiness at his allies, and now perceived that he was particularly disgusted with the king of Great-Britain, who was at the same time the chief object of his master's resentment, as he was the only one of Charles' enemies whom he had not provoked, and who seemed to have engaged in the alliance only to keep the dutchies of Bremen and Verden. The English ships, which had been sent to the Baltic, did not at all please the czar; who was uncertain, notwithstanding they came as allies, for what purpose they were designed.

Gortz having weighed all this in his mind, ventured to propose the making of a peace between the two rival potentates; insinuating, that Peter Alexiowitz, and Charles XII. together, might make all Europe tremble; that by yielding such places to the former as he was already master of, he might make him assist in dethroning Augustus, with whom he was now displeased, and replacing Stanislaus on the throne of Poland; and that by setting the pretender on the throne of England, and restoring the duke of Holstein to his dominions, all which they might be able to perform, his

majesty would be sufficiently revenged on the kings of Great-Britain and Denmark. Charles, pleased with these grand ideas, gave his minister authority to act at large, who soon found means to see how the court of Muscovy stood affected, by the means of Dr. Areskine, a Scotchman, who was chief physician to the czar, and entirely in the pretender's interest. Prince Menzikoff, to whom the proposal was first made, was highly pleased; and the czar came into it. The Russian troops were sent to winter in Mecklenburg, instead of passing over into Schonon; and the czar went thither himself, on pretence of adjusting some disputes between the duke and his nobility, but in reality, says M. de Voltaire, to gain a principality in the empire, for which he hoped to make a bargain with the duke.

Whatever was the czar's intention, the German allies were greatly alarmed. They dreaded so potent a neighbor, who might have it in his power to become emperor, and oppress all the other sovereigns of Germany. The czar negotiated with them by way of amusement, and at the same time waited to see what Gortz would do, whose project went on the better, through the resentment of the allies. He proposed it to cardinal Alberoni, then at the head of affairs in Spain, who was charmed with the project of setting up the pretender in England, but could as yet do but little towards effecting it. The ready genius of Gortz contrived the means, by sending to the pirates at Madagascar, who, rejected by all other nations, had already offered themselves, with 60 ships, and a vast treasure, to the king of Sweden. The king consented to receive them and their wealth at Gottenburg, provided they would make the descent in Scotland. At the same time the strength of the disaffected was sounded in Great-Britain. They asked only 10,000 men, and promised to do the rest themselves. They advanced considerable sums, which Gortz received in Holland, (where he was arrived, after having been privately in France) and negotiated with it the pur-

chase of ships and ammunition. In a word, king George was to be deposed from the throne of Great-Britain, the duke of Orleans, from the regency of France, and the Turks were to fall upon the emperor. Count Gillenburg, the Swedish ambassador in London, became an agent with the enemies of that king he was sent to address. The chevalier de Fôlard, a soldier of fortune, carried on the project in France, and the branches of it were privately spread all over Europe.

But the main point, without which nothing could be done, was to settle peace with the czar. Baron Osterman, chief minister in Russia, as Gortz was in Sweden, was more cautious than to come hastily into this scheme; and as the two princes had hitherto left it all to their servants, the affair by this means was somewhat retarded. Just at this crisis, the czar himself, having made the tour of Hamburg, Hanover and Wolfenbittel, came to Holland, in his way to France.—Gortz procured two conferences with him at the Hague, and did more in these with his majesty, than he could have done in six months with his minister. At the same time he talked only of peace, and of regarding the king of Great-Britain as arbiter of the north. His designs seemed impenetrable, and he hoped they would be discovered only in the execution.

The duke of Orleans had spies in all the courts of Europe, and in every corner of the kingdom he governed. By the help of these he got knowledge of the Swedish minister's plot, and communicated it to the king of Great-Britain, who immediately ordered count Gillenburg to be seized in London, and prevailed on the Dutch to do the same by Gortz. But though the king was justifiable in arresting an enemy, who had violated the law of nations, the Dutch were not excused by the rest of Europe, because nothing was designed against them, and they had invaded the freedom of ambassadors, merely out of complaisance to an ally. The letters that passed between Gortz and Gillenburg

were printed in England, and the conspiracy was too plain to be in the least disputed.

As the czar was not named, but only hinted at in these papers, he wrote a long letter to the king of Great Britain, which was communicated by his resident Wesselowski, with protestations of friendship. This is an artifice often practised by princes to each other, and usually taken in public for satisfaction, though perhaps it is just the reverse. The king neither believed the czar, nor had the czar yet done with the king.—His Russian majesty, though he had little new to learn, or to introduce among his subjects, had still the curiosity to see France, a country where the sciences have been carried as far, and the pleasures of society farther, than any where else. Germany, England and Holland, had formerly seen, and France now saw, the uncommon spectacle of an emperor travelling for instruction. But his rough outside, the effect of his education and temper, was all the common people ever beheld, while the legislator and the great man, escaped their observation.

I shall not give a journal of all that passed during his abode in France. It is sufficient to say that he frequently visited the regent and the young king, and was visited by them; that he saw all that was curious in Paris, and the circumjacent places, where the utmost care was taken to make his entertainment still agreeable. M. de Fontenelle takes notice, that he was particularly charmed with the person of the king, though then but an infant; that he often walked with him in the apartments of the Louvre, leading him by the hand, and defending him from the pressure of the mob, with as much tenderness and care as if he had been his governor.

On the 19th of June, 1717, he honored the academy of sciences with his presence. All their new experiments and curious machines, were produced on this occasion, and his majesty expressed great satisfaction with them. It may be observed here, to prevent a



digression elsewhere, that after his return to Muscovy, he ordered M. Areskin, his chief physician, to write to the abbe Bignon, and signify his desire of being admitted a member of the society. The academy sent, with the notice of admission, a letter of acknowledgment for the honor done them; to which his majesty returned an answer with his own hand: and from this time the society transmitted him every year a volume of their transactions, which belonged to him as a member, which he always received from his brethren in the most courteous manner. The sciences, says the eloquent secretary of that academy, in favor of which he debased himself to the rank of a private man, ought, in return, to raise him among the Augustuses, and Charlemagnes, who also condescended to become familiar with them.

But the czar had something to do at Paris, besides seeing the academies, the public libraries, the cabinets of the curious, and the royal palaces. In pursuance of the plan that had been concerted, he made a proposal to the regent, which, though it was apparently for the interest of France as well as his own, was, however, rejected, and intelligence of it given to king George. It was to make peace with Sweden: to take from the Danes their power in the Baltic: to weaken England by a civil war: to set up Stanislaus against Augustus, and to bring into Muscovy all the commerce of the north. The duke did just the reverse of all this, and made a treaty with England and the emperor. All the czar could obtain of him, was, to interpose for the engagement of the two Swedish ministers, which was granted in August; and at the same time the English resident at Stockholm, who had been imprisoned by way of reprisal, was also set at liberty.

Alberoni, who was master of the whole scheme, and very desirous to establish his religion in England, sent the duke of Ormond out of Spain, to Mittaw, in Courland, with full commission to treat of a marriage between the pretender and the princess Anna Petrowna,

the czar's daughter. Baron Gortz had long intended this lady for the duke of Holstein, who afterwards married her, and this cross step of the two politicians almost defeated their whole scheme. Gortz opposed the duke of Ormond's negociation, and got him sent back to Spain without satisfaction. But the duke left behind him one Jernegan, his confident, a man of sense and spirit, to manage matters privately; which he did a long time at Petersburg, going out only o' nights, and conversing with the czar's ministers in the habit either of a peasant or a Tartar.

As the czar, in his return from Paris, was to repass through Amsterdam, where he left the ezarian; his Britannic majesty sent thither admiral Norris and Mr. Whitworth to compliment him, and to return thanks for his having declared that he would withdraw his forces out of the empire. This declaration the czar had made at Paris, upon the pressing instances of the regent, who had been applied to for that purpose by the northern allies. The British ministers were also to resume a treaty of commerce between England and Russia, if the czar had been that way inclined: but the high terms he insisted on, (no less than the sending 15 men of war against Sweden, to act under Russian admirals) rendered the proposition ineffectual. The czar likewise ordered his forces to withdraw out of Poland, upon the application of the king and the republic. They were sent thither to procure a peace between the still contending parties; but now, as ever before, became a pretext for continuing other disputes.

His czarish majesty, in his way home, was splendidly entertained at Berlin; and proceeding from thence to Dantzic, he found a new treaty had been just concluded betwixt his ministers and the Dantzickers, which put an end to their long subsisting disputes. The citizens were to forbear all correspondence with Sweden; to fit out three frigates against the enemy; to pay 140,000 dollars in specie, and to receive the Russian vessels in their port: and the czar was to

withdraw his troops out of the territories of Dantzick, and fully discharge the city from all demands.

When his majesty arrived at Petersburg, on the 17th of September, 1717, he found many things to redress, especially with regard to the administration. The senate met every day, to enquire into the ground of the people's complaints, and his majesty was always present by four o'clock in the morning. But as some things appeared to be of a deeper dye than was at first expected, an extraordinary court of justice was established, divided into separate committees, who were to examine the several causes laid before them. This court was made up of military officers; and it was usual, during the sessions of the committees, to see the head of a noble family appear before a lieutenant as his judge. Wolchinski, governor of Archangel, was shot to death, upon full conviction of his crimes.

Money was at this time very scarce in Russia, which was partly occasioned by the long war, and partly by the many great works the czar had been carrying on, which, though at this day they are very advantageous, were in their infancy, not sufficient to defray the expense of them. To remedy this, his majesty prohibited the wearing of gold and silver lace, discharged many useless mechanics, reduced others to half pay, and set on foot several other methods. But at the same time that he reduced the number of unnecessary workmen, who were but an almost infallible consequence of the great encouragement he had given, his majesty granted a privilege for many years to a new manufactory of silks, and raised the duties on foreign goods of the same kind. He made a great many other useful regulations, and in particular appointed several councils for the administration of public affairs, like those which the regent had established in France.

Though the scheme concerted by Gortz was still bringing to perfection, (as much of it as was not prevented by the discovery at London) yet a shew of

friendship continued between the monarchs of Great-Britain and Russia. M. Weber, resident from the former as elector of Hanover, waited upon the czar, to return him thanks for what he had written to king George, by admiral Norris, and to assure him of the king's good dispositions to live in amity. But M. Weber at the same time hinting his master's uneasiness at the conferences the czar had held in Holland with baron Gortz, the Russian ministers denied that any such interviews had been, though soon after they were obliged to own the truth. In the mean time measures were taken for bringing about the treaty between Sweden and Russia, which, however, was not at this time concluded. The king of Sweden was killed before Frederickshal, while matters were yet in suspence; and baron Gortz, who had a long time been mortally hated by every Swede but the king alone, was executed immediately after.

It will be very proper, at this period, to take a little respite from foreign affairs, and turn to several other effects of the czar's mighty genius, which, though they did not appear all at once, but were accomplished some before and some after the time we are upon, will make a juster figure thrown here together, than scattered chronologically through different parts of this history, and interspersed with the more turbulent business of war.

To extend the power of the state as far as possible, it is necessary that the sovereign should study his country, not as a politician merely, but as a geographer and philosopher; that he should be perfectly acquainted with all its natural advantages, and have the address to turn them to the best account. The czar was indefatigable in the acquisition of this knowledge, and the pursuit of this art. He did not rely upon ministers, who are seldom over careful of the public welfare: he would trust only to his own eyes, and made nothing of a journey of 3 or 400 leagues, to be informed in

his proper person. He frequently made these excursions with a retinue of only three or four attendants, and with such an intrepidity, as was alone capable to secure him from danger. By this means he got so perfectly acquainted with the map of his vast empire, that he easily projected, without hazard of being deceived, all the advantages that might be drawn either from its situation in general, or from whatever was particular to the respective provinces.

As all the meridians meet under the pole in a single point, the English and Chinese, for example, would become neighbors in the north, provided their kingdoms extended far enough that way. Thus the very northern situation of the Russian empire, joined to its vast extent, occasions that by its meridional lines; it touches the northern parts of many great countries, which towards the south are very distant from each other. It is contiguous to a great part of Europe, and to all Asia. It has besides very large rivers, which fall into different seas; as the Dwina into the White Sea, a part of the ocean; the Don into the Black Sea, a part of the Mediterranean; the Wolga into the Caspian, which borders on Great Tartary and Persia.—The czar observed that these rivers, which had hitherto been almost useless, might unite in his dominions nations the farthest divided, if he only made a communication between them, either by means of the small rivers which fall into them, or by the digging of canals from one to the other. He entered on this prodigious undertaking, had the different elevations of the country every where calculated, chose himself the places where the canals ought to be sunk, and regulated the number of sluices.

The junction of the river Volkona, which runs into the lake Ladoga, near Petersburgh, with the Wolga, was finished in his life-time, and by means of it there is a passage by water across all Russia, from the gulph of Finland to the Caspian Sea, a distance of more than 800 leagues. The czar sent to the academy of scien-

ees the plan of this wonderful communication, in which he had himself been principal engineer. He did not, like other princes, look upon the being an academician as a mere honorary title, but was willing to contribute his proper quota of experiments and operations. He completed another canal between the Don and the Wolga; but the restoration of Asoph to the Turks, by the treaty of Pruth, rendered that canal useless in the latter part of his reign. There were great hopes of seeing it flourish again about two years ago, when Asoph was retaken from the Musselmen; had not another treaty, concluded by the mediation of a French minister, most surprisingly obliged the present empress to a fresh restoration, after all the success that had attended her arms.

I mentioned, in the geographical part, that the dominions of Russia extend east above 1500 leagues, to the very frontiers of China, and the seas of Japan.—The Muscovite caravans, which went to China for the sake of traffic, employed a whole year in their voyage. This was a grievance well worth the consideration of such a genius as the czar Peter, who knew this tedious journey might be made both shorter and casier, either by the communication of rivers, or by other public works, or by making treaties with certain Tartarian princes, who could grant them a passage through their countries: in short, the labor of a year might be reduced to four months; and, according to this design, all commerce should have its centre at Petersburgh, which would then become the emporium of the universe.—That city to which he had given both being and name, was to him what Alexandria had been to Alexander, its founder: and as Alexandria was so happily situated, that it changed the face of commerce in those days, and became for trade what Tyre had been before, so Petersburgh bids fair to change the course of business in the present age, and become one of the principal seats of merchandize in the whole world.

The czar carried his views yet a great deal farther. He wanted to know what his situation was with regard to America; whether that vast continent joined to Tartary, or whether the Northern Ocean gave a passage thither, which would open to him a way to the new world. It reflects no dishonor on the attempt, that it was not equally successful with his other undertakings, and that of two vessels which he sent to make this yet impossible discovery, one was stopped in its passage by the ice, and the other in all probability was lost, having never since been heard of. The very year before his death he ordered a skilful sea captain to build two others for the same enterprise; but the event still made it appear, that in order to accomplish such an arduous task, the same greatness of mind which he possessed, should be communicated to those he employed. Something of the same nature has been very lately undertaken; and though the northern passage to America be still unknown, a discovery has been made of several fertile islands, where never European had been before, and these, too, well inhabited by a civilized people.

There were in Muscovy a great many mines either totally unknown, or, what was more shameful, unimproved, through the ancient indolence of the populace, and the general discouragement of their governors. These could not possibly escape the attention of the czar Peter, which took in every thing throughout his dominions. He procured workmen skilled in metals from foreign parts, particularly from Germany, and raised these hidden treasures to their standard value. Gold dust was brought him from the banks of the Caspian Sea, and the farthest parts of Siberia; and sixteen ounces of this latter produced fourteen ounces of pure gold. Iron, more necessary than gold itself, became in his days common in Muscovy, and with it all the arts which either prepare or employ it.

In speaking of the gold dust on the Caspian Sea, I must not omit the unfortunate expedition of prince Al-

exander Bekewitz, which happened in the very year we are now upon. So long ago as the year 1715, the czar had received intelligence that a great deal of gold was discovered at the mouth of the river Dauria, which falls into that sea, and had sent thither this Bekewitz, a prince of the Circassian Tartars, and captain of his majesty's guard, accompanied by Mr. Blucher, a man skilful in mine affairs, to clear the country of the vagrant Tartars, and set up the necessary works. They had made one journey thither with great hopes of success; having discovered, besides a great quantity of gold dust and silver ore, some curious pieces of antiquity. But the prince being sent thither again, at the head of 3000 men, in order to take possession of the river, and to secure it by two forts on the Caspian Sea, he was drawn into a snare by the natives of Schirvan, had all his troops cut in pieces, and was himself inhumanly massacred at the kam's tent. The czar was prevented from taking immediate vengeance for this outrage, by a domestic affair of yet greater importance; an enquiry into the crimes of his eldest son, Alexis Petrowitz, who, during his father's absence, had made his escape out of the kingdom. I have postponed the relation of this affair to the present period, when the prince was brought back to Moscow, and the following manifesto published by his majesty, which, with what comes after, will entirely vindicate his severity to this rebellious son.

**PETER I.** by the grace of God, czar and emperor of Russia, &c.

It is notorious to the greatest part of our faithful subjects, and chiefly to those who live in the places of our residence, or who are in our service, with how much care we have caused our eldest son Alexis, to be educated, having given him, from his infancy, tutors to teach him the Russian and foreign languages, and others to instruct him in all arts and sciences, in order not only to bring him up in our orthodox faith of the Greek confession, but also in the knowledge of politi-



cal and military affairs, and of the constitution of foreign countries, their customs and languages, that through the reading of history and other books, he might acquire the qualifications worthy of a successor to our throne of great Russia. Nevertheless, we have seen with grief, that all our attention and care for the instruction of our son proved ineffectual, seeing he always swerved from his filial obedience, shewing no application for what was becoming a worthy successor, and slighting the precepts of the masters we had appointed for him; but on the contrary frequenting disorderly persons, from whom he could learn nothing good.

We have not neglected often to endeavor to bring him back to his duty, sometimes by gentle means, sometimes by reprimand, sometimes by paternal corrections. We have more than once taken him along with us into our army, to cause him to be instructed in the art of war, as one of the chief sciences for the defence of his country; taking care to keep him off from any dangerous occasion, out of regard to the succession, though we exposed our own person to those perils. We have at other times left him at Moscow, putting into his hands a sort of regency in the empire, in order to form him in the art of government. We have afterwards sent him into foreign countries, in hopes, that seeing in his travels governments so well regulated, this would excite in him an inclination to apply himself to do well. But all our care has been fruitless, and like the seed of the doctrine, fallen upon a rock. For he has not only refused to follow that which is good, but even is come to hate it. He only and continually conversed with disorderly persons, whose morals were abominable.

As we were resolved to endeavor by all imaginable means to reclaim him, and inspire him with an inclination to converse with persons of virtue and honor, we exhorted him to choose a consort among the princesses of the chief foreign houses, as is usual in other coun-

tries, and hath been practised by some of our ancestors, the czars of Muscovy ; and we left him at full liberty to make a choice. He declared his inclination for the princess, grand-daughter to the duke of Wolfenbittel then reigning, sister-in-law to the emperor of the Romans now reigning, and cousin to the king of Great-Britain ; and having desired us to procure him that alliance, and permit him to marry that princess, we readily consented thereunto, without any regard to the great expense which was occasioned by that marriage. But after its consummation, we found ourselves disappointed of the hope we had, that the change of the condition of our son would produce a change in his bad inclinations, but found quite the reverse of what was expected : for notwithstanding his spouse was, as far as we have been able to observe, a wise, sprightly princess, and of a virtuous conduct, he lived with her in the greatest disunion, while he redoubled his affection for lewd people, bringing thereby a disgrace upon our house before the foreign princes, to whom that princess was related, which drew upon us many reproaches. These advices and exhortations proved ineffectual : on the contrary, he violated at last the conjugal faith, and gave his affection to a prostitute of the most servile condition, living publicly in that crime with her, to the great contempt of his lawful spouse, who soon after died of sickness ; and it was believed that her grief, occasioned by the life of her husband, hastened the end of her days.

When we saw his resolution to persevere in his vicious course, we declared to him at the funeral of his consort, that if he did not for the future conform himself to our will, and apply himself to things becoming a prince, we would deprive him of the succession, without any regard to his being our only son (our second son not then being born ;) because we would rather choose for our successor a stranger worthy thereof, than an unworthy son : that we could not leave our empire to a successor, who would ruin what the father

hath, by God's assistance, established, and tarnish the glory of the Russian nation, for the acquiring of which we had sacrificed our ease and our health, willingly exposing our own life on several occasions: besides, that the fear of God's judgment would not permit us to leave the government of such vast territories in the hands of one whose insufficiency and unworthiness we are not ignorant of. In short, we exhorted him in the most pressing terms, to behave himself with discretion, and gave him time to repent and return to his duty.

His answer to these remonstrances was, that he acknowledged himself guilty in all these points; but alledging the weakness of his genius, which did not permit him to apply himself to the functions recommended to him, he owned himself incapable of our succession, desiring us to discharge him from the same.

Nevertheless, we continued to exhort him with paternal affection, and joined menaces to our exhortations, we forgot nothing to bring him back to the right way; and the operations of war having obliged us to repair to Denmark, we left him at Petersburgh, to give him time to return to his duty. And afterwards, upon the repeated advices we received of the continuation of his disorderly life, we sent him orders to come to us at Copenhagen, to make the campaign, that he might thereby the better form himself. But forgetting the fear and commandments of God, who enjoins obedience even to private parents, and much more to those who are at the same time sovereigns, our paternal cares had no other return than an unheard of ingratitude. For, instead of coming to us as he was ordered, he withdrew, taking along with him great sums of money, and his infamous concubine, with whom he continued to live in a criminal course. He put himself under the protection of the emperor, raising against us a world of calumnies and false reports, as if we did persecute, and intended without cause, to deprive him of our succession; alledging that even his life was not safe if he continued with us, and desiring the emper-

or not only to give him refuge, but also to protect him against us by force of arms. The emperor, though informed of his excesses, and how he had lived with his consort, sister-in-law to his imperial majesty, thought fit, upon his pressing instances, to appoint a place where he might reside: and he desired further, that he might be so private there, that we might not come to the knowledge of it.

Mean while, his long stay having made us fear that some misfortune had befallen him, we sent persons several ways to get intelligence of him; and after a great deal of trouble, we were at last informed by the captain of our guard, Alexander Romanzoff, that he was privately kept in an imperial fortress at Tyrol: whereupon we wrote a letter with our own hand to the emperor, to desire that he might be sent back to us. But notwithstanding the emperor's acquainting him with our demands, and exhorting him to return to us, and submit to our will; yet he alledged, with a great many calumnies against us, that he ought not to be delivered into our hands; as if we had been a tyrant, from whom he had nothing to expect but death. In short, he persuaded his imperial majesty, instead of sending him back at that time to us, to remove him to Naples, in Italy, and keep him there secretly in the castle, under a borrowed name.

Nevertheless, we had notice from our said captain, of the place where he was, and thereupon despatched to the emperor our privy-counsellor, Peter Talstoi, and the captain of our guard aforesaid, with a most pressing letter, representing how unjust it would be to detain our son, contrary to all laws, divine and human; according to which, private parents, and with much more reason, those who are invested with sovereign authority, have an unlimited power over their children, independently of any other judge: and we set forth, on one side, the just and affectionate manner with which we had always used our son; and on the other, his disobedience; representing, in the conclusion, the

ill consequences the refusal of delivering up our said son to us might occasion, because we could not leave this affair in that condition. We ordered those we sent with that letter, to make verbal representations even in more pressing terms, and declare that we should be obliged to revenge, by all possible means, such detaining of our son.

We wrote likewise to him a letter with our own hand, to represent to him the impiety of his conduct, and the enormity of the crime he had committed against us, his father ; and how God threatened, in his laws, to punish disobedient children. We threatened him, as a father, with our curse, and, as his lord, to declare him a traitor to his country, unless he returned and obeyed our commands ; and gave him assurances, that if he did as we desired, we would pardon his crime.

Our envoys, after many solicitations, and the above-said representation made by us in writing, at last obtained leave of the emperor to go and speak to our son, in order to dispose him to return home. The imperial ministers gave them, at the same time, to understand, that our son had informed the emperor that we persecuted him, and that his life was not safe with us, whereby he had moved the emperor's compassion ; but that the emperor, taking now into his consideration our true representations, promised he would give orders to endeavor, by all possible means, to dispose him to return to us, and would, moreover, declare to him that he could not in justice refuse to deliver him up to his father, and fall out with us on this account.

Our envoys, upon their arrival at Naples, having desired to deliver to him our letter, sent us word, that he did not only refuse to admit them, but that the emperor's viceroy had found means, by inviting him home to his house, to present them to him afterwards against his will. He did then indeed receive our letter, containing our paternal exhortation, and threatening our curse ; but without shewing the least inclination to re-

turn; alledging still a great many falsities against us, as if by reason of several dangers he had to apprehend from us, he could and would not return; and boasting that the emperor had promised not only to protect him against us, but even to set him upon the throne of Russia against our will, by force of arms.

Our envoys, perceiving this evil disposition, tried all imaginable ways to prevail upon him to return: they entreated him; they expatiated upon our assurances towards him, and upon our threats in case of disobedience. They declared, that the emperor would not enter into a war with us on his account; and many other representations did they make unto him. But he paid no regard to all this, neither shewed any inclination to return to us, till the imperial viceroy, convinced of his obstinacy, told him, in the emperor's name, that he ought to return; for that his imperial majesty could not keep him from us, nor embroil himself with us upon his account.

When he saw how the case stood, he at length resolved to return home, and declared his mind to our envoys, and to the imperial viceroy. He likewise wrote the same thing to us, acknowledging himself a criminal; and in this manner he is arrived here.

And albeit now our son, by so long a course of disobedience against us, his father and lord, and particularly for the dishonor he hath cast upon us in the face of the world, by withdrawing himself, and raising calumnies of us, and for opposing his sovereign, hath deserved to be punished with death; nevertheless, our paternal affection inclines us to have mercy upon him, and we therefore pardon his crimes, and exempt him from all punishments of the same. But considering his unworthiness, we cannot in conscience leave him after us the succession of the throne of Russia, foreseeing that he would entirely destroy the glory of our nation and the safety of our dominions, which, through God's assistance, we have acquired and established by an incessant application.

Now, as we should pity our faithful subjects, if by such a successor we should throw them back into a worse condition than ever they were yet: so, by the paternal authority, in virtue of which, by the laws of our empire, even any one of our subjects may disinherit a son; and in quality of sovereign prince, in consideration of the safety of our dominions, we do deprive our son Alexis of the succession to our throne of Russia, even though there should not remain a single person of our family after us; and we do constitute and declare successor to the said throne after us, our second son Peter, though yet very young, having no successor that is older.

We lay upon our said son Alexis our paternal curse, if ever he pretends to, or reclaims, the said succession. And we desire our faithful subjects, of all ranks and conditions, that in conformity to this constitution, they acknowledge and consider our said son Peter, appointed by us to succeed, as lawful successor, and that they confirm the whole by oath before the altar, upon the holy gospel, kissing the cross. And all those who shall ever, at any time, oppose this our will, and shall dare to consider our son Alexis as successor, or to assist him for that purpose, we declare them traitors to us and their country. And we have ordered that these presents shall be every where published, to the end no person may pretend ignorance.

*Done at Moscow, the 3d of February, 1718, O. S.*

The czarowitz arrived with the sieur Tolstoi, at Moscow, on the 14th of February, and waited the same night on the czar, with whom he had a long conference. The next day a great council was held, and on the 14th, before break of day, the guards and garrison of the city, were posted round the castle, and orders were sent to all his majesty's ministers, boyars, and counsellors, to repair to the great hall there, and to the clergy, to assemble in the cathedral. Then the great bell was tolled, and the prince, as prisoner, being carried into the czar's presence, presented a writ-

ing to his majesty, containing a confession of his crime, and in tears fell at his feet. The czar gave the paper to baron Schafiroff, and raising his son from the ground demanded of him what was his desire? The prince implored his mercy, and begged that he would save his life. His majesty granted his request: but told him, that he must solemnly renounce the succession, and acknowledge the same under his hand; which, he answered, he was ready to perform. The czar then expostulated with him upon his disobedience, and asked him who were the advisers of his late escape? Upon which, the prince drew near and whispered him, and they went together into an adjoining room, where, it was supposed, he named the persons.

Being returned into the hall, the prince signed an instrument, setting forth, that finding himself unqualified for government, he therefore disclaimed any right of succession to the crown. Then several articles, containing a deduction of the causes of his majesty's excluding his eldest son from the succession, were read aloud. The ministers, boyars, officers, and others who were present, swore upon the gospel, and subscribed an oath, importing, that the czar having declared that he had excluded from the crown the czarowitz Alexis Petrowitz, and had appointed his second son, the prince royal Peter Petrowitz, to succeed him; they owned the legality of this his majesty's decree, acknowledged the said Peter Petrowitz to be the undoubted successor to the crown, engaged to stand by him with their lives against any that should dare to oppose him, and never to adhere to prince Alexis Petrowitz, or assist him in the recovery of the said succession. Then the company repaired to the cathedral, where the czar, in a long speech, set forth his son's undutiful behavior; after which, the clergy swore and subscribed the oath above mentioned. The said oath was afterwards administered to all the public officers, and other inhabitants of Moscow, who were not present at the solemnity; and orders were sent for doing the like all over the Rus-



sian empire, and in his majesty's armies abroad.—The prince was kept under confinement, and no body admitted to him but the sieur Tolstoi, and such others as were appointed by the czar.

The grand inquisition proceeded with great diligence. There were two different processes, one of which related to the czarewitz, and the other to the late czarina, and major-general Gleboff: the former was finished at Petersburg, and the latter at Moscow. The concourse of people at Moscow was extraordinary on this occasion. The whole court was there, with the greater part of the generals and superior officers, and the chief of the clergy and nobility of all Russia. But what most deserved every one's attention, was to hear the czar himself, contrary to the custom of his predecessors, make speeches to the clergy and great men in the hall, representing to them and the people, with his natural eloquence, (in which accomplishment, as well as that of expressing himself in writing, he had no equal among his subjects) the danger to which his government had been exposed, and the horror of the crime of high treason. On these solemnities the czar appeared in his usual dress, being naturally an enemy to all pageantry, and affecting a plain habit and small retinue. Even at the time we are speaking of, in the midst of the disturbances of his own family, he had never above two or three servants attending his sled, in which by night as well as day, he was carried up and down the city.

The senator Samarin was acquitted; as was also count Peter Matuewitz Apraxin, senator, and formerly governor of Astracan. But the prince Wassili Woldinirowitz Dolgorucki, lieutenant-general, was ordered to be continued under close confinement. The other principal persons involved in this grand inquisition, besides the czarewitz and Kikil, were the former czarina, Ottokesa Federowna, of the family of Lopuchin; her father confessor; Maria Alexewna, the czar's sister by the half blood; the czarewitz of Siberia; the boyar

Stepan Gleboff; Dossifei bishop of Rosteff; and the treasurer of the monastery of Susdal; of whom the boyar Gleboff, the bishop Dossifei, Kikin, the treasurer of the monastery of Susdal, and another Russian, were executed in the public market place of the city of Moscow, on the 26th of March. Gleboff was empaled alive, and the others broken on the wheel. The corpse of the bishop was burnt; but his head, with those of Kikin, and the other Russians, were put on high poles, on the four corners of a square wall erected for that purpose, and the empaled corpse of Gleboff placed in the middle. Blacklanofsky, the czar's page, and some nuns, had their sentence mitigated, but suffered severe corporeal punishments. This Backlanofsky had been the spy of Kikin, even in the czar's closet.

Afrosini, the czarewitz's mistress, was set at liberty, not only in consideration of the open confessions she had made, but also because, by her persuasions, she had much contributed to the czarewitz's return. She pretended that the czarewitz forced her to comply with his will, threatening her with death on refusal. It is maintained by several, that after her first lying in, and upon her conforming to the Russian faith, she was actually married to the czarewitz. This circumstance appeared the more probable, because having obtained his majesty's full pardon, and had several jewels restored to her, with this declaration, that if she had a mind to marry, she should receive a portion out of the czar's treasury; she made this answer: "I first yielded to one man's will out of force,—henceforth no other shall come near me."

The pardon which his majesty had given the czarewitz, was only upon condition that he should declare all that he knew; but the letters that were afterwards intercepted, made it appear that the inquisition had not gone to the bottom of the affair, and the czarewitz had forfeited the grace which his father would have conferred on him. The czar therefore saw himself neces-

sitated to establish a second high court of justice. To this end he convoked the chief of the Russian clergy, with all possible speed, to Petersburg; and having besides, established another court, consisting of the ministers, senators, governors, generals, and superior officers of his guards, his majesty for eight several days continued some hours on his knees, imploring God to inspire him with such thoughts as the honor of his holy name, and the welfare of the Russian nation required. On the 25th of June, 1718, the sessions of this criminal court were opened in the hall of the senate, whither his majesty repaired, with the whole body of the secular clergy and judges, after having first caused solemn service to be performed in the church of the Holy Ghost. The whole assembly having taken their respective places at several tables, the doors and windows were set open, in order to give free admittance to all sorts of persons. Upon this, the czarewitz was brought into court, under the guard of four under officers, and upon his appearance, his majesty made a brief declaration of the causes why he had called them together, and ordered all the \* writings to be publicly read, which concerned this affair.

The first of these papers was entitled, *A declaration to my son*, in which his majesty set forth the advantages which he had acquired to his people by industry and the love of arms, and expostulated with the young prince for his neglect of whatever tended to form a great sovereign. It concluded with these remarkable words: "After having considered all these inconveniences, and reflected upon them, as I see I have not been able to engage you by any motives to do as you ought, I have judged it convenient to lay before you in writing, this act of my last will; resolving still to wait a little longer before I come to a final execution of my purpose, to try whether you will amend or not;

\* See manifesto concerning the trial of the czarewitz, published by his majesty's order.

and if not, be assured that I will deprive you of the succession, and cut you off as an unprofitable member. Do not think that because I have no other child, \* I say this only with a design to frighten you. I will certainly do what I say, if it shall so please God. For as I spare not my own life for the good of my country, and the safety of my people, why should I spare you, who will not be at the pains to be worthy of them? I shall rather choose to transmit them into the hands of a worthy stranger, than give them to an unworthy son." This declaration his majesty gave the czarewitz the same night that his consort was buried.

The prince, in his answer to this and several other letters which his majesty sent him, still pretending indisposition of body, declared a sense of his own unfitness for government, and expressed a desire to take on him a monastic life. These letters, as published by order, are interspersed with memoirs relating to his conduct at the same time; after which follow the several heads of examination, written by his majesty, and presented to the czarewitz, with that prince's answer to every article, and several additional confessions, drawn from him one after another, as evidence against him appeared; by which it was manifest, that he had endeavored to conceal the most material particulars; also the depositions of the several witnesses against him, among whom was his own mistress Afrosini, with whom he was confronted; proving the several crimes charged upon him by his majesty, and detecting divers circumstances that were not before known, which confirmed the hypoerisy and prevarication, as well as guilt of the czarewitz, who himself confessed, in his last answer, "that he had criminal designs, which he meant to execute, even during his father's life-time, if occasion offered." But as the reflections upon these pieces, which were afterwards read in their order, contain a

\* This letter was written eighteen days before the birth of the czarewitz Peter Petrowitz.

representation of what was most considerable in the whole process, I shall content myself with inserting them, and proceed to the judgment of the court.

“The better to comprehend the care his czarish majesty has taken to bring back the czarewitz into the right way, that he might engage him to become worthy of the succession ; and to let the public see how the czarewitz, on the other hand, has broke through all his father’s measures, by the opposition he has made to them ; we shall set the matter in a still greater light, though it may be amply deduced from the several pieces.

“It is notorious, by the first manifesto which was published upon the arrival of the czarewitz at Moscow, and by the letters his majesty wrote to him, with what reiterated solicitations his majesty, his father, exhorted him to make himself capable and deserving of the succession ; and yet, notwithstanding, the czarewitz always shewed himself refractory. In his reply to the letter which his ezarian majesty had written to him, he did not tell him the reasons why he would not take pains, as his father desired, to make himself capable of the succession : he only deceived him with false oaths, by which he engaged himself to a renunciation of the crown, and which he afterwards not only broke, but aspired to the succession by ill practices.

“His czarish majesty, who saw into the naughty inclinations of his son, again exhorted him, by other letters, to form himself for the government ; and represented to him, to intimidate and engage him to a compliance with his will, and that if this was absolutely impossible for him, he should then embrace a monastic state. He plainly saw that the czarewitz’s renunciation of the succession was no more than an amusement, and altogether void of sincerity, as afterwards appeared plainly by the consequence ; for he was so far from giving a clear and positive answer to his czarish majesty’s letter, who exhorted him to a determination, that he had still recourse to subterfuges, and answered only in a

vague and undermined manner, by oaths and entreaties, that he might be allowed immediately to retire into a convent; which, notwithstanding, were altogether fraudulent.

“For which reason his majesty advised him, upon his departure from Petersburgh into foreign countries, not to enter so soon into a convent, because the engagement was difficult for a young man to observe, and gave him still six months time to consider of it; at the end of which he was to write to his majesty what part he would take. He used him thus, in hopes that he might change his opinion, and, by a better conduct, conform to the will of his father, and make himself deserving of the succession, by a serious application to his duty.

“The czarewitz, not caring to answer any thing at that time upon this subject to his father, pretended to be sick; but his majesty was scarce gone from him, before he went to an entertainment with Michael Voinou. The six months passed, and the czarewitz took no notice of the choice he was to make. His majesty, who saw his deceit, wrote to him again from Copenhagen, to repeat his exhortations concerning the succession; and ordered him to come to him that he might learn the business of war: but that if he desired to retire to a convent, he required that he would make choice of his monastery, fix the time of his retirement, and write word back to his majesty, who would neither prescribe the time nor assign the place. It evidently appears by his majesty's three letters, that he earnestly wished he would make himself capable of the succession; that he had no inclination to force him to become a monk; but, on the contrary, was desirous to dissuade him from it, and left his choice to his own free determination. The czarewitz seemingly made choice of a convent of his own proper motion. However, all his promises, which were confirmed by so many oaths, were found deceitful. For it has actually appeared, that the czarewitz aimed at the succession,

of which his majesty had not only deprived him, but also forced him, by his powerful exhortations, to pretend to it, by laboring to make himself worthy of it.

“But, in contempt of all this, the czarewitz made his escape, and took refuge with the emperor, demanding his assistance and protection, to aid him even with an armed hand; and he has said that the emperor had assured him by the count de Seornborn, vice-chancellor, that he would procure him the Russian crown, not only by good offices, but also by force of arms; insomuch that the czarewitz not only hoped for his father's death with expressions of joy, but also sought it; and when he was told there was a rebellion raised in the country, he declared his satisfaction at the news, and was resolved to join the rebels if they had called him, whether his father was living or dead.

“One might convict him from his own confession, that when he wrote in his answer, which he gave to his father, that his infirmity was so great that he did not desire the succession, he told him a manifest falsehood. He took physic only to appear sick, if mention was made of any journey he did not care to take, as his father desired; when in reality he was perfectly well. Insomuch that we may judge by all these circumstances, that he aimed at the succession, not in the manner his father was desirous to leave it him, namely in the proper order, but after his own manner, by foreign assistance, or the force of rebels, even whilst his father was alive.

“Though the czarewitz had said in his last confession, that his not having owned his letter from Naples, to the metropolitan of Kiovia, was to be imputed to his forgetfulness; this also has been found to be absolutely false. For since he has remembered the particulars in matters of far less consequence, which were the subject of his discourse with several people some years ago, as appears by his examination, how could he have forgot this circumstance of having written to the archbishop, which is a point of far greater importance?

“There appears in this excuse of forgetfulness not only a direct falsehood, but also a very malicious disposition; for when Afrosini had maintained to his face that he had written to the archbishop from the fortress, and had sealed the letter in her presence, he had a mind to conceal the business, by the pretence of a plan of the attack of Belgrade, which he sent back sealed to the secretary of the vicroy of Naples: however, he afterwards owned that it was not the plan, but the letter to the archbishop of Kiovia, which he had sealed. The excuse he also made, of having forgot to own in his first confession, what concerns the czarewna Mary Alexiewna Dubrofski, and Ebarlakof, who were acquainted with his escape, was also a falsehood, as appears from his having afterwards declared he had compassion upon the czarewna. It also appears by the report of the resident Weselowski at Vienna, that the imperialists did not force the czarewitz to write letters to the senate and the archbishops.

“His czarian majesty, in his letters to the czarewitz at Naples, promised him only his gracious pardon for his escape, if he would return to him. He not only pardoned him upon his return, but also extended his favor so far, as to promise him a general forgiveness for all he had committed, if he would make a sincere confession of all he had done, and discover his accomplices without any reserve; declared to him at the same time, that if he kept back any thing, or concealed any person who was an accomplice in this affair, his pardon should be null and void. Yet we have clearly seen in what manner the czarewitz, contemning the paternal clemency and pardon he had obtained, concealed a great number of persons, letters and facts, as also his pernicious designs of joining the rebels, and entering into their devices. It is therefore evident, that he has not only had no real intention of discovering all his crimes, and making amends by a sincere repentance, but that he has also disguised, and concealed what had passed, that he might be able to re-



sume again his designs for the future, and renew what hitherto he has not been able to effect."

As they were reading the matters above related, his majesty again verbally examined the ezarewitz touching the crimes that were proved in those pieces, and how every thing had passed ; and, after a great many questions upon the points of most importance, of which his majesty shewed him the proofs for his conviction, the ezarewitz confessed before the whole assembly, that he was guilty of all that was found in the writings which had been related.

The audience being ended, his majesty caused an ordinance to be issued out to the arch-bishops and secular states, commanding them to search the holy scriptures, and the civil and military laws, relating to the present case, and pronounce sentence against the ezarewitz in conformity thereto: authorizing them also to examine him, if they found it convenient, upon any point whatsoever ; to make him appear before them, and put such questions to him as should be necessary. The three following remarkable interrogatories, given to him by count Tolstoi, from under his majesty's own hand, with the prince's answer, ought not to be omitted.

"Go to my son in the afternoon, and put down in writing, the answers he shall give to the following questions :

"I. What is the reason why he has not obeyed me, and refused to do what I required of him, or apply himself to any business, contrary to the practice of the world, besides the sin and shame attending upon it ?

"II. Whence it is that he has been so little afraid of me, and has not apprehended the consequences of his disobedience ?

"III. Why did he desire to have the succession otherwise than by obedience, as I have formerly asked him myself?—and examine him upon every thing else, that bears any relation to this affair."

These questions, and the answers that follow, were dated June 22.

“I. Though I was not ignorant, that to be disobedient, as I was to my father, was opposite to the practice of mankind, and was also both a sin and a shame ; yet this arose from my having been brought up in my infancy with a governess and her maids, from whom I learned nothing but amusements, and diversions, and bigotry, to which I had naturally an inclination. The persons to whom I was entrusted, after I was removed from my governess, gave me no better instructions, particularly Nicophorus Vasenski, Alexis Basili, and the Naraskins.

“My father being careful of my education, and desirous I should apply myself to what became the son of the czar, ordered me to learn the German tongue, and other sciences, which I was very much averse to. I applied myself to them in a very negligent manner, and only to pass away the time, without having an inclination to learn any thing. And as my father, who was then frequently with the army, was at a distance from me, he ordered prince Menzikoff to have an eye upon me. Whilst I was with him, I was obliged to apply ; but as soon as I was out of his sight, the Naraskins and Vasenski, observing my inclination was only bent to bigotry and idleness, to keep company with priests and monks, and drink with them, they not only diverted me from business, but took a pleasure in doing as I did. As they had been about me from my infancy, I was accustomed to observe their directions, to fear them, and to comply with them in every thing ; and thus by degrees they alienated my affections from my father, by diverting me with pleasures of this nature ; so that by little and little, I had not only the military affairs, and other actions of my father in horror, but also his person itself, which has always made me wish to be at a distance from him.

“When I found myself entrusted at Moscow with the government of the empire, finding I was at full liberty and master of myself, instead of considering that my father had put it in my hands to train me up, and

form me for the succession after him, if I would make myself capable of it ; I gave myself up still to the pleasures I was addicted to, with the priests and monks, and other people of that temper. Alexander Kikin, when he was with me, constantly took a great deal of pains to confirm me in this disorderly way of life.

“ My father having compassion on me, and desiring to make me worthy of the state to which I was called, sent me into foreign countries ; but as I was already grown to man’s estate, I made no alterations in my way of living. It is true indeed my travels were in some respects useful to me, but were insufficient to erase the vicious habits which had taken such deep root in me.

“ II. It was this naughty disposition which prevented my being apprehensive of my father’s correction for my disobedience : I freely owned it ; for though I was really afraid of him, yet it was not with a filial fear ; I only sought for means to get from him, and was no ways concerned to do his will, of which I here give you a plain instance.

“ When I came back to Petersburg, to my father, from abroad, he received me in a very gracious manner : among other things, he asked me whether I had not forgot what I had learned, and I told him no. He ordered me to bring in my draughts ; and fearing that he would make me design in his presence, as I knew nothing of the matter, I studied how to hurt my hand, so that it should be impossible for me to do any thing at all : I charged a pistol with ball, and taking it in my left hand, let it off against the palm of my right, with a design to have shot through it. The ball missed my hand, but the powder burnt it sufficiently to wound it. As the ball entered the wall of my closet, it may be seen there still. My father observing my hand to be wounded, asked me how it came. I told him an evasive story, and kept the truth to myself. By this means you may see that I was afraid of my father, but not with a filial fear.

“ III. As to my having desired the succession, otherwise than by obedience, all the world may easily guess at the reason ; for when I was once out of the good way, and was resolved to imitate my father in nothing, I sought to obtain the succession by any the most wrongful method : I was even desirous to come at it by a foreign assistance, and if I had got it, and the emperor would have put in execution what he promised me, of procuring for me the crown of Russia, even with an armed force, I should have spared nothing to have obtained it. For instance, if the emperor had demanded Russian troops in exchange for his service, against any of his enemies, or large sums of money, I should have done whatever he pleased, and given great presents to his ministers and generals over and above. I would have entertained at my own expense the auxiliary troops he should have lent me, to put me in possession of the crown of Russia ; and, in a word, have thought nothing too much to have obtained my desire.”

These answers, with a great number of new evidences, and the opinions of the clergy, supported by authorities out of the old and new testament, the constitutions of the empire, and the military laws being laid before the persons appointed by his czarian majesty, the court assembled in the hall on the 24th of June to give judgment ; and after having heard all that has been said, read and related, and made mature reflections upon it, with one unanimous consent, they pronounced and ordered sentence of death upon the prince to be signed, and set their seals to it with their own hands ; at the same time expressing the great repugnance they had to this ungrateful office, and submitting their sentence to his majesty's clemency. This being done, a new session was held on the 6th of July in the morning, and the czarewitz brought out of the fortress into court, under guard, where he was obliged to repeat the confession of his crimes, and to

hear his condemnation read to him ; after which he was sent back into custody.

As we have the authority of a public minister, then on the spot, for what passed the next day, it would be an injury to the czar not to insert it. Early in the morning, July the 7th, news was brought to his majesty, that the passions of his mind, and the terrors of death, had thrown the czarewitz into an apoplectic fit. Another messenger about noon brought advice, that the prince was in great danger of his life ; and a third, that being past hopes, he could not out-live the evening ; and that he longed to see his father. Then the czar, attended by the principal persons of his court, went to see his dying son, who, at the sight of his father, burst into tears, and, with his hands folded, declared, “ That he had grievously and heinously offended the majesty of God Almighty, and of the czar ; that he hoped not to recover of his indisposition, and even if he should, yet he was unworthy of life ; therefore he begged his majesty, for God’s sake, only to take from him the curse he had laid upon him at Moscow ; to forgive him all his heavy crimes ; to impart to him his paternal blessing ; and to cause prayers to be put up for his soul.” During these moving words, the czar and the whole company almost melted away in tears. His majesty returned a pathetic answer, represented to him in a few words all his offences, and then gave him his forgiveness and blessing. After which they parted, with abundance of tears and lamentations on both sides.

At five in the evening came a fourth messenger, to acquaint his majesty, that the czarewitz was extremely desirous once more to see his father. The czar at first was unwilling to comply ; but was at last persuaded by the company, who represented how hard it would be to deny that comfort to a son, who, being on the point of death, might probably be tortured by the stings of a guilty conscience. But when his majesty had just stepped into his sloop to go over to the fortress, a fifth

messenger brought an account, that the prince was already expired.

The very next day, his czarish majesty caused a circular letter to be sent to his ministers abroad, in order to prevent the false reports which might be spread about this tragical event. After reciting the circumstances of it, to the same effect as above, his majesty concludes, "That although this stroke was a great affliction to him, he nevertheless judged it had happened by the particular providence of God, for the good and repose of his kingdoms ; so that it was with a christian duty and submission he received this affliction from the hand of God."

On the 9th of July the corpse being laid into a coffin covered with black velvet, and a pall of gold tissue spread over it, was carried from the fortress to the church of the Holy Trinity, where it was laid in state. Four officers of the guards were in waiting, who gave leave to a vast number of people to kiss the hands of the deceased. The preparations being finished, on the 11th in the evening, the corpse was carried back to the fortress, where it was deposited in the new burying-vault of the czarish family, next to the coffin of the prince's late consort. The czar, the czarina, the chiefs of the nobility and of the courtiers, followed in procession. The czar, and the rest of the mourners, carried each a small wax taper lighted in their hands ; but they wore no mourning cloaks, and the ladies were only dressed in black silks. The czar was bathed in tears during the procession and service at church, where the priest had chosen for the text of his funeral sermon the words of David : "O my son Absalom, my son, my son Absalom."

Undoubtedly more credit ought to be given to this relation, than to any of the various reports which were raised about the death of the young prince ; as, that he was obliged to take a poisonous draught ; that the czar whipped him to death with his own hands ; and other fables equally improbable. The many original

pieces which his majesty published concerning the history of this unfortunate son, the frank and generous assurance with which he lays his own conduct before the impartial world, are incontestable proofs that he had nothing to reproach himself with in this remarkable event. The noble acts of clemency he had shown to persons infinitely less dear, and the great pains he had evidently taken to reclaim this unworthy heir, cannot but convince us that it was a necessary piece of severity when he gave him up to be tried as a criminal, and at the same time prevent our believing he could be cruel to a child, against whom he was unwilling to be strictly just. And so much as this being manifest, it can certainly be no impeachment of the character of a legislator, that he preferred the interest of an empire, for which he had so often hazarded his life, for which he had labored incessantly near 30 years, to the safety of a son who had conspired to dethrone him, and to disconcert the whole system he had so long been forming.

There were not wanting, however, even among the ministers of foreign powers, those who wrote false accounts of this affair, and other occurrences at the Russian court. The Imperial and Dutch residents, on this occasion, fell under his majesty's displeasure. He wrote to Vienna to have the first recalled, and had the other seized and examined. To justify which proceeding, he sent a memorial to their high mightinesses, who answered it by another very submissively drawn up, wherein they acknowledge the fault of their minister. These injurious reports being stifled, his majesty proceeded in the inquisition against such as were accomplices in the crimes of the ezarewitz, and found the list of conspirators every day increase. Persons of both sexes, and of every age and degree, were involved in the horrid design of destroying their monarch and father, who saw that clemency would here have been misplaced. Some he punished with death, others with the knout and batagos, and not a few banished into Siberia. Prince Dolhorucki was sent an exile to

Casan, stripped of every thing but the clothes on his back; and the divorced czarina, mother of the late czarewitz, with princess Mary Alexowna, his majesty's half sister, were both closely confined. About this time general Renchild was sent home, in exchange for the two Russian generals, Gollowin and Trubeskoi. The first had been in Russia ever since the battle of Pultowa, and the others in Sweden much longer, having been taken at the battle of Narva.



## BOOK VII.

*Containing the remainder of the Czar Peter's reign, with an account of his character.*

**U**PON the execution of baren Gortz, mentioned in the preceding book, plans concerted between him and M. Osterman, were found among his papers.—The negociations had gone successfully on, and the congress which had been transferred from Abo to the isle of Aland, was just drawing to an end, and wanted only the final approbation of the king of Sweden to its proceedings. Baron Gortz was upon the road to procure this, when he was unexpectedly seized, informed that by his master's death all his projects were at an end, and conveyed a prisener to Stockholm.

The czar, who saw his scheme disconcerted by this sudden revolution, immediately resolved upon prosecuting the war with vigor against an almost defenceless nation, and obliging it by force of arms to make those cessions, which he had before hoped to obtain by mere negociation. He had attempted nothing in the last sea campaign, but suffered Charles to invade Norway unmolested; and so well was the Swedish monarch assured of his pacific disposition, that he had sent for his guards, and a part of the garrison of Stockholm, to assist in the invasion. But the death of this royal adventurer, whose ambition had given too much umbrage to his neighbors, changed the disposition of all Europe, with regard to the desolated kingdom he left behind him, and determined the king of Great-Britain, and soon after the king of Prussia, to enter into friendship with the new queen, whom they were unwilling to see deprived of any more provinces. These monarchs indeed, at the same time that they took on them the

guarantee of what yet remained to the Swedish crown, had the countries confirmed to them that they were already possessed of ; which to the former were Bremen and Verden, and to the latter Stetin with its territories. His Britannic majesty was also to pay 300,000 crowns annually to Sweden, during the continuance of the war, and even to procure by force, the restitution of what the czar had conquered, and of the estates of the duke of Holstein which the king of Denmark had usurped.

M. Osterman, during the winter, had been sent for from Aland to receive new instructions ; but when he returned thither again in the spring, it was more to menace than negotiate with the Swedes, and to declare, that unless in two months time they accepted the conditions proposed, they must expect a visit from 40,000 plenipotentiaries. Sweden no doubt must have complied, had it not been for the alliance abovementioned ; but she made another figure than she had lately done, when the lord Carteret appeared at Stockholm, in the character of ambassador from the king of Great-Britain, and sir John Norris in the road of Copenhagen, with a squadron of English men of war. It did not at all please the czar, that this admiral, whom he had been informed a few months before was coming to him as a public minister, should have the influence of a strong fleet to support his negotiations. This character had been designed for sir John in the preceding winter, when the resident Jefferies had orders to take his excellency with him from Copenhagen : but when Mr. Jefferies came thither, he found that sir John was returned with his fleet for England, and was obliged to proceed to Petersburgh alone, where he arrived in the middle of January. He had several audiences of the czar and his ministers, in which he complained of the good reception the Jacobites found at the Russian court, and that his czarish majesty had endeavored to divert the regent of France from signing the quadruple alliance. The rest of Mr. Jefferies' commission was to make compliments and propositions, and to concert

plans of operation against Sweden ; which, on the one part, however sincerely agreed to at first, were never intended to be put in execution after the death of king Charles.

It was on the 3d of July, 1719, that sir John Norris appeared again in the road of Copenhagen, where he received a letter from the czar, requiring him to send in writing the reasons of his coming to the Baltic.— The admiral returned a very mild answer, desiring that he would send to the king his master, to be satisfied of his good intentions. But this was so far from convincing the czar of the continuance of the king of Great-Britain's friendship, that it plainly shewed him he was abandoned by his allies, and those very allies gone over to the enemy. The king of Poland himself had entered into a treaty with the emperor and the king of Great-Britain ; which occasioned the czar to write him a warm expostulatory letter, and disperse it among the members of the republic : and this usage so exasperated Augustus, that he answered it with severe reproaches, which seemed to foretel a rupture between Russia and Poland.

The czar, who had before resolved to make a descent on Sweden, now hastened to put it in execution before she could receive any succor from her allies.— He published a manifesto from on board his fleet, to declare the motives of this expedition, and vindicate his own conduct, by throwing the blame of it on the queen of Sweden. Her Swedish majesty answered by a counter-manifesto, wherein she reeriminates upon the czar, and argues the unreasonableness of those conditions on which he had offered peace ; exhorting her subjects not to receive false impressions from this writing of her avowed enemy, but bravely to imitate their ancestors in defence of their country. The czar's pen was indeed to be dreaded, as well as his sword : and the queen of Sweden was not the only monarch who was apprehensive of the impressions it might make on their subjects, and who complained of the artifice with which he employed it.

The descent is made, and in such an effectual manner that the Swedes are unable to oppose the torrent of destruction that overwhelms them. The prince of Hesse, with his little army, flies about from place to place; but the Russians neither wait his coming up, nor stop their devastations for fear of his efforts.— They land in parties every where, destroy all that comes in their way; and as the best towns, the finest seats, and the richest mines of Sweden, lie near the sea-coast, they could do their business, and embark again for other places, before it was possible for the Swedish forces to interrupt them, though they even lay within a few leagues. The gazettes of that time give the particulars of this dreadful invasion, which I shall not here copy; but according to the general account published at Petersburgh, by the czar's order, it appears that admiral Apraxin, for his part, burnt and destroyed, 6 good towns, 41 castles or palaces of brick, 109 of wood, belonging to noblemen, 826 villages or hamlets, 3 mills, 10 magazines, 2 mines of copper, and 5 of iron. General Lesly, who commanded another grand party, reduced to ashes 2 towns, 21 castles or noblemen's houses, 535 villages or hamlets, 40 mills, 16 magazines, and 9 iron mines, to save one of which the Swedes had offered 500,000 rix-dollars. It must be observed, that in Sweden there are few large towns, the people being dispersed in small villages over the face of the country; which is the reason that in these lists the number of the latter is so great in proportion to that of the former.

The Russians, from one mine that they destroyed, carried 13,000 tons of iron on board their galleys: and as a great part of the wealth of Sweden consists in this metal, the more completely to ruin that unhappy kingdom, the invaders threw into the sea all of it that they could not bring away, which was no less than 80 thousand bars. The mines and mills they utterly destroyed wherever they came, with the corn and forage, and killed all the cattle and horses which they could

neither expend nor carry off. In a word: the czar was resolved to reduce the Swedes to such extremity, that they should accept of the conditions he thought proper to impose; but that intrepid nation began to imbibe new courage at the appearance that was made in their favor, and when M. Osterman, after these devastations, came to offer them propositions again upon the foot of baron Gortz's plan, they not only rejected them with scorn, but broke up the conferences at Aland and the ministers on both sides returned home.

Sir John Norris, who had hitherto lain quiet in the road of Copenhagen, while the Swedes in vain expected him to make a diversion in their favor, perceiving how hardly they were now pressed, sailed away for the ports of Sweden, in order, as was imagined, to meet the Russians. The latter, however, did not think proper to wait the junction of the English and Swedish fleets, which undoubtedly would have been an over-match for theirs, but prudently retired to their own harbors eight days before sir John's arrival. But fear is a motive that must never be ascribed to great monarchs, and though the czar's conduct in this retreat was no more than a necessary prudential step, so jealous was he lest it should be interpreted to his disadvantage, that he caused a writing to be published on this occasion, entitled "A true relation of the return of the Russian fleet to Revel and Cronslot, published to confute the false reports of those that envy the glory of his czarish majesty's arms." It contained a journal of the motions of the fleet for some time before, and asserted that the season of the year was the only cause of its retreat; though few could be induced to believe that sir John Norris would have advanced into those northern seas, with an English fleet, at a time when the severity of the weather obliged the Russians to retire.

It was impossible all this while, there could be any good understanding between the courts of London and Petersburg. Mr. Berkely, son of the lord Berkely,

of Stratton, had been despatched with letters from lord Carteret, at Stockholm, while the Russian plenipotentiaries were yet at the isle of Aland, offering his Britannic majesty's mediation between the czar and the queen of Sweden: but when he arrived there, the plenipotentiaries would neither grant him a passport to Petersburg, nor undertake to send his letters to the czar; general Bruce excusing himself upon the contents of those letters, which, he said, were not agreeable to the ties subsisting between their czarian and Britannic majesties. Upon this, messieurs Jefferies and Weber were ordered to retire to Dantzick; and the czar, in return, seized the persons and effects of all the English merchants in his dominions, threatening to confiscate the latter, in case the king of Great-Britain made war upon him, which he was informed admiral Norris had commission to do, in conjunction with Sweden. At the same time the Russian resident at London, M. Wesselowski, presented a very bold memorial to king George, which charged him with breach of treaties and violation of friendship. This was answered by secretary Stanhope, and the chancery of Hanover, respectively; and these answers were a short time after replied to by M. Bestuchef, who succeeded Wesselowski at London, in such an affronting manner, that he was ordered to depart the kingdom.

I shall postpone the transactions at Petersburg, during the czar's stay there in the winter, till we have entirely done with this tedious war. His czarian majesty began early in 1720 to prepare for a new campaign, and resolved alone to push the operations against Sweden, assisted by an English fleet, favored by the kings of Prussia and Denmark, and ready to make peace with Poland. Ulrica Eleanora, sister of the late king Charles XII. in the mean while resigned her crown to her husband, the prince of Hesse-Cassel; and king George engaged the regent of France, with whom he was in strict alliance, to pay

certain large subsidies that were due to the Swedes, of which 600,000 crowns were remitted at once. All these dispositions looked little favorable to the czar, who now saw that if he obtained an advantageous peace, he must extort it by force. He reinforced his army in Finland, augmented his fleet, and made all possible haste to enter on action. It was pleasant to see, that while hostilities were vigorously carrying on between the two nations, the king of Sweden sent to notify his accession to the czar, and the czar very affectionately complimented the king upon the news; each monarch doing all in his power to entertain the envoy of the prince he was at war with. But M. Romanzoff, who was sent to Stockholm on this occasion, could obtain nothing but gracious words; for the Swedish court would neither consent to an armistice, nor a cartel for the exchange of prisoners, (both which M. Romanzoff had commission to offer) unless preliminaries for a peace were at the same time settled.

As soon as the season of the year would permit, admiral Norris arrived again in the Sound, with orders anew to offer his master's mediation, and to support it with his fleet. But the czar, who chose rather to treat of peace directly with Sweden, would, however, admit of no mediator but the emperor of Germany. He was persuaded the British admiral would not act offensively, as there was no open rupture between the courts of London and Petersburgh; and therefore not only proceeded with drawing together his army in Finland, to the number of 80,000 men, but at the same time got ready his fleet at Cronslot and Revel. He did not venture it out, however, during the whole season, and the only action it performed was the taking of two Swedish frigates, and running two others aground.— This advantage was owing to the rashness of the Swedish vice-admiral, who, ignorant of the Russian's strength, ventured to attack them on the coast, and were repulsed with the loss of 400 men, 150 pieces of cannon, and these vessels. Yet the czar, very politi-

cally, to keep up the reputation of his marine, made this victory the subject of a triumph; had medals struck on the occasion, and gave presents to prince Galliczin, the admiral, and the other officers and soldiers who had signalized their valor. These deluding cavalcades, in M. de Voltaire's opinion, augmented the people's veneration for his person, and, perhaps, made him appear greater in their eyes, than all the real good he had done them. In the mean time, it could not but be a sensible mortification to his majesty, that he durst not attempt any thing farther; and sir John Norris, though he acted nothing really, did Sweden great service, by keeping the czar from action. The Russian fleet, though the wonder of the world for the time it had been raising, was yet insufficient to appear before a British squadron. His majesty's land forces were more successful; they burnt the new town of Uma, in Lapland, destroyed two gentlemen's seats, 41 villages, 17 mills, and 183 magazines, without suffering the least loss.

Though M. Romanzoff effected nothing himself, it appeared at the beginning of the year 1721, that his voyage to Stockholm had not been useless. He made count Horn, president of the Swedish chancery, so sensible of the czar's pacific disposition, that the cartel, which had been refused, was soon after granted to prince Miserski, who immediately succeeded Romanzoff. His czarish majesty, in the midst of his conquests, could be under no other necessity to sue for peace, than what paternal affection for his subjects, drained and wasted by twenty years hostilities, laid upon him; and the frankness with which he proposed it, in this advantageous situation, convinced the Swedish ministry of his sincerity. When prince Miserski returned to Petersburgh, M. Dahlman, a Swedish adjutant-general, followed him thither, and proposed an armistice for a whole year: but the czar, as he had prepared for the next campaign, would not consent to a suspension of arms for so long a time, lest it



should be only a snare of the enemy, in order to recover strength; yet he gave M. Dahlman to understand, that he would accept the mediation of France, which M. Campredon, the French minister at Stockholm, had in some measure offered. This was immediately complied with, and M. Campredon went to Petersburg, to hear his majesty's propositions, which were the same he had before sent by M. Osterman to Stockholm, and communicated to the king of Great-Britain. The Swedes consented to treat on the conditions they had before refused, and Nieustadt, a little town of Finland, was named for the place of congress. The plenipotentiaries soon repaired thither, but not time enough to prevent the Russian troops from making some fresh progress upon the coasts of Sweden, where general Lesly burnt six new galleys, and twenty-seven other vessels; destroyed a magazine of arms, a manufactory of muskets, two iron forges and thirteen mills; besides laying waste four towns, 509 hamlets, 98 parishes, and 53½ barns. But as these hostilities were immediately stopped, as soon as the suspension of arms was agreed on by the plenipotentiaries, the alarm they gave the Swedish court tended only to forward the negotiations, which indeed was all the czar desired.

The king of Sweden having been brought to consent to the cession of Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, part of Carelia, and the territory of Wyburg; the isles of Oesel, Dragee, Maen, &c. the czar agreed to restore part of Finland; to pay two millions of rix-dollars to his Swedish majesty; to permit the Swedes to buy 50,000 rubles worth of corn every year at Riga, Revel and Wyburg, and to transport it without paying duty; except when a bad harvest, or other solid reasons, should hinder it; and to allow the same liberties, civil and religious, to the provinces, that they had enjoyed under former governments. All confiscations, except those already escheated, were to be restored, and all prisoners released without ransom, provided they paid their debts. Those who were willing to do

homage to the czar, were permitted to do so, without being incapacitated from serving elsewhere : the rest had three years allowed to dispose of their estates, and were obliged to pay off all mortgages. Thus did the czar Peter, when all his allies had deserted him, procure a peace upon his own terms, without permitting the king of Great-Britain, as elector of Hanover, to be included in the treaty, though the Swedes had endeavored to get his name inserted.

The profusion with which his majesty celebrated the publication of this peace, as well by his ministers at foreign courts, as in the cities of his empire, sufficiently expressed the pleasure it gave him. He loaded the plenipotentiaries on both sides with presents and favors, and sent immediate orders to set the Swedish captives every where at liberty ; but with this intimation, that if they were willing to enter into his service, he would give them the same rank they had borne in the troops of their country, upon public declaration, that it was their own choice. Those general officers of whose bravery he had been witness, he recommended to the favor of their sovereign. Rear-admiral Ehrenchild, in particular, whom the czar, at his departure, had presented with his picture set in diamonds, was, upon this recommendation, preferred to the degree of admiral.

As to the inhabitants of Livonia, his majesty did more for them than was stipulated in the treaty ; and not only gave the Calvinists among them the free exercise of their religion, which they could never obtain under the Swedes, but restored to the whole province all those privileges that had been usurped during the two late reigns. Other ordinances that he made in their favor, sufficiently convinced them of the lenity of his government. And for all those of his ancient subjects, who were in prison or on board the galleys, he passed an act of indemnity, that they too might partake in the general joy, and bless God for restoring public tranquility.

The 22d of October, 1721, was ordered for a day of general thanksgiving throughout the empire. Two days before a resolution was taken in the senate, after deliberation with the clergy, "to thank his majesty for his paternal care and pains in the government of his people, especially during the last war, and to entreat him to accept the titles of Peter the Great, father of his country, and Emperor of all Russia." When this proposition was made to him, he seemed some time in suspense, and even desired to be excused from receiving that honor; but at length he submitted to their repeated solicitations, and on the day of thanksgiving, after the treaty of peace was read, the archbishop of Pleskow made an oration upon his majesty's exploits, declaring him worthy of those titles. Then the great chancellor Golofskin, at the head of the senate, addressed his majesty in a short speech, which conferred them on him, and set forth the reason of this proceeding. The whole senate then repeated thrice, "Long live Peter the great, father of his country, and emperor of all Russia." This was followed by a general salvo of all the cannon, and the loud acclamations of the people. The conduits in the streets ran with wines: the night concluded with illuminations and fireworks, and these rejoicings continued for fifteen days.

Having beheld peace thus re-instated in the north, by the great wisdom of his czarish majesty, I return to some transactions during the last two years, that, for the reasons before given, were hitherto omitted. There had been several other executions, at the end of the year 1718, besides those we have mentioned, of persons concerned in the late ezarewitz's treason. After which his majesty established another high tribunal, consisting of military officers, to inquire into the faults of those concerned in the civil administration. The princes Menzikoff and Dolgorueki, admiral Apraxin, his brother the senator, and many others, were found guilty before it of several heinous crimes; but the only punishment they suffered, was being severely mulcted.

in their purses. The reason his majesty gave for this lenity, was the consideration of their former services. But it was thought by many, that the court was instituted only to draw from these favorites a part of what they had extorted from the people, in the exercise of their respective authorities. What gave some color to this supposition, was the czar's behavior to prince Menzikoff, who, though always found guilty in inquisitions of this nature (of which there were several during his majesty's reign) was constantly re-established in his former honors; and therefore was looked upon only as a tool on these occasions, to color this arbitrary way of levying money on the nobility and chief officers. By this means, it was said, the czar avoided the odium of oppressing his subjects, to raise those immense treasures that were necessary for carrying on his vast projects, and even made the commonalty admire their sovereign, while they hated his ministers; though at the same time he only punished them for extortions himself connived at, and let them still go on to drain the people, that he might squeeze them like sponges, when the exigencies of state called for what they had amassed. Whether this suggestion was well founded, or how far such a measure might be justifiable in an absolute monarch, to make him beloved by the most perverse nation in the universe, I will not pretend to determine: but certainly we must allow it, if true, to be a most refined stroke of policy. Though me thinks the bodily punishments, such as the knout and batagos, which were often made use of on these convictions, and which Menzikoff himself did not always escape, are a pretty strong argument for the contrary opinion.

In the winter of 1719, the czar banished the Jesuits from his dominions, whither they had introduced themselves by a recommendation from the emperor. His majesty saw that the maxims of these fathers, which tend to undermine all civil governments, and alienate the minds of people from their princes, in order to fix them on other objects, were incompatible with his de-

sign of making a brave people, that should have no human dependence, but on their own natural sovereign. And at the same time, in imitation of other great legislators, he instituted public diversions, to wean his subjects of their superstitious inclinations, which had given but too much handle to the artifice of those spiritual itinerants. He caused assemblies to be opened at Petersburgh, and drew up regulations to be observed in them, which were printed in the Russian language. Every great man at court was to hold one of these at least every winter, and separate rooms were provided for the ladies, and those who were willing to spend the evening in conversation, while in others there was dancing, or playing at cards and chess, in which last game the Russians are great proficient. Plays and operas were also introduced; but, as the czar himself had no great relish for them, they made but little progress during his reign.

Poland was still so embarrassed, that it is difficult, in a few words, to mention the affairs of that kingdom. The quarrels of the nobility, either among themselves, with their own king, or some foreign potentate, is the chief characteristic of their boasted liberty. They had for a long time been uneasy with the czar on account of the troops which he kept quartered among them, or continually marched through their territories. Prince Dolhorucki, who had been several years with them as his majesty's ambassador, was hitherto unable to give them satisfaction. Augustus himself, as he had now no body to fear, had long been less respectful than formerly to his czarish majesty, either out of disregard to an old friend, from whom he expected no further services, or to ingratiate himself the more with the republic. The coldness was become mutual between the two monarchs, and Augustus was rather inclined to enter into alliance with the Swedes, who had deposed him, than observe his engagements with the czar his restorer; as the latter, for his part, had once thought of undoing what he had done, and replacing Stanislaus

on the throne from which he had driven him. While confidence was thus wanting on both sides, the palatine of Mazovia came ambassador from the diet to his ezarian majesty, to demand satisfaction for the damages done by the marches of his troops, and to declare, in case of refusal, that the nobility were ready to get on horseback, to take revenge for the injuries they had received. The czar was neither willing to break with the republic, nor to relinquish the pretensions he had upon it, and therefore answered the ambassador by other demands, and promised to examine into the grounds of what he complained of. Thus the negociations were still spun out; prince Dolhorucki was continued, and the palatine of Mazovia went home as he came; but not without being loaded with civilities, and expressing his admiration at the wonders of his majesty's reign, his magnificent buildings, numerous armies, powerful fleets, and political institutions; all which he promised to recount in his own country.

As the king of Great-Britain had taken part with Sweden, the czar apprehended the British ministry would oppose all the steps towards an accommodation: for this reason his majesty, who well knew the temper and constitution of the English, endeavored to set the people of that nation against their rulers, as if these latter were only in the interest of Hanover. By publishing an ordinance in favor of the British merchants, he kept the ministry from doing him any hurt during the congress at Nieustadt. To see him not only conquer the first hero of the age, but out-reach the ablest politicians, surmount every obstacle that lay in his way, and accomplish all he had fought for in alliance, when deserted and opposed by his allies; what an idea does it give us of his wonderful spirit—how does it convince us of the propriety of his newly acquired title?

But the imperial title, thus solemnly conferred by his own subjects, was yet to be acknowledged by foreign powers. All the ministers residing at Petersburgh had public notification of what was done, and were de-

sired to write concerning it to their respective courts : at the same time the Russian ministers abroad had the like notice, that they might demand of the powers to whom they were sent, the acknowledgment of this title. The king of Prussia, the states-general, and the grand seignior, made no hesitation ; and the other powers, who had any misunderstanding with the court of Petersburgh, or any private reasons to keep them at present on the reserve, complied as soon as the matters in suspense were adjusted. Mean while his imperial majesty, every day more worthy of those honors, accomplished what he had before found impracticable, by transferring the trade of Archangel almost entirely to Petersburgh : and for the encouragement of the mercantile part of his subjects, as well as to lessen the public expense, he cantoned out his men of war among the trading cities, who were to use them in commerce, upon condition only of keeping them in repair for his majesty's service. Nor was religion neglected among his other regulations, though the manner in which he promoted it was not conformable to the system of priests. He caused the bible to be printed in the Russian language, and obliged every father of a family to have at least one copy, on which account they were sold very cheap : and the clergy, most of whom thirty years before could barely read, were ordered all of them to preach in the modern method, such doctrines only as were to be found in the scriptures.

On the 21st of December, 1721, his ezarish majesty set out from Petersburgh for Moscow, attended by the empress, the nobility and the foreign ministers. On the 26th he entered his ancient capital in triumph, at the head of his first regiment of guards, passing under several arches, and receiving, as he marched along, the compliments of the magistracy and clergy. But neither is it my business to describe particularly these cavaleades, having already said enough in their defence ; nor was it the business of his majesty only to exhibit a public spectacle. Prince Peter, his only son,

had been dead almost three years, and the succession, in all probability, would occasion much dispute after his death, if it were not settled before; besides that the empire might fall into the hands of a person unworthy or incapable of governing, who would consequently ruin all that had hitherto been done. His majesty therefore summoned all the officers, civil and military, and all the inhabitants of Moscow, native and foreign, to assemble in the castle on the fourth of February, where an unexpected proposal was made them, and afterwards distributed to each person in print. It was that they should swear, and give it under their hands, "to approve such person for successor to the empire, as his majesty should nominate." An order of the same nature was published a few days afterwards at Petersburg, to be subscribed by the magistrates and people. The grandees of Russia were all summoned to Moscow, and those of Astracan and Siberia to their respective capitals, to subscribe the same writing. And such was now the universal opinion of their emperor's wisdom and cares, that all ranks and degrees pressed to obey his commands, though every one was ignorant who the person was he intended to choose. Prince Naraskin, a near relation of his majesty, a person of great abilities and experience, who had been many years abroad, and was well acquainted with his majesty's great designs, was the man generally thought of. The emperor, however would satisfy nobody, but declared in general in the act of succession, "that if the person pitched upon should forget himself on that account; and not continue to answer his expectation, he would exclude him and choose another."

The situation of affairs in Persia, upon the revolt of Myr-Maghmud, gave both the czar and the grand seignior an opportunity of turning their arms that way. Father du Cerceau, in his history of the revolution in Persia, gives a very particular account of this extraordinary event, one of the most remarkable of the present age. He shews us an indolent monarch, other-



wise generous and humane, suffering himself to be lulled into a profound lethargy, while his subjects were more oppressed, and less protected, than under the worst of his tyrannical predecessors. An artful nobleman, one of the head of the Aghwans, an obscure nation, who inhabited a very remote and neglected part of the empire, discovers the weakness of the court, and forms the project of becoming independent. He effects it with ease, and preserves this independency till his death: after which his son, a youth of but eighteen, having defeated an army that was sent against him, pursues his victory till he deposes his sovereign, and ascends the imperial throne. The example of the Aghwans encouraged the Lesgians to revolt likewise, who being a people that inhabit about mount Caucasus, on the west of the Caspian Sea, among the ravages and massacres they committed, put to the sword above 300 Russians, who came thither in the way of commerce, and seized their effects, to the amount of above a million of money. About the same time the caravan from China was pillaged and destroyed by the Usbeck Tartars, a people in union with Myr-Maghnum.

These outrages upon his majesty's subjects gave sufficient cause of complaint, and occasioned his sending an ambassador to Persia, who remonstrated the case to the young usurper. Maghnum, with an air of haughtiness and indifference, which success and want of experience are ever apt to give, told the ambassador, "that for his part, he was willing to maintain a good understanding with the czar, who he had heard was a prudent and valiant prince; but could not answer for the conduct of his Tartar allies, with whom the czar must treat for security if he wanted to pass through their country." This insolent answer, joined to the damage his subjects had sustained, gave the Russian emperor a fair opportunity to make an expedition to the Caspian Sea; the becoming master of which might be a means of extending the commerce of his empire. With this view he gave orders for assembling troops

about Astracan, building vessels on the Wolga, and making all the necessary dispositions for falling on the northern provinces of Persia, which lay along the west of this unnavigated sea. The river Daria, before mentioned for its gold dust, falls into it in these parts, and some very remarkable antiquities, in particular several thousand manuscripts in an unknown language, had been discovered in the same neighbourhood; both which were motives sufficient to draw thither a prince of Peter's character, who it was judged, would not have wanted a pretence for this expedition, if the affront from Myr-Maghmun had never been received.

It gave no small alarm to the Turks, when they saw an army of 100,000 men, with the emperor of Russia at their head, drawn up on their frontiers; for the Turkish provinces here run up parallel with those of Persia, and border upon the Black, as the other upon the Caspian Sea. The grand vizir signified the suspicions of the Porte to the Russian minister at Constantinople, and was soon satisfied by a manifesto, which the emperor sent him, and caused to be dispersed along the borders, that his imperial majesty's design was not against Georgia, nor any other province dependent on the Turks, but to correct the insolence of the usurper Maghmun. And as sovereigns never want more pompous reasons to cover those that are private and real, his majesty declared himself the protector of the injured sophi, whom he resolved to support against Maghmun's pretensions. He had received indeed three expresses from this monarch, imploring his assistance against the rebel. The conditions offered were too advantageous for Peter not to embrace them, though it was impossible he should actually attempt, with his own troops, to re-enthroned the sophi. The marching an army into the heart of Persia would have been too hazardous an enterprise, as it must have excited the jealousy of the Turks, and even of the mogul: but the Russian emperor, by invading the provinces on the Caspian Sea, might draw off the forces of the usurper

thither, and give the party of the deposed monarch time to recover strength.

On the 18th of July, 1722, the Russian fleet, consisting of 273 large vessels, began to fall down the Wolga. The emperor Peter, who commanded the expedition in person, was his own historian, and to his journal\* is the world obliged for all the accounts of it extant. It informs us of the surrender of Terki and Derbent, the two principal towns along the coast; of the routing several detachments of the petty princes thereabouts, and of the joy with which they were received at all the places they passed through. His majesty, in short, became master of the coasts of Daghestan and Schirvan, and that very army which was in Sweden in September, 1721, was in Moscow from November to the April following, conquered two provinces from Persia in the summer, and arrived at Moscow again in November, 1722. A little inspection of the map will give an idea of this laborious expedition, which, though it was not attended with any remarkable action, there not being an enemy in those parts capable of making head against such a numerous army, deserves a place among the great actions of the emperor Peter. The Latin verse written over the gate of Derbent, when his majesty entered it, alluding to the opinion that Alexander the Great was the builder of that city, contained a very handsome compliment on this occasion:

*Struxerat hanc fortis, tenet hanc jam fortior urbem.*

Nor was it only as a conqueror, that Peter visited these shores, but as a geographer and mathematician. The Caspian Sea had been known as long as we have any records of time, but the true figure of it was never discovered till this expedition. The czar detected the ignorance of all former ages, by ordering a chart to be taken of this prodigious lake; and we now see

\* This journal is published in English, among other pieces, in the second volume of Consett's trials.

it extended in length from north to south, to more than three times the breadth ; whereas in our maps before this, it makes always a round or an oval figure. His majesty sent a draught of his new Caspian Sea, (for so we may properly call it) to his brethren of the academy, wherein the places are laid down with as much exactness as in our maps of England, and the copies of it are now almost as common.

Myr Maghmud having strove in vain to distress the Russian army, by setting upon them the neighboring Tartars, and finding he could have no confidence in the loyalty of the Persians, took all possible pains to bring over the porte to his interest, and make it break with the czar. We have already seen, in several instances, the weak and uncertain measures which the Ottomans took on every slight alarm from Russia, and it was now no difficult matter to terrify them with the danger of Georgia, and the storm which threatened the Mahometan religion, for which the Turks and Persians were equally concerned. A rupture, in all likelihood, must have followed, if the emperor of Germany had not signified to the sultan, who sent to sound his inclinations, that he was under such engagements to Russia, as would oblige him to take arms in its favor, whenever attacked by his sublime highness. The grand vizir, who was almost the only man in the divan that wished to preserve the peace, made the best use of this declaration to soften the rest of the ministry; and as the French ambassador, at the same time, took pains to convince the sultan that the Russian emperor had done nothing but what the porte had before approved of, the matter for the present blew over, and though a fresh alarm arose, upon the revolt of the people of Ghilan to the czar ; the same preparations that had been making against Russia, were at last employed against Maghmud himself, upon the pressing instances of the deposed sophi.

The czar made preparations the next spring for renewing the Persian war. But the usurper had then

his hands full of the Turks, and was in no condition to oppose the troops which his majesty had left behind him. They took Baku, the only place of importance that remained to the Persians on that coast; for which great rejoicings were made at Petersburgh, as it secured all the other Russian conquests on the Caspian Sea. About the same time arrived an ambassador from Schah Thamas, son of the deposed sophi Hussein.— That young prince was now at the head of an army, and had gained some advantages over the enemy.— His minister being received with much splendor, concluded a treaty with his ezarish majesty, by which Derbent, Baku, the provinces of Ghilan, Mazandaran, and all the other countries bordering upon the Caspian Sea, were ceded forever to Russia, upon condition, that the czar should assist the young Schah against his rebellious subjects, and get him re-established on the throne of his ancestors.

As the Turks were now stripping Persia of all the provinces they could, without regard either to the usurper or the hereditary prince, they immediately took umbrage at this alliance, and debated again about entering into a war with the Russians. But his imperial majesty having timely notice of their disposition, he took care to communicate the new treaty to the porte in form, inviting her to become a party in it, as no more was designed by it than to assist an insulted prince against his rebellious subjects. The vizir again gave a good turn to this declaration, and the usurpation of Maghamud was painted in such colors to the sultan, that he at last approved of what the Russian emperor had done. A convention was consequently agreed on between Schah Thamas and his highness, by which the latter was left in possession of Erivan, Tauris and Casbin: but at the same time a limitation was set to the conquests of the Russians, which, however, not only confirmed to them the western coasts of the Caspian, of which they were already masters, but gave them a prospect of two other rich provinces, as soon

as the repose of Persia was settled. Thus, this last war in which the czar Peter was ever engaged, we have seen as happy a conclusion as to any of his former.

His imperial majesty for several years past, had been often afflicted with such violent fits of the cholie, that his life was more than once in danger. One of these paroxysms had seized him at Moscow, just before he set out on the expedition against Persia, and as the distemper returned upon him more frequently than formerly, he thought it advisable, for fear of an accident, to leave behind him a will, written with his own hand, and appointing his successor in the empire.— This testament, made in consequence of the power he had assumed, which power his subjects had acknowledged in the oath they took some time before, was placed among the records of the empire, that it might be recurred to in case of his demise: but now that he was returned in safety, and had established peace on every side of his wide extended empire, his majesty resolved to declare publicly the person he had nominated in his will, and to secure to her the allegiance of his subjects while he yet lived. His beloved Catharine, the companion and partner of all his fatigues, was to be solemnly crowned in his ancient city of Moscow, and left in possession of that dignity, which, after the experience of many years, he found due to her merit.

A proclamation was published in pursuance of this resolution, alledging the examples of several Greck emperors, as Basilicus, Justinian, Heraclius, and Leo the philosopher, who had all of them set the crown upon the head of their consorts, as a precedent for what his majesty had determined to do. It mentioned in particular the action at the Pruth, in which the empress had afforded him such eminent service, and declared this dignity to be conferred on her as an acknowledgment for all that she had done and suffered in his behalf.

Great preparations were made for the exhibition of this extraordinary spectacle, which was retarded for

some time on account of new misunderstandings with the Turks: but these being blown over, the emperor and empress arrived at Moscow, on the first of April, 1724. The solemnity was performed the 18th of May, after her imperial majesty had for three days prepared for it by fasting and prayer. Of all the public ceremonies in the czar Peter's reign, this was, perhaps, the most splendid and expensive. His majesty, who well knew what an effect these magnificent shews have on the minds of the populace, was doubtless willing by these means to teach them the most profound veneration for the person he had chosen to govern them, and whom he designed to honor in this unparalleled manner. If we reflect on the birth of this princess, and the extraordinary steps by which she rose to the height of worldly majesty, we must allow there was great reason for some such method to be taken, in order to efface, as much as possible, the memory of her former state. This great monarch, though he always avoided pomp and expense, where they were not absolutely necessary, would yet never spare them when they served any good purpose.

Gazettes and annals, or (what are much the same) voluminous histories of particular persons, are the proper registers of such matters as these. As they are designed only to answer a present purpose, they no otherwise deserve a place in history, than just as precedents for future solemnities. It is sufficient to take notice here, that the cathedral, in which this ceremony was performed, was richly adorned, and crowded with nobility, gentry, and foreign ministers; that the emperor himself put the crown on her majesty's head, after which she received the sacrament, and Theophanes, archbishop of Pleskow, made an oration in her praise. She was led by the duke of Holstein, and all the great officers of state made a splendid appearance. After the whole procession was over, their majesties dined in the great hall of solemnities, which is one of the largest and finest rooms in Europe. The duke of

Holstein had a table by himself. The fountains ran with wine, red and white ; and oxen, and all manner of fowls, were roasted and given away to the populace.

Having thus introduced the duke of Holstein, it is proper here to give a history of that prince, who was now in high favor at the imperial court of Russia. I before mentioned his being dispossessed, during his minority, of the dutchy of Sleswick, which had been guaranteed to him by the king of Great-Britain. His pretensions to the crown of Sweden, as son of the late Charles XII's eldest sister, were thwarted by the succession of his aunt Ulrica, who had now resigned her right to her husband, and suffered the states to resume their ancient privilege of electing their sovereigns. In these circumstances the duke applied in 1720 to the czar, who was then at war with Sweden, and not much pleased with the kings of Denmark and Great-Britain. His majesty very graciously attended to the young prince's minister, promised him his protection, and as an earnest of respect, sent his highness 100,000 crowns, and an invitation to come to him from Breslau, where he then resided. Riga was at that time the residence of the Russian court, and the duke coming thither in April 1721, he met with a most kind reception from both the czar and czarina, with whom he had continued ever since.

I took notice that the emperor's daughter Anne Petrowna, who had been solicited in marriage for the chevalier de St. George, was at the same time intended for the duke of Holstein by baron Gortz. But the sudden death of both the baron and his master, and the new system that was introduced in Sweden, had entirely changed the state of affairs with regard to the duke, who could hardly have thought afterwards of so great a match, but for this lucky incident of being taken under the czar's protection. This had already raised the character and interest of the young prince, and revived his hopes of still succeeding to the crown, which he thought to be his right ; and an embassy



which he sent to the senate at Stockholm, supported by the Russian ministers, had been so effectual, that the states of Sweden, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the king and queen to the contrary, allowed him to take and use the title of royal highness ; which was a sort of tacit acknowledgment of his claim to the Swedish crown. The czar was very much pleased with the success of this negotiation, as he determined still to give his daughter to the duke, according to what had been concerted six years before : and now, in the winter of 1724, he invited the foreign ministers and nobility, to be present at betrothing the royal couple, which was performed by his majesty's joining their hands and the archbishop of Novogorod's conferring on them his sacerdotal blessing. The marriage was solemnized in form not long after ; but the duke did not long enjoy his beautiful consort, for she died 1728, aged only 16 years. His royal highness survived her eleven years, and died at the age of 39.

This act of betrothing his daughter was the last public solemnity at which the czar Peter assisted, and we are now come to the period of that life which did so much honor to the human species.

His majesty had been first seized with the strangury about the end of the year 1723, for which he had recourse to the use of mineral waters. His disease however, was more powerful than these remedies, which, though they gave him some short intervals of relief, could not prevent its returning with more fury than ever ; so that about the middle of January 1725, he was obliged to be confined to his chamber. The agony of his pain was so violent in making water, that he seemed unable to express it, and only vented himself in heavy groans. A whole week he continued in torture, before it was thought convenient to break an abscess, which was discovered in the neck of his bladder. When this was done, the plentiful discharge of matter gave him some ease for the present. But all hopes of recovery soon after vanished, and nothing but grief

was seen or heard throughout the whole palace. In this extremity, while, as himself expressed it, he was "convinced what a miserable creature mortal man is," he issued out an act of grace, which extended even to malefactors condemned for treason. On the 27th of January he fainted away, when all who were present thought him expired. The alarm was instantly given. All the senators and great officers, with crowds of the people, came rushing into the apartment, and with tears bedewed the hand of their monarch, who unexpectedly recovering from his fit, with some difficulty pronounced a few words. This accident gave him an opportunity of seeing how dearly he was beloved, by the sincere lamentations that were uttered upon the supposition of his having expired. After this he continued fifteen hours in the agonies of death, all which time, in proportion to his strength, he filled up with acts of devotion. At last, on the 28th of January, at four o'clock in the morning, with all the fortitude of a hero and the piety of a christian, he gave up the ghost, having a little before received the sacrament. He lived fifty-two years, seven months and eight days: a very short time for the many great things he performed.

He left behind him three daughters, by the empress Catharine; Anne, dutchess of Holstein; Elizabeth, who is still living; and Natalia, who dying the 15th of March following, was buried with her father on the 21st of the same month. The funeral obsequies were extraordinarily magnificent, for the account of which we refer to the journals of the time. Such posthumous honors could add nothing to the character of Peter, and may be indiscriminately bestowed upon the tyrant and the legislator.

During his last illness, he gave orders that the oath, which had been formerly administered in behalf of the empress, should be renewed. Notwithstanding which there was some debate in council after his death, whether they should acknowledge her for successor, and

whether her coronation conferred any right; but this was instantly over, and a declaration drawn up, in the name of the senators, clergy, and general officers, that the most august Catharine had succeeded, and to her all allegiance was due. This, together with an oath on the occasion, was printed and sent to all parts of the empire; and every one subscribed it with the utmost alacrity. The great merit of this lady sufficiently justified the czar's passion for her during life, and the donation he had made her at his death. She had an understanding capable of entering into all his views, a resolution and intrepidity for putting them in execution, almost equal to his own, and a most beneficent temper, ready to redress every grievance.

In the beginning of this history is a general statement of what Russia was before the reign of Peter the great. We have now seen in some measure, what he had made it. Augustus boasted concerning Rome, that he had found a city of brick and left one of marble. How much more the legislator of Russia had to boast of, we shall see by looking over some of his principal establishments.

A body of infantry of \*100,000 men, as fine troops, as hardy and well disciplined as any in Europe, with a great part of the officers native Russians. The want of horses in Russia, prevented his having a cavalry equally good.

A powerful fleet, consisting of 40 ships of the line, and 200 galleys. One of the largest of these ships, mounting 90 guns, he built himself, in conjunction with Muscovite workmen. This great vessel was launched in 1718, amidst the acclamations of the people, with a pomp that was worthy of the principal carpenter.

A great number of strong fortifications, erected according to the best and newest plans, furnished with artillery and regular garrisons. Also harbors for the

\* This number, says the author of *Original Anecdotes of Peter the Great*, (Mr. Eustaphieff) should be upwards of 200,000.

safety of his fleets, as convenient and well defended as in any other country.

An excellent form of government in all the great cities, which were before as dangerous to pass through in the night, as the most unfrequented woods. High roads were also made, as in other nations.

An academy of sciences and belles-lettres, upon the model of that at Paris, and almost under the same regulations. Another for the marine and navigation, to which all the noble families in Russia were obliged to send some of their children.

Colleges at Moscow, Petersburgh, and Kiow, for the languages, the polite sciences, and the mathematics. Likewise schools in all the towns and little villages, where the children of peasants learned to read and write, which the very gentry could hardly do before.

A college of physicians, and a fine public dispensatory at Moscow, which supplied with remedies all the great cities, and the army. Till his reign there never was in Muscovy either physician or apothecary, but only for the czar's person.

Public lectures in anatomy, a science whose name was till then unknown; for the purpose of which his majesty had brought M. Ruisch's excellent cabinet, of itself a perpetual lecture, consisting of dissections the most curious and instructive.

An observatory, where the astronomers were not wholly employed in the study of the heavens, but had for their object all the curiosities of natural history, which has enabled them already to oblige the world with a great variety of physical researches.

A garden of plants, under the direction of able botanists, who were making collections, not only from all the known parts of Europe, but from the most unknown tracts of Europe and Asia; as well as from Persia, and China itself.

Printing-houses, in which he changed the ancient barbarous characters that could hardly be decypher-

ed, on account of the frequent abbreviations. Books, which, before his time, were more scarce in Russia, than any foreign commodity, are now to be seen there in great plenty.

Interpreters, not only for all the living languages in Europe, but for Latin, Greek, the Turkish, the Calmuck, the Mogul, and the Chinese tongues. A most noble instance of the vast extent of the Russian empire and possibly a presage that it will yet be greater.

A royal library, composed of three very large ones, which he bought in England, Holstein and Germany.

A flourishing trade, for the encouragement of which he built new cities, caused canals to be cut, and made roads through places before impassable, all at incredible labor and expense.

Medicinal waters, baths, and mines, which had been hitherto unknown in his country, he laid open. He raised manufactories, of which Russia had formerly little or no knowledge, and prevented the sending of raw goods to England, Holland, and other places, where they used to be sold at a low rate, and afterwards, when manufactured, bought again at ten times the price.

After having given to this work these solid and necessary foundations, he added to it all that was wanting for ornament. The ancient architecture, rude and unpolished to the last degree, he entirely changed, or rather he gave birth to architecture in his empire.—Multitudes of new houses, convenient and uniform, were seen to rise every year. He erected palaces and public offices, and in particular a magnificent admiralty, on which he bestowed the greater expense, as it was not designed for a mere piece of ostentation.

Great numbers of pictures, by the masters of Italy and France, he purchased and brought over; and a nation who never knew what painting was but from some coarse representations of their saints, can now relish the works of a Raphael or a Poussin. He sent ships to Genoa and Leghorn, loaded with merchan-

dise, which in return brought back statues and antiquities. Pope Clement XI. in regard to his fine taste, sent him an antique of great value, which he transported to Petersburg by land, to avoid the hazards of the sea. A cabinet of medals, a sort of curiosity that is not ancient in the most polite countries, was formed in Petersburg under his care. Without the tedious progress by which other nations have arrived at their present perfection, he had the happiness to leave his in a condition almost equal to the proudest of them all. The Russian empire was just at the summit of its glory; which it attained with the more reputation, as it started from a condition the most mean and despicable.

Among the rest of his reformatations, we have before mentioned that religion was included, which till then hardly merited the name of christian. Their many leuts and fasts, their superstitious worship of saints, miracles which depended only on the pleasure of ignorant priests: this was before the religion of the Russians. The clergy, who knew nothing themselves, could give no instruction to the laity. Peter had the courage to reform these abuses, and not to suffer the soldiers and populace to be made indolent by the holidays of their church. In 1721, he published a spiritual regulation, which was drawn up by a synod assembled for that purpose, and every article of it considered and approved by himself, containing directions for all ranks and orders of men; and what was more, he saw them effectually put in execution. By making himself head of the church, upon abolishing the patriarchate, he became the more absolute master of his empire. Preaching is now frequent in the Muscovite language, and confined, as it ought, to spiritual subjects.

The czar did more: he dared to lop off from the rich livings and monasteries, their superfluous revenue, and apply it to his own use. A clergy immoderately rich, he well knew, would be immoderately

turbulent. "In this, says M. de Fontenelle, very wittily, we can only praise his policy, not his zeal for religion; though pure religion can easily put up with such a retrenchment." In a word, he established a plenary liberty of conscience in all his dominions; which, whatever priestcraft or weak policy may alledge to the contrary, is an undoubted right of mankind.

In his last sickness, when the senators and bishops mentioned the obligations he had laid on his people, he told them that he had forgot to reform one of the most important points of all, the administration of justice. The tedious and expensive method of proceeding in law-suits, which he wholly attributed to the chicanery of the lawyers, seemed to him inconsistent with moral equity. He would therefore have a summary way of determining causes, by proofs in writing and living witnesses, without the embarrassment of artful pleadings, which only tend to disguise the truth.— Judgment, by this means, might always be given in a few hours; and if the sentence was thought unjust, the party might appeal to the senate, and from that to the sovereign. This was the scheme he proposed; and the parties present approving it, he immediately issued out an order for putting it in execution. He lived but eleven days longer, but had the pleasure to hear, that all causes then depending in the capital courts, were determined before he closed his eyes.

It was no wonder, after this, that we saw medals struck to his honor after his death, in which he had the appellation of PETER THE GREAT. Nations the most remote, and generations the farthest behind, will undoubtedly ratify the title conferred on him by his subjects.

As to the person of this extraordinary man, he was above six feet high, and extremely well set. His aspect was noble; his features regular, and his look somewhat severe; his face was of an oval figure, and his eyes very large; his hair in his youth of a light

brown ; his complexion inclining to the dark, but very clear. In his whole demeanor there was a great deal of majesty, but in his conversation such an open familiarity, that rendered him amiable to all. I have heard, from those who knew him, that he was subject to a sort of convulsive motion, particularly in his head, which some ascribe to his having been poisoned by his sister Sophia, and others, perhaps with more justice, to the excesses of his youth. It is very certain, that while he was under the tutelage of Boris Galliczin, that nobleman led him into some irregular courses, which the heat of youth is but too apt to indulge.— Drinking, the constitutional vice of the Muscovites, he had the happiness, in a great measure, to conquer, though many attribute to this the distemper that shortened his days.

His character must be well known from what has been already said, and we can only add to it a few remarkable particulars. With an intrepidity that no danger could move, he was very cautious and circumspect. Indefatigable to the last degree, he seldom allowed himself above four hours sleep. The institutions he framed, the extracts which he made with his own hands from the laws of other nations, that he might compare them with his own, were undeniable proofs of his strict attachment to justice : as was his walking on foot every day through the streets, to receive petitions from his subjects, whom he always redressed in the most gracious manner. Never was a prince more generous to his faithful and loyal servants, of which the princes Menzikoff, Cantemir, and Apraxin, the generals Renne, Baur, Bruce, Weide, the ministers of state, Jagusinski, Osterman and Schaffiroff, were most remarkable instances : all of whom, from mean extraction, were advanced to some of the chief offices of the empire. But then his severity was equally strict to the treacherous and disloyal ; as appeared in the instance of his son, and many others recorded in this history. Even Schaffiroff, the most able of all his min-



isters, who had long served him as vice-chancellor, was condemned to death in 1723, upon conviction of several crimes; but had his sentence commuted for banishment. If the ruin of this minister, as some pretend, was more owing to the intrigues of prince Menzikoff, than to any real misdemeanor, we can only say, that the prince at that time found the art to deceive his master, a thing that was very dangerous to attempt.

Pomp and equipage, the gay trappings of majesty, were things the czar Peter disdained. He loaded prince Menzikoff with these, that the magnificence of the favorite might testify the grandeur of the master, who reserved to himself only the toils of a sovereign. So little did he consider his own person, that he was seen at all the fires, which are very frequent in Moscow. He instituted an order of firemen like those in London, and made one of them himself. To shew an example in time of danger, he has mounted the tops of houses in flames; and what we should admire here in an inferior magistrate, was in Muscovy performed by the emperor.

We ought not to regulate our judgment of this monarch's actions, by comparing them with the delicate and effeminate manners of the French, I had almost said our own nation. Few of our military gentlemen, who make so pretty a figure at a review or ball, would be proud either of the fatigue or reputation of such vigorous exercises. We must not wonder, if a prince of this character, when viewed by a modern man of taste, was charged with being rough and unpolished. It was the fault of his nation indeed to be so; but to charge this fault on a prince who had polished that whole nation, seems, however, a little incongruous.

He knew perfectly how to distinguish merit, and to honor it when found; which is the only means to call forth and increase it. Not content with giving presents and pensions, which were favors indispensably necessary in the pursuit of his designs; he found other

means of a more obliging nature, to shew his respect for the persons of valuable men, and sometimes gave testimonies of it, even after their death. He made a magnificent funeral for Dr. Areskine, his first physician, at which he assisted himself, with a lighted torch in his hand, according to the custom of the Greek church. He did the same honor to two Englishmen; the one was Mr. Paddon, rear-admiral of his fleet, and the other his interpreter of the languages. He conferred a title of honor, and a considerable pension on the famous Mr. Leibnitz, whom he had consulted upon some of his grand projects, and who would have been fully contented with having given his advice to so great a monarch.

The name of the czar will augment the list of the few sovereigns who have been authors, he having composed some treatises on marine affairs. He often amused himself in the art of turning, and sent some of his performances to the emperor of China. Others of them he gave to M. Onzembrai, whose cabinet he thought worthy of such a curiosity as the handy work of a monarch.

In the diversions which he took with his court, according to the relation of M. Weber and others, there appeared some remains of the ancient Muscovite.— We have two or three accounts of mock marriages, one of M. Sotoff, a man who had been successively in the opposite characters of his majesty's tutor and fool, which makes a very grotesque figure as simply related. But the truth appears to be, that his aim in one was to ridicule some of the ancient customs of his people, and in another to expose the character of the patriarch, which he had wisely abolished. His consecration of the Little Grandsire, the skiff which first gave him an idea of shipping, was equally instructive and magnificent, and performed on the same principle as his triumphal entries. It is impossible to pass a judgment on the actions of great men, unless we know the motive from which they act; and we should never sup-

pose that to be extravagant, of which we have no certain idea. Whatever was the czar's taste in pleasures, it was sufficient that those he used could relax his mind; and perhaps he had no time to refine on an article which he the least of all regarded. Arts of this kind come fast enough of themselves; they need not be employed in the foundation of an empire.

“No man that rightly knows the czar, says M. Weber, (who wrote in his life-time) can question his being the most judicious minister, the most experienced general officer and soldier, of his whole empire; the most learned of all the Russian divines and philosophers, well versed in history and mechanics, an able shipwright, and still a better sailor.” Can history produce another monarch, of whom half so much was ever justly written?

“Detached and single attributes of virtues, says a writer of our own country, which met full and perfect in the Russian monarch's character, have eternized the memory of ancient heroes, and swelled history with their praises. The invention of new arts, the establishment of new laws, the adornment or enrichment of their country, the reducing barbarism into civil society, the encouragement of learning, the punishment of oppression, the deliverance of their own country, or the conquest of others; each of these, separately, has been thought sufficient, in all ages, to make and immortalize a hero. What name, then, shall the grateful world invent and bestow, to distinguish the possessor of more than all these virtues united?”

“It would be an injury, as another expresses it, to name him with any one of antiquity. Who, but himself, ever left a throne, to learn to fit it with more grace? Who ever thought himself mean in absolute power, till he had learned to use it; Others may, in a metaphorical or philosophic sense, be said to command themselves, but this emperor was also literally under his own command. How generous and how good was his entering his own name as a private man

in the army he raised, that none in it might expect to outrun the steps with which he himself advanced?— By such measures this godlike prince learned to conquer, learned to use his conquests. How terrible has he appeared in battle, how gentle in victory!”

I shall make but one quotation more, and with that conclude. It is from Mr. Hill, author of that excellent poem in his praise, entitled, *The Northern Star*:— “We, who had the honor to live cotemporaries with this egregious spirit, were deadened in our sense of his true greatness, by the nearness and familiarity with which we observed it: but when posterity, from the distance of descending ages, shall look up towards the records of the present generation, and enquire in vain for the names of some prouder princes who reigned with him: his memory, and the splendor of his never to be forgotten glory, shall cast a brightness over his æra, and millions not yet to be born, till a thousand years after his death, shall remain ignorant of what passed in the days of their grandfathers, while they shall be more learned and enlightened than we are, in the character, the purposes, the actions, and the virtues, of this illustrious dignifier of human nature.”

*FINIS.*

## APPENDIX.

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ON the decease of Peter the Great, Catharine ascended the throne of Russia, and, from the commencement of her reign, conducted herself with the greatest benignity and gentleness, and by that means secured the love and veneration of her subjects. She had borne to the late czar several children, of whom two daughters survived him, and have obtained a place in history; Anne and Elizabeth Petrowna. It is pronouncing her eulogy, when we say, that during her administration it could not be perceived that the head of the empire had been changed. The genius of Peter the Great, as if it had been infused into her soul, still continued to direct the government, and to watch over the glory of the empire. Her indefatigable zeal for the welfare of her subjects, as well as her gratitude, prompted her to pursue with undeviating exactitude the plan which Peter had formed for the civilization of his people.—During her reign, the empire enjoyed the blessings of peace.

Of the young son of Alexis, who was at that time the only remaining male of the blood of the czars, Catharine took peculiar care; and, with a view of opening to him the avenue to the throne, declared him grand duke of Russia. She presided at the first session of the academy of Petersburgh, to which Peter had not had time to give the finishing form. She died at the age of thirty-eight, two years after the death of her husband. Previous to her decease, Catharine had been prevailed on to make her will and settle the succession: accordingly she left the throne to Peter II. son of Alexis, under the direction of a council of regency, at the head of which was prince Menzikoff.

Peter II. reigned only three years, and was succeeded by the empress Anne, daughter of the czar Ivan, eldest brother of Peter I. To Anne, in 1740, succeeded Ivan III. an infant yet in his cradle, who reigned only thirteen months. He was succeeded by Elizabeth who was daughter of Peter the Great by Catharine. She died in 1762, and was succeeded by Peter III. grandson to Peter the Great, by his daughter who married the duke of Holstein. Peter III. was declared incapable of the government—and Catharine II. his wife was declared sovereign. She was a German princess of the house of Anhalt-Zerbst—died 1796. The reign of Catharine was long and splendid. Her court was the most polished in Europe. She was succeeded by Paul Petrowitz, her son, then 43 years of age. He reigned a few years, and was succeeded by the present emperor Alexander, A. D. 1801.



*A BRIEF STATEMENT OF THE COMMERCE OF  
RUSSIA.*

EXPORTS FROM 1780 TO 1790.

19,528	poods of	saltpetre
2,498,950	————	hemp
106,763	————	cordage
167,432	————	hemp oil and linseed oil
52,645	————	tobacco
129	————	rhubarb
35,864	————	barley
7,487	————	rosin
81,386	————	train-oil
943,618	————	tallow and tallow candles
31,712	————	potashes
5,516	————	isinglass
5,635	————	horsehair

29,110	poods of hog's bristles
144,876	———— hides and seal-leather
192,328	———— linseed
214,704	pieces of sail-cloth and flens
2,907,876	arshines of napkins and linen
8,958	poods of caviar
792,932	———— flax
2,655,038	———— iron
105,136	———— wheat
271,976	———— rye
200,000	———— oats
9,720	———— pitch
37,336	———— tar
10,467	———— wax
1,456	masts
1,193,125	planks
85,647	boards
69,722	horse-tails
106,045	Russia mats
292,016	goat-skins
621,327	pieces of fur
9,982	ox-tongues
73,350	ox-bones

This list, which is complete, excepting a few articles of inferior consequence, contains no wrought goods but napkins, linen, sail-cloth, cordage, tallow-candles, potashes, isinglass, caviar, furs, and leather, and even some of these have only such a preparation as is necessary for the preservation and transport of the product. The employment of the nation, considerably as it has increased since the time of Peter the Great, is still more directed to production than to manufacture. This is the natural progress of every human society advancing to civilization; and Russia will continue to confine itself to the commerce in raw materials, till the quantity of its population and employment be sufficient to the manufacturing of them.

The buying up of the foregoing articles, and their conveyance from the midland, and partly from the remotest regions of the empire, form an important branch of the internal commerce. The majority of these products are raised on the fertile shores of the Wolga; this inestimable river, which, in its course, connects the most distant provinces, is at the same time, the channel of business and industry. Wherever its waters lave the rich and fruitful coasts, industry and diligence have fixed their abode: its course marks the progress of internal civilization. But even at a distance of from five to six thousand versts, from the heart of Siberia, rich in metals, St. Petersburg receives the stores of its enormous magazines. The greater part of them, at least the hardwares, are brought hither from the eastern districts of Siberia, almost entirely by water. The Selenga receives and transfers them to the Baikal; which wafts them by the Angara to the Yenisey; whence, passing along the Oby into the Tobol, they are conveyed over a tract of about four hundred versts, by land, to the Tchussovaiya; thence, falling down the Kamma, they proceed along the Wolga, shooting the sluices at Vishney-Volotshok, into the Volkhof; and passing out of that into the Ladoga-lake, they, lastly, after having completed a journey through two quarters of the globe, arrive in the Neva, and are conveyed to the place of their destination. This astonishing transport becomes still more interesting, by the reflection that these products conveyed hither, from the neighborhood of the north-eastern ocean, tarry but a few weeks, in order then to set out on a second, and perhaps greater voyage; or after being unshipped in distant countries, return under an altered form, and, by a tedious and difficult navigation, come back to their native land. How many scythes of the Siberian boors may have gone this circuitous course!

The number of vessels which, according to a ten years' average, viz. from 1774 to 1784, came by the



Ladoga canal to St. Petersburg, was 2861 barks, 797 half barks, 508 one-masted vessels, 1113 chaloups—in all, 5330. Add to these 6739 floats of barks. Sum total 12,078.

The prodigious value, in money, of these products is, by the want which Russia has of wrought commodities, and by the ever-increasing luxury, so much lessened, that the advantage on the balance is proportionably very small. A list of the articles of trade, with which St. Petersburg annually furnishes a part of the empire, affords matter for the most interesting economical commentary.

The annual imports at St. Petersburg, for the space of ten years, from 1780 to 1790, were,

Silken stuffs to the amount of	2,500,000	rubles.
Woollen stuffs,	2,000,000	
Cloth,	2,000,000	
Cotton stuffs,	534,000	
Trinkets,	700,000	
Hardware,	50,000	
Looking-glasses,	50,000	
English stone-ware,	43,000	
Oranges and lemons,	101,500	
Fresh fruit,	65,000	
Sweet oil,	20,000	
Porter and English beer,	262,000	
Mineral water,	12,000	
Paper of different sorts,	42,750	
Books,	50,150	
Copper-plate engravings,	60,200	
Glass and glass wares,	64,000	
Coffee,	26,300	poods.
Sugar,	372,000	
Tobacco,	5,000	
Allum,	25,500	
Indigo,	3,830	
Cochineal,	1,335	
Silk and cotton stockings,	10,000	doz. pair.
Watches,	2,000	

English horses,	- - - -	250
French brandy,	- - - -	50,000 ankers.
Champaign and Burgundy,	- - - -	4,000 pipes.
Other wines,	- - - -	250,000 hogsh's.
Seythes,	- - - -	325,000 &c. &c.

A considerable part of these commodities remain, and are consumed in St. Petersburg. The rest are conveyed by land carriage, to various parts of the empire; as to go up the navigable rivers, against the stream, would be tedious and expensive. The carts, or sledges, made use of for this purpose, are mostly drawn by one horse, each having a driver. These caravans, consist of from twenty-five to one hundred carts; and, on long journies, there are seldom more than one driver to every three carts.

*Value of Imports and Exports, and the balance of the Trade to St. Petersburg on an average of ten years from 1780 to 1790.*

		Rubles.
Exports,	- - - -	13,269,442
Imports,	- - - -	12,238,319
		<hr/>
Profit,	- - - -	1,023,623
In coined and uncoined gold and silver, in the three last years, were annually imported	- - - -	337,064
		<hr/>

This, added to the foregoing, makes 1,360,687

The amount of the whole commerce was, therefore, in the said period, from 1780 to 1790, annually, 25,837,325 rubles.

The increase of the commerce appears in a striking progression from the following statements :

	Imports.	Exports.
1780.	8,600,000 rubles.	10,900,000 rubles.
1785.	10,000,000	13,400,000
1789.	15,300,000	18,700,000

If we admit, upon the most probable computation, that the whole commerce of the empire amounts to about fifty millions of rubles, it will then follow that St. Petersburg has more than the half for its share. The next place in the commercial scale, after St. Petersburg, is held by Riga; the commerce of which, collectively, may be estimated at about six millions.— This proportion may serve to shew the rank on this scale that may be allowed to the other trading towns that come after Riga.

The commerce of St. Petersburg is chiefly carried on by commission, in the hands of factors. This class of merchants, which consists almost entirely of foreigners, forms the most respectable and considerable part of the persons on the exchange. In the year 1790, of the foreign counting-houses, not belonging to the guilds, were twenty-eight English, seven German, two Swiss, four Danish, several Prussian, six Dutch, four French, two Portuguese, one Spanish, and one Italian. Beside these, were twelve denominated burghers; and of the first guild one hundred and six, with forty-six foreign merchants, and seventeen belonging to other towns, though several cause themselves to be enrolled in these guilds, who are not properly merchants.

In order to form an idea of the exchange and the course of trade, the following brief account will suffice. The Russian merchants, from the interior of the empire, repair at a stated time to St. Petersburg, where they bargain with the factors for the sale of their commodities. This done, they enter into contracts to deliver the goods according to the particulars therein specified, at which time they commonly receive the half or the whole of the purchase money, though the goods are not to be delivered till the following spring or summer, by the barks then to come down the Ladoga canal. The quality of the goods is then pronounced on by sworn brakers or sorters, according to the kind mentioned in the contract. The articles of importation are either disposed of by Russian mer-

chants, through the resident factors, or the latter deliver them for sale at foreign markets ; in both cases, the Russian to whose order they come, receives them on condition of paying for them by instalments of six, twelve, and more months. The Russian merchant, therefore, is paid for his exports beforehand, and buys such as are imported on credit ; he risks no damages by sea, and is exempted from the tedious transactions of the custom-house, and of loading and unloading.

The clearance of the ships, the transport of the goods into the government ware-houses, the packing and unpacking, unloading and despatching of them ; in a word, the whole of the great bustle attendant on the commerce of a maritime town, is principally at Cronstadt, and that part of the residence called Vassiliostrof.\*—Here are the exchange, the custom-house, and on a small island in the vicinity, situated between that and the St. Petersburg island, the hemp ware-houses and magazines, in which the riches of so many countries are bartered and kept. In all the other parts of the city, the tumult of business is so rare and imperceptible, that a stranger, who should be suddenly conveyed thither, would never imagine that he was in the chief commercial town of the Russian empire. The opulent merchants have their dwellings and counting-houses in the most elegant parts of the town. Their houses, gate-ways, and court-yards, are not, as in Hamburgh and Riga, blocked up and barricaded with bales of goods and heaps of timber : here, besides the counting-house, no trace is seen of mercantile affairs. The business at the custom-house is transacted by one of the clerks, and people that are hired for the purpose, called expeditors ; and the labor is performed by artelschiki, or porters, belonging to a kind of guild.

\* The St. Petersburg island was formerly called Beresovoiostrof ; the Vassiliostrof, while Ingria was in possession of the Swedes, bore the name of Givisaari ; the Apothecary's island was called Korposaari ; Kammenoiostrof was then Kitzisaari ; and the Parish where Peterhof stands, was called Tirief.

The factor delivers the imported goods to the Russian merchant, who sends them off in the above mentioned manner, or retails them on the spot, in the markets, ware-houses. and shops

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### CENSUS OF RUSSIA.

In the year 1722 the number of people was 14,000,000

1742	- - - - -	16,000,000
1762	- - - - -	20,000,000
1782	- - - - -	28,000,000
1788	- - - - -	30,000,000

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### A BRIEF AND INTERESTING ACCOUNT OF THE LATE INVASION OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE BY THE EMPEROR OF FRANCE, AND THE DEFEAT OF HIS IMMENSE ARMY, DESTINED TO SUBJUGATE RUSSIA.

**T**O EFFECT this subjugation, means the most formidable were provided, that ever had been brought into action by human power. Five years had been spent in diligent, vigorous and skilful preparation. Numerous fortresses had been erected on her frontier, or in her neighborhood; vast magazines were provided;—immense stores of warlike implements and munitions were accumulated, and an army more numerous than had ever been embodied since the days of Xerxes, was marshalled on her borders.

If we believe the accounts published by the invader himself, this army amounted to six hundred thousand

men:—a number which exceeds the whole military force of the Roman empire, in the days of Vespasian, Trajan or Severus, the most flourishing periods of the Roman power. But if we make full allowance and deduction for exaggeration, still we cannot, from the most authentic sources of information, rate the army at less than four hundred thousand effective men.

But in estimating the efficient force of the army, the number of men is by no means the only, or even the most important consideration. Infinitely more depends on its organization, discipline and equipment; on the abilities of its generals, the skill of its ordnance, commissary and quarter-master departments, the knowledge of its inferior officers, and the military habits of its various members. These it is that distinguish an army from a multitude, one army from another; the army of Hannibal, Cæsar or Frederick, from the army of Xerxes—and in these, no army probably, ever excelled that which crossed the Niemen in July 1812, for the invasion of Russia. It contained, no doubt, many new soldiers; but even they were seasoned conscripts, who had passed the ordeal of the training camps, and of a march of many hundred miles. The greater part were veterans, inured to a military life by many campaigns, and most perfectly disciplined. All the officers, from a marshal to the lowest subaltern, and the whole corps of non-commissioned officers, who constitute the sinews and muscles of an army, had been formed by long and various service; almost like Hannibal, brought up in camps, and carefully selected for their merit alone.

Nor is this all: the French armies derive vast advantages from the manner in which they are raised and recruited. Armies formed by voluntary enlistment, are likely to consist of the most worthless part of the population; of the vicious, the idle, the dissolute and the indigent; for that part is always the most ready to enlist. Frequently also they enter at an age too advanced, for acquiring new habits and learning with

facility the various duties of a soldier. But the conscription brings the flower of the youth into the army. Being taken from a higher class of society, they are more likely to feel military pride, a sense of honor, and the hope of promotion. Being younger, they are more susceptible of instruction, more pure in their minds, more vigorous and alert in their bodies, more ardent in their tempers, imbibe more readily the "esprit du corps," which is the soul of an army, and like soft clay in the hands of the potter, the more easily moulded into any form, which they may require to take. Being engaged for life, they look to nothing but the army, confine all their hopes and prospects to rising in the service, and all their efforts to the acquirement of those talents which may lead to promotion. The conscription is a most detestable engine of tyranny, altogether intolerable to a free people; but there can be no doubt that it is by far the most effectual mode which has hitherto been invented, of rendering the faculties of a nation subservient to the purposes of war.

But there was another circumstance attending the French army, which contributed more perhaps than all the others, to render it formidable. It was accustomed to victory. It had the utmost confidence in its commander, its officers and itself. It had completely triumphed over Prussia in one campaign. It had frequently beaten, and at length humbled Austria. Its conflicts with Russia had been always bloody, and sometimes doubtful, but it had always come off finally victorious. It regarded its chief as invincible, and looked upon the fields of Austerlitz and Friedland as the sure presages of future victories, and ultimate triumph.

The splendid rewards too which awaited the officers, from the spoil of Russia yet untouched, the booty which Moscow, and so many other rich cities was to afford to the soldiers, the honors and distinctions to which this last and final victory would entitle all classes, added the utmost degree of excitement, to the ardor inspired by so many other concurring causes; while

the hope of repose, when the final conquest of the world should be achieved on the plains of the Dwina, the Weser and the Wolga, stimulated to present exertion those who might have grown weary and languid, through former and long continued labors.

Such was the army, thus prosperous, and thus abounding with all the physical and moral elements of force, which aided by Austria, backed, supplied and recruited by France, Germany, Italy, Denmark and part of Poland, and led by the most daring and fortunate commander of modern times, burst like an overwhelming torrent on Russia, and swept on its destructive course to the heart of her empire. Such was the army which Russia beat, drove out and exterminated. Nor let it be imagined that her triumph was produced by premature frost, or the rigor of her climate. A rapid glance over the events of the campaign will suffice to shew that she is indebted, under Providence, to herself alone—to her regular and permanent means of defence, for this glorious victory—to the vigor and constancy of her government, the superior abilities of her commanders, the valor of her armies, and the patriotism of her people.

The preparations for invasion had extended along the Russian frontier, from Grodno to Memel, a distance of nearly two hundred miles. It was uncertain on what point of this long line the attack would be made. The Russians were therefore compelled to stretch their armies along its whole extent; without which it would have been impossible to prevent their being turned, attacked in flank, and cut off from their supplies and reinforcements, on one side or the other. The invader having completed his preparations, rapidly concentrated his army, and crossed the Russian frontier at Kowno, near the centre of the line, in July 1812. His first great effort was to separate the two grand divisions of the Russian army from each other, so as to fall upon each in succession with his whole force, and thus crush them by piecemeal. This system



of tactics he had often found successful, but now it completely failed. Notwithstanding the extraordinary and boasted celerity of his movements, the Russians retiring before him conducted their operations with such skill as always to keep up their communication, frequently to chastise the temerity of his columns, and finally to effect a junction of their arms untouched, at Vitapsk, on the Dwina. Thence a strong division was detached to the north-east, under Witgenstein, to guard the road to Riga and St. Petersburg, and threaten the line of French communication; while the main body continued its retreat on Smolensko. It was still pursued by the French, who were, however, obliged to leave part of their forces on the Dwina, to keep open the communication in the rear, threatened by Witgenstein. At Smolensko, a further concentration of the Russian armies took place; but being not yet prepared for the stand which they meditated, they continued their retreat in the direction of Moscow. They were warmly pressed by the French, who, however, were never able to bring them to action, or obtain any advantage over them. At length, near the village of Borodino, about sixty miles from Moscow, they were joined by their commander in chief, the veteran Kutusoff, with additional reinforcements. He thought the moment arrived for turning on the foe. Having collected his force, he waited for the attack, which was not long delayed; and on the seventh of September was fought the memorable battle of Borodino, the most obstinate and sanguinary recorded in history. In the shock of two mighty empires, where one struggled for universal dominion, and the other for national independence, science, discipline and courage, displayed all their power: every resource of military art was tried and exhausted, and the hitherto triumphant progress of the invader was at length arrested. He was repulsed and beaten, though not defeated; but he there received his death wound. Fifty thousand combatants, which, according to the most authentic accounts,

were killed or wounded on each side, attest the desperate nature of the conflict, and afforded the French an awful lesson of what they were to expect in their further progress. They claimed the victory; but their own bulletin, dated three days after the battle, and fifteen miles in the rear of the ground where it was fought, gave the lie to their pretensions, and disclosed the true situation of their affairs.

It was then that the superior genius of Kutusoff conceived that profound plan of future operations, which in its developement and execution has produced such wonderful results. He might then have driven out the invader, who must have yielded, in his crippled state, to a vigorous attack, which the Russian general, who had powerful reinforcements at hand, might speedily have been in a situation to make. But he saw that if the French were then driven back, they would retreat with their army almost entire, would soon unite with their reinforcements in the rear, would winter in Poland with plentiful magazines, would draw new and numerous forces from the countries behind them, and would be in a condition to renew the war, early in the spring, with increased vigor and more powerful means. If, on the other hand, by retiring before them, he could draw them further into the empire, and detain them there, time would be afforded for bringing into their rear, the forces which were collecting in the north, and in the south, and increasing his own army, while theirs would be wasted and weakened by continual marches and partial engagements. They would also be thrown into the winter for their retreat, when compelled to commence it; and thus their complete destruction might be effected. The known rashness, arrogance and presumption of their leader, afforded the hope that they might be drawn into this fatal snare.

Kutusoff instantly resolved on his plan. He fell back towards Moscow with his main army, and held up the possession of that city as a lure to the foe. He re-

doubled his efforts for reinforcing Witgenstein in the north, and for hastening the march of Tchitchagoff from the south. He ordered them to form a junction as soon as possible, on the road from Wilna to Smolensk, by which the French had advanced and must retreat. He formed a strong corps under Winzingerode to the north of Moscow. He drew together reinforcements from all quarters to his own army. Having thus set and baited the trap, he retreated to Moscow; and when the enemy approached that city, he abandoned and burned it. This he did to deprive them of the numerous advantages which they must have derived from the possession of Moscow; to strike terror into the hearts of the invaders by shewing them the sort of resistance which they had to expect; and to teach the Russians the sacrifices which they were expected to make in defence of their country. Having taken this decisive step, he retired to the east, leaving the enemy quietly to enter the smoking ruins of the ancient Russian capital.

On a man of sense this awful lesson would have had its effect. He would have perceived his attempt to be desperate, and would have retired while it was yet time. But that obstinate pride, that presumptuous arrogance in the character of the French chief, which had formed the basis of Kutusoff's plan, now insured its success. They prevented the invader from listening to this warning voice, or perceiving the dangers which were gathering around him. Too blind to see his error, or too proud to acknowledge it, and to retrace his steps, buoyed up with the vain and delusive hope, that the Russian government would submit, now that their capital was in his possession, he spent five weeks at Moscow, which ought to have been employed in his retreat. In the mean time Kutusoff was silently wheeling on his right flank, and Winzingerode forming on his left. Tchitchagoff advanced with a rapid and steady course into his rear; and the gallant Witgenstein being strongly reinforced, had attacked, defeated and dis-

persed the corps left on the Dwina, to keep open his communications, bring up his supplies, and facilitate, if necessary, his retreat. This blow was decisive.—The strong points of his line of communications were formed by Polotsk and Vitapsk, where large magazines had been collected. These fell into the hands of the Russians.

Witgenstein then had possession of one road of retreat, that from Smolensko to Wilna by the way of the Dwina. Tchitchagoff, having disposed of the Austrians, was rapidly approaching the other, which leads from Smolensko to Grodno, or Wilna, by the way of Minsk. Kutusoff, with the main army, was advancing from Kalouga to Borodino, into the rear of the French, on one side, and Winzingerode, with a strong corps from the Twer, on the other.

It was then that on the 18th of October, the invader, with rage and anguish in his heart, too late resolved on his retreat. Having tried in vain his usual arts of negociation, and seeing the obstructions which had been formed in his road back, he made a desperate attack on the army of Kutusoff, in hopes, apparently, of opening his way into the south-western provinces of Russia. This produced the battle of Malajarosoff, in which, after a most obstinate and bloody conflict, after that town had been eleven times taken and retaken in one day, he was repulsed with immense loss, beaten and driven back on Moscow. He then commenced his retreat, or rather flight, by the way of Smolensko, where he arrived on the 10th of November, with an army fatigued, defeated, disheartened, and diminished one third.

And let it be remembered, that according to his own account, the cold did not set in till three days before he reached Smolensko. Up to that moment, up to the 7th of November, the weather, say his bulletins, was as fine as in the middle provinces of France. And yet in that part of his retreat which took place during this fine season, the force of his army was entirely

broken. His troops were beaten and scattered on all sides. Whole corps were made prisoners. The roads were every where strewed with their cannon and their baggage, their dead and their dying. In fine, this pretended retreat was already, before the snow and frost commenced, the most disastrous flight recorded in history. It was not, therefore, the premature winter, nor the severity of the climate, but, under God, the skill and prowess of his enemies, by which he was destroyed. He no doubt suffered severely from the cold, the ice, and the snow : but it was the force of his enemies that compelled him to be exposed to them— Had he been able to make head against his pursuers, or even to make a slow and orderly retreat, he might have found quarters to shelter him from the ice and snow ; to which, moreover, his pursuers were as much exposed as himself. After halting two days at Smolensko, and he could stay no longer, for one day more would have brought Kutusoff into his front, he resumed his flight by the road to Minsk ; for he was shut out by Witgenstein from that which led through Vitapsk and Polotsk to Wilna. The active Witgenstein, informed of this movement, put himself in motion towards the Minsk road, driving the remnant of Victor's corps before him. Tchitchagoff approached it on the other side. He reached Minsk before the French, and passed the bridge of the Berezina, which lies between that city and Smolensko. The French were thus driven from the main road, and compelled to ascend the Berezina in quest of a passage. Here they encountered the army of Witgenstein ; and were compelled to fight the battle of the 28th of November, in order to open to themselves a road to Wilna. This object they effected, with the loss of all their ammunition waggons and provisions, and a great portion of their remaining troops. The miserable remnant fled to Wilna, which a small part of them reached on the 8th of December, and entered the town with the Russians at their heels ; or as Tchitchagoff expressed it in one of his despatch-

es, on their shoulders. Unable to halt there, even long enough to take a hasty meal, or to fire their magazines, they fled in small and broken bands towards Kowno, where their destruction was completed in the passage of the Niemen.

During the flight from Berezina to Wilna, these miserable fugitives were left by their commander-in-chief.

On the 10th of December the Russian head-quarters were established at Wilna, within a few days of five months after the French had left it, on their advance into Russia. Within that short time this immense army had been so completely destroyed, that, according to the most certain and accurate accounts which have been made public, not more than thirty thousand, out of four hundred thousand at the least, repassed the Russian frontier. This scattered remnant, flying in detached portions, was every where pursued and pressed by the victorious Russians; who, between the 10th of December and the 10th of March, advanced from Wilna to Hamburgh, a distance of more than eight hundred miles, bearing every way before them the glad tidings of emancipation and protection.

[Harper's Address.]

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### ADDITIONAL PARTICULARS.

[From a Pamphlet originally published in Russia.]

ABOUT November first, the severity of the cold weather began, and brought additional misery upon the French; to bivouack upon ice and snow, without other food than frozen horse-flesh, without any kind of strengthening beverage, and without proper clothing, was more than human strength could endure. Many hundreds were every night frozen to death, and an

equal number died of complete exhaustion by day ; a line of dead bodies marked the road which the army was pursuing. Whole detachments now threw down their arms together ; order and discipline had altogether ceased ; the soldier cared no longer for the officer, nor the officer for the soldier ; each was so completely engaged with his own wants and sufferings, that he disregarded those of others, and would neither command nor obey. The different regiments were intermixed, and, as they moved, had the appearance of a motley mass, in which the different corps could only be distinguished by the difference of the columns appropriated to the baggage and baggage-waggons ; and these were at every instant attacked on either side by predatory parties of Cossacks. Want of precaution had been so great at the very beginning of the retreat, *that the horses had not even been rough shod at Moscow to secure them in case of frost* ;\* so that being already reduced in point of strength, they were wholly unequal to the exertion of drawing upon slippery roads ; twelve or fourteen were harnessed to a single cannon, and yet the smallest rise of ground was an almost insurmountable obstacle. The cavalry had no longer any horses to spare, being itself dismounted, with the exception of a few regiments of the guards ; and it therefore soon became utterly impossible to bring on the artillery. At Dorogobush the fourth corps left the whole of its artillery behind, consisting of upwards of one hundred pieces of ordnance ; and the same was done by the first and third corps ; so that the army, upon reaching Smolensko, had already lost about four hundred pieces of cannon. The French force, which, on leaving Moscow, was more than one hundred thousand strong, had at Smolensko hardly sixty thousand men left, of which number scarcely half were under arms.

\* A neglect, equally criminal and fatal, cost the British army its horses in the retreat to Corunna.

Never, surely, was the apothegm of the sagacious Franklin on the neglect of small matters, more completely verified, than in the omission of properly shoeing the horses at Moscow. "For want of a nail the shoe was lost; for want of a shoe, the horse was lost; for want of a horse, the rider was lost: being overtaken, and slain by the enemy."

The army remained in Smolensko two days, which were one continued scene of confusion, plunder and conflagration. The magazines that were found there were of no great resource: for the share that was distributed to each man as a supply for several days, was at once devoured by the famished wretches, although the rations were not given in bread, but in meal.—Many thousands indeed went away altogether unsupplied, each in the general struggle being obliged to obtain by force the portion that was allotted him. A day had also been fixed for distributing ammunition; but few soldiers appeared at the appointed time to receive it.

We advance now to the crossing of the Berezina, which is thus described:

This crossing of the Berezina will long remain in the recollection of the soldiers, on account of the terror with which it was attended. The troops, from the first moment, crowded upon each other in the most disorderly manner, and many, even then, met with a watery grave: but when the corps of Victor and Dombrowsky, being repulsed by the Russian armies, directed their flight to the bridge, confusion and terror increased, and were soon at the highest pitch. Cavalry, infantry, baggage and artillery, struggled respectively to pass over the first. The weaker were forced into the river by the stronger, whose progress they impeded, or were trampled under foot: officers and privates met with the same fate: hundreds were crushed under the wheels of the artillery train: many attempted to swim, but were benumbed in the attempt; and others again, trusting to the broken sheet of ice



that covered the stream, were drowned: the cry of distress was heard on all sides, but relief was no where given. At length, when the Russian batteries began to cannonade the bridge and both banks of the river, the crossing necessarily ceased, and a whole division of Victor's corps, consisting of seven thousand five hundred men, together with five generals, capitulated. Many thousands were drowned, and an equal number killed; besides which, much baggage and cannon remained on the left bank.

About 40,000 men, together with a body of artillery, still tolerably considerable, had crossed the Berezina; but to what a miserable state was this force reduced!

Another severe frost completed the measure of their sufferings: arms were now thrown down in all directions: the greater number of soldiers had neither boots nor shoes; but were compelled to make use of old hats and knapsacks, or any other kind of covering to fasten round their feet. Round their heads and shoulders they wrapped whatever first offered itself, and might serve as an additional protection against the cold—old sacks, straw mats half torn, and hides of animals recently skinned; [dresses of the women peasants, priest's dresses, &c.] fortunate were the few who succeeded in providing themselves with a bit of fur. With downcast looks, and every other mark of dejection, both officers and soldiers moved slowly on together in mute dismay; and even the guards were in no way superior to, or distinguishable from, the rest: they were equally tattered, famished and unarmed. All spirit of resistance and defence had ceased. At the mere cry of *Cossacks!* whole columns surrendered, and a few of these were often sufficient to take many hundred prisoners. The road which the army followed, was covered with dead bodies, and every bivouack appeared next morning like a field of battle. No sooner was a man fallen to the ground, exhausted with fatigue and hunger, than those who stood next to him, stripped him while yet alive, to cover themselves with

his rags. Every house and barn was set on fire: and wherever a conflagration had taken place, there also was found a pile of dead bodies; those who had approached the fire to warm themselves, having afterwards, from extreme weakness, been unable to escape from the flames. The high road swarmed with prisoners, who almost ceased to be taken notice of, and scenes of distress occurred, such as had never before been witnessed. Wretches, black with smoke and filth of every kind, crawled like ghosts, among the dead bodies of their fellow soldiers, till they themselves dropped and expired. Many hobbled on with bare and gangrened feet, almost deprived of reason; and others again had lost the use of speech, or, from the extreme severity of cold and famine, were driven to a kind of delirium which made them roast and devour corpses, or even gnaw their own hands and arms.— Some were so helpless as not to be able to gather fuel, but collected round any little fire that might remain, sitting upon piles of the bodies of their comrades, and died as the last spark went out. Reduced to a state of complete senselessness, many were seen crawling into the fire and burnt to death in endeavouring to warm themselves, while others, notwithstanding the example, crawled in after them and met with a similar fate.

*J. M. Smith*



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