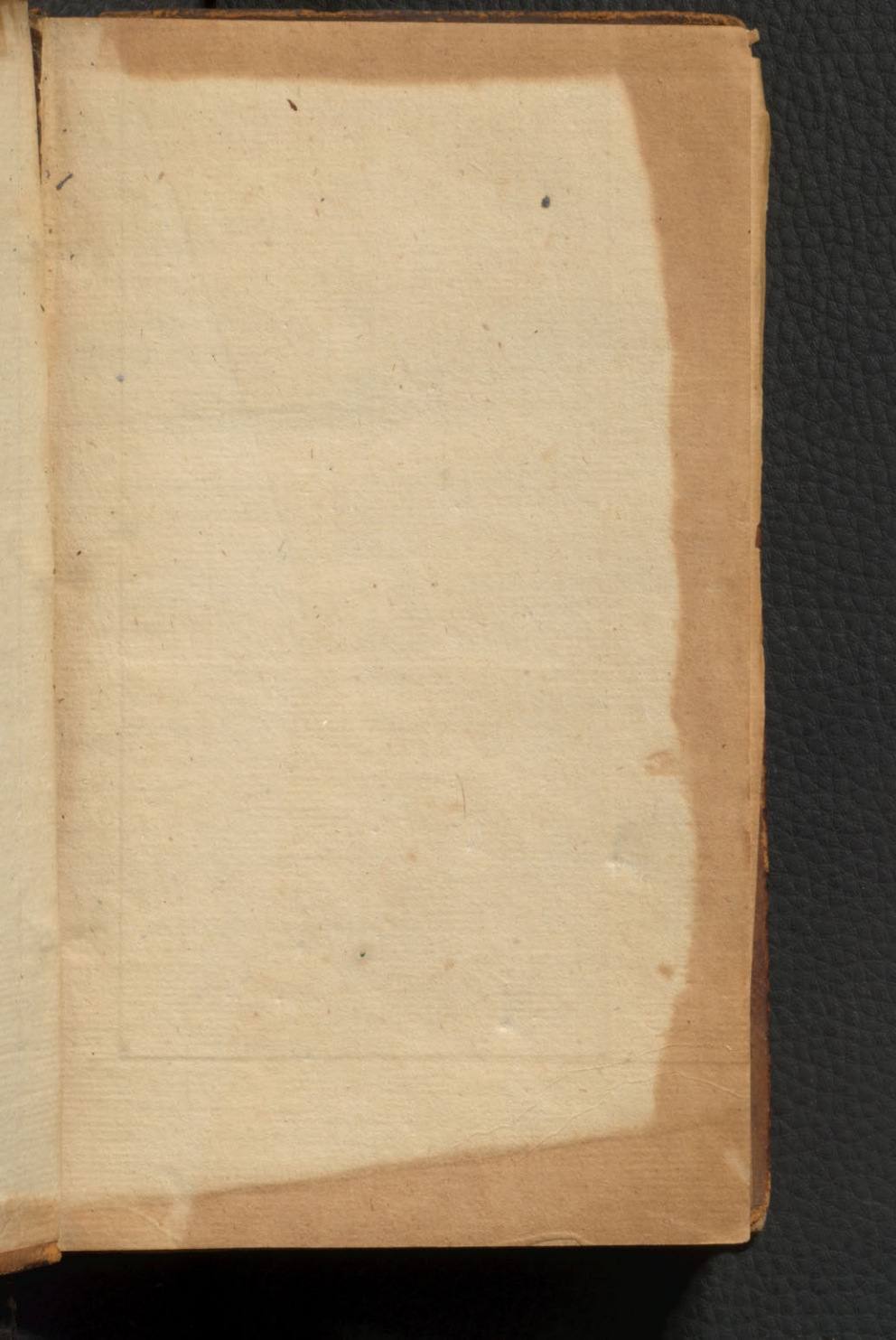
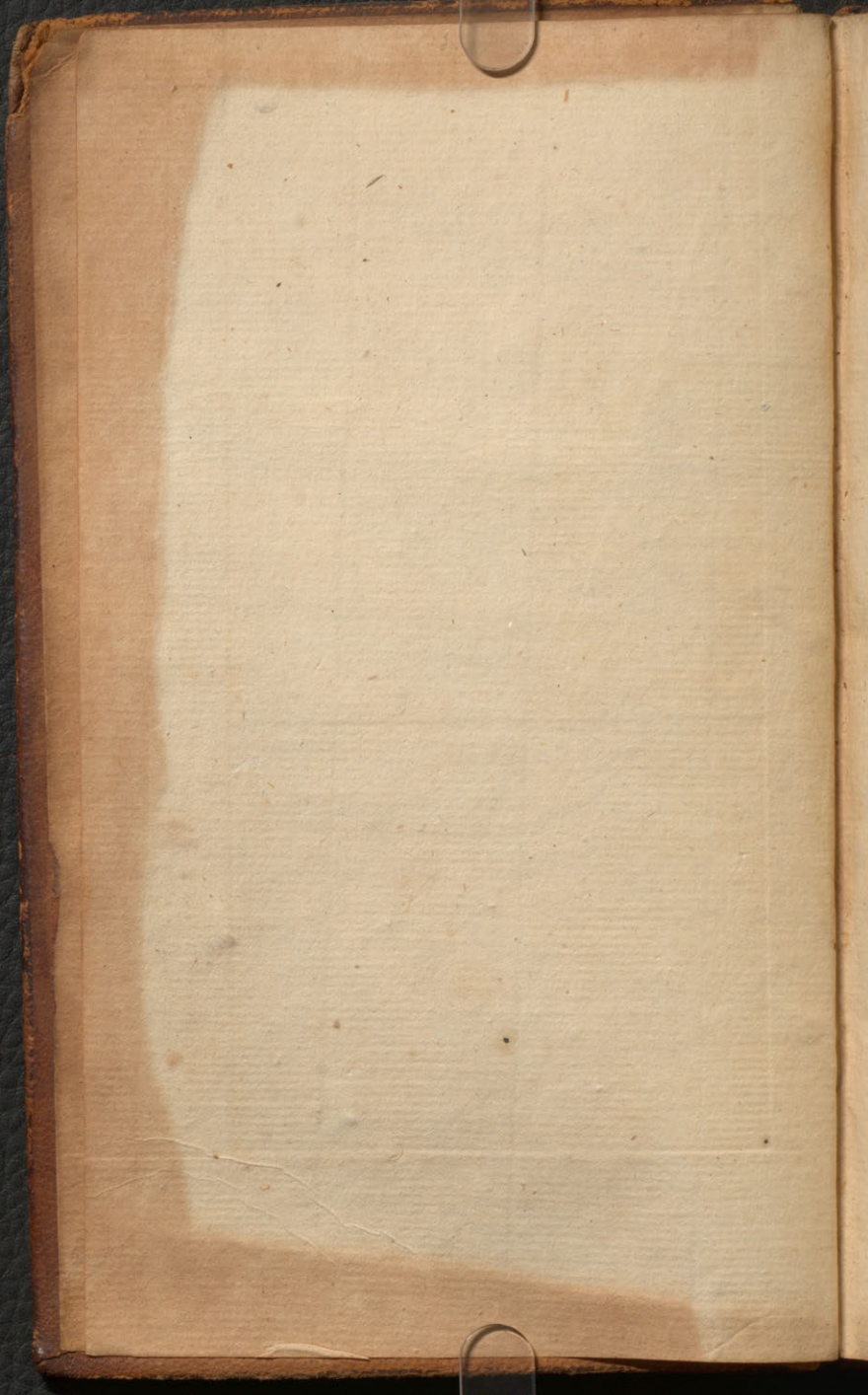
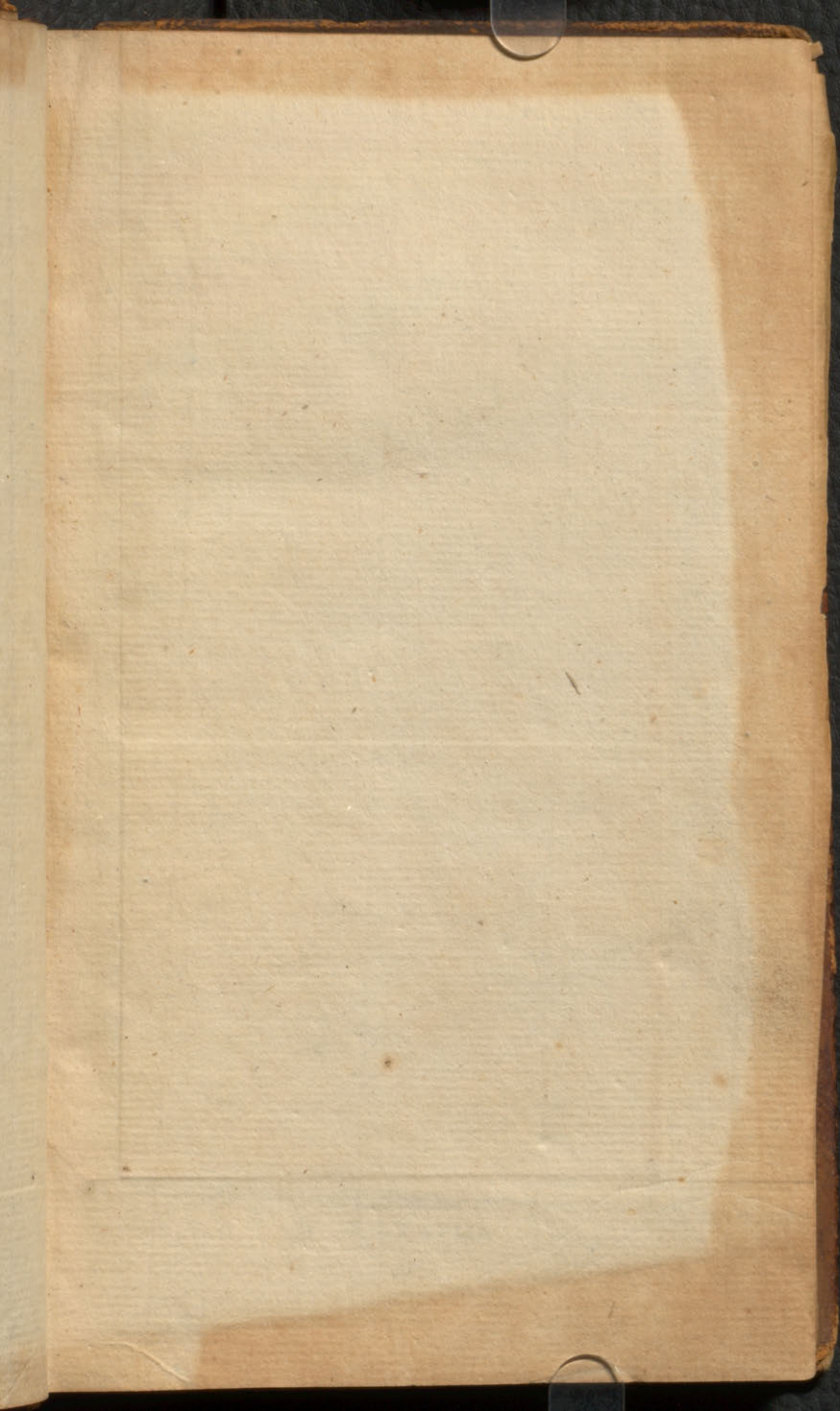
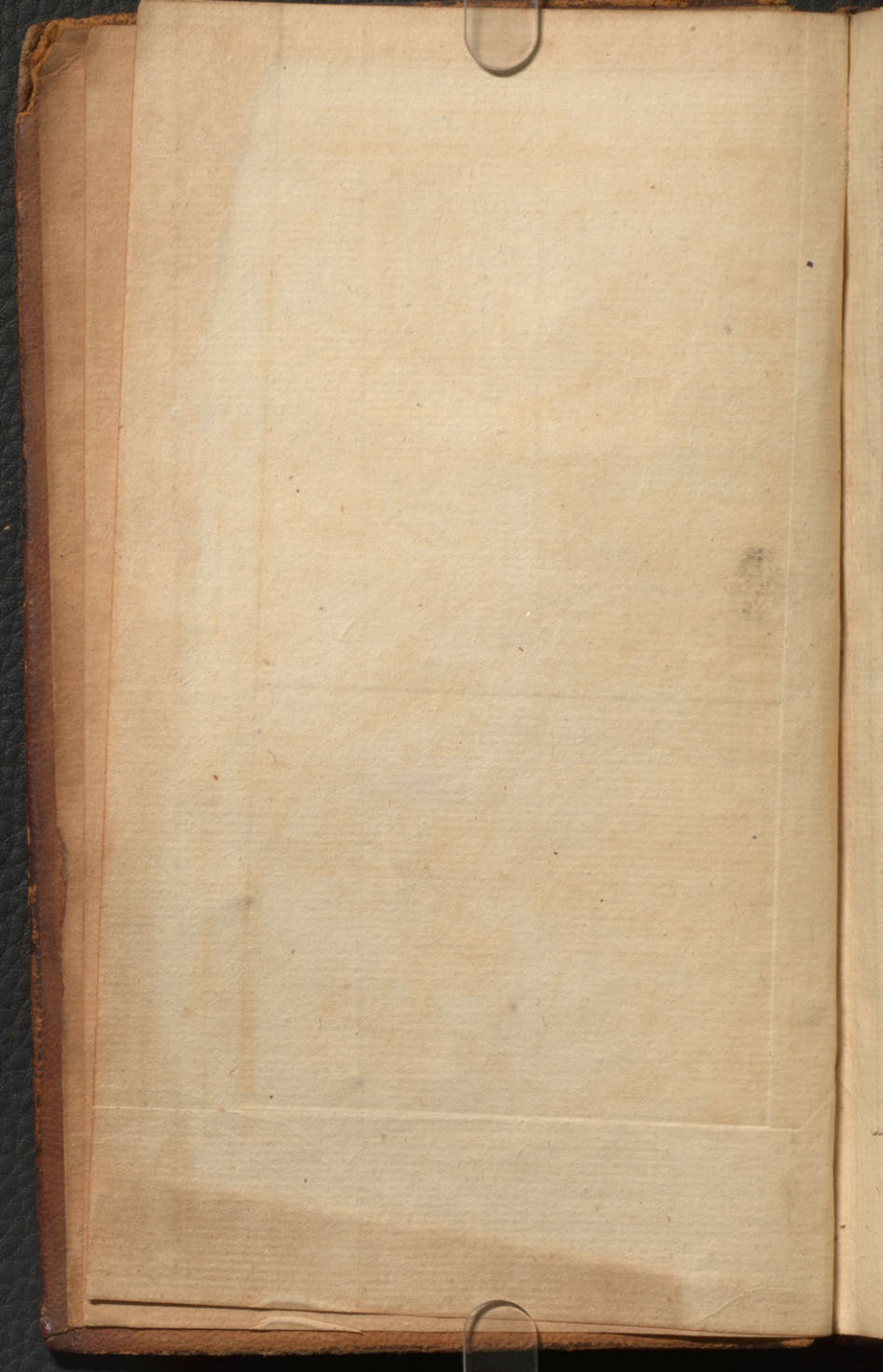


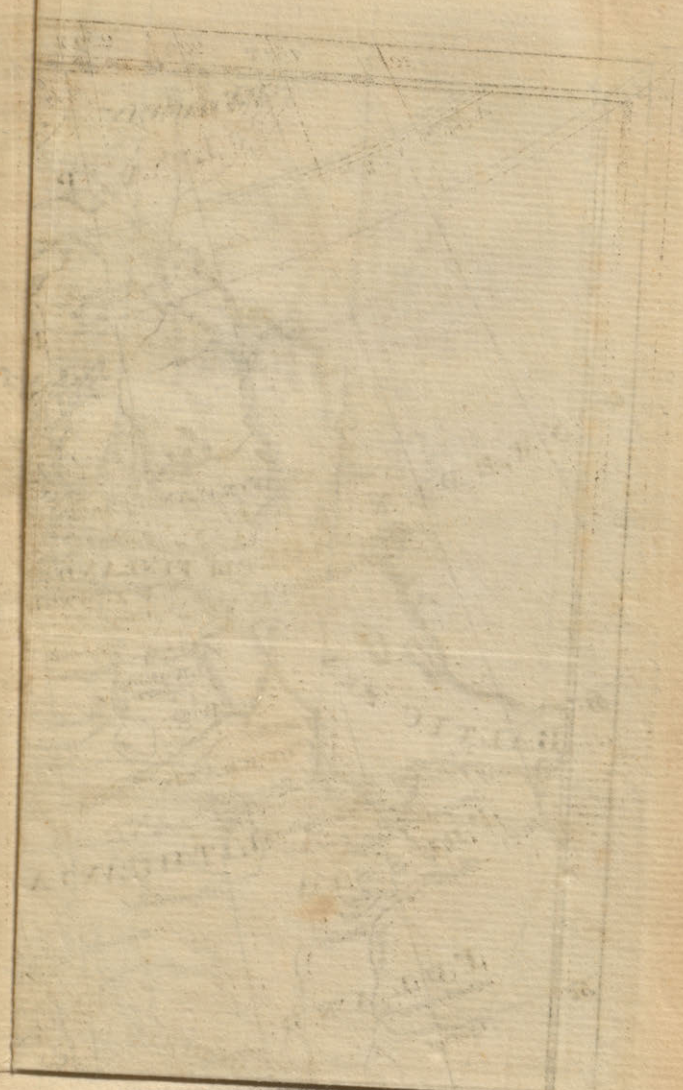
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MDCCLXXVIII.



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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
UNDER
Peter the Great.

Newly translated from the French

OF

M. DE VOLTAIRE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

PUBLISHED FROM A MANUSCRIPT SENT
HIM BY THE COURT OF PETERSBURG.

LONDON:

Sold by A. MILLAR, J. HODGES, D. MIDWINTER,
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MDCCLXXVIII.

THE

Y R O T E I I

OF THE

UNITED STATES

OF AMERICA

IN THE

YEAR

1864

AND

FOR

THE

YEAR



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C O N T E N T S.

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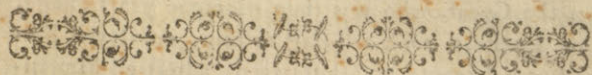
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Some particular CIRCUMSTANCES, necessary to the understanding the LIFE of
P E T E R the G R E A T.

 HE many useful and surprizing enterprizes undertaken and compleated by Peter I. none of which had ever entered into the imagination of any of his predecessors, justly intituled him to the surname of Great. Before his time, the knowledge of the Russians was wholly confined to those easy arts which are the consequence of mere necessity. So powerful is the influence of habit over the bulk of mankind, and so little desirous are they of what they do not comprehend; the genius expounds itself with so much difficulty, and is so easily discouraged by the slightest obstacles, that there is the greatest reason to believe that all nations continued, for many ages, in a state of the most profound ignorance, till, at last, such men as Peter the Great arose, at such a period when it was most proper they should appear.

A YOUNG gentleman of Geneva, named Le Fort, happened accidentally to be at Moscow, with the Danish ambassador, about the year 1695. He had learned the Russian tongue in a very short time, and spoke almost all the European languages. Pe-

ter the Great, who was then nineteen years of age, saw Le Fort, took a liking to him, employed him first as a servant, and afterwards admitted him into the most intimate familiarity. From him he learned, that there was another way of living and reigning than that which had always been unhappily established throughout his large empire; and, had it not been for this young gentleman, Russia had still continued in its primitive state of rudeness and barbarism.

PETER must have come into the world with a soul truly great, otherwise he never would have hearkened so readily to the instructions of a stranger, nor been able to conquer all the prejudices of the prince and of the Russian. He soon observed he had a nation and an empire to model anew; but he was possessed of no means equal to the accomplishment of such a difficult and noble undertaking. From that time he came to a resolution of departing from his kingdom, and of going, like Prometheus, to borrow the celestial fire to animate his compatriots. He went to search for this heavenly spark among the Dutch, who, about three hundred years before, were as destitute of it as the Russians themselves. He could not, however, execute his scheme so soon as he could have desired. He was obliged to maintain a war against the Turks, or rather against the Tartars, in 1696; and he did not quit his realms till he had subdued his enemies, to go and learn all the arts which were quite unknown in Russia. The master of the largest empire in the world lived almost two years at Amsterdam, and in
the

the village of Saardam, under the name of Peter Michaeloff, though commonly called Mr Peter Bas. He ordered his name to be enrolled among the carpenters of that famous village, which furnished ships to almost all Europe. He handled the adze and the compass; and, after having worked in his shop at ship-building, he studied geography, geometry, and history. The croud at first flocked about him; but he soon checked their curiosity, by repelling his impertinent visiters with a good deal of harshness and severity, which, however, those people, so remarkable for pride and resentment, bore very patiently. The Dutch was the first language he learned: he then applied himself to the German, which appeared to him a very smooth and harmonious tongue, and which he commanded to be spoke at his own court.

HE acquired likewise a little of the English in his voyage to London; but he never understood the French, which hath since become the language of Petersburg, under the Empress Elizabeth, in proportion as the nation has been civilized and polished.

HE was tall; his countenance was noble and majestic, but sometimes disfigured by convulsions, which even altered the features of his face. This defect in his organs was commonly attributed to the effects of poison, which was thought to have been given him by his sister Sophia. But the real poison was the wine and brandy, in which, confiding too much in the strength of his constitution, he frequently indulged himself to excess.

HE conversed as freely with a common workman as with the general of an army. In this he acted not like a barbarian, who makes no distinction between men of different ranks, nor like a popular prince, who wants to ingratiate himself with every body; he acted like a man who wanted to acquire knowledge. He loved women as much as his rival Charles XII. dreaded them; and, as in eating, so in matters of gallantry, every thing was equally good. He valued himself much more on being able to drink a great quantity, than on possessing a nice and exquisite taste, capable of distinguishing your excellent and delicious wines.

IT is commonly remarked, that kings and legislators should not allow themselves to be hurried away by the violence of passion: but no man was ever more passionate, or less merciful, than the Czar Peter. This is one of those defects in the character of kings, which they are readier to confess than reform: at last, however, he became sensible of his weakness, and, in his second journey to Holland, he said to a magistrate of that country, "I have reformed my subjects, but have not been able to reform myself." It must be confessed, however, that the barbarities with which he is reproached were as customary at the court of Moscow, as at that of Morocco. Nothing was more common, than to see a Czar inflicting an hundred lashes with a bull's pizzle upon the bare shoulders of one of the first officers of the crown, or of a maid of honour, for having neglected their duty through drunkenness: or trying the goodness of his sabre by cutting off
the

the head of a malefactor. Peter had performed some of these Russian ceremonies. Le Fort, indeed, had gained such an ascendant over him, as to be able, sometimes, to stop his hand when he was just upon the point of giving the blow; but, unhappily, Le Fort was not always along with him.

His journey to Holland, and especially his taste for the arts, which now began to display itself, softened his manners a little; for it is the natural tendency of all the arts to render men more tender and sociable. He often breakfasted with a geographer, who made sea-charts with him. He spent whole days with the celebrated Ruifch, who first invented the art of making those curious injections, which have carried anatomy to such great perfection, and have freed it from its former nauseousness. Peter gave himself, to the age of twenty-two, such an education as a Dutch mechanic would have given a son in whom he perceived some sparks of genius; and this education was far more than what any emperor of Russia before him had ever received. At the same time, he sent the young Muscovites to travel and improve themselves in all the European nations. But his first attempts of this nature was attended with little success. His new disciples did not imitate the example of their master; there was even one of them that had been sent to Venice, who never came out of his chamber, that so he might have no cause to reproach himself with having seen any other country than Russia. Their priests infused into them this strong aversion to foreign countries, who alledged that travelling was an unpardonable

crime in a Christian, for the same reason that the Jews, in the Old Testament, had been forbid to assume the manners of their neighbours, more rich and more industrious than themselves.

HE left Amsterdam in 1698, and went to England, not in the character of a shipwright, nor in that of a king, but under the name of a Russian gentleman who travelled for his instruction. He saw and examined every thing. He even went to the English theatre, though he did not understand the language; but he found in the playhouse an actress, called *Miss Crofts*, from whom he received some favours, without having the generosity to make her fortune.

KING William caused a convenient house to be fitted up for his accommodation, which is a very great compliment in London. Palaces are not common in that large city; there you hardly see any thing but low houses, with paltry gates, like those of our shops, without court or garden. Indifferent as the house was, the Czar found it too genteel; and that he might have the better opportunity of improving himself in naval affairs, he took up his lodging in Wapping. He frequently put on a sailor's habit, and made use of this disguise to engage numbers of them in his service.

HE formed the design of drawing the Wolga and the Tanais into the same channel, when he was at London. He even intended to join the Dwina to these two rivers by a canal; and thus to re-unite the Ocean and the Black and Caspian Seas. The English whom he carried along with him served him

him but poorly in this extensive project; and the Turks, who took Asof from him in 1712, opposed the execution of such an immense undertaking.

HAPPENING to run short of money at London, the merchants of that city offered him a hundred thousand crowns, provided he would grant them a liberty of transporting tobacco into Russia. This was not only a great novelty in Muscovy, but was even inconsistent with the established religion. The Patriarch had excommunicated all that smoked tobacco, because their enemies, the Turks, smoked; and the clergy considered it as one of the greatest privileges of their order, to hinder the Russians from smoking. The Czar, however, accepted the hundred thousand crowns; and undertook to introduce the practice of smoking even among the clergy themselves. He likewise resolved to make several other alterations in the religious system.

IT is commonly a custom for sovereigns to make presents to such noble travellers; and the present which King William made to the Czar was a genteel one, worthy of them both; he gave him a yacht of twenty five guns, a good sailor, gilt like a Roman altar, and stored with provisions of every kind; and the whole ship's crew cheerfully consented that they should be included in the present. Peter himself was the chief pilot in this yacht, and returned to Holland to revisit his carpenters. From thence, about the middle of the year 1698, he went to Vienna, where he had no need to stay so long as at London, because at the court of the grave Leopold there was much more ceremony to be per-

formed, and far less instruction to be acquired. After having viewed Vienna, he intended to have gone to Venice, and from thence to Rome; but a rebellion, occasioned by his absence, and by the permission of smoking, obliged him immediately to return to Moscow. The Strelitzes, the ancient troops of the Czars, somewhat a-kin to the Janissaries, as turbulent, as undisciplined, not so courageous, and as barbarous, were instigated to revolt by some monks and abbots, half Greeks and half Russians, who persuaded them that God was highly provoked at the introduction of tobacco into Muscovy; and thus threw the whole realm into a flame about this important quarrel. Peter, who was fully apprized of the great power of the monks and Strelitzes, had taken his measures accordingly. He had a numerous body of forces, composed almost entirely of foreigners, well disciplined, well paid, and well armed, and who smoked under the command of General Gordon, a man who understood the art of war thoroughly, and no friend to the monks. This was the very point in which the Sultan Osman had failed, when endeavouring, like Peter, to reform his Janissaries, and having no power to oppose their obstinate disposition, he was so far from being able to reform them, that he lost his life in attempting it.

PETER's armies were now put upon the same footing with those of the other princes of Europe. He employed his English and Dutch carpenters in building ships at Veronitz, upon the Tanais, four hundred leagues from Moscow. He ornamented the

the towns, provided for their safety, made highways five hundred leagues in length, established all sorts of manufactures; and, what makes the profound ignorance in which the Russians were at that time conspicuous, their principal manufacture was that of pins. They now make flowered velvets, and gold and silver stuffs at Moscow. Such mighty things may be performed by one man, when he is an absolute sovereign, and knows how to exert his authority!

THE war he carried on against Charles XII. to recover the provinces which the Swedes had formerly taken from the Russians, notwithstanding the bad success with which it was at first attended, did not prevent him from continuing his reformations both in church and state; and accordingly, at the end of 1699, he ordered that the ensuing year should begin in the month of January, and not in the month of September. The Russians, who thought that God had formed the world in September, were amazed to hear that their Czar had power to alter what God had established. This change began with the eighteenth century, and was ushered in by a grand jubilee, which the Czar appointed by his own authority; for having suppressed the dignity of the Patriarch, he exercised all the functions of that office himself. It is not true, as is commonly reported, that he put the Patriarch into the madhouse of Moscow. Whenever he had a mind, at once to divert himself and inflict punishment, he used to say to the criminal, "I make you a fool;" and the person to whom he gave this pretty appellation,

tion, were he even the first nobleman of the kingdom, was forced to carry a bauble, jacket, and bells, and to divert the court, in quality of his Czarish majesty's fool. This task, however, he did not impose upon the Patriarch; he contented himself with simply suppressing an employment which those who had enjoyed it had abused to such a degree, that they obliged the emperors to walk before them once a year, holding the bridle of the patriarchal horse; a ceremony which the Czar laid aside.

IN order to have a greater number of subjects, he resolved to have fewer monks; and accordingly commanded, that, for the future, no person under fifty years of age should be allowed to take the habit of that order; the consequence of which was, that in his time, of all the countries that contained monks, Russia contained the fewest; but after his death, this weed, which he had so happily extirpated, sprung up afresh; owing partly to that natural foible of all monks, the desire of enlarging their numbers, and partly to the ridiculous indulgence of some governments, in permitting such a pernicious practice.

HE likewise made some prudent regulations relating to the clergy, and tending to the reformation of their lives, although his own, in all conscience, was licentious enough: but he wisely judged, that many things are allowable in a king, that would be extremely indecent in a priest. Before his time the women were always separated from the men. In Russia it was an unknown thing, that a husband should ever see the lady he was to marry. The first acquaintance

acquaintance he contracted with her was at church; and one of the nuptial presents was a large handful of twigs, which the bridegroom sent to the bride, as a kind of warning, that, on the first fault, she had reason to expect a little matrimonial correction. Husbands might even kill their wives with impunity; but such wives as usurped the same right over their husbands were interred alive.

PETER laid aside the bundle of twigs; prohibited the husbands from killing their wives; and, in order to match the two sexes with greater prudence and equality, and by that means to make the married state more happy, he introduced the custom of making the men and women eat together, and of presenting the suitors to their mistresses before the consummation of the nuptials. In short, he prosecuted his salutary schemes so rigorously and resolutely, that he at last established the social state throughout all his kingdom. No one is ignorant of the regulation he made for obliging his noblemen and their ladies to hold assemblies, where all transgressions against the Russian politeness were punished, by obliging the guilty person to drink a large glass of brandy, so that the honourable company frequently went home very drunk, but little corrected. But it was a work of no small merit to introduce even a kind of imperfect society among a people who had hitherto lived in the most barbarous manner. He even ventured to exhibit plays. The princess Natalia, one of his sisters, wrote some tragedies in the Russian language, not unlike those of Shakespeare, in which tyrants and harlequins form

the chief characters. The band of music was composed of Russian fiddles, upon which they played with bulls' pizzles. They have now French comedies and Italian operas at Petersburg; in every thing, grandeur and taste hath succeeded to barbarity. One of Peter's most difficult attempts was to shorten the coats of his subjects, and to make them shave their beards. This was the subject of great murmuring, and of several complaints. How was it possible to teach a whole nation to make their cloaths after the German fashion, and to use the razor? However difficult the undertaking was, it was at last accomplished, by placing at the gates of every town a sufficient number of tailors and barbers; the former clipped the coats, and the latter shaved the beards, of all those who entered; and such as refused to submit to these regulations were obliged to pay a fine equal to forty pence of our coin. But in a short time, the people chused much rather to part with their beards than their money. The women, who greatly preferred a smooth to a rough chin, assisted Peter in this reformation: to him they were obliged for being exempted from the discipline of the whip, for being indulged with the company of the men, and for having smother and more decent faces to kiss.

While Peter amused himself in making these reformations, and while he was busied in a bloody war against the king of Sweden, he laid, in 1704, the foundations of the large city and harbour of Petersburg, in a morass where there was not before so much as a single hut. He laboured with his

own hands in building the first house; no difficulties were sufficient to lessen his ardour: workmen were obliged to come from the frontiers of Astracan, and from the coasts of the Black and Caspian Seas, to the coast of the Baltic. Above an hundred thousand men perished in the undertaking, partly by the severe labour they were obliged to undergo, and partly by the want and hardships to which they were exposed; but, notwithstanding these obstructions, the city was at last raised. The harbours of Archangel, of Astracan, and of Veronick, were likewise erected.

To defray the expences of executing such extensive projects, of supporting fleets in the Baltic Sea, and of maintaining an hundred thousand regular troops, the public revenue, at that time, was only about twenty millions of livres. I have seen an exact account of it, in the possession of a gentleman who had been an ambassador at Petersburg. But the wages of the workmen were proportioned to the wealth of the kingdom. It ought to be remembered, that the erection of the pyramids cost the sovereigns of Egypt nothing but onions. I repeat it again; we have only to exert our utmost endeavours, we can never exert them enough.

AFTER Peter had created his nation, as it were, he thought he might take the liberty of gratifying his own humour, by espousing his mistress, who very well deserved to have him for a husband; and accordingly the marriage was publicly solemnized, in the year 1712. This lady was the famous Catherine, originally an orphan, born in the village of Ringen,

Ringen, in Esthonia, brought up by a vicar out of mere charity, married to a Livonian soldier, and taken prisoner by a party of the enemy two days after her marriage. She was first a servant in the family of General Bauer, and afterwards in that of Menzikoff, who, from a pastry-cook's boy, became a prince of the empire, and the first subject in the nation. At last she was married to Peter the Great, and, after his death, became Empress of Russia; a dignity to which her excellent virtues and abilities gave her a just claim. She prodigiously softened the harshness of her husband's manners; and saved many more backs from the knout, and many more heads from the axe, than ever General Le Fort had been able to do. She was beloved and revered by the people. A German baron, a master of horse to an abbot of Fulda, would have disdained to have taken Catherine for a wife; but Peter thought, that with him merit did not need to be set off by a genealogy of thirty-two descents. Princes are apt to believe that there is no grandeur but what they confer; and that with them every one are equal. Certain it is, birth makes no more difference between one man and another, than between one ass's father that carried dung, and another that carried relics. Education makes a great difference, talents make a greater, and fortune the greatest of all. Catherine had received, from her curate of Esthonia, an education as good, at least, as any lady of Moscow, or of Archangel; and she was born with greater abilities, and with a more elevated soul. She had managed the family of General Bauer, and that of
 Prince

Prince Menzikoff, though she could neither read nor write. Whoever is capable to rule a large family, is likewise capable to rule a nation. This perhaps may seem to be a paradox; but undoubtedly it requires the same œconomy, the same wisdom and resolution, to command a hundred persons, as to command thousands.

PRINCE Alexis, son to Peter, who, like him, had espoused a slave, and, like him, had privately quitted Muscovy, had not the same success in his two undertakings. He even lost his life in an ill-judged attempt to copy the example of his father. This was one of the most shocking acts of severity that ever sovereign exercised: but what reflects great honour upon the memory of the Empress Catherine, she had no hand in the untimely end of this prince, who was sprung from another bed, and who hated every thing that his father loved: Catherine was never accused of having acted the cruel step-mother. The great crime of the unhappy Alexis was, that he was too much a Russian, and that he disapproved of all the noble and illustrious things which his father had done for the glory and advantage of the nation. One day, as he heard some Muscovites complain of the hard labour they were obliged to endure in building Petersburg, "Take comfort, (said he) this city shall not stand long." When he ought to have been attending his father, in those journeys of five or six hundred leagues, which the Czar frequently undertook, he pretended to be sick: the physicians purged him severely for a disease with which he was not troubled; and so
many

many medicines, joined to large quantities of brandy, at once impaired his health and altered his temper. He discovered at first an inclination to learning; he understood geometry and history, and had learned the German language; but he neither loved war, nor would he study the art of it; and this was the fault with which his father chiefly reproached him. He had been married in 1711, to the Princess of Wolfenbuttle, sister to the Empress, the wife of Charles IV. This marriage proved very unhappy; the Princess's company was often abandoned for debauch of brandy, and for the caresses of one Afrosina, a Finland girl, tall, handsome, and agreeable. Some people pretend that the Princess died of sorrow, if, indeed, it can ever be the occasion of death; and that afterwards Alexis married Afrosina privately, in 1713, just at the time when the Empress Catherine was delivered of another son, at which he was not very well pleased.

The disgust between the father and son became every day more inveterate, till at last, in 1716, Peter threatened to disinherit the Prince, and the latter declared his intention of taking the monkish habit.

IN 1717 the Czar resumed his travels, as well from political views, as from the motive of curiosity; and, accordingly, he now repaired to France. Had his son been inclined to revolt, had he in reality secured a party in his interest, this was the time to put his scheme in execution; but, instead of remaining in Russia, and gaining partisans, he went to travel like his father, after having, with
great

great difficulty, collected a few thousand ducats, which he privately borrowed. He now threw himself into the arms of the Emperor Charles VI, the brother-in-law of his late spouse. For some time he lived *incognito* at Vienna; from thence he went to Naples, where he continued very near a whole year, without either the Czar Peter, or any one in Russia, knowing where he was.

WHILE the son lay thus concealed, the father was at Paris, where he was treated with all the respect and deference which he had met with in other nations, and with a politeness which he could find no where but in France. If he went to see a manufacture, and was charmed with any particular piece of work, he was sure to receive it the following day in a present. He went to dine with the Duke d'Antin, at Petitbourg, where the first thing he saw was his own picture at full length, with the same dress which he wore. When he went to see the royal collection of medals, the minters struck several medals of every kind before him, and presented them to him with great politeness; at last they struck one, which they designedly dropped at his feet, and left him to take it up; on this he saw himself very elegantly engraved, with these words, **PETER THE GREAT**; the reverse was a Fame, with this inscription, *Vires acquirit eundo*; an allegory equally just and flattering to a prince who really encreased his knowledge by his travels.

UPON beholding the tomb and statue of Cardinal de Richlieu, worthy of the personage whom it represents, Peter discovered one of those violent transports,

transports, and expressed one of those noble sentiments, which none but exalted minds are capable of feeling. He ascended the tomb, and embracing the statue, in an extasy exclaimed, "Great statesman, why was you not born in my time? I would have given you one half of my empire, to teach me to rule the other." A gentleman, possessed of less enthusiasm than Peter, upon hearing these words explained, which were originally pronounced in the Russian language, remarked, "That if he had given him one half of it, he would not have been long able to preserve the other."

AFTER Peter had traversed France, where every thing disposes the mind to mildness and clemency, he returned to his own country, and there resumed all his former severity. Having prevailed upon his son to leave Naples and repair to Petersburg, the young Prince was conducted from thence to Moscow, and brought into the presence of his father, who immediately deprived him of his right of succession, and made him sign a solemn deed of renunciation, about the latter end of January 1718, in consideration of which he promised not to put him to death.

IT was not however improbable, that such an act might one day be reversed; in order, therefore, to strengthen it the more, the Czar forgetting his paternal character, and considering himself only as the founder of a kingdom, which his son perhaps might replunge into barbarity, caused a process to be openly begun against this unhappy prince, touching some reservations he was supposed to have
made

made in the act of renunciation, which had been extorted from him.

AN assembly of bishops, abbots, and professors, was called; these reverend judges found, that, in the Old Testament, those who cursed their father and mother were worthy of death: that, indeed, David had forgiven his son Absalom, who had revolted against him; but that God had never pardoned him. Such was their opinion, without coming to any final determination; and yet it was the same in fact as if they had signed a warrant for his execution. The Czarowitz had never cursed his father; he had never revolted like Absalom; he had never lain publicly with the king's concubines; he had travelled indeed without the king's consent, and he had writ some letters to his friends, in which he had only expressed his hopes that they would, one day, remember him in Russia; but notwithstanding those favourable circumstances, of the hundred and twenty-four secular judges who sat on his trial, there was not one but what voted for his death; and such of them as could not write caused their names to be signed by others. A report has been spread abroad in Europe, and it has been often committed to writing, that the Czar caused to be translated, from the Spanish into the Russian language, the criminal process against Don Carlos, that unhappy prince and heir of an immense kingdom, whom his father Philip II. cast into prison, where he wretchedly died: but the truth is, there never was any process commenced against Don Carlos; nor was the manner of his death, whether natural

tural or violent, ever fully known. Besides, the Czar, of all the most despotic sovereigns, needed not any precedents. What is certain is, that the son expired in his bed the day after the trial, and Peter had then at Moscow one of the best furnished apothecaries shops in Europe. It is probable, however, that the death of the Czarowitz, the heir of the largest kingdom in the world, and unanimously condemned by those who were now his father's subjects, and who, had he lived, would have one day become his, might be owing to the terrible shock which a sentence so fatal and unprecedented must have given to his constitution. The father paid a visit to his son when just upon the point of expiring, and is said to have shed some tears. *Infelix, utcumque ferent ea fata nepotes.* But notwithstanding his tears, the wheels were covered with the broken limbs of his son's friends. He even beheaded his own brother-in-law, the Count Lapuchin, whom he had repudiated, and uncle to Prince Alexis, whose confessor likewise lost his head. If the Russians have been civilized, it must be owned they have paid dearly for their politeness.

The remaining part of the Czar's life was spent in the prosecution of those great designs, and of those glorious schemes and projects that seemed to efface the memory of his cruelties, which, after all, perhaps, were absolutely necessary. He often made speeches to his court and council; in one of these he told them, that he had sacrificed his son to the safety and welfare of his dominions.

AFTER

AFTER the glorious peace which he at last concluded with Sweden, in 1721, by which he obtained all Livonia, Estonia, and Ingermania, and the half of Carelia, and Wibourg, the states of Russia gave him the name of *Great*, of *Father of his country*, and of *Emperor*. The states were represented by the senate, who solemnly conferred these titles upon him in presence of the Count de Kinski, minister of the Emperor, of Mr. de Campredon, envoy of France, and the ambassadors of Prussia and Holland. The princes of Europe have been gradually accustomed to give this title of Emperor to the Russian sovereign; but this dignity does not prevent the French ambassadors from taking the right hand of those of Russia upon all occasions.

THE Russians ought without doubt to look upon the Czar as the greatest of men. From the coasts of the Baltic Sea to the frontiers of China, he is a hero: but ought he to be regarded in the same light among us? Is he comparable to our Condés, or our Villars, in valour, or to an infinite number of our cotemporaries in wisdom, in genius, and in morals? No; but he was a king, and a king but indifferently educated; and he performed what, perhaps, a thousand sovereigns in his situation would never have done. He was possessed of that strength of mind which raises a man above all sorts of prejudice, as well with regard to the past as the present. He was an architect who built with brick, and who, in any other nation, would have built with marble. Had he reigned in France, he would
have

have carried the arts, from the condition in which they now are, to the highest pitch of perfection. His having five and twenty large ships on the Baltic Sea was an object of admiration: in our ports he would have had two hundred.

ONE may easily judge what he would have done at Paris, when we form a view of what he has done at Petersburg. What surpriseth me the most is, the little reason there was to hope that such a man as Peter the Great should ever have arisen at Moscow. It was as all the men who have ever inhabited Russia is to one, that a genius, so different from the general character of their nation, would never be bestowed upon any Russian; and it was still farther, as sixteen million, the number of the Russians at present, is to one, that this genius would not fall to the lot of the Czar in particular. But, notwithstanding these improbabilities, the thing has actually happened. A prodigious number of favourable circumstances must have concurred; an infinite series of ages must have elapsed, before nature produced the man who invented the plough, or him to whom we are indebted for the art of weaving. The Russians, at present, are not surpris'd at their rapid progress; in less than fifty years they have become so familiarly acquainted with all the arts, that one would imagine they had been in possession of them from remote antiquity. There are still large tracts of land in Africa that require the reforming hand of a Peter the Great: such a one may happen to come in some millions of years; for all things come not so soon as we would desire.



T H E
P R E F A C E.

S E C T. I.

W H O could have said in the year 1700, that a magnificent and polite court would be established at the bottom of the gulph of Finland? that the inhabitants of Casan, Solikam, and of the banks of the Wolga and Saik, would be in the rank of our best disciplined troops, and obtain victories in Germany, after having conquered the Swedes and Turks? that an empire of two thousand leagues, almost unknown to us till then, would be polished in fifty years? that its influence should extend to all the European courts; and that in year 1759, the most zealous protector of learning would be a Russian? Any one who had dared to say this would have passed for the most chimerical man in the world. PETER the GREAT having alone formed the plan of this revolution,

lution, is, perhaps, of all princes, he, whose actions deserve most to be handed down to posterity.

THE court of Petersburg has favoured the author employed in this work with all the authentic documents. It is mentioned in the body of this history, that these memoirs are deposited in the public library at Geneva, a city much frequented, and in whose neighbourhood this historian resides; but since his whole instructions, nor the intire journal of PETER the GREAT have yet been communicated to him, he has thought proper to keep these records at his own house, which are shewn to all the curious, with the same facility as they would have been by the keepers of the public library at Geneva; and the whole will be deposited there as soon as the second volume is finished.

THE public already have some pretended histories of PETER the GREAT, most of which have been composed from newspapers. That which has been published at Amsterdam, in four volumes, under the name of the Boyard Nestesuranoy, is one of those too much frequented typographical frauds. Such are the memoirs of Spain, printed under the name of Don Juan de Colmenar, and the history of Lewis XIV. compiled by the Jesuit La Motte, from the pretended memoirs of a minister of state, and imputed to La Martiniere: such are the histories of prince Eugene, count Bonneval, and many others.

IT is thus the fine art of printing is made subservient to a commerce the most despicable. A Dutch bookseller orders a book to be wrote, just as a manufacturer would order his servants to work him

a piece of cloth; and unluckily there are writers whose necessity obliges them to sell their labour to these merchants, as journeymen for hire. Hence arise all those insipid panegyrics and defamatory libels, with which the public are oppressed; which is one of the most shameful vices of our age.

NEVER did history stand more in need of authentic proofs than at present, when they so insolently traffic with falsehood. The author who now gives to the public the History of the Russian Empire under the reign of PETER the GREAT, is the same person who thirty years ago wrote the history of Charles XII. from the memoirs of many people of public character, who had long lived near this monarch. The present history is a confirmation of, and supplement to the former.

WE think ourselves here obliged, by a respect to the public, and to truth, to publish an undeniable testimony, which will shew what credit ought to be attributed to the history of Charles XII.

THE king of Poland, and duke of Lorrain, not long ago made that work be read over again to him at Commercy; he was so struck with the truth of so many actions which he had been witness of, and so angry at the insolence with which they had been called in question, in some libels and journals, that he was pleased to strengthen, by the seal of his own deposition, the credit which the historian deserves; but not being able to write himself, he made one of his principal officers draw up the following certificate. *

* My duty obliging me to cause it to be printed, I have taken the liberty to spare from the eyes of the reader some too honourable terms,

“ WE lieutenant-general of the king’s armies,
 “ grand-marschal of the household to his Polish ma-
 “ jesty, and commandant of Toul, of the two Bars,
 “ &c. certify, that his Polish majesty, after having
 “ heard the history of Charles XII. read, wrote by
 “ M. de V—— (the last Geneva edition), not on-
 “ ly praised the stile——of that history, and ad-
 “ mired those strokes——which characterise all
 “ the compositions of that illustrious author; but
 “ has also done us the honour to declare, that he
 “ was ready to give a certificate to M. de V—— in
 “ order to attest the truth of the facts contained in
 “ this history. This prince moreover adds, that
 “ M. de V—— has not forgot or misplaced any in-
 “ teresting circumstance; and that every thing in
 “ this history is true, and in its proper order; that
 “ he has treated of Poland, and all the events which
 “ have happened there, &c. as if he had been an
 “ eye-witness. We further certify, that this prince
 “ has ordered us to write immediately to M. de
 “ V—— to inform him of what we have just heard;
 “ and assure him of his majesty’s esteem and friend-
 “ ship.

“ THE great esteem we have for the reputation
 “ of M. de V—— and which every man of honour
 “ ought to have for testimonies which attest the
 “ truth of facts contained in contemporary histories,
 “ has engaged us to ask leave from the king of Po-
 “ land to send M. de V—— a certificate in form,
 “ of every thing which his majesty has done us the

for it is evident that these are owing but to the indulgence and good-
 ness of the prince, for which reason I have reduced myself solely to the
 testimony given in favour of the truth.

“ honour

“ honour to mention. The king of Poland not
 “ only consented to it, but even commanded us to
 “ send it, desiring M. de V—— to make use of it
 “ as often as he thinks proper, either by commu-
 “ nicating it, printing it, &c.”

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

“ The Count de FRESBAN.”

THIS act being sent to the author, surprized him so much the more agreeably, as it came from a king, as well acquainted with all these events as Charles XII. himself; and who, besides, is so well known in Europe for his love for truth, and benevolence.

WE have also a multitude of authentic testimonies concerning the history of the age of Lewis XIV. a work no less true and important, wherein the author breathes the spirit of patriotism; yet his respect for his country has no where inticed him to conceal the truth, nor ever prompted him to amplify the good, or disguise the evil; a work composed without interest, hope or fear, by a person whose situation in life has placed him above flattering any body.

THERE are but few quotations in the age of Lewis XIV. because the events in the beginning of that period are known to every body, and wanted only to be put in their proper light; and as for the later events, the author has been a witness of them himself. On the contrary, in the history of the Russian empire, he always quotes his vouchers, the chief of whom is PETER the GREAT himself.

S E C T. II.

WE have not given ourselves the unnecessary trouble, in this History of PETER the GREAT, of vainly inquiring into the origin of the many nations, which compose the immense empire of Russia, from the Kamtschatka to the Baltic sea. It would be a strange undertaking to attempt to prove, by authentic pieces, that the Huns formerly came from the north of China into Siberia; and that the Chinese themselves are a colony of Egyptians. I know that some philosophers of great merit seem to think that there is a kind of conformity between these nations; but we have been too much deceived by their conjectures, which some have even attempted to convert into certainty.

THUS, for example, they at present pretend to prove, that the Egyptians are the fathers of the Chinese. An antient author has related, that Sesostris the Egyptian went as far as the river Ganges; now if he went so far, he might go to China, which is at a great distance from the Ganges; therefore he went thither; but China was not peopled at that time, it is therefore evident that Sesostris peopled it. The Egyptians in their feasts used lighted candles, the Chinese, lanthorns; therefore we cannot doubt that the Chinese are an Egyptian colony. Moreover, the Chinese have a large river, the Egyptians likewise have one. In short, it is evident, that the first kings of China got their names from the antient kings of Egypt; for in the name of the family Yu

we

we may find characters, which, ranged in another manner, form the word *Menes*. It is then indisputable that the emperor *Yu* took his name from *Menes* king of Egypt, and the emperor *Ki* is evidently king *Atoës*, by changing *k* into *a*, and *i* into *toës*.

BUT if a learned man of either Tobolski or Pekin was to read some of our books, he might prove much more demonstratively, that the French descended from the Trojans. And thus he might prove it, and astonish his countrymen by his profound researches. The most antient and most respected books in that little country of the west, called France, he might say, are romances; they were written in a pure language, derived from the antient Romans, who have never told a falsity. Now, more than twenty of these authentic books depose, that *Francus*, the founder of the French monarchy, was the son of Hector. The name of Hector has been preserved ever since in that nation, and even in this present century, one of her greatest generals is called Hector de Villars.

THE neighbouring nations have acknowledged this truth so unanimously, that Ariosto, one of the most learned Italians, declares in his Orlando, that the knights of Charlemagne fought for Hector's helmet. In short, we have a proof which needs no reply; for the antient Franks, to perpetuate the memory of the Trojans, their fathers, built a new city of Troy in Champagne; and these new Trojans have always preserved so great an aversion for the Greeks their enemies, that there is not at pre-

sent in that town four people who have learned Greek. They have never received the Jesuits among them, probably because they have heard that some of them formerly explained Homer in their schools.

IT is certain that such arguments might make a great impression at Pekin and Tobolski; but in the like manner another learned person might overturn the whole affair, by proving, that the Parisians descended from the Greeks: For, he would say, the first president of a court of judicature at Paris was called *Achille du Harlai*. *Achille* certainly is derived from the Greek *Achilles*, and *Harlai* comes from *Aristos*, by changing *istos* into *lai*. The Elysian fields, which are still near one of the gates of the city, and mount Olympus, which is still to be seen near Mezière, are monuments which the most obstinate credulity cannot withstand. Besides, the Athenian customs are preserved in Paris; they there judge of comedies and tragedies as superficially as they do at Athens; they crown generals of armies on the theatre, as in Athens; and, in short, Marshal Saxe publicly received a crown from the hands of an actress, which could not be given to him in the cathedral. The Parisians have academies, which are derived from those of Athens; as likewise churches, a liturgy, parishes, and dioceses, all Greek inventions; and the words themselves derived from the Greek; even the distempers of these people have their names derived from the Greek, such as *apoplexy*, *phthisic*, *peripneumony*, *cachexy*, *dysentery*, *jealousy*, &c.

WE must confess, that these sentiments will strengthen much the authority of the wise personage who has just demonstrated, that we were a colony of Trojans; these two opinions will be still combated by other profound antiquarians; some will shew that we are Egyptians, seeing that the worship of Isis was established in the village of Isis, on the road betwixt Paris and Versailles; others will prove, that we are Arabs, as appears by the words *almanac*, *alembic*, *algebra*, *admiral*. The Chinese and Siberian literati would be very much perplexed to decide it, and would very likely leave us just what we are.

IT appears then, that the origin of all nations is involved in this uncertainty. It is the same in regard to a whole people as with one particular family; many German barons pretend to be descended, in a direct line, from Arminius; in like manner they have composed for Mahomet a genealogy, by which he sprang from Abraham and Hagar.

THUS the family of the ancient Czars of Russia was said to come from *Bela*, king of Hungary; this *Bela* from *Attila*, *Attila* from *Turck*, father of the Huns; and this *Turck* was the son of *Japhet*. His brother *Rufs* founded the throne of Russia, and another brother, named *Cameri*, established his dominion towards the Wolga.

ALL these sons of Japhet were, as every one knows, the grandsons of Noah, whose three sons made what speed they could to establish themselves at a thousand leagues distance from each other, in order to prevent all sort of mutual assistance, and

probably begot by their sisters some millions of inhabitants in a very few years.

MANY grave writers have exactly traced these descents with the same sagacity as when they discovered how the Japanete had peopled Peru. History has been a long time written in this taste, which has not been followed either by the President de Thou or Rapin-Thoyras.

S E C T. III.

IF we must be upon our guard with respect to the historians who ascend to the tower of Babel, and to the deluge, we ought not less to mistrust those who particularize every modern history, who enter into all the secrets of ministers, and who unhappily give you an exact account of every battle, which even the very generals themselves would find a very great difficulty to do.

THERE have been fought since the beginning of the last century near two hundred capital battles in Europe, the most of them more fatal than the battles of Arabella and Pharsalia; yet as very few of these actions have had any great consequences, they are lost to posterity. If there was but one book in the world, children would know by heart every line, and would be able to tell all the syllables of it; in like manner, if there had been but one battle, the name of each soldier would be known, and his genealogy would pass to the latest posterity: but in such a long, and almost uninterrupted succession of bloody wars amongst Christian princes, the ancient interests

interests have all changed, and are effaced by new ones; battles fought twenty years ago are forgot by those of the present time; just as in Paris, the news of yesterday is smothered by that of to-day, which in its turn will be lost in that of to-morrow; thus almost all events are precipitated one upon another into eternal oblivion. This is a reflexion which we cannot dwell too much upon; it serves to console us in the misfortunes which we are subject to, and shews us the vanity of human things. There remains nothing in history worthy to fix the attention of men, but the striking revolutions which have changed the manners and laws of great states; and upon this account the history of PETER the GREAT deserves to be known.

IF we have dwelt too long on the particulars of battles and sieges, which resemble other military operations of the same nature, we ask pardon of the philosophic reader, and have no other excuse, except, that these small actions are connected with the great ones, and must necessarily be joined in the narration.

WE have refuted Norberg in some passages, which have appeared to us the most important; but have suffered him to enjoy his mistakes with impunity in matters of leis moment.

S E C T. IV.

WE have made the history of PETER the GREAT as concise and as copious as possible. There are histories of little province, small cities, and even

of convents of monks, that take up many volumes in folio; the memoirs of a certain abbot, who retired into Spain, where he had scarcely done any thing worthy of notice, are comprized in seven volumes, while one is sufficient for the life of Alexander the Great.

THERE may be yet some childish men, who love the fables of Osiris, Bacchus, Hercules, and Thefeus, consecrated by antiquity, better than the true history of a modern prince; either because the ancient names of Osiris and Hercules flatter the ear more than that of Peter; or that the overthrowing of giants and lions please a weak imagination more than laws and useful undertakings; and yet we must confess, that the defeat of the giant Epidaurum, and of Sinnis the robber, and Crommion's sow, are not equal with the exploits of Charles XII. the founder of Petersburg, and the legislator of a most redoubtable empire.

IT is true, the antients have taught us to think justly; but it would be very strange to prefer Anacharsis, the Scythian, because of his antiquity, to the modern Scythian, who has polished so extensive a country. We cannot see why the legislator of Russia ought to yield to Lycurgus and Solon. Are the laws of the latter, which recommend the love of boys to the citizens of Athens, and forbid it to the slaves; or those of the former, which command the girls to box quite naked in public, preferable to the laws of him who civilized the people of both sexes in his dominions for society; who created

ated military discipline by land and sea, and opened a passage for all arts into his native country?

THIS history contains the transactions of his public life, which were useful; not those of his private life, of which we have but few anecdotes, and those sufficiently known. It would not become a stranger to disclose the secrets of his closet, his bed, or his table. If any one could have given such anecdotes, it would have been prince Menzikof, or general Sheremetow, who have been long intimately acquainted with him; but they have not done this; therefore all that which is at present supported but by public reports, is not worthy of credit. Men of sense would choose rather to see a great man labouring twenty-five years for the good of an extensive empire, than be informed, in a very uncertain manner, of the foibles which this great man might have in common with the meanest of his people.

S E C T. V.

IN what relates only to the style, criticism, or even the reputation of an author, it is better to let the little tribe of pamphleteers indulge their malignity; for we should become almost as ridiculous as them, if we were to spend time in answering them, or even in reading their productions: but when we dispute about important affairs, it is sometimes necessary that truth should descend so low as to confound the falshood of disdainful wretches; their scandal ought no more to hinder her from clearing herself, than the

baseness of a criminal, among the dregs of the people, should hinder the course of justice from acting against him. It is by this double reason then, that we have been obliged to silence that ignorant rascal, who has corrupted the history of Lewis XIV by notes, as absurd as scandalous, in which he brutally insults a branch of the house of France, all the house of Austria, and a hundred other illustrious families in Europe, whose very anti-chambers are as much unknown to him, as the facts which he has presumed to falsify.

THIS facility of punishing calumnies, is unfortunately, one of the greatest inconveniencies attached to the art of printing.

LE Vassor, a priest of the oratory, and La Motte, a Jesuit; the one a beggar in England, the other in Holland, both wrote history for their livelihood. The one chose Lewis XIII. king of France, for the object of his satire, and the other Lewis XIV. Their change of religion was not adapted to recommend them to the public as men of veracity; nevertheless, it is droll to see with what confidence they declare that they are intrusted with the depositum of truth, continually repeating this maxim, "That an historian should boldly tell the whole truth." But they ought to have added, that he should begin by being informed of it himself.

THEIR own maxim condemns them; but even this maxim deserves to be examined, since it becomes an excuse for all satirists.

ALL truths of importance or public utility
ought,

ought, doubtless, to be told; but if there should be any odious anecdote, relating to a prince; if within his own domestic inclosure he has been guilty, like many private people, of some human frailties, known perhaps to one or two confidants; who is it that commands you to reveal to the public what these two confidants are intrusted with? I will grant that you have penetrated into this mystery: but why should you tear the veil with which every man has a right to cover the recesses of his own house? And for what reason do you publish this scandal? To flatter the curiosity of men, you will answer, to please their malignity, and to sell my book, which, without that, would not be read. You are then only a defamer, a libeller, a seller of detraction, and not an historian.

If this weakness of a man, in public life; if this secret vice, which you seek to publish, has any influence over the public affairs; if it has caused the loss of a battle, disordered the finances of the state, or made the citizens unhappy, you ought to speak of it. It is your duty to discover the minute cause of such great events; otherwise you ought to be silent.

“LET no truth be concealed,” is a maxim which may allow many exceptions; but here is one, which will admit of none, “Tell nothing to posterity but what is worthy of posterity.”

S E C T. VI.

BESIDES falsehoods in facts, there is also a falsehood

hood in characters. The madness of loading history with these portraits began in France with the writing of romances. It was Clelia who first introduced this fashion. Sarrazin, just upon the dawn of good taste, wrote the history of the conspiracy of Wallstein, who had never been concerned in any plot; he fails not, in drawing the character of that general, whom he had never seen, to translate almost all that Sallust has said of Cataline, whom that Roman historian had often seen. This is writing history in an ingenious manner; but he who takes so much pains to shew his wit, does no more than shew it; which is no great matter.

CARDINAL de Retz might, with propriety, give the characters of the principal personages of his time, as he had been intimately acquainted with them, who had been either his friends or his enemies. He has not painted them, it is true, in those glaring colours with which Maimbourg has embellished the romantic histories of princes in past ages. But was he a faithful painter? Did not passion, and the love of singularity, sometimes guide his pencil? Ought he, for example, thus to have expressed himself in respect to the queen, mother of Lewis XIV? "She had as much wit as was
 " sufficient for her to appear foolish to the eyes of
 " those who did not know her: she had more
 " founness than pride, more pride than grandeur,
 " more outward show than reality, more regard to
 " money than liberality, more liberality than self-
 " ishness, more selfishness than disinterestedness,
 " more attachment than passion, more intemperance
 " than

“ than cruelty, more superstition than real piety,
 “ more stubbornness than steadiness, and more in-
 “ capacity than of all the rest ”

WE must confess, that the obscurity of these expressions, the multitude of antitheses and comparatives, and this burlesque way of painting, so unworthy of history, can never please those of a good understanding. Those who love truth, doubt much of the exactness of the character, in comparing it with the queen's; and virtuous minds are also shocked with the ill-nature and disdain which the historian displays in speaking of a prince, who had loaded him with so many favours, and are very angry to see an archbishop engaged in a civil war, merely, as he himself says, for the pleasure it gave him.

IF we are to distrust characters, drawn even by those who are so well qualified for that task, how can we believe an historian who affects to penetrate into the secrets of a prince, who, perhaps, lived at the distance of six hundred leagues from him? He should in this case describe him by his actions, and leave to those who have been a long time near his person to tell the rest.

HARANGUES are another kind of oratorical lying, in which historians formerly indulged themselves. They made their heroes say what was possible for them to have said. This liberty indeed might have been taken with a person of some antiquity, but at present these fictions are no longer tolerated; nay, we go still farther, for if any harangue were to be put into the mouth of a prince who
 never

never pronounced it, the historian would be considered as a rhetorician

A THIRD kind of lying, and indeed the most rude, but which has been a long time the most seducing, is that of the marvelous; it bears sway in all antient histories, not one excepted.


WE still meet with some predictions in the history of Charles XII of Norberg: but we find none in any of the judicious historians who have wrote in this century; omens, prodigies and apparitions, are banished into the regions of fable. For history stood in no need to be enlightened by philosophy.



T H E

T H E

INTRODUCTION.

 **A**T the beginning of the present century, the vulgar knew no other hero in the north but Charles XII. His personal valour, which was much more like that of a private soldier than that of a king, the noise of his victories, and likewise of his misfortunes, made an impression on those who are easily struck with great events, but are not so clear sighted in regard to more slow and useful labours. **PETER** the **FIRST** would be able to go through with his great undertakings; yet they have not only subsisted, but have been improved, especially under his daughter the empress Elizabeth. This empire is at present reckoned amongst the most flourishing states, and **PETER** is in the rank of the greatest legislators: although his undertakings had no need of success from the approbation of the learned, yet his success has strengthened his glory for ever. At present we judge that Charles XII. deserved to have the first post under **PETER** the **GREAT**; the one has left nothing but ruins, and the other

is a founder of an empire in every respect. Such was the judgment I ventured to pass thirty years ago, when I wrote the history of Charles XII. The memoirs with which I have been furnished concerning Russia puts me in a condition to make known this empire, whose people are so antient, while their laws, manners, and arts, are of a new creation.



THE



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
UNDER
PETER THE GREAT.

C H A P. I.

Description of RUSSIA.

RUSSIA is the most extensive empire in the universe; it extends from east to west for more than two thousand leagues, and from north to south more than eight hundred. It borders Poland and the Frozen sea, and joins Sweden and China. Its length from the isle of Dago, in the west of Livonia, to its eastermost bounds, contains near one hundred and seventy degrees; so that when it is mid-day in the west of this empire, it

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is very near midnight in the east. Its breadth from south to north is three thousand six hundred wersts, which is eight hundred and sixty of our common leagues.

So little were we acquainted with the bounds of this country in the past century, that when we heard in the year 1689, that the Chinese and Russians were at war, and that the emperor *Cam-hi* on the one side, and the Czars Ivan and Peter on the other, had sent their respective ambassadors to meet within three hundred leagues of Peking, upon the boundaries of the two empires, to terminate their difference, we at first treated this event as fabulous.

THE country which is at present comprised under the name of Russia, or the Russias, is larger than all the rest of Europe, or than ever the Roman empire was, or that of Darius, conquered by Alexander; for it contains more than one million one hundred square leagues. The Roman empire, and that of Alexander, contained each about five hundred and fifty thousand, and there is not a kingdom in Europe the twelfth part so extensive as the Roman empire; but it would require whole ages, even under a race of such auspicious monarchs as Peter the Great, to make it as populous, plentiful, and well inhabited as our southern countries.

THE English ambassador who resided at Petersburg in 1733, and who had been at Madrid, says, in his manuscript relation, that in Spain, which is the least populous state in Europe, there may be reckoned forty persons to every square mile, and in
Russia

Russia not above five. We shall see, in the second chapter, whether this minister was mistaken. Marshal Vauban, the greatest of engineers and the best of citizens, is of opinion, that in France, every square mile contains two hundred inhabitants. These calculations are never very exact, but they serve to shew the surprising disproportion in the populousness of two different countries.

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

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

IT is not my business in this place to enquire, why

why the countries from Smolensko, to the other side of Moscow, were called White Russia, or why Hubner gives it the name of Black, or for what reason the government of *Kiow* should be named Red Russia.

IT is probable that *Madies* the Scythian, who made an irruption into Asia, near seven centuries before our vulgar æra, might have carried his arms into these regions, as Genzis-Khan, and Tamerlane have done since, and as probably others had done long before *Madies*. Every part of antiquity is not deserving of our enquiries; that of the Chinese, the Indians, the Persians, and the Egyptians, are ascertained by illustrious and interesting monuments: but these monuments suppose others of a more ancient date, since many ages are necessary to teach them the art of transmitting their thoughts by permanent signs, and no less time was required to form a regular language; and yet we have no such monuments, even in this polite part of Europe. The art of writing was a long time unknown to all the north: the patriarch Constantine, who wrote the history of *Kiow* in the Russian language, confesses, that the use of writing was not known in these countries in the fifth century.

LET others examine whether the Huns, the Slavi, and the Tartars, formerly conducted their wandering and famished tribes towards the source of the Borysthenes; my design is to describe the new world which the Czar Peter created, and not to engage in useles attempts to clear up the chaos of antiquity. We should always keep in mind, that

no family upon earth knows its first founder, and consequently, that no nation knows its first origin.

I USE the name of Russians to designate the inhabitants of this great empire. That of Roxolani-ans, which was formerly given them, would indeed be more sonorous, but it is necessary we should conform to the custom of the language in which we write. Gazettes and other memoirs have for some time used the word Russians; but as this name has too great a likeness to that of Prussians, I shall abide by that of Russ, which almost all our authors have given them. Besides, it appeared to me, that the most extensive people of the world ought to be known by some appellation that may distinguish them absolutely from all other nations.

THIS empire is at present divided into sixteen large governments, that will one day be subdivided, when the northern and eastern countries come to be more inhabited.

THESE sixteen governments, which contain several immense provinces, are the following :

L I V O N I A.

THE nearest province to Britain is that of Livonia, one of the most fruitful of the north. In the twelfth century the inhabitants were Pagans; at which time certain merchants of Bremen and Lubec traded to this country; and a body of religious crusaders, called *Port-Glaives*, (or sword-bearers) who were afterwards incorporated in the Teutonic order,

order, took possession of this province, in the thirteenth century, at the time when the fury of the crusades armed the Christians against all who were not of their religion. Albert, margrave of Brandenburg, grand master of these religious conquerors, made himself sovereign of Livonia and Brandenburg-Prussia, towards the year 1514. From that time, the Russians and Poles contended for the possession of this province. Soon afterwards it was invaded by the Swedes, and for a long while continued to be ravaged by these several powers. Gustavus Adolphus having conquered it, it was then ceded to the Swedes in 1660, by the famous peace of Oliva; and, at length, Czar Peter took it, as will be seen in the course of this history.

COURLAND, joining to Livonia, is still in vassalage to Poland, though it depends greatly upon Russia. These are the western limits of this empire in Christendom.

Of the government of REVEL, PETERSBURG, and WYBURG.

MORE towards the north is the government of Revel and Esthonia. Revel was built by the Danes in the thirteenth century. The Swedes were in possession of Esthonia, from the time that this country put itself under the protection of that crown, in 1501. This is another of the conquests of Peter the Great.

ON the borders of Esthonia lies the gulph of Finland.

land. To the eastward of this sea, and at the junction of the Neva with the lake Ladoga, is situated Petersburg, the most modern and best built city in the whole empire, built by Czar Peter, in spite of all the united obstacles which opposed its foundation.

THIS city is situated on the gulph of Kronstat, in the midst of nine rivers, by which its different quarters are divided. In the centre of this city is an almost impregnable castle, built on an island, formed by the great course of the river Neva: seven canals are drawn from the rivers, and wash the walls of the royal palace of the admiralty, of the dock-yard for the gallies, and of several buildings of manufactories. Thirty-five great churches help to adorn the city; among which, five are for foreigners, of the Roman Catholic, Calvinist, and Lutheran religions: these are as so many temples erected for toleration, and as examples to other nations. There are five palaces; the old one, called the summer-palace, situated on the river Neva, has a very large and beautiful stone balustrade, which runs all along the river side. The new summer palace near the triumphal gate, is one of the finest pieces of architecture in Europe. The admiralty buildings, the school for cadets, the imperial college, the academy of sciences, the exchange, the merchants warehouses, and the dock-yards, are all magnificent structures. The town-house, the public dispensary, where all the vessels are made of porcelain, the court magazines, the foundery, the arsenal, the bridges, the markets, the squares, the barracks for the horse and

foot guards, contribute at once to the embellishment and safety of the city, which is said to contain at present four hundred thousand souls. In the environs of this city are several pleasure-houses, whose magnificence astonishes all travellers. There is one in particular which has water-works far superior to those of Versailles. There was nothing of all this in 1702, the whole being then an impassable morass. Petersburg is considered as the capital of Ingria, a small province subdued by Peter I. Wyburg, another of his conquests, and that part of Finland which was lost, and ceded by the Swedes in 1742, makes another government.

A R C H A N G E L.

HIGHER up mounting towards the north, is the province of Archangel, a country quite new to the southern nations of Europe. It took its name from St. Michael the Archangel, under whose protection it was put long after the Russians had embraced Christianity, which did not happen till the beginning of the eleventh century: and this province was not known to the other nations of Europe till the middle of the sixteenth. The English, in 1553, endeavouring to find out a north-east passage to the East Indies, Chancellor, captain of one of the ships equipped for that expedition, discovered the port of Archangel in the White Sea; at that time it was a desert place, having only one convent, and a small church, dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel.

THE English running up the river Dwina, arrived at the midland part of the country, and at length at Moscow. Here they easily made themselves masters of the Russian commerce, which was removed from the city of Novogorod to this seaport, which is inaccessible indeed during seven months in the year; but, nevertheless, this trade proved more beneficial to the empire, than the fairs of Novogorod, that had fallen to decay in consequence of the wars with Sweden. The English obtained the privilege of trading thither without paying any duties; a manner of trading which is apparently the most beneficial to all nations. The Dutch soon came in for a share of the traffic to Archangel, then unknown to other nations.

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

RUSSIAN LAPLAND.

Of the Government of ARCHANGEL.

TOWARDS the west of Archangel, and within its government, is Russian Lapland, the third part

of this country, the two others belonging to Sweden and Denmark. This is a very large track, occupying about eight degrees of longitude, and extending in latitude from one polar circle to the North Pole. The inhabitants of this country were confusedly known to the ancients, under the name of Troglodytes and northern pigmies; names suitable enough to men, who, for the most part, are not above four feet and an half high, and dwell in caverns; they are now just the same people they were in former times. They are of a tawny colour, though the other people of the north are white; and for the most part of a very low size, though their neighbours, and the people of Iceland, under the polar circle, are tall: they seem made for their mountainous country, being nimble, stout, and robust; their skins are hard, the better to resist the cold, their thighs and legs are slender, their feet small, to enable them to run more nimbly amongst the rocks, with which their country is covered; they are passionately fond of their own country, which none but themselves can be pleased with, and cannot live any where else. Some have affirmed, upon the credit of Olaus, that these people were originally natives of Finland, that they retired into Lapland, where they diminished in their size; but this could not be otherwise, for why could not they have made use of lands less northerly, where the conveniences of life were to be had in greater plenty? How comes it that they differ so much from their pretended ancestors in features, figure, and complexion?

Thus

Thus one might, with as great reason say, that the grass which grows in Lapland, is produced from that of Denmark, and that the fishes peculiar to their lakes, were the spawn of those which came from Sweden. It is more likely that the Laplanders are like their animals, the produce of their own country, and that nature has made the one for the other.

THOSE who inhabit the borders of Finland, have adopted some of the expressions of their neighbours, which happens to all people: but when two nations give to things of common use, and established customs, names absolutely different, it is a strong presumption, that one of them is not a colony from the other. The Findlanders call a bear *Karu*, the Laplanders, *Muriet*: the sun in Finland is called *Auringa*, in Lapland *Beve*. Here is not the least analogy. The inhabitants of Finland, and Swedish Lapland, formerly worshipped an idol, whom they called *Iumalac*; and since the reign of *Gustavus Adolphus*, to whom they are indebted for the appellation of Lutherans, they call *Jesus Christ* the son of *Iumalac*. The Russian Laplanders are at present said to be of the Greek church; but those who wander about the mountains of the North Cape, are satisfied with adoring one God under certain gross forms, as has been the ancient custom of all the nations called *Nomades*, or wandering nations.

THIS sort of people, who are inconsiderable in numbers, have but very few ideas, and so far are happy in not having more, which would only oc-

caſion them to have new wants which they could not ſatisfy: at preſent they live contented, and free from diſeaſes, notwithstanding the exceſſive rigour of their climate; they drink nothing but water, and arrive to a great age. The cuſtom imputed to them of deſiring ſtrangers to lie with their wives and daughters, which they eſteem as an honour done to them, probably comes from a notion of the ſuperiority of ſtrangers, and a deſire of amending, by their means, the defects of their own race. This was a practice eſtabliſhed amongſt the virtuous Lacedaemonians. A husband would beg as a favour, of a comely young man, to give him handſome children, whom he might adopt. Jealouſy, and the laws, hinder the reſt of mankind from giving their wives up to the embraces of another; but the Laplanders have few or no laws, and are, in all probability, not given to jealouſy.

M O S C O W.

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

Moscow, lying in fifty-five degrees and an half north latitude, in a warmer climate, and more fertile ſoil than Petersburg, is ſituated in the miſt of a large and delightful plain on the river Moskwa,

wa, and two lesser rivers, which are swallowed up in the Occa, and afterwards run into the Wolga. This city, in the thirteenth century, consisted only of small huts, peopled by a set of miserable wretches, oppressed by the descendants of Gengis-Khan.

THE Kremlin, which was the residence of the great dukes, was not built till the fourteenth century; of so little antiquity are the cities in this part of the world. This palace was constructed by Italian architects, as were several churches in the Gothic taste, which then prevailed throughout all Europe. There are two built by the famous Aristotle of Bologna, who flourished in the fifteenth century; but the houses of the common people were no better than wooden huts.

THE first writer who gives us any information of Moscow, was Olearius; who, in 1633, went thither as the companion of an embassy from the duke of Holstein. And was prodigiously struck with wonder at the immense extent of the city of Moscow, with its five inclosures, particularly the magnificent one belonging to the czars, and with the Asiatic splendor which then reigned at that court. There was nothing equal to it in Germany at that time, nor any city near so extensive or well peopled.

ON the contrary, the Earl of Carlisle, who was Ambassador from Charles II. to the czar Alexis, in 1663, complains in his account, that he could not meet with any one comfort of life in Moscow; no inns on the road, nor refreshments of any kind. One judged as a German, the other as an English-

man, and both by comparison. The Englishman was shocked to observe that most of the Boyars, or Muscovite noblemen, slept upon boards or benches, with only the skins of animals under them; but this was the ancient practice of all nations. Their houses were almost all built of wood, had scarcely any furniture; few or none of their tables were covered with linen; there the streets not paved; nothing agreeable; nothing convenient; very few artificers, and these few extremely rude, and employed only in works of absolute necessity. These people might have passed for Spartans, had they been sober.

BUT on days of ceremony, the court displays all the splendour of a Persian monarch. The earl says, he could see nothing but gold and jewels on the robes of the czar and his courtiers. These dresses were not manufactured in the country; and yet it is evident, that the court might have been the means of making the people industrious long before that time. In the reign of the czar Boris Godonow, the largest bell in Europe was cast at Moscow; and in the patriarchal church, there were several ornaments of silver, of curious workmanship; but these works, which were made under the direction of Germans and Italians, were only transient efforts. It is daily industry, and the constant practice of a great number of arts, that makes a flourishing nation. Poland, and the neighbouring nations, were at that time very little superior to the Russians. The handicraft trades had not arrived to greater perfection in the north of Germany, nor
were

were the fine arts much better known than in the middle of the seventeenth century.

THOUGH the city of Moscow, at that time, had neither the magnificence nor arts of our great cities in Europe; yet its circumference of twenty miles; the part called the Chinese town, where all the curiosities of China are exhibited; the spacious quarter of the Kremlin, where stood the palace of the czars; the gilded domes, the lofty and surprising towers; and, in fine, the prodigious number of its inhabitants, amounting to near five hundred thousand: all this makes Moscow one of the most considerable cities in the world.

THEODORE, or Fœdor, the eldest brother to Peter the Great, began to embellish Moscow. He caused several large houses to be built of stone, though without any regular architecture. He encouraged the principal nobility of his court to build, advancing them money, and furnishing them with materials. He was the first who encouraged the breed of fine horses, and made several other fine and useful embellishments. Peter, who was attentive to every improvement, took care not to neglect Moscow at the time he was building Petersburg; for he caused it to be paved, adorned it with noble buildings, and enriched it with manufactures; and within these few years, Mr. de Showalow, high Chamberlain to the empress Elizabeth, daughter to Peter the Great, has founded an university in this city. This is the same person who furnished me with the materials, from which I have compiled the present history, and who was himself much more

capable to have wrote it, even in the French language, had not his great modesty made him give up the task to me, as will evidently appear from his own letters on this subject, which I have deposited in the public library of Geneva.

S M O L E N S K O.

WESTWARD of the Duchy of Moscow, is that of Smolensko, a part of the ancient Sarmatia Europea. The duchies of Moscow and Smolensko composed what is properly called White Russia. Smolensko, which at first belonged to the great dukes of Russia, was conquered by the great duke of Lithuania, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, and was recovered one hundred years afterwards by its former kings. Sigismund III. king of Poland, took possession of it in 1611. The czar Alexis, father to Peter I. retook it again in 1665. since which time it has always made a part of the Russian empire. The eulogium of Peter the Great, pronounced in the academy of sciences at Paris, takes notice, that before this time the Russians had made no conquests either to the West or South; but this is certainly a mistake.

*Of the government of NOVOGOROD and KIOU, or
the UKRAINE.*

BETWEEN Petersburg and Smolensko, lies the province of Novogorod; a country in which the
ancient

ancient *Slavi*, or Sclavonians, made their first settlements. But from whence came these *Slavi*, whose language has spread over all the north-east part of Europe? *Sla* signifies a chief, and *Slave* one belonging to a chief. All that we know concerning those ancient *Slavi*, is, that they were a race of conquerors; that they built the city of Novogorod the Great, situated on a navigable river; that this city was for a long time in possession of a flourishing trade, and was a potent ally of the Hanse towns. The czar, John Basilowitz, made a conquest of it in 1467, and carried away all its riches, which contributed to the magnificence of the court of Moscow, which till that time was almost unknown.

To the south of the province of Smolensko, we meet with the province of Kiow, otherwise called the Lesser Russia, Red Russia, or the Ukraine, through which runs the Dneiper, called by the Greeks the Boristhenes. The difference of these two words, the one harsh to pronounce, and the other melodious, shew us, among an hundred other proofs, the rudeness of all the ancient people of the north, in comparison of the graces of the Greek language. Kiow, the capital city, formerly Kifow, was founded by the emperors of Constantinople, who made it a colony: here are still several Greek inscriptions, of upwards of one thousand two hundred years standing, very legible. This is the only city of any antiquity in these countries, wherein the inhabitants have lived so long together without building walls. It was here that the great

dukes of Russia held their residence in the eleventh century, before the Tartars subdued Russia.

THE inhabitants of the Ukraine, called Cossacks, are a mixture of the ancient Roxolanians, Sarmatians and Tartars. Rome and Constantinople, though so long the mistresses of other nations, are not to be compared in fertility with the Ukraine. Nature has there exerted her utmost efforts for the service of the inhabitants; but they have not improved those efforts by industry, living only upon the spontaneous productions of that fruitful uncultivated soil, and the practice of robbery. Though fond to excess of that most valuable of all blessings, liberty; yet they were always in slavery, either to the Poles or the Turks, till the year 1654, when they submitted themselves to the arms of Russia, but with some particular privileges. At length they were entirely subdued by Peter the Great.

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

FORMERLY the inhabitants of this country were all either Pagans or Mahometans; but when they entered into the service of Poland, they were baptised

tified Christians of the Roman communion; and now, as they are in the service of Russia, they practise the rites of the Greek church.

AMONGST these are comprised the Zaporavian Cossacks, who are much the same as our Buccaneers, or Freebooters, desperate fellows, living upon rapine. They are distinguished from all other people, by never admitting women to live among them; as the Amazons are said never to have admitted any man. The women, whom they use for propagation, dwell upon other islands on the river; they have no marriages amongst them, nor any domestic œconomy; they enrol the male children in their army, and leave the girls to the care of their mothers. Often a brother has children by his sister, and a father by his daughter. They know no other laws than customs introduced by necessity: however, they make use of some prayers from the Greek ritual. Fort St. Elizabeth has been lately built on the Boristhenes, to keep them in subjection. They serve as irregulars in the Russian armies, and woe be to those who fall into their hands.

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

To the north-east of the province of Kiow, between the Boristhenes and the Tanais, or the Don, is the government of Belgorod, which is as large as that of Kiow. This is one of the most fertile provinces

provinces of Russia, and furnishes Poland with a prodigious number of those large cattle, known by the name of the Ukraine oxen. These two provinces are protected from the incursions of the small Tartar tribes, by lines extending from the Boristhenes to the Tanais, and well furnished with forts and redoubts.

ASCENDING northward we cross the Tanais, and come into the government of Worownitz or Veronise, which extends to the banks of the Palus Mæotis. In the neighbourhood of the capital of Veronise, which is called by the Russians, Woronesteh, at the mouth of the river of the same name, which falls into the Tanais, Peter the Great built his first fleet; an undertaking which at that time was astonishing to the inhabitants of these vast dominions. From thence we come to the government of Nischgorod, abounding with grain, and watered by the river Wolga.

A S T R A C A N.

FROM the latter province we proceed southward to the kingdom of Astracan. This country extends from forty three and a half degrees north latitude, in a most delightful climate, to near fifty, including as many degrees of longitude, as of latitude. It is bounded on one side by the Caspian sea, and on the other by the mountains of Circassia, stretching beyond the Caspian, along mount Caucasus. It is watered by the great river Wolga,
the

the Jaic, and several other lesser streams, between which, according to Mr. Perry, the English engineer, canals might be cut that would serve as reservoirs to receive the overflowing of the waters; and by that means answer the same purposes as the canals of the Nile, and greatly improve the fertility of the soil; but to the right and left of the Wolga and Jaic, this fine country was inhabited, or rather infested, by Tartars, who never improved the land, but have always lived as strangers and vagabonds in this part of the world.

PERRY the engineer, who was employed by Peter the Great in these parts, found these deserts covered with pasture, pulse, cherry and almond trees, and large flocks of wild sheep, who fed in these deserts, and whose flesh was most excellent. The inhabitants of these countries must be subdued and civilized, in order to second the efforts of nature, which has been forced in the climate of Petersburg.

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

ASTRACAN is the boundary of Asia and Europe, and from its situation is convenient to carry on a trade with both, as merchandises may be conveyed from the Caspian sea, up to this town, by means of
the

the Wolga. This was one of the grand schemes of Peter the Great, and has been partly carried into execution. A whole suburb of Astracan is inhabited by Indians.

O R E M B O U R G.

To the south-east of the kingdom of Astracan, is a small country newly planted, called Orembourg. The town of this name was built in the year 1734, on the banks of the river Jaic. This province is covered with the branches of mount Caucasus. The passes in these mountains, and of the rivers that run down from them, are defended by forts raised at equal distances. In this country, which was formerly uninhabited, the Persians come at present to hide, from robbers such of their effects as they have saved from the fury of the civil wars. So that the city of Orembourg is become the asylum of the Persians and their riches, and is grown considerable by their calamities. The natives of Great Bukari come hither to trade, so that it is become the staple of Asia.

Of the government of CASAN, and of GREAT PERMIA.

BEYOND the Wolga and Jaic, towards the north, lies the kingdom of Casan, which, like that of Astracan, fell by partition to one of the sons of Gengis.

Gengis-Khan, and afterwards to a son of Tamerlane, and was at length conquered by John Basilides. It is still inhabited by a number of Mahometan Tartars. This vast country extends as far as Siberia: it is evident it was formerly very flourishing and rich, and still preserves some part of its pristine opulence. A province of this kingdom, called Great Permia, and since Solikam, was the staple of the merchandises of Persia, and the furs of Tartary. There has been found in Permia a large quantity of the coin of the first Caliphs, and some golden idols, belonging to the Tartars*; but these monuments of ancient riches were found in the midst of barren desarts and extreme poverty, where there were not the least traces of any traffick: revolutions of this kind may easily happen in a barren country, seeing they so often happen in the most fruitful kingdoms.

THE famous Swedish prisoner Strahleberg, who made so good an use of his misfortunes, and who examined those vast countries with so much attention, was the first who gave an air of probability to a fact, which before had been always deemed incredible; namely, concerning the ancient commerce of these provinces. Pliny and Pomponius Mela relate, that, in the reign of Augustus, a king of Suevi made a present to Metellus Celer of some Indians who had been cast by a storm on the coasts bordering on the Elbe. But how could inhabitants of India navigate the Germanic seas? This adventure

* Memoirs of Strahleberg, confirmed by those sent me from Russia,

was deemed fabulous by the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. But formerly it was no more extraordinary to see an Indian trading to the north-west of his country, than to see a Roman go from India by the way of Arabia. The Indians went to Persia, and thence embarked on the sea of Hyrcania, and ascending the Rha, now the Wolga, got to the Great Permia through the river Kama; from whence they might embark again on the Black sea, or the Baltic. They have, in all times, been enterprising men. The Tyrians undertook most surprising voyages.

IF after surveying all these vast provinces, we direct our eye towards the east, we shall find the limits of Europe and Asia again confounded. A new name should be given to this considerable part of the globe. The ancients divided their known world into Europe, Asia, and Africa; but they had not seen the tenth part of it: hence it happens, that when we pass the Palus Mæotis, we no longer know where Europe ends, or Asia begins; all that tract of country lying beyond mount Taurus was distinguished by the general appellation of Scythia, and afterwards by that of Tartary. It might not be improper, perhaps, to give the name of *Terræ Arcticæ*, or Northern Lands, to that part of the globe extending from the Baltic sea to the confines of China; as that of *Terra Australis*, or Southern Lands, are to that equally extensive part of the world, situated under the Antarctic Pole, and which serves to counterpoise the globe.

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

SIBERIA, with the territories beyond it, extends from the frontiers of the provinces of Archangel, Refan, and Astracan, eastward as far as the sea of Japan. It joins the southern parts of Russia by mount Caucasus; from thence, to the country of Kamtshatka, is about one thousand two hundred computed French leagues; and from southern Tartary, which serves as its boundary to the Frozen sea, about four hundred, which is the least breadth of the Russian empire. This country produces the richest furs; to which its discovery was owing in the year 1563.

IN the sixteenth century, in the reign of the czar John Basilides, and not in that of Fœdor Johannotz, a private person in the neighbourhood of Archangel, named Anika, one tolerably rich for his condition of life and country, took notice, that men of an extraordinary figure, and dressed in a manner unknown to that country, and who spoke a language understood by no body but themselves, came every year down a river which falls into the Dwina †, and brought martens and black foxes, which they exchanged for nails and pieces of glass; just as the first savages of America used to truck their gold with the Spaniards: he ordered them to be followed by his sons and servants, as far as their

† Memoirs sent from Petersburg.

own country. These were the Samojedes, a people who seem to resemble the Laplanders, but are of a different race. They are, like that nation, unacquainted with the use of bread; and like them, they yoke rein deer to draw their sledges. They live in caverns and huts amidst the snow*; but nature in other respects, has made a visible difference between these sort of men and the Laplanders. Their upper jaw projects forward, so as to be on a level with their nose, and their ears are higher. Both the men and the women have no hair but on their heads; and their nipple is as black as ebony. The Laplanders are distinguished by no such marks. By memoirs sent me from these unknown countries, I have been informed, that the author of the natural history of the king's garden, is mistaken, where, in speaking of many curiosities in human nature, he confounds the Lapland race with that of the Samojedes. There are many more different kinds of men than is commonly thought. The Samojedes, and the Hottentots, seem to be the two extremes of our continent; and if we observe the black nipples of the Samojedian women, and the apron with which nature has furnished the Hottentot women, and which hangs half way down their thighs, we shall have some idea of the great variety of our animal species: a variety unknown to those inhabiting great cities, who are generally strangers to almost every thing which is not immediately within their view.

* Memoirs sent from Petersburg.

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

MURDER or theft is never heard of amongst them; being in a manner void of passions, they are strangers to injustice; there is no term in their language to denote vice and virtue; their extreme simplicity has not yet permitted them to form abstract ideas; they are wholly guided by sensation; and this is perhaps an incontestible proof that men are naturally fond of justice, when not blinded by inordinate passions.

SOME of these savages were prevailed on to come to Moscow, where many things they saw struck them with admiration. They looked upon the emperor as their God, and voluntarily engaged to pay for themselves and each countryman two martens or fables every year. Colonies were soon fixed beyond the Oby and the Irtysh †, and some forts built. In the year 1595, a Cossack officer was sent into this country, who conquered it for the Czar with only a few troops and some artillery, as Cortiz did Mexico; but he only made a conquest of barren deserts.

† In the Russian language Irtysh.

IN running up the Oby to the junction of the river Irtysh with the Tobol, they found a little settlement, which is now the town of Tobol §, and capital of Siberia, a very considerable place. Who could imagine that this country was for a long time the abode of those very Huns, who under Attila carried their depredations as far as the gates of Rome, and that these Huns came from the north of China? The Usbeck Tartars succeeded the Huns, and the Russians the Usbecks. The possession of these savage lands has been disputed with as much savage fury, as that of the most fertile provinces. Siberia was formerly more populous than it is at present, especially towards the southern parts; if we may judge from the rivers and sepulchral monuments.

ALL this part of the world, from the sixtieth degree of latitude, or thereabouts, and as far as those frozen mountains which border on the north seas, is entirely different from the regions of the temperate zone; the earth produces neither the same plants, nor the same animals, nor are there the same sort of fishes in their lakes and rivers.

BELOW the country of the Samojedes lies that of the Ostiaks, along the river Oby. These people have no resemblance or connection in any respect with the Samojedes, unless that like them and all the first race of men, they are hunters, fishermen, and shepherds; some of them have no religion, not being formed into any society, and the others

§ In the Russian language Tobolsky.

who live together in herds or clans, have a kind of worship, and pray to the principal object of their wants; they worship the skin of a sheep, because this creature is of all others the most useful to them; just as the Egyptian husbandmen made choice of an ox, as an emblem of the Deity who created that creature for the use of man.

THE Ostiaks have likewise other idols, whose origin and worship are as little worth our notice as their worshippers. There were some converts to Christianity made amongst them in the year 1711; but these, like the lowest of our peasants, are Christians without knowing what they profess. Several writers pretend that these people were natives of Great Permian, but as Great Permian is in a manner a desert, we cannot well imagine that those people should settle at so great a distance, and in so wretched a country. This matter is not worth clearing up; as any nation, which has not cultivated the polite arts, deserves to remain in obscurity.

IN the country of the Olliaks in particular, and amongst their neighbours the Burates and Jukutians, they often discover a kind of ivory underground, the nature of which is yet unknown. Some take it to be a sort of fossil, and others the tooth of a species of elephants, the breed of which have been destroyed: but where is the country that does not afford some natural productions, which at once astonish and confound philosophy?

SEVERAL mountains in this country abound with the amiantes or albestos, a kind of incombuftible

bustible flax, of which a sort of linen cloth and paper is sometimes made.

To the south of the Ostiaks are the Burates, another people, who have not yet embraced Christianity. Eastward there are several hords, whom the Russians have not yet entirely subdued.

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

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

As to the Borandians, of whom mention is made so frequently in the learned history of the king's garden,

garden, my memoirs acquaint me, that this race of people is entirely unknown to the Russians.

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

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

THE last province is Kamtsliatka, the most east-

ern part of the continent. The inhabitants were absolutely void of all religion when this country was first discovered. The north part of this country likewise abounds with fine furs, with which the inhabitants clothe themselves in winter, though they go naked all the summer season. The first discoverers were surpris'd to find in the southern parts men with long beards, while in the northern parts, from the country of the Samojedes, as far as the mouth of the river Amur, they have no more beards than the Americans. Thus in the empire of Russia, there is a greater number of different species, more oddities, and a greater diversity of manners, and variety of customs, than in any country of the world.

THE first discovery of this province was made by a Cossack officer, who went by land from Siberia to Kamtschatka in 1701, by order of Peter the Great, who, notwithstanding his misfortune at Narva, still continued to extend his concern for the most extreme parts of his dominions. Afterwards, in 1726, sometime before his death, in the midst of his great exploits, he sent captain Bering, a Dane, with express orders to find out, if possible, a passage by the sea of Kamtschatka, to the coast of America. Bering did not succeed in his first attempt; but the empress Anne sent him out again in 1733. M. Spengenberg, captain of a ship, his associate in this voyage, set out the first from Kamtschatka, but could not put to sea till the year 1739, so much time was taken up in getting to the port where they were to imbarck, in building and fitting

out

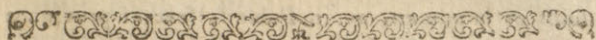
out the ships, and providing the necessaries. Spengenberg sailed as far as the north of Japan, through a streight, formed by a long chain of islands, and returned without having discovered more than the passage.

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

WE have now described all the different provinces

vinces that compose the Russian dominions, from Finland to the sea of Japan. The largest parts of this empire have been united at different times, as has been the case in all other kingdoms in the world. The Scythians, Huns, Massagetes, Slavians, Cimbrians, Getes, and Sarmatians, are now subjects of the Czar. The Russians, properly so called, are the ancient Roxolani or Slavi.

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



C H A P. II.

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

THE more a country is civilized the better is it peopled. Thus China and India are the most populous of all other empires, because that after the multitude of revolutions, which have changed the face of the earth, these two nations made the earliest establishments in society. Their government having subsisted upwards of four thousand years, supposes, as we have already observed, many essays and efforts in preceding ages. The Russians came very late; and as the arts having been introduced amongst them in their full perfection, it has happened, that they made more progress in fifty years, than any other nation has made in five hundred. The country is far from being populous, in proportion to its extent; but such as it is, it has as great a number of inhabitants as any other state in Christendom. I might assert from the capitulation lists, and the register of merchants, artificers, and male peasants, that Russia, at present, contains at least twenty four millions of inhabitants :

of these twenty four millions, the most part are villains or bondmen, as in Poland, several provinces of Germany, and formerly throughout all Europe. The estate of a gentleman in Russia and Poland is computed, not by his increase in money, but by the number of his slaves.

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

Merchants or tradesmen	-	-	198000
Workmen	-	-	16500
Peasants incorporated with the merchants and workmen	-	-	1950
Peasants called Odonofkis, who contribute to maintain the militia	-	-	430220
Others who did not contribute thereto			26080
Workmen of different trades, whose parents are unknown	-	-	1000
Others who are not incorporated in the class of workmen	-	-	4700
Peasants immediately dependent on the crown, about	-	-	555000
Persons employed in the mines belonging to the crown, partly Christians, partly Mahometans and Pagans	-		64000
Other persons of the crown, who work in the mines, and private manufactures			24200
New converts to the Greek church			57000
Tartars and Ostiaks (peasants)	-		241000
Mourfes, Tartars, Morduats, and others, whether Pagans or Christians, employed by the admiralty	-	-	7800
			Tartars

Tartars subject to contribution, called Tep- teris, Bobilitz, &c.	- - - -	28,000
Bondmen to several merchants, and other privileged people, who, without possess- ing any lands, are allowed to have slaves	- - - -	9,100
Peasants designed for the maintenance of the crown	- - - -	4,8000
Peasants on the lands belonging to her majesty, independently of the rights of the crown	- - - -	60,500
Peasants on the lands confiscated to the crown	- - - -	13,6000
Bondmen belonging to gentlemen	- - - -	355,000
Bondmen belonging to the assembly of the clergy, and who defray their expences	- - - -	37,500
Bondmen belonging to bishops	- - - -	116,400
Bondmen belonging to convents, whose numbers were reduced by Peter the Great	- - - -	721,500
Bondmen belonging to the cathedral and parish churches	- - - -	23,700
Peasants employed as labourers in the docks of the admiralty, or in other public works, about	- - - -	4,000
Labourers in the mines, and in private ma- nufactures	- - - -	16,000
Peasants on the lands assigned to the prin- cipal manufactures	- - - -	14,500
Labourers in the mines belonging to the crown	- - - -	3,000

Bastards brought up by the priests	-	40
Sectaries called Raskolniky	-	2200

Total 6646390

HERE is in a round number, six millions six hundred forty-six thousand three hundred and ninety male persons, who pay the poll-tax. In this number are included boys and old men, but girls and women are not reckoned, nor boys born between the making of one register of the lands and another. Now, if we only triple the number of heads, subject to be taxed, including women and girls, we shall find near twenty millions of souls.

To this number we may add the military list, which amounts to three hundred and fifty thousand men. Besides, neither the nobility nor clergy, who are computed at two hundred thousand, are reckoned in this capitation.

FOREIGNERS of whatever country or profession, are likewise exempt; as also the inhabitants of the conquered countries, namely, Livonia, Estonia, Ingria, Carelia, and a part of Finland, the Ukraine, and the Don Cossacks, the Calmucks, and other Tartars, Samojedes, the Laplanders, the Ostiacks, and all the idolatrous people of Siberia, a country larger than China, are not reckoned in the list.

By this calculation, it is impossible that the total of the inhabitants of Russia should amount to less than twenty-four millions. At this computation, there are eight persons to every square mile. The English ambassador mentioned before, allows

allows only five; but he certainly was not furnished with such faithful memoirs, as those with which I have been favoured.

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

IN regard to this enumeration there is one important remark to be made, namely, that out of six millions, six hundred and forty thousand people liable to the poll-tax, there are nine hundred thousand that belong to the clergy of Russia, without reckoning the clergy of the conquered countries, of the Ukraine, and Siberia.

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

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

IT is very probable, that Russia has been much more populous than it is at present; before the

Small-pox that came from Arabia, and the great pox came from America, had ravaged these climates, where they have now taken root. These two scourges have depopulated the world more than all its wars, the one owing to Mahomet, and the other to Christopher Columbus. The plague, originally of Africa, seldom approaches the countries of the north. Besides, the people of the north, from Sarmatia, to the Tartars who dwell beyond the great wall, having overspread the world by their irruptions, this ancient nursery of men must have been strangely diminished.

IN this vast extent of country, there are said to be about seven thousand four hundred monks, and five thousand six hundred nuns, notwithstanding the care taken by Peter the Great to reduce their numbers; a care worthy the legislator of an empire, where the human race principally fail. These thirteen thousand persons, thus cloistered and lost to the state, have (as the reader may have remarked) seven hundred and twenty thousand bondmen to till their lands, which is evidently too great a number. There cannot be a stronger proof of the difficulty of eradicating abuses of a long standing.

I FIND, by a state of the revenues of the empire in 1725, that reckoning the tribute paid by the Tartars, with all taxes and duties in money, the sum total amounted to thirteen millions of rubles, which make sixty five millions of French livres, exclusive of tributes in kind. This moderate sum was at that time sufficient to maintain three hundred and thirty nine thousand five hundred men,

as well sea as land forces: but both the revenues of the crown and the number of troops are greatly augmented since that time.

THE customs, diets, and manners of the Russians, ever bore a greater resemblance to those of Asia than to those of Europe: such was the old custom of receiving tribute in kind, of defraying the expences of ambassadors on their journeys, and during their residence in the country, and of never appearing at church, or before the throne with a sword; an oriental custom, directly the reverse of that ridiculous and barbarous one amongst us, of addressing ourselves to God, to our king, to our friends, and to our women, with an offensive weapon, which hangs down to the bottom of the leg. The long robe worn on public days had a more noble air than the short habits of the western nations of Europe. A tunic lined and turned up with fur, with a long scimar, adorned with jewels for festival days; and those high turbans, which add to the stature, were much more striking to the eye than our perukes and close coats, and more suitable to cold climates; but this ancient dress of all nations seems not to be so well contrived for war, nor so convenient for working people. Most of their other customs were rustic; but we must not imagine, that their manners were as barbarous as represented by some historians. Albert Krantz relates a story of an Italian ambassador, whom the Czar ordered to have his hat nailed on his head, for not pulling it off while he was making his speech to him. O-

thers attribute this adventure to a Tartar, and others again to a French ambassador.

OLEARIUS pretends, that Czar Michael Theodorowitz banished the marquis Exideuil, ambassador from Henry IV. of France, into Siberia; but it is certain, that this monarch sent no ambassador to Moscow, and that there never was a marquis of Exideuil. In the same manner do travellers speak about the country of Borandia, a place that never existed, and of the trade they have carried on with the people of Nova Zembla, a country scarcely inhabited, and the long conversations they have had with some of the Samejedes, as if they understood their language. Were the enormous compilations of voyages to be purged of every thing that is not true or useful in them, both the works and the public would be gainers by it.

THE Russian government resembled that of the Turks, in respect to the standing forces, or guards, called Strelitzes, who, like the Janizaries, sometimes disposed of the crown, and frequently disturbed the state as much as they defended it. Their number was about forty thousand. Those who were dispersed in the provinces, subsisted by robbery and plunder; those in Moscow lived like citizens, followed trades, did no duty, and carried their insolence to the greatest excess; in short, there was no other way to preserve peace and good order in the kingdom, but by breaking them; a very necessary, and at the same time a very dangerous step.

THE public revenue does not exceed five millions of rubles, or about twenty five millions of livres.

vres. This was sufficient when Peter the Great came to the crown to maintain the ancient mediocrity, but was not a third part of what was necessary to raise them from an obscure state, and to render himself and people formidable in Europe: but indeed many of their taxes were paid in kind, according to the Turkish custom, which is less burthensome to the people than that of paying their tributes in money.

Of the title of CZAR.

WITH regard to the title of Czar, it may possibly come from the Tzars or Tschars of the kingdom of Casan. When John, or Ivan Basilides, compleated the conquest of this kingdom in the sixteenth century, which had been begun by his grandfather, who afterwards lost it, he assumed this title, which his successors have retained ever since. Before John Basilides, the sovereigns of Russia took the title of *Welike Knez*, i. e. *Great prince, great lord, great chief*, which the Christian nations afterwards rendered by that of *great duke*. Czar Michael Theodorowitz, when he received the Holstein embassy, took to himself the following titles: "Great *knez*, and "great lord, conservator of all the Russias, prince "of Wolodomer, Moscow, Novogorod, &c. tzar of "Casan, tzar of Astracan, and tzar of Siberia." Tzar was, therefore, a title belonging to these eastern princes; and, therefore, it is more probable to have been derived from the Tshas of Persia, than from
the

the Roman Cæsars, whose name never reached the ears of the Siberian Tzars, on the banks of the Oby.

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

R E L I G I O N .

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

PERRY, the engineer, and Baron Strahleberg, who both resided so many years in Russia, tell us, that they found more good faith and probity among the Pagans, than the other inhabitants; not that Paganism made them more virtuous; but their manner of living, which was that of the primitive ages, freed them from all tumultuous passions; and, in consequence, they were known for their integrity.

CHRISTIANITY was not propaged in Russia, and the other countries of the north, till very late.

It

It is said that a princess, named Olha, first introduced it, about the end of the tenth century, as Clotilda, niece to an Arian prince, did among the Franks; the wife of Miceslaus, duke of Poland, among the Poles; and the sister of the emperor Henry II. among the Hungarians. Women are naturally easily persuaded by the ministers of religion, and as easily persuade the men.

IT is further added, that this princess Olha caused herself to be baptised at Constantinople, by the name of Helena; and that as soon as she embraced Christianity, the emperor John Zimisces fell in love with her. It is most likely that she was a widow; however, she refused the emperor. The example of the princess Olha, or Olga, as she is called, did not at first make any great number of profelytes. Her son †, who reigned a long time, was not of the same way of thinking as his mother; but her grandson Wolodimer, who was born of a concubine, having mounted the throne, sued for the alliance of Basiles, emperor of Constantinople, but could obtain it only on condition of receiving baptism: and this event, which happened in the year nine hundred and eighty seven, is the epocha when the Greek church was established in Russia. Photius, the patriarch, so famous for his immense learning, his disputes with the church of Rome, and for his misfortunes, sent a parson to baptise Wolodimer, in order to add this part of the world to the patriarchal see §.

† His name was Sowaſtowlaw.

§ This anecdote is taken from a private M. S. intitled, "The Ec-
WOLODIMER

WOLODIMER thus completed the work which his grandmother had begun. A Greek was made the first Metropolitan, or Patriarch of Russia; and from this time, the Russians adopted an alphabet, partly derived from the Greek. This would have been of advantage to them, had they not still retained the principles of their language, which is the Slavonian, in every thing, but a few terms relating to their liturgy and church government. One of the Greek patriarchs, named Jeremiah, having a suit depending before the Divan, took a journey to Moscow to solicit the assistance of that court; where, after some time, he resigned his authority over the Russian churches, and consecrated the Archbishop of Novogorod, named Job, patriarch. This was in one thousand five hundred and eighty eight, from which time the Russian church became as independent as the empire. The patriarch of Russia has ever since been consecrated by the Russian bishops, and not by the patriarch of Constantinople. He ranked in the Greek church next to the patriarch of Jerusalem; but he was in fact the only free and powerful patriarch, and consequently, the only real one. Those of Jerusalem, Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, are mercenary chiefs of a church, enslaved by the Turks; and even the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch are no longer considered as such, having no more credit or influence in Turkey, than the rabins of the Jewish synagogues settled there.

eclesiastical Government of Russia," which is likewise deposited in the public library.

PETER

PETER the Great was descended in a direct line from a person who became patriarch of all the Russias. These new prelates soon wanted to share the sovereign authority with the Czars. They thought it not enough that their prince walked bare-headed once a year before the patriarch, leading his horse by the bridle. These external marks of respect only served to encrease their thirst for rule; a passion which proved the source of great troubles in Russia, as it has done in other countries.

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

FROM the first planting of Christianity in Russia, there have been several sects there, as well as in other

ther countries; for sects are as frequently the fruits of ignorance, as of pretended knowledge: but Russia is the only Christian state of any considerable extent, in which religion has not excited civil wars, though it has felt some occasional tumults.

THE Raskolnikys, who consist at present of about two thousand males, and who are mentioned in the foregoing list †, are the most ancient sect of any in this country. It was established in the twelfth century, by some bigots, who had a superficial knowledge of the New Testament: they made use then, and still do, of the old pretence of all sectaries, that of following the letter, and accused all other Christians of remissness. They would not permit a priest, who had drank brandy, to confer baptism; they affirmed, in the words of our Saviour, that there is no precedency among the faithful; and held, that a Christian might kill himself for the love of his Saviour. According to them, it is a great sin to repeat the halleluja three times; and, therefore, repeat it only twice. The mark of the cross is to be made only with three fingers. In other respects, no society can be more regular or strict in its morals. They live like the quakers, and do not admit any other Christians into their assemblies, which is the reason that these have accused them of all the abominations of which the heathens accused the primitive Galileans; these latter, the Gnostics, and with which the Roman Catholics have charged the Protestants. They have been frequently accused

† See page 56.

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

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

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

puchins as an insignificant set of monks, but considered the Jesuits as dangerous politicians.

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

THE Jews never made any settlement in Russia, as they have done in most of the other states of Europe, from Constantinople to Rome. The Russians have carried on their trade by themselves, or by the help of the nations settled among them. Theirs is the only country of the Greek communion, where synagogues are not intermixed with Christian temples.

Conclusion of the state of RUSSIA before PETER the GREAT.

RUSSIA is indebted solely to the Czar Peter for its great influence in the affairs of Europe; being of no consideration in any other reign, since it embraced Christianity. Before this period, the Russians

ians made the same figure on the Black Sea that the Normans did afterwards on the coasts of the ocean. In the reign of the emperor Heraclius, they fitted out an armament of forty thousand small barks, appeared before Constantinople, which they besieged, and imposed a tribute on the Greek emperors; but the grand knez Wolodimer, being wholly taken up with the care of establishing Christianity in his dominions, and wearied out with intestine broils in his own family, weakened his dominions by dividing them between his children. They almost all fell a prey to the Tartars, who held Russia in subjection near two hundred years. At length John Basilides freed it from slavery, and enlarged its boundaries; but after his time, it was ruined again by civil wars.

BEFORE the time of Peter the Great, Russia was neither so powerful, so well cultivated, so populous, nor so opulent as at present. It had no possessions in Finland, nor in Livonia; and this latter alone had been long worth more than all Siberia. The Cossacks were still unsubjected, nor were the people of Astracan reduced to obedience; what little trade was carried on, was rather to their disadvantage. The White Sea, the Baltic, the Pontus Euxinus, the sea of Asoph, and the Caspian sea, were entirely useless to a nation that had not a single ship, nor even a term in their language to express a fleet. If nothing more had been necessary but to be superior to the Tartars, and the other nations of the north, as far as China, the Russians undoubtedly had that advantage;

advantage; but they wanted to be brought upon an equality with civilized nations, and to be in a condition one day of even surpassing several of them. Such an undertaking appeared altogether impracticable, inasmuch as they had not a single ship at sea, and were absolutely ignorant of military discipline by land; nay, the most common manufactures were hardly encouraged, and agriculture itself, the primum mobile of trade, lay neglected. This requires the utmost attention and encouragement on the part of a government; and it is to this that the English are indebted, for finding in their corn, a treasure far superior to their woollen manufacture.

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

HAPPILY, of all the great lawgivers who have lived in the world, Peter is the only one whose history

tory is well known. Those of Theseus and Romulus, who did far less than him, and of the founders of all civilized states, are blended with the most absurd fictions; whereas here, we have the advantage of writing truths, which would pass for fictions, were they not so well attested.



C H A P. III.

The ancestors of Peter the Great.

THE family of Peter the Great have been seated on the throne ever since the year 1613. Before that time, Russia had undergone revolutions, which had retarded the reformation of her police, and the establishment of the liberal arts. This has been the fate of all human societies. No kingdom ever experienced more cruel troubles. In the year 1597, the tyrant Boris Godonow assassinated Demetrius, the lawful heir, and usurped the empire. A young monk took the name of Demetrius, pretending to be that prince who had escaped from his assassins, and with the assistance of the Poles, and a considerable party (which every tyrant has against him) he drove out the usurper, and seized the crown himself. The imposture was discovered as soon as he came to the sovereignty, because the people were dissatisfied with his government; and he was murdered,

dered. Three other false Demetrius's rose up one after another. Such a succession of impostors must needs put a country into the utmost confusion. The less men are civilized, the more easily they are imposed on. It may readily be conceived, how much these frauds augmented the public confusion and misfortunes. The Poles, who had begun those revolutions, by setting up the first false Demetrius, were very near being masters of Russia. The Swedes shared in the spoils on the coast of Finland, and also laid claim to the crown. The state seemed on the brink of utter destruction.

IN the midst of these troubles, an assembly, composed of the principal boyars, chose for their sovereign a young man only fifteen years of age: this happened in 1613, and did not seem the best method of putting an end to these troubles. This young man was Michael Romanow †, grand-father to Czar Peter, and son to the archbishop of Rostow, surnamed Philaretus, and of a nun, and related by the mother's side to the ancient Czars.

IT must be remembered, that this archbishop was a powerful nobleman, whom the tyrant Boris had obliged to become priest. His wife Scheremetow was likewise forced to take the veil; this was the ancient custom of the western tyrants of the Latin church, as that of putting out the eyes, was with the Greek Christians. The tyrant Demetrius made Philaretus archbishop of Rostow, and sent him ambassador to Poland, where he was kept prisoner by

† Some pronounce it *Romano*.

the Poles, who were then at war with the Russians; the law of nations was not known to the different people of these times. During his father's confinement, that young Romanow was elected Czar. The archbishop was exchanged against some Polish prisoners; and at his return, his son raised him to the patriarchal dignity, and the old man was in reality king under his son's name.

If such a government appears surprisingly odd to strangers, the marriages of Czar Michael Romanow will seem still more so. The Russian princes had never intermarried with foreign states since the year 1490, or after they became masters of Casan and Astracan; they seem to have followed the Asiatic customs in almost every thing, and especially that of marrying only among their own subjects.

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

AFTER this manner was Michael Romanow e-
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spoused to Eudocia, the daughter of a poor gentleman, named Strefchneu. He was employed in ploughing his grounds with his servants, when one of the lords of the bed-chamber came to him with presents from the Czar, and to acquaint him that his daughter was seated on the throne. The name of this princess is still held in the highest esteem by the Russians. This custom is quite different from ours, but not the less to be valued on that account.

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

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

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

ALEXIS MICHAELOWITZ, the son of Michael.

ALEXIS was married in the same manner as his father, and from among the young maidens presented to him, he chose the one who appeared the most lovely in his eyes. He married a daughter of the

boyar Melossauki in 1647; his second wife, whom he married in 16 1, was of the family of Nariskin, and his favourite Morosou was married to another. There cannot be a more suitable title found for this favourite than that of visir, for he governed the empire in a despotic manner, and, by his great power, excited several commotions among the Strelitzes, and the populace, as frequently happens at Constantinople.

THE reign of Alexis was disturbed by bloody insurrections, and by intestine and foreign wars. A chief of the Don Cossacks, named Stenko-Rasin, endeavoured to make himself master of Astracan, and was for a long time very formidable: but he was at length defeated and taken prisoner, and ended his life by the hands of the executioner; like all those adventurers, who have nothing to expect but a throne or a scaffold. About twelve thousand of his adherents are said to have been hanged, on the high road of Astracan. In this part of the world, men being uninfluenced by religion, were to be governed only by rigour; and from this severity, frequently carried to a degree of cruelty, arose slavery, and a secret thirst of revenge.

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

THE Turks were at that time his most formidable

ble

ble enemies : they invaded Poland, and threatened the dominions of the Czar that bordered upon Crim Tartary, the ancient Taurica Chersonesus. In 1671, they took the important city of Kaminiek, and all that belonged to Poland in the Ukraine. The Cossacks of that country, ever averse to subjection, would not tell whether they belonged to the Turks, Poland, or Russia. Sultan Mahomet IV. who had conquered the Poles, and had just imposed a tribute upon them, demanded with all the haughtiness of an Ottoman victor, that the Czar should immediately evacuate his possessions in the Ukraine; but received as haughty a denial from that prince. Men did not know at that time how to disguise their pride, by an outside appearance of decency. The sultan, in his letter, stiled the sovereign of the Russians only Christian Hospodar, and entitled himself, "most glorious majesty, king of the world." The Czar replied in these terms, "that he scorned to submit to a Mahometan dog, and that his scimiter was as good as the Grand Seignior's sabre."

ALEXIS at that time formed a design which seemed to presage the influence which the Russians would one day obtain in the Christian world. He sent ambassadors to the Pope, and to almost all the great sovereigns in Europe, excepting France, (which was in alliance with the Turks) in order to establish a league against the Ottoman Porte. His ambassadors at the court of Rome had no other success but in not being obliged to kiss the Pope's toe; and in other courts they met only with good

wishes, the quarrels of the Christian princes between themselves, and the jarring interests arising from those quarrels, being generally prevented from uniting against the common enemy of Christianity.

IN the mean time, the Turks threatened to chastise the Poles for refusing to pay their tribute: Czar Alexis assisted on the side of Crim Tartary, and John Sobiesky, general of the crown, wiped off his country's stain, by a signal victory over the Turks, at the famous battle of Choczim in 1674, which paved his way to the throne. Alexis disputed this very throne with him, and offered to unite his extensive dominions to Poland, as the Jagellons had done; but in regard to Lithuania, the greatness of his offer was the cause of its being rejected. He is said to have been very deserving of the new kingdom, by the manner in which he governed his own subjects. Alexis was the first who caused a body of laws to be digested in Russia, though imperfect; he introduced both linen and silk manufactures, which indeed were not long continued; yet he had the merit of their first establishment. He peopled the deserts about the Wolga and the Kama, with Lithuanian, Polish and Tartarian families, whom he had taken prisoners in his wars: before his reign, all prisoners of war were the slaves of those to whose lot they fell. Alexis employed them in agriculture: he did his utmost endeavours to introduce discipline among those troops: in a word, he was worthy of being the father of Peter the Great; but he had no time to perfect what he had begun,

gun, being snatched away by a sudden death, at the age of forty-six, in the beginning of the year 1677, according to our stile, which is eleven days forwarder than that of Russia.

FOEDOR, *or* THEODORE ALEXIOWITZ.

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

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

ALEXIS, by his second marriage with another of his subjects, daughter of the boyar Narilkin, had

§ 1677.

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Peter,

Peter, and the princess Nathalia. Peter was born on the thirtieth of May (or the tenth of June, new stile) in 1672; and was but four years old when he lost his father. As the children of a second marriage were not much regarded in Russia, it was little expected that he would ever mount the throne.

It had ever been the study of the family of Romanow to civilize the empire. It was also that of Theodore. We have already remarked in speaking of Moscow, that this prince encouraged the inhabitants of that city to build a great number of stone houses. He likewise greatly enlarged that capital, and made several useful regulations in the general police; but by endeavouring to reform the boyars, he made them all his enemies: besides, he wanted sufficient knowledge, vigour, and resolution, to venture upon making a general reformation. The war with the Turks, or rather with the Crim Tartars, in which he was constantly engaged with alternate success, would not permit a prince of his weak state of health to undertake so great a work. Theodore, like the rest of his predecessors, married one of his own subjects, a native of the frontiers of Poland; but having lost her in less than a year after their nuptials, he took for his second wife, in 1682, Martha Matweowna, daughter of secretary Apraxin. Some months after this marriage, he was seized with the distemper which ended his days, and died without leaving any issue. As the Czars married without regard to birth, they might likewise (at least at that time) appoint a successor without respect to primogeniture. The dignity of con-
fort

fort and heir to the sovereign seemed to be entirely the reward of merit; and in that respect, the custom of this empire was much superior to those of more civilized nations.

THEODORE, before he expired, sensible that his brother Iwan was by his natural infirmities incapable of governing, appointed his brother Peter heir to the empire, who being then in his tenth year, had given early proofs of a fine genius.

IF, on the one hand, the custom of raising a subject to the rank of Czarina, was favourable to the females, there was another which was no less hard upon them; namely, that the daughters of the Czars were very seldom married, but spent their lives in a monastery.

THE princess Sophia, third daughter of Czar Alexis, by his first marriage, had abilities, equally great and dangerous. Perceiving that her brother Theodore had not long to live, she did not retire to a convent; but finding herself likely to be left between two brothers, one of whom was incapable of governing, through his natural inability, and the other, on account of his infancy, she formed a design of placing herself at the head of the empire. Hence, in the last hours of the Czar Theodore, she attempted to act the part that Pulcheria had formerly played with her brother, the emperor Theodosius.



C H A P. IV.

JOHN and PETER.

*Horrible sedition among the Strelitzes *.*

THEODORE was scarcely dead †, when the nomination of a prince of ten years old to the throne, the exclusion of the elder brother, and the intrigues of the princess Sophia, their sister, excited a most bloody revolt amongst the Strelitzes. Never did the Janizaries, nor the Prætorian guards, exercise more horrible cruelties. The insurrection began two days after the burial of Theodore, when they all ran to arms in the Cremelin, which is the Czar's palace at Moscow. They began with accusing nine of their colonels, for keeping back their pay. The ministry was obliged to break the colonels, and to pay the Strelitzes the money they demanded: but this did not satisfy them; they insisted upon having these nine officers delivered up to them, and condemned them by a majority of votes, to suffer the *Battogs* or *Knout*; which punishment was inflicted in this manner.

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

† 1682.

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

WHILE the Strelitzes thus began to make themselves formidable, the princess Sophia, who privately encouraged them, in order to lead them by degrees from crime to crime, held an assembly at her house, consisting of the princesses of the blood, the generals of the army, the boyars, the patriarch, the bishops, and even some of the principal merchants; she represented to them, that prince John, by right of birth and merit, was entitled to the empire, the reins of which she intended to keep in her own hands. At the breaking up of the assembly, she caused a promise to be made to the Strelitzes, of an addition of pay, besides several considerable presents. Her emissaries were employed to stir up the soldiery against the Nariskin family, particularly the two brothers of the young dowager Czarina, the mother of Peter the First. These persuaded the Strelitzes, that one of the brothers, named John, had put on the imperial robes, had seated himself on the throne, and had attempted to strangle prince John; adding, moreover, that the late Czar Theodore had been

poisoned by Daniel Vongad, a Dutch physician. Afterwards Sophia put into their hands a list of forty noblemen, whom she stiled enemies to their corps, and to the state, and as such worthy of death. These proceedings exactly resembled the proscriptions of Sylla, and the Roman triumvirate, which Christiern II. revived in Denmark and Sweden. This shews that such cruelties prevail in all countries in times of anarchy and confusion. The mutineers began the tragedy with throwing the two knezes, Dolgorouki and Matheof, out of the palace-windows; whom the Strelitzes received upon the points of their pikes; then stripped them naked, and dragged their dead bodies into the great square; they then rushed into the palace, where meeting with Athanasius Nariskin, a brother of the young Czarina, and one of the uncles of Czar Peter, they murdered him in the same manner; then breaking open the door of the neighbouring church, where three of the proscribed persons had taken refuge, they drag them from the altar, strip them naked, and cut them in pieces with knives.

THEIR fury was arrived to such a pitch, that seeing a young nobleman of the family of Soltikoff, a great favourite of theirs, and who was not included in the list of the proscribed, and some of them mistaking him for John Nariskin, whom they were in search of, they murdered him upon the spot; and what plainly shews the manners of those times, after having discovered their error, they carried the body of the young noble to his father to bury it; and the wretched parent, not daring to complain,
gave

gave them a considerable reward for bringing him the mangled body of his son. Being upbraided by his wife, his daughters, and the lady of the deceased, for his weakness, "Let us wait an opportunity of being revenged," said the old man. These words being overheard by some of the soldiers, they returned furiously back into the room, dragged the aged parent by the hair, and cut his throat at his own door.

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

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

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

WHILE this party of the Strelitzes were thus glutting their revenge in the sight of the princesses, the rest massacred every one who was obnoxious

out being declared Czarina; and these the examples that PETER the FIRST had before his eyes. Sophia enjoyed all the honours of a sovereign; her bust was on the coin; she signed all dispatches, held the chief place in council, and a supreme power without controul. She was possessed of a great deal of wit, made verses in her own language, and both wrote and spoke extremely well. An agreeable person set off these talents, which her ambition alone sullied.

SHE procured a wife for her brother John, in the manner already shewn in several examples. A young lady, named Soltikoff, of the family with the noblemen of that name who had been murdered by the seditious Strelitzes, was chosen out of the heart of Siberia, where her father commanded a fortrefs, to be presented to Czar John at Moscow. Her beauty triumphed over all the intrigues of her rivals, and John was married to her in 1684. At every marriage of a Czar, we seem to read the history of Ahasuerus, or that of a second Theodosius.

IN the midst of the marriage feasts, the Strelitzes raised a new insurrection, (and who would believe it?) on account of religion! of a particular doctrine! If they had been mere soldiers, they would never have become controvertists, but they were citizens of Moscow. Whoever can harangue the populace in an authoritative manner, may found a sect. This has been seen in all ages, and all parts of the world, especially since the passion of dogmatizing has become the instrument of ambition and the means of enslaving weak minds.

RUSSIA had already experienced some seditions upon a dispute, whether the sign of the cross was to be made with three fingers, or with two? One Abakum, a priest, had set up some new doctrines at Moscow, about the holy Ghost; which, according to the scriptures, enlightened all the faithful; as likewise with respect to the equality of the primitive Christians, and these words of Christ, "There shall be amongst you neither first nor last." Several citizens, and many of the Strelitzes, embraced the opinions of Abakum. One Raspop was the chief of this party, which became considerable. Those enthusiasts, at length, entered the cathedral, July 16 N. S. 1682. where the patriarch and his clergy were officiating; drove them out of the church with stones, and seated themselves very devoutly in their places, to receive the holy Ghost. They called the patriarch the "wolf in sheep's cloathing;" a title which all sects have liberally bestowed upon each other. The princess Sophia, and the two Czars, were immediately made acquainted with these disturbances; and the other Strelitzes, who were staunch to the good old cause, were given to understand, that the Czars and the church were in danger. Upon this the Strelitzes and the patriarchal burghers attacked the Abakumists; but a stop was put to the carnage, by publishing a convocation of a council, which was immediately assembled in a hall of the palace. This took up very little time, for they obliged every priest they met to attend. The patriarch, and a bishop, disputed against Raspop; but at the second syllogism, they

they began to throw stones at one another. The council ended with ordering Raspop to be beheaded, and some of his faithful disciples to be put to death; and this sentence was executed by the order of the three sovereigns, Sophia, John and Peter.

DURING these troubles, there was a knez, named Chowanskoi, who, having been instrumental in raising the princess Sophia to the dignity she then held, expected, as a reward for his services, to have a share in the administration. He found Sophia not so grateful as he could wish; upon which he espoused the cause of religion, and the persecuted Raspopians, and stirred up a party among the Strelitzes and the people, in defence of the cause of God.

THIS conspiracy was of a more serious nature than the enthusiastic riot of Raspop. An ambitious hypocrite always carries things farther than a simple fanatic. Chowanskoi aimed at no less than the imperial dignity; and to remove all obstacles in his way, he resolved to murder the two Czars, Sophia, the other princesses, and every one who was attached to the imperial family. The Czars and the princesses were obliged to retire to the monastery of the Holy Trinity, within twelve leagues of Moscow. This was, at the same time, a convent, a palace, and a fortress, like mount Cassino, Corby, Fulda, Kempten, and several others belonging to the Latin church. This monastery of the Trinity belongs to the monks of St. Basil. It is surrounded by deep ditches, and ramparts of brick, on which is planted a numerous artillery. The monks

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

UPON this being made known, the body of the Strelitzes fly to arms, and march to attack the convent of the Trinity, threatening to destroy every thing that come in their way. The imperial family stood upon their defence; the boyars arm their vassals, all the gentlemen flock into the convent, and a bloody civil war seemed on the point of breaking out. The patriarch somewhat pacified the Strelitzes, who began to be frightened with the number of troops that were marching to surround them on all sides; in short, their fury was changed into fear, and their fear into the most abject submission; a change common to the mob. Three thousand seven hundred of this corps, followed by their wives and children, with halters about their necks, went in procession to the convent of the Trinity, which three days before they had threatened to burn. In this condition, these unhappy wretches present themselves before the gate of the convent, two by two, one carrying a block, and another an ax; and prostrating themselves on the ground, waited for their sentence. They were pardoned upon their

* 1682.

submission, and returned back to Moscow, blessing their sovereigns; and still disposed, though unknown to themselves, to commit the same crime upon the very first opportunity.

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

THIS minister bridled the insolence of the Strelitzes, by distributing the most mutinous of that body among the several regiments in the Ukraine, in Casan, and Siberia. It was under his administration, that the Poles, long the rivals of Russia, gave up, in 1686, all pretensions to the large provinces of Smolensko and the Ukraine. He was the

first

first who sent an embassy to France, in 1687; a country, which had for upwards of twenty years been in the zenith of its glory, by its numerous conquests, new establishments, and the magnificence of Lewis XIV. and especially by the improvement of the fine arts, without which there can be only external grandeur, but no solid glory. France had not then entered into any correspondence with Russia, or rather was unacquainted with that empire; the academy of inscriptions ordered a medal to be struck to commemorate this embassy, as if it had come from the most distant part of the Indies; but notwithstanding all this, the ambassador Dolgoroufski miscarried in his negotiation, and even suffered some gross affronts on account of the ill conduct of his domestics, whose mistakes it would have been better to have overlooked; but the court of Lewis XIV. could not then foresee, that France and Russia would one day reckon it an advantage to be cemented by a close alliance.

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

THE greatest grievance the empire laboured under was, that it had not yet attained to a vigorous and regular administration, that the Khan of the Crim Tartars exacted an annual tribute of sixty thousand rubles, in the nature of that which the Turks had laid on Poland.

CRIM Tartary is the ancient Taurica Chersonesus,

nefus, formerly so famous by the commerce of the Greeks, and still more by their fables, a fruitful but barbarous country. It took its name of Crimea or Crim, from the title of its first Khans, who took this name before the conquests of the sons of Gengis-Khan. To free the country from this yoke, and wipe off the disgrace of such a tribute, the prime minister, Galitzin, marched in person into Crim Tartary at the head of a numerous army †. These armies are not to be compared to the present troops; they had no discipline; there was hardly one regiment completely armed; they had no uniform cloathing, no regularity: their men indeed were inured to hard labour and a scarcity of provisions, but then they carried with them such a prodigious quantity of baggage, as far exceeded any thing of the kind in our camps, where the greatest luxury prevails. Their vast numbers of waggons for carrying ammunition and provisions, in an uninhabitable and desert country, greatly retarded the expedition against Crim Tartary. The army found itself in the midst of the vast deserts on the river Samara, unprovided with magazines. Here Galitzin did, what, in my opinion, was never done any where else: he employed thirty thousand men in building a town on the banks of the Samara, to serve as a place for magazines in the ensuing campaign: it was begun in one year, and finished in the third month of the following; the houses indeed were all of wood except two, which were

† 1687, 1688.

brick; the ramparts were of turf, but well lined with artillery; and the whole place was in a good state of defence.

THIS was all that was done of any consequence in this ruinous expedition. In the mean while, Sophia continued to govern in Moscow, while John had only the name of Czar; and Peter, now at the age of seventeen, had the courage to aim at real sovereignty. La Neuville, the Polish envoy, then resident at Moscow, and who was eye witness to all that passed, pretends that Sophia and Galitzin had engaged the new chief of the Strelitzes, to sacrifice the young Czar to their ambition; it appears, at least, that six hundred of the Strelitzes were to have made themselves masters of his person. The private memoirs, which have been intrusted to my perusal, by the court of Russia, affirm, that a scene had actually been laid to murder Peter the First: the blow was on the point of being struck, and Russia near being deprived of a prince by whom she had been raised into existence. The Czar was once more obliged to take refuge in the convent of the Trinity, the usual asylum of the court when threatened by the mutinous soldiers. There he assembled the boyars of his party, raised a body of forces, treats with the captain of the Strelitzes, and sends for some Germans, who had been long settled in Moscow, and were all attached to his person, from his having already shewn himself the encourager of foreigners. Sophia and John continued at Moscow, and used every art to engage the Strelitzes to remain firm to their interests; but the

cause

cause of young Peter, who loudly complained of an attempt meditated against himself and his mother, prevailed over that of the princess, and of a Czar, whose very looks caused contempt. All the accomplices were punished with a severity to which that country was as much accustomed, as to the crimes which occasioned it. Some were beheaded, after undergoing the punishment of the knout or battocks. The chief of the Strelitzes was put to death in the same manner, and several other suspected persons had their tongues cut out. Prince Galitzin escaped with his life, through the intercession of one of his relations, who was a favourite of Czar Peter; but he was stripped of his estates, which were immense, and banished to a place in the neighbourhood of Archangel. La Neuville, who was present at the whole of this catastrophe, relates, that the sentence pronounced upon Galitzin, was in these terms. "Thou art commanded, by the most merciful Czar, to repair to Karga, a town under the Pole, and there to continue the remainder of thy days. His majesty, out of his extreme goodness, allows thee three pence per day for thy subsistence."

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

‡ THIS scene was finished by sending the prin-

‡ 1089.

cess Sophia back to her monastery at Moscow, after having so long held the reins of government; and this revolution proved, to a woman of her disposition, a sufficient punishment.

FROM this instant Peter began to reign in reality; his brother John having no other share in the government, but that of lending his name to all public acts. He led a retired life, and died in 1696.



C H A P. VI.

THE REIGN OF PETER THE FIRST.

Beginning of the Grand Reformation.

PETER the Great was tall and well-made, had a noble countenance, lively eyes, and a robust constitution, fitted for all labour and exercises. He had a sound understanding, which is the foundation of all real talents; and to this solidity was joined an active disposition, which prompted him to undertake and do great things. His education was far from being worthy of his genius. The princess Sophia's design was that he should remain in ignorance, and to indulge himself in those excesses which youth, idleness, custom, and his high rank made allowable. Nevertheless, he had been lately married †, like others of his predecessors, to one of his own subjects, the daughter of colonel Lapuchin; but being young, and for some

† In June 1689.

time had not enjoyed any of the prerogatives of the crown, but that of indulging his pleasures without restraint, the ties of wedlock were not always sufficient to keep him within just bounds. His feasting and carousals with foreigners who had been invited to Moscow by prince Galitzin, seemed not to promise that he would one day become the reformer of his country; however, in spite of bad example, and even the allurements of pleasures, he applied himself to the arts of war and government, and which even then shewed that he had some seeds of greatness.

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

He was ashamed at the ignorance in which he had been brought up. He learned, almost of himself, without the help of a master, enough of High and Low Dutch, to be able to write and speak tolerably well in both these languages. The Germans and Dutch he thought the most civilized nations, because the former had already erected in Moscow some of those arts and manufactures which he was desirous of seeing established in his empire; and the latter excelled in the art of navigation, which he already saw was the most necessary of all others.

SUCH

SUCH were the dispositions that were in Peter, notwithstanding the follies of his youth. At the same time, his situation was hazardous, being obliged to guard against factions at home, had the turbulent spirit of the Strelitzes to keep under, and an almost uninterrupted war to manage against the Crim Tartars. For though hostilities had been suspended in 1689 by a truce, it had no long continuance.

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

HIS father Alexis had, in his life-time, the same views, but he wanted a favourable opportunity to carry them into execution. He transmitted his genius to his son, who had still a clearer idea of these matters than himself, was more vigorous, and more unshaken by difficulties and obstacles.

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

* Memoirs of Petersburg and Moscow.

longing to the Dutch East-India company. A master-builder, who was a good ship-wright, staid behind in Russia, where he lived a long time in obscurity.

ONE day, as Peter was walking at Ishmaelof, a summer-palace built by his grand-father, he perceived, among several other rarities, an old English shallop, which had been entirely neglected: upon which he asked Timmerman, a German, and his mathematical teacher, how came that little boat to be of so different a construction from any he had seen on the Moskva? Timmerman replied, that it was made to go with sails and oars. The young prince wanted instantly to make a trial of it; but it was first to be repaired and rigged. Brant, the ship builder above-mentioned, was at last found at Moscow, where he lived retired; he soon put the boat in order, and sailed with her upon the river Yauza, which washes the suburbs of the town.

PETER caused his boat to be removed to a great lake in the neighbourhood of the convent of the Trinity, where he made Brant build two more frigates, and three yachts, and piloted them himself. A considerable time afterwards, viz. in 1694, he took a journey to Archangel, and having ordered Brant to build a small vessel, he embarked therein on the Frozen ocean, which no sovereign beside himself had ever beheld. On this occasion he was escorted by a Dutch man of war, under the command of Captain Jolson, and attended by all the merchant vessels then in the harbour of Archangel. He had already learned the manner of work-

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ing a ship; and notwithstanding the pains his courtiers took to imitate their master, he was the only one who understood it.

He found it as difficult to raise a well disciplined body of land forces on whom he could depend, as to establish a navy. His first essay in navigation, on a lake, previous to his journey to Archangel, was looked upon only as the amusement of a young prince of genius; and his first attempt to form a body of disciplined troops, likewise appeared as no more than that of diversion. This happened during the regency of the princess Sophia; and had he been suspected of meaning any thing else, by this amusement, it might have been attended with fatal consequences to the young hero.

HE placed his confidence in a foreigner, the celebrated Le Fort, of a noble and ancient family in Piedmont, who removed near two centuries ago to Geneva, where they have filled the most considerable posts in the state. He was intended to have been brought up to trade, to which that city is indebted for its present importance, having formerly been remarkable only for religious controversies.

BUT his genius, which prompted him to the greatest undertakings, engaged him to quit his father's house at the age of fourteen; and he served four years in quality of a cadet in the citadel of Marseilles; from thence he went to Holland, where he served some time as a volunteer, and was wounded at the siege of Grave, a fortified town on the Meuse, which the prince of Orange, afterwards king of England, retook from Lewis XIV. in 1694. Af-

ter this, led by hopes of preferment, wherever he could find it, he embarked with a German colonel, named Verstin, who had obtained a commission from Peter's father, the Czar Alexis, to raise soldiers in the Netherlands, and bring them to Archangel. But when he arrived at that port, after a most fatiguing and dangerous navigation, the Czar Alexis was dead; the government was changed, and Muscovy in confusion. The governor of Archangel suffered Verstin, Le Fort, and his whole troop, to remain a long time in the utmost poverty and distress, and even threatened to send them into the extremity of Siberia; upon which every man shifted for himself. Le Fort, in great necessity, repaired to Moscow, where he waited upon the Danish resident, named de Horn, who made him his secretary: there he learned the Russian language, and some time afterwards found means to be introduced to the Czar Peter; the elder brother Iwan not being a person for his purpose. Peter was taken with him, and immediately made him a captain of foot. Le Fort did not understand much of the military service, he was unlearned, not having studied any particular art or science; but he had seen a great deal, and was capable of making the most of what he saw. Like the Czar, he owed every thing to his own genius; he understood the German and Dutch languages, which Peter was learning at that time. Every thing conspired to make him agreeable to Peter, to whom he strictly attached himself. From being the companion of his pleasures, he became his favourite, and confirm-

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ed himself in that station by his good qualities. The Czar made him his confident in the most dangerous design that a prince of that country could possibly form, namely, that of putting himself in a condition to be able one day to break the seditious and barbarous body of forces called the Strelitzes. It had cost the great Sultran Osman his life for attempting to reform the Janizaries. Peter, young as he was, went to work in a much abler manner than Osman.

HE began with forming, at his country-seat at Preobrazinski, a company of fifty of his youngest domestics; and some young gentlemen, the sons of boyars, were chosen for their officers: but in order to teach them subordination, to which they were wholly unaccustomed, he made them pass through all the different military degrees, and himself set them the example, by serving first as a drummer, then as a private soldier, a serjeant, and a lieutenant of a company. Nothing was ever more useful than this conduct. The Russians had hitherto made war after the manner of our ancestors at the time of the feudal tenures, when the nobles took the field at the head of their vassals, undisciplined, and ill-armed: a barbarous method, sufficient indeed to act against the like armies, but of no use against regular troops.

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

plan, became in time the regiment of Semeniousky guards.

THE Czar now had a regiment of five thousand foot that could be depended upon, trained by general Gordon, a Scotsman, and composed almost entirely of foreigners. Le Fort, who had seen very little real service, but whose capacity was equal to every thing, undertook to raise a regiment of twelve thousand men, which he performed: five colonels were appointed to serve under him, and he saw himself on a sudden general of this little army, which had been raised, as much to oppose the Strelitzes, as the enemies of the state.

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

PETER was desirous of seeing one of those mock fights, which had been lately introduced in times of peace: a fort was erected, which was to be attacked by one part of his new troops, and defended by the other. The difference between this fight and others of the like nature, was, that instead of a sham engagement, this was a real one, in which some of his men were slain, and a great many wounded. Le Fort, who commanded the attack,

* General Le Fort's MSS.

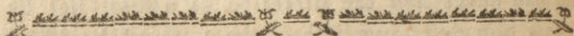
received a considerable wound. These bloody sports were intended to initiate the young troops into the service of the field; but it required both much labour and trouble.

THESE warlike amusements did not take off the Czar from his naval project. As he had made Le Fort a general by land, notwithstanding his having never commanded, he now made him admiral, tho' he had never had the direction of a ship, but he knew him deserving both of the one and the other. It is true, he was an admiral without a fleet, and a general with no other troops but his own regiment.

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

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

THE Czar was now to determine in 1689, against which of the following powers he would declare war, whether against the Turks, the Swedes, or the Chinese. But here it will be proper to take notice on what terms he then stood with China, which was the first treaty of peace concluded by that nation.



CHAP. VII.

*Congress and treaty with the Chinese **

WE must first shew what were the limits of the Chinese and Russian empires at this period. After passing through Siberia, properly so called, and leaving far behind us to the south, an hundred hords of Tartars, white and black Calmucks, and Mahometan and Pagan Moguls, we advance to the hundred and thirtieth degree of longitude, and the fifty second of latitude, upon the river Amur. To the northward is a great chain of mountains, which extend as far as the Frozen Sea, beyond the polar circle. This river, which runs the space of five hundred leagues in Siberia and Chinese Tartary, loses itself after various turnings in the sea of Kamtshatka. It is affirmed, that

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

at its mouth, in this sea, there is sometimes caught a monstrous fish, much larger than the hippopotamus of the Nile, and that the tooth thereof is harder and whiter than ivory. It is further pretended that this ivory was formerly an object of commerce; that they used to transport it through Siberia, which is the reason why several pieces of it are still found buried in the fields. This is the most probable account of this fossil ivory, of which we have already spoken; for it appears highly chimerical to pretend, that formerly there were elephants in Siberia.

THE AMUR is likewise called the Black river by the Mantchoux Tartars, and the Dragon river by the Chinese.

IT was in these countries, which for a number of years had not been so much as heard of, that the Russians and Chinese contended the limits of their empires †. The Russians had some forts on the river Amur, about three hundred leagues from the great wall. Many hostilities had arisen between these two nations on account of these forts: at length both began to understand their interests better; the emperor Camhi preferred peace and commerce to an unprofitable war, and sent several ambassadors to Niptchou, one of those settlements. The ambassadors had five thousand men in their retinue, including their escort. This was Asiatic pomp; but what was very remarkable is, that there was not one example in the annals of the empire, of an embassy being sent to another power; and what is

† Memoirs of the Jesuits Pereira and Gerbillon.

still more singular, that the Chinese had never concluded a treaty of peace since the foundation of their monarchy. Though twice conquered by the Tartars, who attacked and subjected them, they never made war upon any people, excepting a few hords that were quickly subdued, or as quickly left to themselves, without any treaty. So that this nation, so renowned for morality, were intirely ignorant of what we call the "Law of nations;" that is to say, of those vague rules of war and peace, of the privileges of foreign ministers, of the formalities of treaties, or of the obligations resulting from thence, nor of the disputes concerning precedency and point of honour.

BUT the chief difficulty arose to know in what language were the Chinese to negotiate with the Russians, in the midst of desarts. This was removed by two Jesuits, the one a Portuguese, named Pereira, the other a Frenchman, whose name was Gerbillon. They set out from Peking with the Chinese ambassadors, and were themselves the real negociators. They conferred in Latin with a German belonging to the Russian embassy, who understood that language. The chief of that embassy was Golowin, governor of Siberia, who had a more splendid retinue than the Chinese themselves, and thereby gave a high idea of the Russian empire, to a people who thought themselves the only powerful nation upon earth.

THE Jesuits fixed the limits of both empires, at the river Kerbechi, near the spot where the treaty was concluded. All the country, to the southward

of

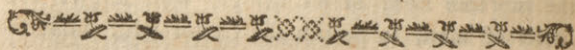
of this line of partition, was adjudged to the Chinese, and the north to the Russians, who only lost a small fort which happened to have been built beyond the limits: a peace was agreed to, and after some few altercations, both parties swore to observe it, in the name of the same God §; and in these terms, "If any one of us shall entertain the least thought of renewing the flames of war, we beseech the supreme Lord of all things, who knows the hearts of men, to punish the traitor with immediate death."

FROM this form of treaty, signed by Chinese and Christians, we may infer two important truths: the first, that the Chinese government is neither atheistical nor idolatrous, as has been frequently and falsely charged upon it. The second, that all nations, who cultivate the gift of reason and understanding, do, in effect, acknowledge the same God, notwithstanding the particular errors they labour under, through the want of being properly educated.

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

§ September 8, 1689, N. S. Memoirs of China.

THREE years after this, the Czar sent Isbrand Ides, a Dane, on an embassy to China; and the commerce he then established between the two nations, continued with advantage to each, till the rupture between them in the year 1712; but since this short interruption, it has been renewed again with new vigour.



C H A P. VIII.

Expedition to the PALUS MÆOTIS. Conquest
of ASOPH.

The Czar sends young gentlemen into foreign countries for improvement.

IT was not so easy to settle peace with the Turks, and indeed the time seemed come for the Russians to raise themselves upon their ruins. The Venetians, who had long groaned under their yoke, began now to retrieve their losses. The Doge Morosini, the same who had surrendered Candia to the Turks, afterwards took from them the Peloponnesus, whereby he obtained the title of *Peloponnesian*, an honour which revived the memory of the Roman republic. Leopold, emperor of Germany, had been successful against the Ottoman forces in Hungary;

gary; and the Poles stopt the incursions of the Crim Tartars.

PETER took advantage of these circumstances, to discipline his troops, and to gain himself the empire of the Black Sea. General Gordon marched along the Tanais, towards Asoph, with his numerous regiment of five thousand men, followed by general Le Fort, with his regiment of twelve thousand; by a body of Strelitzes, under the command of Scheremetow and Schein, of Prussian extraction, by a body of Cossacks and a large train of artillery: in short, every thing was ready for this expedition*.

THIS Russian army began its march under the command of marshal Scheremetow †, in the beginning of the summer of 1695, to attack the town of Asoph, at the mouth of the Tanais, and at the extremity of the Palus Mæotis, now called the Zabac sea. The Czar was with the army, but only as a volunteer, being determined to learn, before he took upon him to command. During their march, they stormed two forts which the Turks had erected on the banks of the river.

THIS expedition was attended with considerable difficulties. The place was well fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison. A number of long-boats, resembling the Turkish saicks, and built by Venetians, with two small Dutch ships of war, that were to sail out of the Woronitz, could not be got ready soon enough to enter the sea of Asoph.

* 1694.

† Or Scheremetoff.

All beginnings meet with obstacles. The Russians had never yet made a regular siege; and therefore miscarried in this first attempt.

MR. Jacob, a native of Dantzick, had the direction of the artillery, under the command of general Schein; for as yet they had none but foreign officers belonging to the train, and none but foreign engineers and pilots. This Jacob had been condemned to the bastinade, or *knout*, by Schein, the Prussian general. At that time rigorous discipline was necessary to strengthen command; and the Russians quietly submitted to it, notwithstanding their natural bent to mutiny; and after the punishment, did their duty as usual. But the Dane thought otherwise, and resolved to be revenged for the treatment he had received, and thereupon nailed up the cannon, deserted to the Turks, turned Mahometan, and defended Afoph, with great success, against his former masters. This instance shews, that the lenity, which is now practised in Moscovy, is much preferable to the former severities; and is better calculated to retain those in their duty who have a proper sense of honour. It was absolutely necessary, at that time, to use the utmost rigour towards the common people; but since their manners have been altered, the empress Elizabeth has compleated, by clemency, the work her father began, by the authority of the laws. This lenity has been extended by this princess, to a degree unparalleled in the history of any nation. She has promised, that, during her reign, no person shall be punished with death, and she has kept her word.

She

She is the first sovereign who ever shewed so much regard for the lives of mankind. By an institution, equally prudent and humane, malefactors are now condemned to serve in the mines, and other public works; by which means their very punishments prove of service to the state. In other countries, they know only how to put a criminal to death, with all the apparatus of an executioner, without being able to prevent the perpetration of crimes. The terror of death makes, perhaps, less impression on those miscreants, who are for the most part bred up in idleness, than the fear of punishment and hard labour, renewed every day.

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

PERSEVERANCE in his undertakings, was the distinguishing character of Peter the Great. In the spring of 1696, he brought a still greater army before Asoph. About this time died Czar John, his brother, who, though he had not, while living, given the least disturbance to Peter's authority, having enjoyed only the bare title of Czar, yet he had been some restraint upon him in regard to appearances. The money, which had been applied to the support of John's household, was now applied to the support of the army. This proved a great help to a government, whose revenues were not near so great as they are at present. Peter wrote to the
emperor

emperor Leopold, to the states-general, and to the elector of Brandenburg in order to obtain engineers, gunners, and seamen. He likewise took some Calmucks into his pay, whose light-horse are very useful against the Crim Tartars.

THE most agreeable of the Czar's successes was that of his little fleet, which he saw with pleasure completed, and well commanded. It beat the Turkish saicks, sent from Constantinople, and took some of them. The siege was carried on regularly, but not altogether in our method; the trenches being three times deeper than ours, with parapets as high as ramparts. At length the garrison surrendered the twenty eighth of July, N. S. ‡ without being allowed the honour of war, and were obliged to deliver up the renegado Jacob to the besiegers.

THE Czar immediately began to fortify Afoph, built strong forts to protect it, and made a harbour capable of holding large vessels, with a design to make himself master of the Streights of Caffa, or the Cimmerian Bosphorus, which opens the entrance into the Euxine or Black Sea; places famous in ancient times, by the naval armaments of Mithridates. He left thirty two armed saicks before Afoph †, and made all the necessary preparations for fitting out a fleet against the Turks, to consist of nine sixty gun ships, and of forty one, from thirty to fifty. He obliged his principal nobles, and the richer merchants, to contribute towards this armament; and thinking that the clergy ought to help

‡ 1696.

† Le Fort's memoirs.

towards the common cause, he obliged the patriarch, the bishops, and the principal clergy, to pay down a sum of ready money to forward this expedition, in honour of their country, and the advantage of Christendom. The Cossacks were employed in building a number of those light boats in use amongst them, and which were excellent for the purpose of cruising on the coast of Crim Tartary. The Ottoman empire was alarmed at this powerful armament; the first that had ever been attempted on the Mæotis. The Czar's design was to drive the Turks and the Tartars for ever out of the Taurica Chersonesus, and afterwards to establish a free and easy commerce with Persia through Georgia. This is the very trade which the Greeks formerly carried on to Colchos, and to this peninsula of Crim Tartary, which Peter now seemed likely to subdue.

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

THIS

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

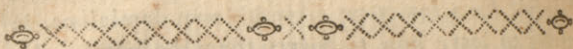
ON this occasion was struck the first medal in Russia, with this remarkable legend, in the language of the country, "PETER the FIRST, august emperor of Moscovy." On the reverse was the city of Asoph, with these words: "Victorious by fire and water."

PETER was very sensibly affected in the midst of all these successes, that his ships and galleys in the sea of Asoph, had been built entirely by foreigners; and wished as earnestly to have a harbour in the Baltic, as upon the Euxine Sea.

ACCORDINGLY, in the month of March 1677, he sent threescore young Russians of Le Fort's regiment into Italy, most of them to Venice, and the rest to Leghorn, to learn the naval art, and the manner of constructing galleys. He likewise sent forty others into Holland †, to learn the method of building and working large ships; and others likewise into Germany, to serve in the land forces, and be instructed in the military discipline of that

† General Le Fort's MSS.

nation. At length he took a resolution to absent himself for a few years from his own dominions, in order to learn how to govern them the better. He had a strong desire to improve himself by his own observation and practice in the knowledge of naval affairs, and of the several arts which he was so desirous to establish in his own country. He proposed to travel *incognito* through Denmark, Brandenburg, Holland, Vienna, Venice and Rome. France and Spain were the only countries he did not take into his plan; Spain, because the arts he was in quest of were too much neglected there; and France, because in that kingdom they reigned with too much ostentation, and that the parade and state of Lewis XIV. which had disgusted so many crowned heads, ill agreed with the private manner in which he proposed to travel. Moreover, he was in alliance with most of the powers, whose dominions he intended to visit, except those of France and Rome. He likewise remembered, with resentment, the little respect shewn by Lewis XIV. to his embassy in 1687, which had proved more famous than successful; and lastly, he already espoused the cause of Augustus, elector of Saxony, with whom the prince of Conti had lately entered into a competition for the crown of Poland.



C H A P. IX.

Travels of Peter the Great.

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

THE three ambassadors were †, general Le Fort, the boyar Alexis Gollowin, commissary general of war, and governor of Siberia, the same who signed the perpetual treaty of peace with the plenipotentiaries of China, upon the frontiers of that kingdom; and Wonitzin, diak, or secretary of state, who had been long employed in foreign courts. The chief retinue of this embassy were four chief secretaries, twelve gentlemen, two pages for each ambassador, a company of fifty guards, with their officers, all of the regiment of Preobrazinski, in all two hundred persons; and the Czar, reserving to himself only one valet-de-chambre, a servant in livery, and a dwarf, mixed with the crowd. It was an unknown thing in any history, that a king of five and twenty

* 1697.

† Memoirs of Petersburg, and memoirs of Le Fort.

years of age should abandon his kingdom, for to learn the art of government. His victory over the Turks and Tartars, the lustre of his triumphant entry into Moscow, the number of foreign troops attached to his service, the death of John his brother, and the confinement of the princess Sophia in a cloister, and above all, the general respect shewn to his person, seemed to assure him the tranquillity of his states during his absence. He entrusted the regency with the boyar Strechnef, and the knez or prince Romadonowski, who were to deliberate with the rest of the boyars in affairs of importance.

THE troops formed by general Gordon remained at Moscow, to maintain every thing quiet in that capital. Those Strelitzes, who were thought likely to create a disturbance, were distributed on the frontiers of Crim Tartary, to preserve the conquest of Asoph, and to suppress the incursions of the Tartars. Having thus provided against every incident, he gave a free scope to his passion of travelling and improving himself.

THIS journey having been the occasion or pretence of the bloody war, which so long traversed, but in the end seconded, all the designs of the Czar; which dethroned Augustus king of Poland, and bestowed a crown on king Stanislaus, and then took it from him; which made Charles XII. king of Sweden the first of conquerors for nine years, and the most unfortunate of kings for nine more; it is necessary to enter into a detail of these events, and to represent in what situation Europe was at that time.

SULTAN

SULTAN Mustapha II. was seated on the Ottoman throne; the weakness of whose administration would not permit him to make any great efforts, either against Leopold, emperor of Germany, whose arms were successful in Hungary; or against the Czar, who had lately taken Asoph from him, and threatened to make himself master of the Euxine sea; nor even against the Venetians, who had possessed themselves of all the Peloponnesus.

JOHN Sobieski, king of Poland, immortalized by the victory of Chocksim, and the deliverance of Vienna, died the seventeenth of June 1696, and the possession of that crown was afterwards disputed by Augustus elector of Saxony, who obtained it, and Armand prince of Conti, who had only the honour of being elected.

SWEDEN had lately lost, but did not lament, Charles XI. her sovereign *, who was the first king who had ever been really absolute in that country, and who was the father of a prince still more so, though it was abolished after his death. He left the crown to his son Charles XII. then only fifteen years of age. This was in all appearance a conjuncture the most favourable for the Czar's grand design of enlarging his dominions on the gulph of Finland, and on the side of Livonia. But he did not think it enough to harrass the Turks on the Black Sea; the settlements on the Palus Mæotis, and the borders of the Caspian sea, were not sufficient to answer his projects of navigation, com-

* April, 1697.

merce and power. Besides, glory, being the darling object of this reformer, was to be found neither in Persia nor in Turkey, but in our parts of Europe, where great abilities and noble achievements are rendered immortal. In fine, Peter did not aim at introducing either the Persian or Turkish manners among his subjects, but those of England, Germany, and Holland.

GERMANY then at war both with the Turks and with the French, and united with Spain, England, and Holland, against the single power of Lewis XIV. was on the point of concluding a peace; and the plenipotentiaries were already met at the castle of Ryfwick, in the neighbourhood of the Hague.

AFFAIRS were in this situation when Peter and his ambassadors began their journey in the month of April 1697, by the road of great Novogorod: from thence they journeyed through Esthonia and Livonia, provinces formerly disputed by the Russians, Swedes, and Poles, and which the Swedes at last conquered.

THE fertility of Livonia, and the situation of Riga, its capital, were sufficient temptations to the Czar, to possess himself of that country. He was desirous to see the fortifications of the citadel. But count D'Alberg, governor of Riga, taking umbrage at this request, refused to satisfy his curiosity, and treated the embassy with contempt. This behaviour only heightened the inclination the Czar had, to make himself master of those provinces.

FROM Livonia they proceeded to Brandenburg Prussia, part of which had been inhabited by the

ancient Vandals; Polish Prussia had been included in European Sarmatia. Brandenburg Prussia was a poor country, and ill peopled; yet its elector, who afterwards took the name of king, displayed a magnificence on this occasion, a thing before unknown, and which he could ill afford. He piqued himself upon receiving this embassy in his city of Königsberg, with royal magnificence. The most sumptuous presents were made on both sides. The contrast between the French dress, which the court of Berlin affected, and the long Asiatic robes of the Russians, with their caps buttoned up with pearls and diamonds, and their scimitars hanging at their sides, produced a singular effect. The Czar was dressed after the German fashion. The prince of Georgia, who accompanied him, was clad in a Persian habit, which displayed a different magnificence. This prince was taken prisoner afterwards at the battle of Narva.

PETER despised all this external pomp; it would have been happy for him, that he had shewn an equal contempt for the pleasures of the table, in which the Germans, at that time, placed their whole delight. It was at one of these entertainments †, then too much in vogue, and which are alike destructive to health and morality, that he drew his sword upon his favourite Le Fort; but expressed as much sorrow for this sudden sally of passion, as Alexander did for the murder of Cly-

† Le Fort's MS. memoirs.

tus. He asked pardon of Le Fort, saying, that he wanted to reform his subjects, but could not yet reform himself. General Le Fort, in his manuscript, praises the Czar more for his goodness of heart, than he blames him for his excess of passion.

THE ambassadors then travelled through Pomerania and Berlin; and from thence, one part took its way through Magdeburg, and the other by Hamburg, a city considerable for its extensive commerce, but not so rich and populous as it has become since. From thence they directed their route towards Minden, passed through Westphalia, and at length, by the way of Cleves, arrived at Amsterdam.

THE Czar arrived at this city fifteen days before the ambassadors. At his first coming, he lodged in a house belonging to the East India company; but soon afterwards, chose a small apartment in the dock-yard, belonging to the admiralty. He clothed himself in the habit of a Dutch skipper, and in that dress went to the village of Saardam, a place where at that time, a great many more ships were built than at present. This village is as great, as populous, as rich, and much neater, than many opulent cities. The Czar greatly admired the multitude of men who were constantly employed there, the order and exactness of their labours, the prodigious celerity with which they built and fitted out ships, and the incredible quantity of magazines and machines for the greater ease and security of labour. The Czar began with purchasing

chasing a boat, to which he made a mast himself; after that, he worked upon all the different parts in the construction of a vessel, being clothed and fed in the same manner as the meanest workmen, working in the forges, the rope yards, and in several mills, which abound in prodigious numbers in that village, for sawing timber, extracting oil, making paper, and wire-drawing. He caused himself to be intolled in the list of carpenters, by the name of Peter Michaelhoff, and was commonly called Peter Bas, or Master Peter: the workmen were at first ashamed at having a crowned head for a fellow-labourer, but soon became familiarised to the sight.

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

HIS troops were victorious over the Tartars near Asoph †, and a few months afterwards took from them the city of Or, or Orkapi, which we call Pre-cop. He still continued improving in different arts: he went frequently from Saardam to Amsterdam, to hear the lectures of the celebrated anatomist Ruysch, and made himself master of several

† 11th August, 1697.

operations in surgery, which might render himself useful both to himself and his officers. He went through a course of natural philosophy, in the house of the Burgo-master Witzen, celebrated for his patriotic virtue, and the noble use he made of his immense fortune, which he employed like a common friend to mankind, sending men of abilities, at a great expence, to all parts of the globe, in search of whatever was curious and valuable, and fitting out vessels at his own expence, to discover new countries.

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

AT his return to Amsterdam, he resumed his

former labours, and finished with his own hands a ship of sixty guns, that he had begun himself, and sent her to Archangel, which was the only port he had at that time on the ocean.

HE not only engaged in his service several French refugees, Swifs and Germans; but he also sent all sorts of artists over to Moscow, and he previously made a trial of their several abilities himself. There are few trades or arts which he did not perfectly understand: he took a particular pleasure in correcting geographical maps, the authors of which had but a slight knowledge of his dominions, and frequently fixed the situation of towers, and the course of rivers, without a proper knowledge of them. There is still preserved a map, on which he marked out, with his own hand, his projected communication of the Caspian and Black seas, the execution of which he had given in charge to Mr Brekel, a German engineer. The junction of those two seas was indeed a less arduous enterprise than that of the ocean and Mediterranean, which was executed in France; but the very idea of joining the sea of Asoph with the Caspian, astonished the imagination at that time; but new establishments in that country became the object of his attention, in proportion as his successes begat new hopes.

HIS troops, commanded by general Shein, and prince Dolgorowski, had lately gained a victory over the Tartars near Asoph, and likewise over a body of Janizaries sent by sultan Mustapha to their assistance.

assistance †. This success made him more respected, even by those who blamed him for quitting his dominions, to turn workman at Amsterdam. They now saw that the weighty affairs of the monarch did not suffer by the labours of the philosopher, the traveller, and the artist.

HE continued at Amsterdam, employ'd in his usual occupations of ship-building, engineering, geography, and the practice of natural philosophy, till the middle of January 1693, when he set out for England, but still as one of the retinue of his ambassadors.

KING William sent his own yacht to meet him, and two ships of war as convoy. In England he observed the same way of living as at Amsterdam and Saardam; he took an apartment near the king's dock-yard at Deptford, where he applied his time wholly to gain farther instruction. The Dutch builders had only taught him the practical part of ship-building. In England, he found the art better explained; for there they work according to mathematical proportion. He soon made himself master of the theory, and was able to give lessons to others. He began to build a ship according to the English method of construction, and it proved an excellent sailor. The art of watch-making, which was brought to perfection in London, next drew his attention, and he made himself compleat master of the whole theory upon which the principles of watch-making is founded: captain Perry,

† July, 1698.

the engineer who followed him from London to Russia, affirms, that from the casting of cannon, to the spinning of ropes, there was not one branch of trade belonging to a ship that he did not minutely understand, and even put his hand to, as often as he came into the places where those trades were carried on.

IN order to cultivate his friendship, king William allowed him to engage several English artificers into his service, as he had done in Holland; but besides artificers, he engaged likewise some mathematicians, whom he could not so easily procure in Holland. One Ferguson, a Scotchman, an excellent geometrician, entered into his service, and was the first person who brought arithmetic into use in the exchequer in Russia, where, before that time, they made use only of the Tartarian method of reckoning, with balls strung upon a wire: a method which supplied the place of writing, but was very perplexing and imperfect, because, after the calculation, there was no method of proving it, in order to discover if there was any mistake. The Indian cyphers, which are now in use, were not introduced amongst us till the ninth century, by the Arabians; and they were not received into the Russian empire, till many centuries afterwards. This has been the fate of the arts, to make their progress slowly round the globe. He took with him two young students from a mathematical school, and this was the beginning of the marine academy, founded afterwards by Peter the Great. He observed and calculated eclipses with
Ferguson.

Ferguson. Perry the engineer, though greatly dissatisfied, not being sufficiently rewarded, acknowledges, that Peter made himself a proficient in astronomy; that he perfectly well understood the motions of the heavenly bodies, and also the laws of gravitation, by which they are directed. This force, now so evidently demonstrated, and before the time of the great Newton so little known, by which all the planets gravitate towards each other, and which retained them in their orbits, was already familiar to a sovereign of Russia, while other nations amused themselves with chimerical vortexes, and in the country of Galileo, ignorant people were appointed to instruct others as ignorant, to believe the earth to be immoveable.

PERRY set out in order to effect a junction of rivers, to build bridges, and construct sluices. The Czar's plan was to open a communication by canals between the ocean, the Caspian, and the Black Sea.

IT ought not to be forgotten, that a company of English merchants, with the marquis of Carmarthen at their head, gave Peter fifteen thousand pounds for the permission of selling tobacco in Russia. The patriarch, by a mistaken severity, had forbid this branch of trade; for the Russian church forbid smoking, as an unclean and sinful action. Peter, who knew better things, and who, amongst his other projects, meditated a reformation of the church, made this a pretext for trading into his dominions.

BEFORE Peter left England, he was entertained by king William with a shew worthy such a guest: this was a mock sea-fight. Little was it then imagined, that the Czar would one day fight real battles on this element against the Swedes, and obtain victories in the Baltic. King William made him a present of the vessel in which he used to go over to Holland, called the Royal Transport, a beautiful yacht, and magnificently adorned. In this yacht Peter sailed to Holland the latter end of 1698, taking with him three captains of ships of war, five and twenty captains of merchant ships, forty lieutenants, thirty pilots, thirty surgeons, two hundred and fifty gunners, and upwards of three hundred artificers. This little colony of ingenious persons in all branches, sailed from Holland to Archangel, on board the Royal Transport, and from thence were sent into all the different places where their services were necessary. Those who had been engaged at Amsterdam, went by the way of Narva, which then belonged to the Swedes.

WHILE Peter was thus transplanting the arts and manufactures of England and Holland into his own country, the officers, whom he had sent to Rome, and other places in Italy, had likewise engaged several artists in his service. General Scheremetow, who was at the head of his embassy to Italy, took the tour of Rome, Naples, Venice, and Malta, while the Czar journeyed to Vienna with his other ambassadors. He wanted only to view the military discipline of the Germans, after having

having seen the English fleets and the dock-yards of Holland. Political reasons, as well as improvements, drew the Czar here. The emperor was his natural ally against the Turks. Peter had a private audience of Leopold, and the two monarchs conferred standing, to avoid the trouble of ceremony.

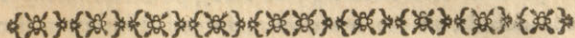
THERE happened nothing remarkable during his stay at Vienna, except the celebration of the ancient feast of Landlord and Landlady, which had been disused for a considerable time, and which Leopold thought proper to revive upon the Czar's account. This feast, which the Germans call *Wirtschaft*, is celebrated in the following manner :

THE emperor is landlord and the empress landlady; the king of the Romans, the archdukes and the archduchesses are generally their assistants: they entertain people of all nations as their guests, who come dressed after the most ancient fashion of their respective countries: those who are invited to the feast draw lots for tickets, on each of which is written the name of the nation, and the character of the person they are to represent. One perhaps draws a ticket for a Chinese mandarin; another for a Tartarian Mirza; a third a Persian satrap; and a fourth for a Roman senator; and a princess may, by her ticket, be a gardener's wife, or a milk-maid; a prince may act a peasant, or a common soldier. They have dances suitable to all these characters, and the landlord and the landlady, with the family, wait at the table. Such was the ancient in-

stitution; but on this occasion † Joseph king of the Romans, and the countess of Traun, represented the ancient Egyptians. The archduke Charles, and the countess of Walstein, were dressed like the Flemings in the time of Charles the fifth. The archduchess Mary-Elizabeth, and count Traun, were in the habits of Tartars; the archduchess Josephina, and the count of Workflaw, were habited like Persians; and the archduchess Mariamne, and prince Maximilian of Hanover, in the character of North Holland peasants. Peter appeared in the dress of a Friesland boor, and all who spoke to him addressed him in that character, at the same time talking to him of the great Czar of Muscovy. These are very trifling particulars: but whatever revives the remembrance of ancient manners and customs, is in some measure worthy of being recorded.

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

† Le Fort's MSS, and those of Petersburg.



C H A P. X.

A CONSPIRACY PUNISHED.

The Strelitzes abolished. Changes in customs, manners, state, and church.

PETER, when he set out on his travels, had provided against every accident that might happen, even that of a rebellion. But all the toils and fatigues he had underwent to aggrandize his country, proved the cause of this present revolt.

SOME boyars, who had a great regard for the ancient customs, and some priests, to whom the new customs appeared little better than sacrilege, began these disturbances; upon this the old friends of the princess Sophia took this opportunity to shew themselves. One of her sisters, who was shut up in the same monastery, contributed chiefly to excite these seditions. It was represented by all sides, that the nation was in the utmost danger from the introduction of foreigners to improve it. In fine, who would believe, that the † permission which the Czar had given to import tobacco into his empire, contrary to the inclination of the clergy, was one of the strongest motives to rebellion?

† Le Fort's MSS.

Superstition,

Superstition, the scourge of every country, and yet the delight of the multitude, spread itself from the common people to the Strelitzes, who had been scattered on the frontiers of Lithuania: they assembled in a body, and marched towards Moscow, with the intent to place the princess Sophia on the throne, and for ever to prevent the return of a Czar who had violated the established customs of his country, by presuming to travel for instruction among foreigners. The forces commanded by Schein and Gordon, who were much better disciplined than the Strelitzes, met with them fifteen leagues from Moscow, gave them battle, and entirely defeated them; but this advantage gained by a foreign general over the ancient militia, among whom were several of the burghers of Moscow, contributed still more to inflame the people.

To quell these tumults, the Czar sets out privately from Vienna, passes through Poland, has a private interview with Augustus, concerting measures with that prince for extending the Russian dominions on the side of the Baltic, and at length arrived at Moscow, where he surprised them all with his presence †: he then confers rewards on the troops who had routed the Strelitzes, of whom the prisons were now full. If their crimes were great, their punishment was as great. Their chiefs, with several of their officers and priests, were condemned to death; some were broke

† September 1698.

upon the wheel †, and two women were buried alive; upwards of two thousand of the Strelitzes were hanged, part of whom were hung round about the walls of the city, and others put to death in different manners, and their dead bodies remained exposed for two days in the high roads, particularly about the monastery where the princesses Sophia and Eudocia resided ‡. Monuments of stone were erected, on which their crimes and punishments were engraven. A great number of them who had wives and children at Moscow, were dispersed with their families into Siberia, to the kingdom of Astracan, and the country of Afoph. Their punishment was useful to the state, as they helped to cultivate and people a large tract of land, which wanted inhabitants and improvement

PERHAPS, if the Czar had not seen it absolutely necessary to make such dreadful examples, he might have employed part of these Strelitzes, whom he put to death, upon the public works; whereas they were now lost both to him and the state: the lives of men ought to be held in great estimation, especially in a country where the increase of inhabitants ought to have been the principal care of the sovereign; but he thought it necessary to terrify and subdue the spirit of the nation by executions and the parade attending them. The entire

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

‡ MSS. of Le Fort.

corps of the Strelitzes, whose number not one of his predecessors had even dared to think of reducing, was broke for ever, and their very name abolished. This revolt was effected without any resistance, because matters had been properly prepared beforehand. The Turkish sultan, Osman, as I have already remarked, was deposed and strangled in the same century, only for giving the Janizaries room to suspect that he intended to reduce their number. Peter had better success, because his measures were better concerted.

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

BUT Peter's humanity was equal to his severity: this he shewed some time afterwards, when he lost his favourite Le Fort, who was snatched away by an untimely fate †, at the age of forty six. He honoured him with a funeral pomp equal to the greatest sovereigns, and assisted himself in the procession, carrying a pike in his hand, and marching after the captains, in the rank of a lieutenant, which he held in the deceased general's regiment, hereby setting an example to his nobles, of the respect due to merit and the military rank.

AFTER the death of Le Fort, it appeared plainly, that the changes in the state were not owing to that

† March 22, 1699, N. S.

that general, but to the Czar himself. Peter had indeed been confirmed in his design, by his several conversations with Le Fort; but had planned and executed them all without his aid or assistance.

As soon as he had suppressed the Strelitzes, he formed regular regiments on the German model, who were all clothed in a short uniform, instead of those long and troublesome coats, which they used to wear before; and, at the same time, they were taught a regular exercise.

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

As he had passed through the lowest degrees in the army, he ordered that the sons of his boyars and knezes should serve as common soldiers before they were made officers. He sent some of the young nobility on board his fleet at Weronitz and Afoph, where he obliged them to serve their apprenticeship as common seamen. No person durst refuse to obey the commands of a master, who had set the example himself. The English and Dutch he had brought over with him were employed in equipping this fleet for sea, in constructing sluices, and building docks for careening the ships, and to resume the great work of joining the Don and the Volga, which had been given over by Brekel the German. And now he began to reform the council

cil of state, the revenue, the church, and even society itself.

THE revenue had been hitherto transacted much in the same manner as in Turkey. Each boyar paid a stipulated sum for his lands, which he raised upon his vassals; the Czar appointed certain burghers and burgomasters, to be his receivers, who were too weak to claim the right of paying only such sums as they thought proper, into the public treasury. This new administration of the revenue cost him the most trouble: he was obliged to try several schemes before he could fix upon a proper one.

THE reformation of the church, which in all other countries is looked upon as a dangerous and difficult task, proved easy to him. The patriarchs had at times opposed the authority of the crown, as well as the Strelitzes; Nikon with insolence, Joachim, one of his successors, with cunning and subtily.

THE bishops had arrogated the power of life and death, a prerogative directly contrary to the spirit of religion, and the subordination of government. This assumed power, though of long standing, was now taken from them. The patriarch Adrian dying at the close of this century, Peter declared that there should never be any other.

THIS dignity then was entirely abolished, and the great revenues thereto was annexed to the public revenue, which stood in need of this addition. Although the Czar did not set himself up at the head of the Russian church, as the kings of Great

Britain

Britain have done in regard to the church of England; yet he made himself absolute master of the clergy, because the synods did not dare either to disobey the commands of a despotic sovereign, or to dispute with a prince who had more knowledge than themselves.

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

that of supremacy in England. The Russian monarch was not, indeed, one of the fathers of the synod, but he dictated their laws; he did not touch the censor, but he directed the hands that bore it.

HE thought, and was fully persuaded, that in a state like his, which stood in need of population, the celibacy of the monks was repugnant to nature, and to the public good. It was the ancient custom of the Russian church, for secular priests to marry at least once; they were even obliged to do so: and formerly, as soon as their wives died they ceased to be priests. But that a multitude of young people of both sexes should make a vow of living useless in a cloister, and without connection with one another, at the expence of the publick, appeared to him to be of dangerous consequence. He therefore ordered, that no one should be admitted to a monastic life, till they were fifty years old, a time of life very rarely subject to a temptation of this kind; and he forbid any person to be admitted, of what age soever, who was invested with any public employment.

THIS regulation has been abolished since his death, because the government has thought proper to shew more complaisance to the monasteries: but the patriarchal dignity has never been re-established, and its revenues are now applied to the payment of the troops.

THESE changes at first excited some murmurings. A priest wrote to prove that Peter was antichrist, because he would have no patriarch; and the art of printing was made use of to publish li-

bels

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

ONE of the most necessary reformations was the abolition, or at least the mitigation of the three Lents, an ancient superstition of the Greek church, and prejudicial to those who are employed in the public works, and more especially to soldiers, as was the ancient Jewish superstition of not fighting on the sabbath day. Accordingly the Czar absolved his workmen and soldiers from observing these Lents, in which, though they were not permitted to eat, it was customary to get drunk. He also dispensed with their observance of fast days: the chaplains of the fleet and army were obliged to set the example, which they did without much reluctance.

THE calendar was an object of importance. The regulation of the year was formerly made by the heads of the clergy, on account of their knowledge in astronomy, as well as settling the particular festivals.

THE year began on the first of September among
the

the Russians. Peter ordered, that henceforth it should commence the first day of January, as in the other nations of Europe. This change was appointed to take place in the year 1700, at the beginning of the century, which he ordered to be celebrated by a jubilee, and several grand solemnities. It was a matter of surprize to the populace, how the Czar should be able to change the course of the sun. Some obstinate people, persuaded that God had made the world in September, continued their ancient style: but the alteration took place in all the public offices, in the court of chancery, and in a short time throughout all the empire. Peter did not adopt the Gregorian calendar, which English mathematicians rejected; and which must, nevertheless, be one day received in every country.

EVER since the fifth century, the time when letters were first introduced amongst them, they had been accustomed to write upon long rolls, made either of the bark of trees, or of parchment, and afterwards of paper; and the Czar was obliged to publish an edict, ordering every one, for the future, to write after the manner we do.

THE reformation now was established every where. Their marriages were made formerly after the same manner as in Turkey and Persia, where the bridegroom does not see his bride till the contract is signed, and they can no longer fly from their words. This custom may do very well amongst those people where polygamy prevails, and where the women are always shut up; but it is a
very

very bad one in countries where a man is tied to one wife, and where divorces are seldom allowed.

THE Czar wanted to accustom his people to the manners and customs of the nations which he had seen in his travels, and from whence he had taken the masters who were now instructing them.

IT was proper, that the Russians should not be clothed in a different manner from those who were teaching them the arts; because the hatred to strangers, which is but too natural to mankind, is not a little kept up by a difference of dress. The full dress, which at that time partook of the fashions of the Poles, the Tartars, and the ancient Hungarians, was, as we have elsewhere observed, very noble; but the dress worn by the burghers and common people resembled those jackets plaited round the waist, which are still given to the poor, in some of the French hospitals. For the most part, the robe was generally the dress of all nations, as being a garment that required the least trouble and art; and for this reason, the beard was suffered to grow. The Czar had but little difficulty in introducing our mode of dress, and the custom of shaving among his courtiers; but the people were more difficult, and he found himself obliged to lay a tax on long coats and beards. Patterns of coats were hung up in public places; and whoever refused to pay the tax, were obliged to suffer their robes, and their beards, to be shortened. All this was done in a jocular manner, and this air of pleasantry prevented rebellions.

IT has ever been the design of all wise legislators,

tors, to render mankind more sociable; but it is not sufficient to accomplish this end, that they live together in towns; there must be a mutual intercourse of civility. This intercourse sweetens all the bitterness of life. The Czar, therefore, introduced these assemblies, which the Italians call *ridotti*. To these assemblies he invited all the ladies of the court, with their daughters, and they were to appear dressed after the fashions of the southern nations of Europe. He was himself at the pains of drawing up rules of decorum to be observed at these social entertainments. Thus even to good manners among his subjects, was his own work, and which time accomplishes.

To make his people better pleased with these innovations, he abolished the word *golut*, *slave*, always made use of by the Russians when they addressed their Czar, or presented any petition to him; and ordered, that, for the future, they should make use of the word *raab*, which signifies *subject*. This alteration did not diminish the obedience due to the sovereign, and yet was the most likely means of conciliating their affections. Every month was productive of some new change or institution. He carried his attention even to the ordering posts to be set up in the road betwixt Moscow and Woronitz, to serve as mile-stones at the distance of every verst, that is to say, every seven hundred paces; and had a kind of caravanferas, or public inns, built at the end of every twentieth verst.

WHILE he was thus extending his concerns for the common people, the merchants, and the travel-

ler,

ler, he resolved to make an addition to the brilliancy of his own court. For though he was an enemy to pomp or shew in his own person, he thought it necessary in those about him. For this purpose he instituted the order of St. Andrew †, in imitation of the several orders with which all the courts of Europe abound. Golowin, successor to Le Fort in the dignity of high admiral, was the first knight of this order. It was esteemed an high reward, to have the honour of being admitted a member. It was a kind of badge that entitled the person who bore it to the veneration of the publick. This mark of honour costs nothing to the sovereign, and flatters the self-love of a subject, without giving him any additional power.

So many useful innovations were received with applause by the wisest part of the nation; and the murmurings and complaints of those who had adhered to the ancient customs, were silenced by the acclamations of men of sound judgment.

WHILE Peter was thus making a new creation in the interior part of his state, he concluded an advantageous truce with the Turks, which allowed him the liberty to extend his territories on another side. Mustapha the Second, who had been defeated by prince Eugene, at the battle of Zenta in 1697, stripped of the Morea by the Venetians, and unable to defend Asoph, was obliged to make peace with his victorious enemies; this peace was concluded at Carlowitz, between Peterwaradin and Sankamen,

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lankamen,

† Sept. 10th 1698. It is to be observed that I always follow the new style in my dates.

ankamen, places now famous by his defeats *. Te-
maswaer was made the boundary of the German
and Ottoman dominions. Kaminiak was restored
to the Poles; the Morea, and some towns in Dal-
matia, which had been taken by the Venetians, re-
mained in their hands for some time; and Peter
the First continued in possession of Asoph, and of
a few forts raised in its neighbourhood.

IT was impossible for the Czar to extend his do-
minions on the side of Turkey, as the forces of that
empire would be united against him, which were
formerly divided. His naval projects were too
large for the Palus Mæotis, and the settlements on
the Caspian Sea would not admit of a fleet of men
of war: he therefore turned his views towards the
Baltic Sea, but without relinquishing the navigation
of the Tanais and Wolga.



CHAP. XI.

WAR WITH SWEDEN.

The Battle of Narva.

NOW a grand scene was opened on the fron-
tiers of Sweden †. One of the principal
causes of all the revolutions which happened from
Ingria, as far as Dresden, and which laid so many
countries

* Jan. 26. 1699.

† 1700.

countries waste for the space of eighteen years, was the abuse of the supreme power under Charles XI. king of Sweden, father of Charles XII. This fact cannot be too often repeated, as it concerns every crowned head, and the subjects of every nation. Almost all Livonia, with the whole of Estonia, had been abandoned by Poland to Charles XI. king of Sweden, who succeeded Charles X. precisely at the time of the treaty of Oliva. It was ceded, as is the custom, with a reservation of rights and privileges. Charles XI. having little regard to them, John Renold Patkul, a Livonian gentleman, came to Stockholm in 1692, at the head of six deputies of the province, and laid their complaints at the foot of the throne, in respectful, but strong terms †. Instead of an answer, the six deputies were imprisoned, and Patkul was condemned to lose both his honour and his life. But he lost neither, for he made his escape to the country of Vaud in Switzerland, where he remained some time. When he afterwards was informed, that Augustus, elector of Saxony, had promised at his accession to the throne of Poland, to recover the provinces that had been wrested from that kingdom; he went to Dresden, to shew that prince how easily he might make himself master of Livonia, and revenge himself upon a

H 2

king,

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

king, only seventeen years of age, for the losses that Poland had sustained by his ancestors.

AT the same time Peter was employing his thoughts on seizing Ingria and Carelia. These provinces had formerly belonged to the Russians, but the Swedes had made themselves masters of them by force of arms, in the time of the false Demetrius's, and had kept the possession of them by treaties: another war and new treaties might restore them again to Russia. Patkul went from Dresden to Moscow, and having stirred up the two monarchs to avenge his cause, he cemented a close union between them, and hastened their preparations for invading all the places situated to the east and south of Finland.

AT this time also, the new king of Denmark, Frederic IV. entered into an alliance with the Czar and the king of Poland, against Charles, the young king of Sweden, who seemed not able to withstand their united forces. Patkul had the satisfaction of besieging the Swedes in Riga, the capital of Livonia, and commanding as a major-general.

THE Czar marched near sixty thousand men into Ingria. It is true, that, in this great army, he had no more than twelve thousand regular soldiers, being those he had disciplined himself; namely, the two regiments of guards, and some few others, the rest being a badly armed militia, with some Cossacks, and Circassian Tartars; but he carried with him one hundred and forty-five pieces of cannon. He laid siege to Narva, a small town in Ingria, that
had

marched northward to Revel, where he defeated an advanced body of Russians. He continued his march, and meeting with another body, routed that likewise. The routed troops returned to the camp before Narva, which they filled with consternation. The month of November was far advanced; Narva, though unskillfully besieged, was on the point of surrendering. The young king of Sweden had not at that time above nine thousand men with him, and could bring only ten pieces of cannon to oppose an hundred and forty-five, with which the Russian entrenchments were defended. All the relations of that time, and all historians, without exception, agree in making the Russian army then before Narva amount to eighty thousand men. The memoirs with which I have been furnished say sixty thousand; be that as it will, it is certain, that Charles had not quite nine thousand, and that this battle was one of those, which evince, that the greatest victories have been frequently gained by inferior numbers, ever since the famed one of Arabella.

CHARLES was not afraid to attack this great army, with his small number of troops: and taking advantage of a violent wind, and a great storm of snow, which blew directly in the faces of the Russians, he attacked their entrenchments under cover of some pieces of cannon §, which he had posted advantageously for the purpose. The Russians had not time to form themselves in the midst of that
cloud

cloud of snow, that beat full in their faces, and astonished by the discharge of cannon, that they could not see; and did not know the weakness of Charles's army.

THE duke de Croy attempted to give his orders, but prince Dolgorouki would not obey them. The Russian officers rose upon the German officers: and murdered the duke's secretary, colonel Lyon, and several others. Every one abandoned his post; and tumult, confusion, and a panic terror, spread through the whole army. The Swedish troops had nothing more to do, but to cut in pieces those who were flying. Some threw themselves into the river Narva, where great numbers were drowned; others threw down their arms, and begged for quarters from the conquering Swedes.

THE duke de Croy, general Allard, and the rest of the general officers, dreaded the Russians more than the Swedes, and went in a body and surrendered themselves prisoners to count Steinbok. The king of Sweden now became master of all the artillery. Thirty thousand of the vanquished enemy laid down their arms at his feet, and filed of bare-headed and disarmed before him. Prince Dolgorouki, and all the Russian generals, came and surrendered themselves, as well as the Germans, but did not know till some time after they had surrendered, that they had been conquered by eight thousand men. Amongst the prisoners was the son of a king of Georgia, whom Charles sent to Stockholm; his name was Mittelsky Czarovitz, or Czar's son, a further proof, that the title of Czar,

or Tzar, had not its original from the Roman Cæsars.

CHARLES XII. lost no more than one thousand two hundred men in this battle. The Czar's journal, which has been sent me from Petersburg, says, that including those who died at the siege of Narva, and in the battle, and those who were drowned in their flight, the Russians lost no more than six thousand men. Want of discipline, and a panic that seized the army, was the sole cause of the loss of this battle. The captives were four times greater in number than the conquerors; and if we may believe Norberg †, count Piper, who was afterwards taken prisoner by the Russians, reproached them, that the number of their people made prisoners in the battle exceeded by eight times the number of the whole Swedish army. If this is truth, the Swedes must have made upwards of seventy two thousand prisoners. This shews how seldom writers come at the truth of particular circumstances. One thing, however, equally incontestible and extraordinary is, that the king of Sweden should tell one half of the Russian soldiers to go back, after having disarmed them, and the other half to repass the river, with their arms; by this unaccountable conduct, restoring to the Czar troops, that, being afterwards well disciplined, became invincible towards their enemies ‡.

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

‡ The chaplain Norberg pretends, that, immediately after the battle of Narva, the Grand Signior wrote a letter of congratulation to the King of Sweden, in these terms. "The sultan Bassa, by the grace

CHARLES

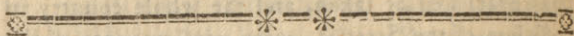
CHARLES reaped all the advantages that could be had from a compleat victory. Immense magazines, transports loaden with provisions, the enemies posts evacuated or taken, and the whole country in possession of the Swedes, were consequences of the fortune of this day. Narva was now relieved, the shattered remains of the Russian army durst not shew themselves; the whole country as far as Pleskow lay open; the Czar seemed to have lost all resource for carrying on the war; and the king of Sweden, victorious in less than twelve months over the monarchs of Denmark, Poland, and Russia, was looked upon as the first prince in Europe, at an age when other princes hardly think of military glory. But Peter's unshaken constancy prevented him from being discouraged in any of his projects.

A RUSSIAN bishop composed a prayer to St. Nicholas †, on this occasion, which was publicly read in all the churches throughout Russia. This composition shews the spirit of the times, and the inexpressible ignorance from which Peter delivered his country. Amongst other things, it says, that the furious and terrible Swedes were forcerers; and complains that St. Nicholas had entirely abandoned his Russians. The prelates of that country would blush to write such stuff at present; and, without any offence to the holy St. Nicholas, the people soon per-

“ of God, to Charles XII, &c.” The letter was dated from the aera of the creation of the world.

† This prayer is printed in most of the journals and historical pieces of these times. It is inserted in the history of Charles XII. King of Sweden.

ceived that Peter was the most proper person to be addressed.



CHAPTER XII.

Resources after the battle of Narva. That disaster entirely repaired. Peter gains a victory near the same place. He executes great designs in Russia. The person, who was afterwards empress, made prisoner at the sacking of a city. Peter's successes. His triumph at Moscow †.

The years 1701 and 1702.

THE Czar having quitted his army before Narva, towards the end of November 1700, in order to go and concert with the king of Poland, was informed on the road, of the victory gained by the Swedes. His constancy in all emergencies was equal to the intrepidity and valour of Charles. He deferred his conference with Augustus, and hastened to apply a speedy remedy to the disordered state of his affairs. The dispersed troops rendezvoused at great Novogorod, and went from thence to Pleskow, on the Lake Peipus.

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

IT was a great deal for him to be able to stand upon the defensive, after so signal a defeat: "I know very well, said he, that the Swedes will a long time be superior, but at last they will teach us to conquer them."

PETER having provided for the present necessity †, and ordered men to be raised on every side, he goes to Moscow to hasten the casting of new cannon, his own having been all taken before Narva. There being a scarcity of metal, he took all the bells of the churches and of the religious houses in Moscow. This action shewed him free of superstition, and at the same time it was no sign of impiety. With those bells he made one hundred large cannon, one hundred and forty-three field pieces, from three to six pounders, besides mortars and haubitzers, which were forwarded to Pleskow. In other countries, the sovereign commands, and his subjects execute his orders; but here the Czar was obliged to see every thing done himself. While he was making these preparations, he entered into a negotiation with the king of Denmark, who engaged to assist him with three regiments of foot, and three of horse; an engagement which that monarch could not fulfil.

No sooner was this treaty signed, than he hurried to the theatre of war. He had an interview with king Augustus at Birzen, on the frontiers of Courland and Lithuania*. His object was, to confirm that prince in his resolution of maintaining the war against Charles XII. and at the same time to

† 1703.

* Feb. 27.

prevail on the Polish Diet to enter into the quarrel. It is well known, that a king of Poland is no more than the head person in the republic. Peter had the advantage of being always obeyed : but the kings of Poland and England, and at present the king of Sweden, are all obliged to treat with their subjects. Patkul and a few Poles in the interest of their king assisted at these conferences. Peter promised to assist them with subsidies, and an army of twenty-five thousand men. Livonia was to be restored to Poland, in case the diet would act in conjunction with their king, and assist in recovering this province: the diet hearkened more to their fears, than to the Czar's proposals. The Poles were apprehensive of having their liberties restrained by the Saxons and Russians, and were still more afraid of Charles XII. It was therefore agreed by the majority, not to engage in the quarrel.

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

PETER then had only a weak ally in king Augustus ¶, and the Saxon troops could be of small service; and the terror which Charles XII. inspired on every side, obliged Peter to the necessity of depending entirely upon his own strength.

AFTER an expeditious journey from Moscow to Courland *, to confer with Augustus; he posted back from Courland to Moscow, to forward the

¶ Feb. 1701,

* March 1.

accomplishment of his promises. Accordingly he dispatched prince Repnin, with four thousand men, to Riga, on the banks of the Duna, where the Saxon troops were entrenched.

THE rapid progress of Charles increased the general terror †; for passing the Duna, in spite of all the Saxons, who were advantageously posted on the opposite side, he gained a compleat victory over them; and then, without waiting a moment, he made himself master of Courland, advanced into Lithuania, and by his presence encouraged the Polish faction that opposed Augustus.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, Peter still pursued his designs. General Patkul, who had engaged in his service, procured him some German officers, disciplined his troops, supplied the place of general le Fort; and finished what the other began. The Czar ordered relays of horses to be provided for all the officers, and even for the German, Livonian, and Polish soldiers, who came to serve in his armies. He took particular care of their arms, cloathing and subsistence.

ON the confines of Livonia and Estonia, and to the eastward of the province of Novogorod, lies the great lake Peipus, which receives from the south side of Livonia the water of the river Velika, and gives rise in its northern part to the river Naiova, that washes the walls of the town Narva, near which the Swedes got their famous victory. This lake is upwards of thirty leagues in length, and from twelve

to

† July.

to fifteen in breadth. It was necessary to keep a fleet there, to prevent the Swedish ships from insulting the province of Novogorod; to be ready to make a descent upon their coasts, and above all, to be a nursery for seamen. Peter employed the greatest part of the year 1701 in building on this lake an hundred half gallies, to carry about fifty men each; and other vessels were fitted out on the lake Ladoga. He directed the building of these vessels himself and set his new sailors to work: those who had been employed in 1697, at the Palus Mæotis, were then stationed near the Baltic. He frequently left those affairs to go to Moscow, and the other provinces; in order to establish the observance of the late customs he had begun, or to introduce new ones.

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

WHILE Charles was ravaging all Poland, Pe-

ter brought from that kingdom, and from Saxony, a number of shepherds with their flocks, in order to have wool fit for making good cloth; he likewise erected linen and paper manufactories: gave orders for collecting a number of mechanics; (such as smiths, braziers, armourers and founders; and the Siberian mines were dug for ore. Thus was he continually contriving means for the embellishment and defence of his dominions.

CHARLES pushed on his victories, and left a sufficient body of troops, as he imagined, on the frontiers of the Czar's dominions, to secure all the possessions of Sweden. He had concerted a plan to dethrone Augustus, and afterwards to pursue the Czar with his victorious arms to the gates of Moscow.

THERE happened several slight skirmishes during this year, between the Russians and Swedes, in which the latter did not always prove superior; and even in those where they had the better, the Russians improved in the art of war. In short, in little more than twelve months after the battle of Narva, Peter's troops were so well disciplined, that they defeated one of the best generals belonging to Charles XII.

PETER was then at Pleskow, from whence he detached numerous troops on all sides, to attack the Swedes; the Russians were victorious, notwithstanding being only commanded by a Russian general, a native of the country, and not a foreigner. His general Scheremetow, by a skilful manœuvre, surprised several troops of the Swedish general Slipembac,

pembac *, on the frontiers of Livonia ; and at last obtained a victory over that officer himself. And now, for the first time, the Russians took from the Swedes four of their colours ; which was thought a great number.

THE lakes of Peipus and Ladago were for some time afterwards the theatres of naval engagements between the Russians and Swedes ; in which the latter had the same advantages as by land ; owing to their good discipline : yet the Russians had some few successes with their half galleys, in a general action at the lake Peipus, in which field-marshal Scheremetow took a Swedish frigate †.

IT was by means of this lake the Czar kept Livonia and Estonia in continual alarms ; his galleys often disembarked several regiments in those provinces ; who re-embarked whenever they failed of success ; but when they had any advantage, they always improved it : the Swedes were defeated twice in the neighbourhood of Derpt ‡, while they were victorious every where else.

IN all these engagements the Russians were always superior in number : which made Charles XII. who was so successful in every other place, give himself little concern about the small success of the Czar, not considering that the numerous forces of his rival were every day growing more formidable, as they improved in their discipline, so as one day to become a match for himself.

WHILE both nations were thus engaged by sea

* Jan. 11. 1702. † May. ‡ June and July.

and land in Livonia, Ingria, and Estonia, the Czar receives advice, that a Swedish fleet had set sail to destroy Archangel; upon which he immediately fled thither, and all were astonished to hear of his being on the coasts of the Frozen sea, when he was thought to be at Moscow. He put the town into a posture of defence, prevented the landing of the Swedes, drew the plan of a citadel, called the New Dwina, laid the first stone, returned to Moscow, and from thence to the seat of war.

CHARLES advanced into Poland; but the Russians, on their side, made a progress in Ingria and Livonia. Marshal Scheremetow marched to meet the Swedish army commanded by Slippembac, fought a battle near the little river Embac, and defeated him, taking sixteen colours, and twenty pieces of cannon. Norberg places this action on the first of December 1701; but the journal of Peter the Great fixes it on the nineteenth of July 1702.

THE Russian general then marched onwards ¶, laid the whole country under contribution, and takes the little town of Marienburgh, situated on the confines of Ingria and Livonia. There are several towns of this name in the north of Europe; but this, though it no longer exists, is more celebrated in history than all the others, by the adventure of the empress Catherine.

THIS little town, having surrendered at discretion, the Swedes, who defended it, either through

¶ August 6th.

mistake

mistake or design, set fire to the magazines. The Russians, enraged at this, destroyed the town, and carried away all the inhabitants. Among the prisoners was a young woman, a native of Livonia, who had been educated by Mr. Gluck, a Lutheran minister of that place, and who afterwards became the sovereign of those who had taken her captive, and governed Russia by the name of the empress Catherine.

THERE had been several instances before this of private women being raised to the throne. Nothing was more common in Russia, and in all Asiatic kingdoms, than for kings to marry their own subjects; but that a poor stranger, who had been taken prisoner in the ruins of a plundered city, should become the absolute sovereign of that very empire, whither she was led captive, is an instance which fortune and merit never produced but this time in the annals of the world.

THE Czar's arms were successful in Ingria; for their half galleys on the lake Ladoga compelled the Swedish fleet to retire to Wiburg, a town situate at the other extremity of this great lake, from whence they could see the siege of the fortress of Noteburg, which was then carried on by general Scheremetow. This was an affair of much greater importance than was imagined at that time, as it might open a communication with the Baltic Sea, the constant aim of Peter the Great.

NOTEBURG was a strong fortified town, built on an island in the lake Ladoga, which it entirely commands, and by that means, whoever is master

of it, must be masters also of that part of the river Neva, which empties itself into the Baltic not far from thence. The Russians bombarded the town night and day, from the eighteenth of September to the twelfth of October; and at length, having made three breaches, gave a general assault. The Swedish garrison was reduced to an hundred men, only capable of defending the place; and what is very astonishing, they continued to defend it, and obtained an honourable capitulation even in the breaches. Colonel Slippembac, who commanded there, would not surrender the town, but on condition of being permitted to send for two Swedish officers from the nearest post, to examine the breaches, in order to be witnesses for him to the king his master, that eighty three soldiers, who were all then left of the garrison capable of bearing arms, besides one hundred and fifty six sick and wounded, did not surrender to a whole army, till it was impossible for them to fight longer, or to preserve the town. This circumstance alone shews, what sort of an enemy the Czar had to contend with, and the necessity there was of all his industry to improve his troops in military discipline. He distributed gold medals among the officers, and bestowed rewards on all the private men; except a few, whom he punished for running away, during the assault. Their fellow soldiers spit in their faces, and afterwards shot them to death, thus adding ignominy to punishment.

NOTEBURG was repaired, and its name changed to that of *Dhluffelburg*, or the city of Key, because

cause that place is the key of Ingria and Finland. The first governor was that Menzikoff, whom we have already mentioned, and who was become a very good officer, and had signalized himself, during the siege, and therefore deserved that honour. This example served as an encouragement to all who have merit, without being distinguished by high birth.

AFTER this campaign of 1702, Peter was desirous that Scheremetow, and the officers who had signalized themselves, should make a triumphant entry into Moscow. All the prisoners taken in this campaign marched in the retinue of the conquerors *, and before them were carried the Swedish colours and standards, together with the flag of the Swedish frigate taken on the lake Peipus. Peter assisted himself in the preparations for this triumphal entry, as he had shared in the great actions that were celebrated by it.

THESE solemnities were designed to inspire emulation, otherwise they would have been no more than idle ostentation. Charles disdained all these public shews, and, after the battle of Narva, held his enemies, their efforts, and their triumphs, in equal contempt.

* December 17. 1702.

C H A P. XIII.

REFORMATION AT MOSCOW.

New successes. Founding of Petersburg. The Czar takes Narva, &c.

The year 1703.

THE short stay which the Czar made at Moscow, in the beginning of the winter 1703, was employed in seeing all his new regulations executed, and in improving the civil as well as the military government. Even his very diversions were consecrated to make his subjects relish the new manner of living he had introduced amongst them. It was with this view he invited all the boyars and ladies of Moscow to the marriage of one of his buffoons, at which every one was required to appear dressed in the ancient fashion. They served up the dinner just in the same manner as those in the sixteenth century †. By an old superstitious custom, no one was to light fire on the wedding-day, even in the severest cold. Thus custom was observed very strictly upon this occasion. The Russians formerly never drank wine, but only mead and brandy; no other liquors were allowed on this day,

† Taken from the journal of Peter the Great,

and,

and, when they complained, he replied, in a joking manner, "This was a custom with your ancestors, and old customs are always the best." This pleasantry contributed much to reform those who preferred past times to the present, or at least it put a stop to their murmurings; and there are several nations that stand in need of the same example.

AN establishment more useful than any of the rest, was that of a printing-house for Russian and Latin types, the materials of which were brought from Holland. They began with printing translations in the Russian language of several books of morality and polite literature. Ferguson established schools for geometry, astronomy, and navigation.

ANOTHER foundation, no less necessary and useful, was that of a large hospital; not one of those houses which encouraged idleness, and perpetuated the misery of the people, but such as the Czar had seen at Amsterdam, where old persons and children are employed at work, and where every person is serviceable to the public.

He established many manufactures; and as soon as he set a-going all those new arts which he had brought into Moscow, he hastened to Veronitz, to give directions for building two ships of eighty guns, with long chests exactly closed to the ribs of the vessel, for the easier floating of the ship over the shoals and banks of sand that lay about Aiof. A contrivance like that used in Holland, to get their large ships over the Pampus.

HAVING

HAVING prepared every thing for an expedition against the Turks, he immediately took his route for the frontiers of Sweden. He also went to visit the ships that he gave orders to be built at Olonitz *, a town between the lakes of Ladoga and Onega, where he had established a foundery for making all kinds of arms; and where every thing had all the look of preparations for war; whilst at Moscow flourished all the arts of peace. A spring of mineral waters, which has been lately discovered near Olonitz, has added to the reputation of that place. From thence he proceeded to Shluffelburg, to improve the fortifications.

WE have already observed, that Peter was determined to pass regularly through all the military degrees: he had served as lieutenant of bombardiers under prince Menzikoff, before that favourite was made governor of Shluffelburg, and now he took the rank of captain, and served under marshal Schemetow.

THERE was an important fortress near the lake Ladoga, and not far from the river Neva, named Nyantz or Nya. It was of the utmost importance to make himself master of this place, in order to secure his conquests, and favour his other designs. As he was obliged to besiege the place both by sea and land, he sent therefore a number of small ships full of soldiers, to hinder the Swedes from sending any succours that way †. The citadel surrendered, and two Swedish vessels arrived too late to assist the

* March 30. 1703.

† May 22. 1703.

besieged,

besieged, being both attacked and taken by the Czar. His journal observes, that as a reward for his service, "The captain of the bombardiers was created knight of the order of St. Andrew by admiral Golowin, the first knight of that order."

AFTER the taking the fort of Nya, he came to a resolution of building the city of Petersburg, at the mouth of the Neva, upon the gulph of Finland.

THE affairs of king Augustus were in a desperate way. The extraordinary victories of the Swedes in Poland had encouraged his enemies in the opposition, and even his friends had obliged him to dismiss a body of twenty thousand Russians that the Czar had sent him to reinforce his army. They thought by this sacrifice to deprive the malecontents of all pretext for joining the king of Sweden: but enemies are disarmed by force, an appearance of weakness only making them more insolent. The twenty thousand men that had been disciplined by Patkul were of infinite service in Livonia and Ingria, while Augustus was losing his dominions. This reinforcement, and above all, the possession of Nya, enabled the Czar to found his new capital.

IT was in this barren and marshy spot of ground, which communicates with the main land only by one way, that Peter laid the foundation of Petersburg, in the sixtieth degree of latitude, and the forty-fourth and a half of longitude. The ruins of some of the bastions of Nyantz were made use

use of for the first stones of the foundation †. They began by building a small fort upon one of the islands, which is now in the center of the city. The Swedes beheld, without apprehension, a settlement on the midst of a morass, and inaccessible to vessels of burden; but in a very short time they saw the fortifications advanced, a town raised, and the little island of Cronstadt, situate over against it, changed in 1704 into an impregnable fortress, under the cannon of which even the largest fleets may ride at anchor in safety.

SUCH works as these, which seemed to require a time of the most profound peace, were carried on in the very middle of a war. Workmen of every sort were called together from Moscow, Astracan, Casan, and the Ukraine, to assist in building the new city. Neither the difficulties of the ground, that was to be drained and raised, nor the distance of materials, the unforeseen obstacles which are for ever starting up in all great undertakings; nor, lastly, the mortality which carried off a prodigious number of workmen, could make the Royal Founder desist from this undertaking; but, in the space of five months, a new city arose from the ground. It is true, indeed, it was little better than a cluster of huts, with only two brick houses surrounded by ramparts; but this was all that was then needful. Time and perseverance accomplished the rest. In less than five months after the founding of Petersburg, a Dutch ship

† Petersburg was founded on Whitsunday, May 27. 1703.

came to trade there, the captain of which was abundantly rewarded †, and the Dutch soon found the way to Petersburg.

WHILE Peter was directing the establishment of this colony, he took care to render it inaccessible to the enemy, by making himself master of the neighbouring posts. A Swedish colonel, named Croniort, had taken post on the river Seftra, and thence threatened the growing city. Peter, without delay, marched against him with his two regiments of guards §, defeated him, and obliged him to repass the river. When he had thus provided for the security of the town, he went to Olonitz, to give directions, for building a number of small vessels, and then returned to Petersburg *, on board a frigate that had been built by his direction, taking with him six transport vessels for present use, till the others could be finished. Even at this juncture he sent succours to the king of Poland †, viz. twelve thousand foot, and a subsidy in money of three hundred thousand rubles, which make about one million five hundred thousand French livres. It has been remarked, that his annual revenue did not exceed then five millions of rubles; by far too small a sum for the expence of his fleets, of his armies, and of his new establishments. He had fortified Novogorod, Plefkow, Kiow, Smolensko, Afoph, Archangel, and founded a capital. Yet he was still able to assist his ally with men and money. Cornelius le Bruin,

† Nov. 1703.

§ July 8.

* Sep.

† Nov.

a Dutchman,

a Dutchman, who was on his travels, and at that time in Russia, and with whom he frequently conversed very freely, as indeed he did with all strangers, says, that the Czar himself assured him, that he had still three hundred thousand rubles remaining in his coffers, after all the expences of the war were defrayed.

IN order to secure his infant city of Petersburg against any insult, he went in person to sound the depth of water thereabouts, fixed upon a place for building the fort of Cronstadt; and, after making the model of it in wood with his own hands, he employed prince Menzikoff to carry it into execution. From thence he set out to pass the winter at Moscow, in order to establish, by degrees, the several alterations he had made in the laws, manners and customs of Russia *. He regulated the finances, and put them upon a respectable footing. He hastened the works that were carrying on in the Veronitz, and Asoph, and in an harbour which he had caused to be made on the Palus-Mæotis, under the fort Taganrok.

THE Porte † was alarmed at these preparations, and sent an embassy to the Czar to complain thereof: to which he returned for answer, that he was as much king in his own dominions as the Grand Signior was in Turkey, and that it was no infringement of the peace, to render the Russian power respectable on the Euxine sea.

* Nov. 5. 1703.

† Jan. 1704.

UPON his return to Petersburg †, finding his new citadel of Cronstadt, which had been founded in the bosom of the sea, quite finished, he furnished it with compleat artillery. But in order to settle himself firmly in Ingria, and entirely to deface the disgrace he had suffered before Narva, he thought it necessary to take that city. While he was making preparations for the siege, a small fleet appeared on the lake Peipus, to oppose his designs. The Russian half galleys came out to attack them, and took the whole squadron, which had on board ninety eight pieces of cannon. After this victory, the Czar lays siege to Narva both by sea and land, and which was most surprising, he lays siege to the city of Derpt in Estonia at the same time. §.

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

THE besiegers expected every instant when he would throw the succours into the place; but Peter, on this occasion, had recourse to a stratagem, worthy of frequent imitation. He ordered two regiments of foot, and one of horse, to be clothed in

† March 30.

§ April.

the same uniform, and to carry the same standards and colours as the Swedes. These sham Swedes attack the trenches, and the Russians pretend to be put to flight; the garrison deceived by appearances, make a sally*; upon which the mock combatants join their forces, and fall upon the Swedes, one half of whom were left dead upon the spot, and the rest made a shift to get back to the town. Slip-pembac arrives soon after with succours to relieve it, but is intirely routed. At length Derpt was obliged to capitulate, just as the Czar was preparing every thing for a general assault †.

AT the same time, Peter met with a considerable check on the side of his new city of Petersburg; but this did not prevent him either from going on with the new building of that place, or from vigorously prosecuting the siege of Narva. It has already been noticed, that he sent a reinforcement of troops and money to king Augustus, when his enemies were taking the throne from him; but those aids proved of no service. The Russians having joined the Lithuanians who adhered to Augustus, were totally routed in Courland by the Swedish general Lewenhaupt §: and had the conquerors directed their efforts towards Livonia, Estonia, and Ingria, they might have ruined the Czar's new works, and destroyed all the fruits of his great enterprizes. Peter was every day undermining the out wall of Sweden, while Charles did not oppose

* June 27, 1704.

† July 23.

§ July 31.

him enough, for he fought a glory less useful, though more brilliant.

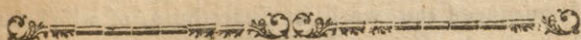
A SWEDISH colonel on the twelfth of July 1704, at the head of a detachment, made the Polish nobility elect a new king, on the field of election, called Kolo, near Warsaw. The cardinal, primate of the kingdom, and several bishops, submitted themselves to a Lutheran prince, notwithstanding the threatenings and excommunications of the Pope. In short, every thing yielded to force. No body is ignorant in what manner Stanislaus Leczinsky was elected king, and how Charles XII. obliged the greatest part of Poland to acknowledge him.

PETER abandoned not the dethroned king, he redoubled his succours in proportion to the losses of his ally; and while his enemy made kings, he conquered the Swedish generals one after another in Estonia and Ingria; he then went to the siege of Narva, and attacked it valiantly. There were three bastions, famous at least for their names, called Victory, Honour, and Glory. The Czar carried them all three sword-in-hand. The besiegers entered into the city, which they plundered, and exercised all those cruelties, which were but too customary at that time, between the Swedes and Russians.

PETER, on this occasion *, set an example which ought to have gained him the hearts of his new subjects. He ran every where in per-

* August 20, 1704.

son, to stop the pillage and murder, snatches several women out of the hands of the brutal soldiers, and, after having, with his own hand, slain two of those barbarians, who did not obey his orders, he enters the town-house, whither the citizens had ran in crouds for shelter, and laying his sword, yet smoaking with blood, upon the table, "This sword, said he, is not stained with the blood of your fellow citizens, but with that of my own soldiers, which I have spilt to save your lives."



C H A P. XIV.

Peter the Great keeps possession of all Ingria, whilst Charles XII triumphs elsewhere Rise of Menzikoff. Petersburg secured. The Czar executes his designs notwithstanding the victories of the king of Sweden §.

The years 1704 and 1705.

PETER being now master of all Ingria, conferred the government of that province upon Menzikoff; and gave him the title of prince, and the rank of major general. The pride and preju-

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

dice of other countries might find fault with a pastry cook's boy being made a general, governor, and prince; but Peter had already accustomed his subjects not to be astonished to see every thing given to talents, and nothing given to noble birth alone. Menzikoff, by a lucky accident, had while a boy, been taken from his original obscurity, and placed in the Czar's family, where he learned several languages, and had made himself acquainted with business and arms; and having found means to ingratiate himself with his master, he afterwards knew how to render himself necessary. He greatly advanced the works at Petersburg, of which he had the direction: several brick and stone-houses were already built, with an arsenal and magazines; the fortifications were completed, but the palaces were not built till some time after.

As soon as Peter was settled in Narva, he ordered fresh succours to the king of Poland, who had been lately dethroned. He promised him a body of troops over and above the twelve thousand men he had already sent him, and gave general Repnin orders to march † from the frontiers of Lithuania, with six thousand horse, and the same number of foot. All this while he did not forget his colony of Petersburg. The buildings went on very fast; his navy grew more numerous; several ships and frigates were on the stocks at Olonitz; these he took care to see finish-

† August 19, 1704.

ed ‡, and brought them himself into the harbour of Peterburg.

EVERY time he returned to Moscow, he made triumphal entries. In this manner did he revisit his capital this year *, from whence he made only one excursion, to be present at the launching of his first ship of eighty guns upon the Veronitz of which he had drawn the dimensions the year before.

As soon as the weather would permit for opening the campaign in Poland, he hastened to join the army ¶, which he had sent to the assistance of Augustus, and were on the frontiers of that kingdom; but while he was thus supporting his ally, a Swedish fleet put to sea to destroy Petersburg, and the fortress of Cronstadt, as yet hardly finished. This fleet consisted of twenty-two ships of war, from fifty four to sixty-four guns, besides six frigates, and two fire-ships. The troops that were sent on this expedition, made a descent on the little island of Kotin; but a Russian colonel, named Tolbogwin, who commanded a regiment there, ordered his soldiers to lie down flat on their bellies, while the Swedes were landing §; and then ordering them to run up suddenly, they made so brisk and well directed a fire, that the Swedes were put into confusion, and forced to their ships, leaving behind them all their dead, and upwards of three hundred prisoners.

THE fleet still continued hovering upon the

‡ Oct. 11. * Dec. 30. ¶ May 1705. § June 27. 1705.

coast, and threatened Petersburg. They made another descent, and were repulsed as before; a body of land forces were also advancing from Wiburg, under the command of the Swedish general Meidel, and took their route by Shluffelburg*: this was the boldest attempt Charles had yet made upon these territories, which Peter had either conquered or new formed. The Swedes were repulsed on every side, and Petersburg remained in security.

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

IN all those battles, where experience and discipline decide the day, the Swedes, though inferior in number, had always the advantage. The Russians were totally defeated †, and lost all their artillery. Peter, notwithstanding the loss of three battles, at Gemavers, at Jacobstadt and at Narva,

* June 25.

† June 28.

always retrieved his losses, and even converted them to his advantage.

AFTER the battle of Gemavers, he marched a numerous army into Courland; came before Mittau, made himself master of the town, and afterwards laid siege to the capital, which was taken by capitulation.

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

A RUMOUR which was spread throughout the whole empire, that the Czar had been totally defeated at the battle of Gemavers, proved of greater prejudice to his affairs, than even the loss of that battle. The remainder of the ancient Strelitzes in garrison at Astracan, emboldened by this false report, mutinied, and murdered the governor of the town. Peter was obliged to send marshal Scheremetow with a body of

† Sept. 14. 1705.

forces to quell the insurrection, and punish the ringleaders.

THE Czar at this time seemed in a critical situation. The success and valour of Charles XII; the misfortunes of Augustus; the forced neutrality of Denmark; the insurrection of the ancient Strelitzes; the murmurs of a people, sensible of the restraint, but not of the utility of the late reformation; the discontent of the grandees, who found themselves subjected to military discipline; and lastly, the exhausted state of the revenue, were sufficient to have dispirited any prince but Peter: yet he did not despond even for an instant. He soon quelled the revolt, and having provided for the safety of Ingria, and secured the possession of the citadel of Mittau, in spite of the victorious Lewenhaupt, who had not troops enough to oppose him; he found himself at liberty to march an army through Samogitia and Lithuania.

PETER now partook of the same glory with Charles XII and gave laws to Poland. He advanced as far as Likoecin; where he had an interview for the second time with king Augustus; and he consoled with him in his misfortunes, promising to avenge his cause, and at the same time made him a present of some colours, which Menzikoff had taken from the troops of his rival. They afterwards went towards Grodno, the capital of Lithuania, and staid there till the fifteenth of December. At their parting, Peter gave him both men and money, and, according

to his usual custom, went to pass some time of the winter at Moscow †, to make the arts and laws flourish there, after having made a very difficult campaign.



C H A P. XV.

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

The year 1706.

PETER was hardly come back to Moscow, when he was informed that Charles XII. after being every where victorious, was advancing towards Grodno, to attack the Russian troops. King Augustus had been obliged to fly from Grodno, and retire in haste towards Saxony, with four regiments of Russian dragoons: a step which both weakened and discouraged the army of his protector. The Czar found all the roads

† Dec. 30. 1705.

to Grodno occupied by the Swedes, and his troops dispersed.

WHILE he was assembling his troops in Lithuania, with great difficulty, the famous Schulemburg, who was the last resource of Augustus, and who afterwards acquired so much glory by the defence of Corfu against the Turks, advanced on the side of Great Poland, with about twelve thousand Saxons, and six thousand Russians, taken from the troops which the Czar had trusted with this unfortunate prince. Schulemburg expected, with some reason, that he would be able to save Augustus from being ruined: he saw that Charles XII. was fully employed in Lithuania, and that there were only a body of ten thousand Swedes under general Renschild who would interrupt his march. He thereupon advanced with confidence to the frontiers of Silesia; which is the passage from Saxony into Upper Poland. When he was near the village of Fraustadt, on the frontiers of that kingdom, he met marshal Renschild, who was coming to give him battle.

NOTWITHSTANDING the care I take to avoid repeating what has been already mentioned in the history of Charles XII. I am obliged in this place to take notice once more, that there was in the Saxon army a French regiment, that had been taken prisoners at the famous battle of Hochstet, and obliged to serve in the Saxon troops. My memoirs inform me, that this regiment had the charge of the artillery, and add, that the French, being admirers of the fame and reputation of Charles XII.

and

and discontented with the Saxon service, laid down their arms as soon as they came in sight of the enemy †, and desired to be taken into the Swedish army, in which they continued to the end of the war. This desertion was a signal of a total overthrow to the Russian army, of which no more than three battalions were saved, and almost every man of these were wounded; and as no quarter was granted, the remainder were all killed.

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

† Feb. 6. 1706.

‡ The Czar's manifesto in the Ukraine.

THE Russians had now lost four pitched battles with the Swedes, without reckoning the other victories of Charles XII. in Poland. The Czar's troops that were in Grodno were in danger of greater disgrace, by being surrounded on all sides; but he fortunately found means to get them together, and even to strengthen them with new reinforcements. Being obliged to provide for the safety of his army, and the security of his conquests in Ingria, he ordered prince Menzikoff to march with the army under his command eastward, and from thence southward as far as Kiow.

WHILE his men were upon their march, he repairs to Shluffelburg, from thence to Narva, and to his colony of Petersburg †, and puts those places in a posture of defence. From the Baltic he flies to the banks of the Boristhenes, to march into Poland by the way of Kiow, making it still his constant endeavour to render those victories of Charles, which he had not been able to prevent, of as little advantage to the victor as possible. At this very time he meditated a new conquest; namely, that of Wiburg, the capital of Carelia, situated on the gulph of Finland. He went to besiege this place, but it withstood the power of his arms*; succours arrived in season, and he was obliged to raise the siege. His rival Charles XII. did not really make any conquests, though he gained so many battles: he pursued king Augustus into Saxony, being always more intent upon crushing that

† Aug. 1706.

* Oct. 1706.

prince beneath the weight of his superior power and reputation, than upon recovering Ingria, that had been wrested from him by a vanquished enemy.

CHARLES spread terror through all Upper Poland, Silesia, and Saxony. King Augustus's whole family, his mother, his wife, his son, and the principal nobility of the country, were retired into the heart of the empire. Augustus now sued for peace, chusing rather to trust himself to the clemency of his conqueror, than to the arms of his protector. He negotiated a treaty, which stript him of his crown, and covered him at the same time with disgrace. This was a secret treaty, and was to be concealed from the Czar's generals, with whom he had taken refuge in Poland, while Charles XII. was giving laws in Leipzig, and reigned absolute sovereign throughout his electorate.

His plenipotentiaries had already signed the fatal convention, by which he not only divested himself of the crown of Poland, but promised never more to assume the title of king §. at the same time he recognized Stanislaus, renounced his alliance with the Czar his benefactor, and, to compleat his humiliation, engaged to deliver up to Charles XII. John Renold Patkul, the Czar's ambassador and general in the Russian service, who was then actually fighting his cause. He had some time before ordered Patkul to be arrested, contrary to the law of

§ Sep. 14. 1706.

nations,

nations, upon false suspicions; and now, in direct violation of these laws, he delivered him up to his enemy. It had been more to his credit to have died sword-in-hand, than to have concluded such a treaty: a treaty which not only robbed him of his crown, and of his character; but likewise endangered his liberty, because he was at that time in the power of prince Menzikoff in Pofnania, and the few Saxons that were with him were paid by the Russians.

PRINCE Menzikoff was opposed in that district by a Swedish army, reinforced with a strong party of Poles, in the interest of the new king Stanislaus, under the command of general Maderfeld; and not knowing that Augustus had engaged in a treaty with the enemies of Russia, had proposed to attack them; and Augustus did not dare to refuse. The battle was fought near Kaliffi, in the palatinate belonging to Stanislaus †. This was the first pitched battle the Russians had gained against the Swedes. Prince Menzikoff had all the glory of the action; four thousand of the enemy were left dead on the field, and two thousand five hundred and ninety-eight were taken prisoners.

IT is difficult to think how Augustus could be prevailed on, after this battle, to ratify a treaty which deprived him of all the benefit of his victory. But Charles was triumphant in Saxony, where his very name intimidated his enemies. The success of the Russians appeared so inconsiderable, and the Polish

† Oct. 19.

party

party against Augustus was so ill-advised, that he signed that fatal convention. Neither did he stop here: he wrote to his envoy Finkstein a letter, that was if possible more shameful than the treaty itself; for therein he asked pardon for having obtained a victory, "protesting, that the battle had been fought against his will; that the Russians, and the Poles his adherents, had obliged him to it; that he had, with a view of preventing it, actually made some movements to abandon Menzikoff; that Maderfeld might have beaten him, had he made the most of that opportunity; that he was ready to restore all the Swedish prisoners, or to break with the Russians; and that, in fine, he would give the king of Sweden all manner of satisfaction," for having dared to bear his troops.

THIS whole affair is strictly true, however strange and surprizing it may appear. When we reflect, that, with all this weakness, Augustus was one of the bravest princes in Europe; we may plainly perceive, that the loss or preservation, the rise or decline of empires, are entirely owing to a becoming firmness of mind.

THERE were two other circumstances concurred to compleat the misfortunes of the king of Poland elector of Saxony, and shew the abuse which Charles XII. made of his good fortune. The first was his obliging Augustus to write a letter of congratulation to the new king Stanislaus: the second was terrible; he even compelled Augustus to deliver up Patkul, the Czar's ambassador and general. It is sufficiently known to all Europe,
the

that this minister was afterwards broke upon the wheel at Casimir, in the month of September 1707. Norberg the chaplain confesses that the orders for his execution were all written in Charles's own hand.

THERE is not a civilian in all Europe, nay even the vilest slave, but must feel the whole horror of this barbarous injustice. The first crime of this unfortunate man was, his having made an humble representation of the rights and privileges of his country, at the head of six Livonian gentlemen, who were sent as deputies from the whole province: he was condemned to die for fulfilling the first of duties, that of serving his country agreeable to her laws. This iniquitous sentence put him in full possession of a right, which all mankind derive from nature, that of chusing his country. As he was ambassador to one of the greatest monarchs in the universe, his person ought to have been sacred. On this occasion, the law of nature and nations was violated by the laws of force. The splendor of glory formerly covered such barbarities, but at present they put a lasting stain and reproach on military glory.



C H A P. XVI.

A design to set up a third king in Poland. Charles XII. sets out from Saxony with a flourishing army, and passes through Poland like a conqueror. Cruelties exercised. Conduct of the Czar. Successes of Charles XII. who at length advances towards Russia.

The year 1707 and 1708.

CHARLES XII. enjoyed at Altranstadt, near Leipzig, the fruits of his victories; the protestant princes of the German empire flocking in crowds to pay homage to him, and beg his protection. He received ambassadors from almost all the potentates of Europe. The emperor Joseph implicitly followed his directions. Peter then seeing that king Augustus had renounced his protection, and the Polish crown, and that a part of the nation had acknowledged Stanislaus, listened to the proposals made him by Yolkova, of electing a third king.

SEVERAL palatines were proposed at the diet of Lublin, and prince Ragotski, who was long kept in prison in his youth by the emperor Leopold, and was his competitor for the throne of Hungary, was put on the list.

THIS negotiation was carried very far, and Poland

land was on the point of having three kings at one time. Prince Ragotski not succeeding, Peter thought to bestow the crown on Siniauski, grand general of the republic; a man of great power and interest, and head of a third party, that would neither acknowledge the dethroned king, nor the person elected by the other faction.

AMONGST all those troubles, there was a rumour of peace. Bessival the French envoy to the court of Saxony interposed, to bring about a reconciliation between Peter and the king of Sweden. The court of France were of opinion, that Charles, having no longer either the Russians or Poles to fight against, might turn his arms against the emperor Joseph, who had disobliged him, and on whom he had even imposed several hard terms during his stay in Saxony. But Charles made answer, that he would treat with the Czar in the city of Moscow. It was on this occasion that Peter said, "My brother Charles wants to act the Alexander, but he shall not find a Darius in me"

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

AT length he began his march from Altranstadt †, with an army of forty five thousand men; a force which it seemed impossible for the Czar to make

† Aug. 22. 1707.

make head against, seeing he had been entirely defeated by eight thousand Swedes at Narva.

IT was in passing by the walls of Dresden §, that Charles made that very extraordinary visit to king Augustus, which, as Norberg says, "will strike posterity with admiration." It was running a surprising risk, to put himself in the power of a prince whom he had deprived of his kingdom. From this place he continued his march through Silesia, and re-entered Poland.

THIS kingdom had been quite ravaged by war, ruined by factions, and over-run with all sorts of miseries. Charles continued advancing with his army through the province of Massovia, and took the worst ways it was possible for any person to chuse. The inhabitants had taken shelter in the morasses, and were resolved to make him pay dear for his passage. Six thousand peasants dispatched an old man of their body to speak to him; this man, who was of a very extraordinary size and figure, clad in white, and armed with two carabines, addressed Charles; but as those who were in company with Charles did not very well understand what he said, they immediately killed him in the midst of his discourse, before the king's face. The peasants, highly provoked, immediately took up arms. The Swedes pursued them, and all they took they obliged to hang one another; the last was compelled to put the rope about his own neck himself, and to be his own executioner. All their
houses

houses were burnt to the ground. This fact is fully attested by Norberg, who was an eye witness, and therefore cannot be contradicted, which must shock every one with horror who reads it.

CHARLES being arrived within a few leagues of Grodno in Lithuania †, received intelligence of the Czar's being there in person with a body of troops; upon which, without any deliberation, he takes only eight hundred of his guards, and sets out for Grodno. A German officer, named Multels, who commanded a body of troops, posted at one of the gates of the town, supposing when he saw Charles, that he was followed by his whole army, instead of disputing the passage with him, leaves the gate open, and runs away. The alarm being now spread through the whole town, every person thought the whole Swedish army already entered; the few Russians who made resistance were killed by the Swedish guards; and all the officers inform the Czar, that the victorious army were become masters of the place. Upon this Peter retreats behind the ramparts, and Charles plants a guard of thirty men at the gate through which the Czar had just before entered.

In this confusion, some of the fathers belonging to the Jesuits college where Charles lodged, went in the night, and informed the Czar of the whole truth. Upon which, Peter returns into the town, and forces the Swedish guards. An engagement ensued in the streets, but the whole Swedish army
appearing

† Feb. 6. 1708.

appearing in fight, the Czar is obliged to yield to superior numbers, and leaves the town in the hands of the victor, who filled all Poland with consternation.

CHARLES had augmented his forces in Livonia and Finland; and Peter had good reason to be afraid, not only for his conquests on this side, but also for those on the side of Lithuania, also for his ancient territories, and even the city of Moscow itself. It was therefore necessary for him to provide for the security of all these places, which lay at such a distance from one another. Charles could not make any rapid conquests to the eastward of Lithuania in the depth of winter, and in a marshy country, subject to epidemical disorders, which had increased by poverty and famine from Warsaw as far as Minski. Peter posted his troops to command all the passes of the rivers, guarded all the important posts, and did every thing in his power to hinder the marches of his enemy †, and afterwards hastened to put all things in a proper state of defence at Petersburg.

THOUGH Charles was victorious in Poland, he took nothing from the Czar; but Peter, by employing his new fleet, in landing his forces in Finland, by the taking and dismantling the town of Borgau, and by taking a considerable booty ‡, procured many real advantages to himself, and greatly distressed his enemy.

CONTINUAL rains kept Charles a long time in

† April 8, 1708.

‡ May 22.

Lithuania, but he at length reached the little river of Berezine, a few leagues from the Boriffhenes. Nothing could withstand his victorious arm; he immediately threw a bridge over the river in sight of the Russians; beat the detachment that guarded the passage, and got to Holozin on the Wabis, where the Czar had posted a considerable body of men to check the impetuous progress of the Swedes. The little river of Bibitsch is only a brook in dry weather; but at this time it was swelled by the rains to a deep and rapid stream. On the other side was a morass, behind which the Russians had thrown up an intrenchment for above a quarter of a league, defended by a large and deep ditch, and covered by a parapet lined with artillery. Nine regiments of horse, and eleven of foot, were advantageously posted in these lines, so that the passage of the river seemed very dangerous, if not impracticable.

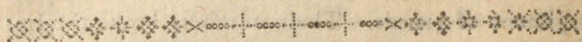
THE Swedes, according to the custom of war, got ready their pontoons, and erected batteries to favour their passage; but Charles, whose impatience to engage would not let him brook the least delay, did not wait till the pontoons were ready. Marshal Schwerin, who served a long time under him, has assured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

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

THE king, after wading the river ¶, passed the morass on foot. As soon as the army had surmounted these obstacles within sight of the Russians, they drew up in order of battle, and attacked the Russian entrenchments seven times, and it was not till the seventh attack that the Russians gave way. By the accounts of Swedish historians, they took but twelve field-pieces, and twenty four mortars.

IT was therefore now plain, that the Czar had at last succeeded in disciplining his troops, and this victory of Holozin, though it added to Charles's glory, might have made him sensible of the many dangers he must expect to meet with in adventuring into such distant countries, where his army could only advance in small bodies, through woods, morasses, and where he would be obliged to fight every step of his way; but the Swedes, being accustomed to victory, neither were afraid of danger nor fatigue.

¶ July 25. 1708.



C H A P. XVII.

Charles XII crosses the Boristhenes, penetrates into the Ukraine, but does not concert his measures properly. One of his armies is defeated by Peter the Great: he loses his supply of provisions and ammunition: advances forward through a desert country. His adventures on the Ukraine.

The year 1708.

CHARLES had now arrived on the banks of the Boristhenes, at a small town called Mohilow. This was the important place where he was determined whether he should direct his march eastward towards Moscow, or southward towards the Ukraine. His army, his friends, his enemies, all expected that he would direct his course immediately for the capital of Russia. Whatever way he took, Peter was following him from Smolensko with a numerous army. No one expected that he would march towards the Ukraine: He was induced to take this strange resolution by Mazeppa, hetman of the Cossacks, an old man of seventy, and without children, who ought to have thought only of ending his days in peace and quiet: a sense of gratitude should have tied him to the Czar, to whom he was indebted for his present greatness; but whether he had any real cause of complaint against that prince,

or

or that he was overcome with the lustre of Charles's exploits, or whether, in time, he thought to make himself independent, he betrayed his benefactor, and entered into a conspiracy with the king of Sweden, flattering himself with the hopes of the whole nation of Cossacks joining him in rebellion.

CHARLES made not the least doubt of subduing the Russian empire, as soon as his troops should be joined by so warlike a people as the Cossacks. Mazeppa was to furnish him with what provisions, ammunition, and artillery he stood in need of. Besides these powerful succours, he was to be joined by an army of sixteen or seventeen thousand men out of Livonia, under the command of general Lewenhaupt, who was to bring with him a prodigious quantity of warlike stores and provisions. Charles did not allow himself to think whether the Czar was within reach of attacking his army, and robbing him of these necessary supplies. He never informed himself whether Mazeppa was in a condition to observe his promises; if he had credit enough to gain over a whole nation, who are generally ruled only by their own opinion; or whether his army was provided with sufficient resources in case of an accident; but imagined, if Mazeppa should prove deficient in abilities or fidelity, he might depend entirely upon the bravery of his troops and good fortune. His army then advanced beyond the Boristhenes towards the Desna: it was between these two rivers that he expected to meet with Mazeppa. Many difficulties, as bad roads,

and skirmishing parties of the Russians, made his march very disagreeable.

MENZICOFF, at the head of some horse and foot §, attacked the king's advanced guard, threw them into disorder, and killed a number of his men. He lost a greater number of his own, but that did not discourage him. Charles immediately hastened to the field of battle, and with some difficulty repulsed the Russians, at the hazard of his own life, by engaging a party of dragoons, by whom he was surrounded. All this while Mazeppa did not arrive, and provisions began to grow scarce. The Swedish soldiers were not dispirited, seeing their king share with them in all their dangers, fatigues, and wants; but though they admired his courage, they could not refrain from being displeas'd with his conduct.

THE orders which the king had sent to Lewenhaupt to march with all haste, to join him with the necessary supplies, were retarded twelve days in their journey. This was a great loss as circumstances then stood. However, Lewenhaupt at last began his march. Peter allowed him to pass the Boristhenes; but as soon as his army was got between that river and the smaller ones, which empty themselves into it, he forded it after him, and attacked him with his united forces, which had followed in different corps at equal distances from one another. This battle was fought between the Boristhenes and the Sossa †.

PRINCE

§ Sept. 11. 1708.

† In the Russian language Soeza.

PRINCE Menzikoff was upon his return with the same body of horse, with which he had lately engaged Charles XII. General Baur followed him, and the Czar himself headed the flower of his army. The Swedes imagined they had to deal with an army of forty thousand men, and this was believed for a long time: but my late memoirs inform me, that Peter had no more than twenty thousand in that day's memorable battle, a number not much superior to that of the Swedes: but his vigour, his patience, his unwearied perseverance, together with that of his troops, animated by his presence, decided the fortune, not of that day only, but of the three successive days, during which the battle was renewed at different times.

THE Russians attacked first the rear of the Swedish army, near the village of Lesnau, from whence this battle borrows its name. This first shock was bloody, without proving decisive §. Lewenhaupt retreated into a wood, and thereby saved his baggage. The next morning, when the Swedes were to be driven from the wood, the action was still more bloody, and more to the advantage of the Russians. Here it was that the Czar, seeing his troops in disorder, cried out to the rear-guard to fire upon the runaways, and even upon himself, if they saw him retreat cowardly. The Swedes were repulsed, but not thrown into confusion.

AT length a reinforcement of four thousand dragoons arriving, he fell upon the Swedes a third

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time,

time, who retreated to a small town called Pros-pock, where they were again attacked; they then marched towards the Desna, the Russians still pursuing them; yet they were never broken, but lost upwards of eight thousand men, seventeen pieces of cannon, and forty four colours: the Czar took fifty-six officers, and near nine hundred private men prisoners, and the great convoy of provisions and ammunition that were designed for Charles's army, fell into the hands of the conqueror.

THIS was the first time that the Czar in person gained a pitched battle against an enemy who had distinguished themselves by so many victories over his army; he proclaimed a general thanksgiving for his victories, upon hearing that general Apraxin had gained an advantage in Ingria †, near Narva; an advantage which was not so great as that of Lef-nau; but this concurrence of fortunate events greatly raised the hopes and courage of his troops.

CHARLES received this terrible news just as he was ready to pass the Desna in the Ukraine. Mazzeppa now joined him; but instead of twenty thousand men, and an immense quantity of provisions, which he was to have brought with him, he came with only two regiments, and appeared rather like a traitor applying for assistance, than a prince, who was bringing powerful succours to his ally. This Cossack had indeed begun his march with near sixteen thousand of his people, whom he made believe at their first setting out, that they were going against

† Sept. 17. 1708.

gainst the king of Sweden ; that they would have the glory of stopping that hero on this march, and that Peter would be eternally obliged to them for so great a service.

BUT when they arrived near the Desna, he told his real design. These generous people received his proposal with indignation : they refused to betray a monarch, against whom they had no cause of complaint, for the sake of a Swede, who had invaded their country, and who, after leaving it, would be no longer able to defend them, but must abandon them to the fury of the incensed Russians, and of the Poles, once their masters, and always their enemies : they accordingly returned home, and gave advice to the Czar of the defection of their chief. Mazepa found himself left with only two regiments, the officers of which were in his own pay.

HE was still master of some strong fortresses in the Ukraine, and in particular of Bathurin, the place of his residence, looked upon as the capital of the Cossacks : it is situated near some forests on the Desna, at a great distance from the place where Peter had defeated general Lewenhaupt. There were always some Russian regiments quartered in these parts. The Czar detached prince Menzikoff, who got thither by round-about marches. Charles could not secure all the passes ; he did not so much as know them all, and had neglected to make himself master of the important post of the Starowdoub, which leads directly to Bathurin, across a forest of seven or eight leagues, through which the Desna

takes its course Peter had always the advantage of him, by their better knowledge of the country.

MENZICOFF and the prince Galitzin, who had accompanied him, easily made their passage good †, and presented themselves before the town of Bathurin, which surrendered almost without resistance, was plundered and reduced to ashes. The Russians made themselves masters of a large magazine destined for the use of the king of Sweden, and of all Mazeppa's treasures. The Cossacks chose another hetman, named Skoropasky, who was approved by the Czar, and to make the people more sensible of the enormous crime of treason, by a striking example of justice, the archbishop of Kiow §, and two other prelates, were ordered to excommunicate Mazeppa publicly; after which he was hanged in effigy, and some of his accomplices were broken upon the wheel.

CHARLES XII. notwithstanding these losses, was still at the head of about twenty-five or twenty-seven thousand Swedes, who were joined by the remains of Lewenhaupt's army, and the addition of between two and three thousand men, whom Mazeppa had brought with him, and still infatuated with the same mistaken opinion of all the Ukraine declaring for him, passed the Desna *, at some distance from Bathurin, and near the Boriskhenes, notwithstanding he was environed with the Czar's troops; part of whom pursued the rear of his army, while another part lined the opposite side of the river to oppose his passage.

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† Nov. 14. 1708.

§ Nov. 22.

* Nov. 25, 1708.

HE pursued his march through a desert country, the villages being all destroyed and burnt. The cold was so prodigiously piercing at the beginning of December, that in one of his marches, near two thousand of his men perished before his eyes; Peter's troops did not suffer so much, being better supplied with cloaths and other necessaries, whereas Charles's army, being almost naked, was more exposed to the inclemency of the weather.

IN this deplorable situation, count Piper, Charles's chancellor, who always gave his master good advice, conjured him to halt, and pass at least the severest part of the winter in a small town of the Ukraine, called Romna, where he might entrench himself, and get some provisions by the help of Mazeppa; but Charles replied, that "it was below his dignity to shut himself up in a town." Piper then intreated him to repass the Desna and the Boristhenes, to return back into Poland, to put his troops into winter-quarters, of which they stood so much in need, to make use of the Polish cavalry, which was absolutely necessary, to support the king he had raised to the crown, and to awe the partisans of Augustus, who began already to raise their drooping heads. Charles answered him again, "that this would be flying before the Czar, that the season would grow milder, and that he must reduce the Ukraine, and march on to Moscow."

BOTH armies remained some weeks inactive §,

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‡ This is acknowledged by the chaplain Norberg, tom. II. p. 263.

§ January 1709.

on account of the cold, in the month of January 1709; but, as soon as the troops were able to make use of their arms, Charles attacked all the small posts that he found in his way. He was obliged to send parties on every side in search of provisions; that is to say, to scour the country twenty leagues round, and rob all the peasants of their necessary subsistence. Peter, with great composure, kept a strict eye upon all his motions, and suffered the Swedish army to moulder away by degrees.

It is impossible for the reader to trace the Swedes in their march through these desolate countries; several of the rivers which they crossed are not to be found in maps: we must not suppose, that geographers are as well acquainted with these countries, as we are with Italy, France, and Germany. Geography is, of all the liberal arts, that which still stands the most in need of improvement; and the ambition of princes has hitherto been at more pains in desolating the face of the globe, than in giving a description of it.

We must content ourselves then with knowing, that Charles crossed the Ukraine in the month of February, burning all the villages where-ever he came, that had not been laid in ashes by the Russians. He, advancing south east, came to those sandy deserts, bordered by mountains, that separate the Nogay Tartars from the Cossacks. To the eastward of these mountains, are *the altars of Alexander*. Charles was now on the other side of the Ukraine, in the road that the Tartars take to Russia; and

and when he penetrated thus far, he was obliged to return back again to procure subsistence: the inhabitants, having retired with all their cattle into their dens and lurking places, would sometimes defend their subsistence against the soldiers, who came to deprive them of it. Such of these poor wretches who could be found, were put to death, agreeable to what are falsely called the rights of war. I cannot here forbear transcribing a few lines from Norberg. "As an instance, says he, of the king's regard to justice, I shall insert a note, which he wrote with his own hand to colonel Heilmen."

"Colonel,

"I AM very well pleased that you have taken these peasants, who carried off a Swedish soldier. As soon as they are convicted of the crime, let them be punished with death, according to the exigency of the case.

CHARLES, and lower down, BUDIS."

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

MAZEPPA had, for a considerable time, been in treaty with the Zaporavians, who live about the two shores of the Borithenes, and of whom part inhabit the islands situated on that river. It is this division that forms the nation, of whom mention

has

has already been made in the first chapter of this history, and who having neither wives nor families, subsist entirely by robbery. During the winter they heap up provisions in their islands, which they afterwards go and sell in the summer, in the little town of Pultowa; the rest dwell in small hamlets, to the right and left of this river. They all together chuse a particular hetman, and this hetman is subordinate to him of the Ukraine. The person at that time at the head of the Zaporavians had an interview with Mazeppa; and these two barbarians had each of them an horse's tail and a club born before him, as ensigns of honour.

IN order to shew what this hetman of the Zaporavians, and his subjects, were, I think it not unworthy of history, to relate the manner in which this treaty was concluded. Mazeppa gave a great feast to the hetman of the Zaporavians, and his principal officers, who were all served in plate. As soon as these chiefs had made themselves drunk with brandy, they took an oath (without stirring from the table) upon the evangelists, to supply Charles with men and provisions; after which they carried off all the plate and other table-furniture. Mazeppa's steward ran after them, and remonstrated, that such behaviour ill-suited with the doctrine of the gospels on which they had so lately sworn. Some of Mazeppa's domesticks were for taking the plate away by force; but the Zaporavians went in a body to complain to Mazeppa, of the unparalleled affront offered to such brave fellows, and demanded to have the steward delivered up to them, that they

they might punish him according to law. This was accordingly complied with, and the Zaporavians, according to law, tossed this poor man from one to another like a foot-ball, and afterwards plunged a knife into his heart.

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

THE little town of Pultowa, with which those Zaporavians carry on a trade, abounded with provisions, and might have served Charles for a place of arms. It is situated on the river Worklaw, near a chain of mountains, which command it on the north-side. To the eastward is a vast desert. The western part is the most fruitful, and the best peopled. The Worklaw runs into the Boristhenes, about fifteen leagues lower down. From Pultowa, you pass northward, through the defiles which communicate with the road to Moscow, a passage used by the Tartars. It is very difficult of access, and the precautions taken by the Czar had rendered it almost unpassable; but nothing appeared impossible to Charles, and he depended upon marching to Moscow, as soon as he had made himself master of Pultowa. With this view he laid siege to that town in the beginning of May.



C H A P. XVIII.

Battle of Pultowa.

The year 1709.

IT was here that Peter expected him. He had disposed the several bodies of his army at convenient distances for joining each other, and marching all together against the besiegers: he had visited the countries which surround the Ukraine; namely, the duchy of Severia, watered by the Desna, already famous for his late victory; the country of Bolcho, from which the Occa takes its source; the desarts and mountains leading to the Palus Mæotis; and last of all, he had been in the neighbourhood of Asoph, where he caused the harbour to be cleansed, vessels to be built, and the citadel of Faganroc to be fortified. Thus had he employed the time that passed between the battles of Lefnau and Pultowa, in preparing for the defence of his dominions. As soon as he knew what city was besieged, he assembled all his forces: his cavalry, dragoons, infantry, Cossacks, and Calmucks, advanced from twenty different places. Nothing was wanting in his army; large cannon, field-pieces, ammunition of all sorts, provisions, and even medicines for the sick: in this respect he was greatly superior to his rival.

ON the fifteenth day of June 1709, he appeared before Pultowa with an army of about sixty thousand effective men. The river Worsklaw was between him and Charles. The besiegers were encamped on the north-west side of that river, the Russians on the south-east.

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

THIS battle was to decide the fate of Russia, Poland, and Sweden, and of two monarchs, on whom the eyes of all Europe were fixed. The greatest part of those nations who were attentive to these important concerns, were equally ignorant of the place where these two princes were, and of their situation; but knowing that Charles XII. had left Saxony, at the head of a victorious army, and that he was driving his enemy every where before him, they no longer doubted that he would at length entirely crush him; and that as he had already

† June 3, 1709.

‡ July 1709.

given laws to Denmark, Poland, and Germany, he would dictate conditions of peace in the Kremlin of Moscow, and make a new Czar, as he had already made a new king of Poland. I have seen letters from several public ministers to their respective courts, confirming this general opinion.

THE risk was far from being equal between these two great rivals. If Charles lost a life, which he had so often, and foolishly exposed, there would only have been one hero less in the world. The provinces of the Ukraine, the frontiers of Lithuania and Russia, would then be delivered from their calamities. Poland would, together with her tranquillity, recover her lawful king, who had been lately reconciled to the Czar his benefactor; and lastly, Sweden, tho' exhaulted of men and money, might find motives of consolation under her heavy losses.

BUT if the Czar had perished, the public would have been robbed of all those useful undertakings which he had concerted and pursued for the benefit of mankind; and Russia would have relapsed into the woful state from which she had so lately been brought.

THERE had already been some small skirmishes between the detached parties of Swedes and Russians, under the walls of Pultowa. In one of these Charles had been wounded with a shot from a carbine †, which had shattered the bones of his heel. He underwent several painful operations, which he

† June 27. 1709.

bore with his usual fortitude, but was confined to his bed for some days. In this situation he was informed, that Peter designed to attack him. His notions of glory would not suffer him to wait to be attacked in his entrenchments: accordingly he gave orders for drawing out his troops, and was carried himself in a litter. Peter the Great acknowledges, in his journal, that the Swedes attacked the redoubts that covered his cavalry, with such obstinate valour, that, in spite of the strongest resistance from his cannon, they made themselves masters of two redoubts. Some writers say, that when the Swedish infantry were in possession of the two redoubts, they thought the day their own, and began to cry out Victory. Norberg the chaplain, who was at some great distance from the field of battle, amongst the baggage, pretends, that this is a calumny; but whether the Swedes cried out victory or not, it is certain they were not victorious. The fire from the other redoubts was kept up without abating, and the resistance made on every part was as firm as the attack of their assailants was vigorous. They did not make one irregular movement; the Czar drew up his army before the entrenchments with great readiness and order.

THE battle now became general. Peter acted as major general; Baur commanded the right wing, Menzikoff the left, and Scheremetow the center. The action lasted two hours; Charles with a pistol in his hand went from rank to rank, carried by his drabans in a litter, one of whom was killed by a cannon-ball, and at the same time the litter was shattered

shattered in pieces. He then ordered his men to carry him upon pikes; for it would have been difficult in so bloody an engagement, let Norberg say as he pleases, to find a fresh litter ready made. Peter received several shot in his cloaths and his hat; both princes were in the midst of the fire, during the whole action. At length, after two hours desperate fighting, the Swedes gave way on all sides, and fell into confusion, so that Charles was obliged to fly with precipitation before Peter, whom he had hitherto held in great contempt. This very hero, who was not able to mount his saddle during the battle, now fled for his life on horse-back; necessity gave him strength in his retreat; he suffered the most excruciating pain, which was increased by the mortifying reflection of being vanquished, without hopes of ever again being able to look his enemy in the face. The Russians reckoned nine thousand two hundred and twenty four Swedes left dead on the field of battle, and between two and three thousand made prisoners in the action, which were chiefly cavalry.

CHARLES, in his flight, was attended only by fourteen thousand men, a few field-pieces, and very small quantity of provisions and ammunition. He directed his march southward, towards the Boristhenes, between the rivers Worklaw and Sol ¶, in the country of the Zaporavians. Beyond the Boristhenes are large detarts, which lead to the frontiers of Turky. Norberg affirms, that the victors

¶ Or Pfol.

durst not pursue Charles; yet he acknowledges, that Menzikoff appeared on the adjoining eminences, with ten thousand horse, and a considerable train of artillery †, while the king was passing the Boristhenes.

FOURTEEN thousand Swedes surrendered themselves prisoners of war to these ten thousand Russians; and Lewenhaupt, who commanded them, signed the fatal capitulation, by which he gave up those Zaporavians who had engaged in the service of his master, and were then in the flying army. The chief persons taken prisoners in the battle, and by the capitulation, were count Piper, the first minister, with two secretaries of state, and two of the cabinet, field-marshal Renschild, the generals Lewenhaupt, Slippembac, Rozen, Stakelber, Creutz, and Hamilton, and three general aid-de-camps, the auditor general of the army, fifty-nine staff-officers, five colonels, among whom was the prince of Wirtemberg, sixteen thousand nine hundred and forty two private men and subaltern officers; in fine, reckoning the king's domestics, and other attendants on the army, the conqueror took no less than eighteen thousand seven hundred and forty six prisoners; and, if we add nine thousand two hundred and twenty four slain in the battle, and near two thousand men that passed the Boristhenes in the king's retinue, it appears plainly, that he had no less than twenty seven thousand effective men under his command on that memorable day ‡.

† July 12 1709.

‡ The memoirs of Peter the Great, by the pretended boyar Iwan

CHARLES

CHARLES had begun his march from Saxony with forty-five thousand men; Lewenhaupt had brought upwards of sixteen thousand from Livonia, and now this once flourishing and powerful army was no more; he lost in the morasses and on the march, the whole of his artillery, except eighteen brass cannon, two haubitizers, and twelve mortars; and with so inconsiderable a force, he had undertaken the siege of Pultowa, and had attacked an army provided with a formidable train of artillery. Therefore his accusation is just, of having shewn more courage than prudence, after departing from Germany. On the side of the Russians there were only fifty two officers, and one thousand two hundred common men killed; which makes it appear that Peter made a better disposition of his troops than Charles, and that the fire of the Russians was infinitely superior to that of the Swedes.

WE find, in the memoirs of a foreign minister to the court of Russia, that Peter, on hearing of Charles's design to take refuge in Turkey, wrote a friendly letter to him, desiring him not to take so desperate a resolution, but rather to believe his sacred word, and trust himself in his hands, than in those of the natural enemy of Christendom. He gave him, at the same time, his word of honour not to detain him prisoner, but that all their differences should be terminated by a reasonable peace. Nestesuranoy, printed at Amsterdam in 1739, say, that the king of Sweden, before he passed the Boristhenes, sent a general officer with proposals of peace to the Czar. The four volumes of these memoirs are either a collection of untruths and absurdities, or compilations from common news papers.

This

This letter was sent by an express as far as the river Bug, which separates the desarts of the Ukraine from the Grand Seignior's dominions. As the messenger did not reach that place, till Charles had entered Turkey, he brought back the letter to his master. The same minister adds further, that he had this account from the very person charged with the letter †. This anecdote is not altogether improbable, but I do not meet with it in Peter's journals, or in any of the memorials trusted to my care. What is of greater importance with respect to this battle, was, its being the only one of a great number that have drenched the earth with blood, that instead of producing only destruction, has proved beneficial to mankind, since by means of this, it gave the Czar an opportunity of civilizing so considerable a part of the world.

THERE have been upwards of two hundred pitched battles fought in Europe since the beginning of this century, to the present year. The most signal, and the most bloody victories, have produced no other consequences, than the reduction of a few provinces, yielded afterwards by treaties, and retaken again by other battles. Armies of an hundred thousand men have often engaged each other in the field; but the most violent efforts have been attended only with momentary successes: the most trivial causes have been productive of the greatest effects. There is no example in modern history of any war that has compensated by a greater good for

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

the many evils it has occasioned ; for the happiness of the greatest empire on the earth has resulted from the battle of Pultowa.



C H A P. XIX.

Consequences of the battle of Pultowa. Charles XII, takes refuge among the Turks. Augustus, whom he had dethroned, recovers his dominions. Conquests of Peter the Great.

The years 1709 and 1710.

AFTER the battle and pursuit was over, the chief prisoners of rank were presented to the conqueror, who ordered their swords to be returned, and invited them to dine with him. It was a well known truth, that, on drinking to the officers, he said, "To the health of my masters in the art of war." However, most of his masters, particularly the subaltern officers, and all the private soldiers, were soon afterwards sent into Siberia. There was no cartel established for exchange of prisoners between the Russians and Swedes ; the Czar indeed had proposed one before the siege of Pultowa, but Charles rejected the offer, and his troops were in every thing the victims of his inflexible haughtiness of temper.

It was this unwarrantable obstinacy that occasioned

oned all the misfortunes of Charles in Turkey, and a series of adventures more becoming a Don Quixote than a wise or prudent king; for as soon as he arrived at Bender, he was advised to write to the Grand Visier, as is the custom among the Turks; but this he thought would be demeaning himself too far. The like obstinacy made him fall out with all the ministers of the Porte one after another; in short, he knew not how to accommodate himself either to times or places.

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

THE king of Poland their elector immediately protested against the abdication that had been extorted from him *, and being now reconciled to the Czar, he used all possible means to re-ascend the Polish throne. Sweden, overwhelmed with consternation, thought their king for a long time

* Aug. 8. 1709.

dead, and in this uncertainty the senate knew not what resolution to come to.

PETER in the mean time determined to make the best use of his victory, and therefore dispatched marshal Scheremetow with an army into Livonia, on the frontiers of which province that general had so often been victorious. Prince Menzikoff was sent in haste with a numerous body of cavalry to second the few troops left in Poland, and to encourage the nobles who were in the interest of Augustus, to drive out his competitor, who was now considered as no better than a rebel, and to disperse a body of Swedes and troops that were still in that kingdom under the command of general Craffau.

PETER soon after sets out in person, marches through the province of Kiow, and the palatinates of Chelm and Upper Volhinia, and at length arrives at Lublin, where he concert's measures with the general of Lithuania. He then reviews the crown-troop, who all take the oath of allegiance to king Augustus; from thence he proceeds to Warsaw, and at Thorn enjoyed the most glorious of all triumphs *, that of receiving the thanks of a king, whom he had restored. Here it was that he concluded a treaty against Sweden †, with the kings of Denmark, Poland, and Prussia; in which it was resolved to recover from Charles all the conquests of Gustavus Adolphus. Peter revived the ancient pretensions of the Czars to Livonia, Ingria, Carelia, and part of Finland; Denmark laid claim

* Sept. 18. 1709.

† Oct. 7. 1709.

to Scania, and the king of Prussia to Pomerania.

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

So unexpected a revolution, with the subsequent treaties, made Stanislaus unable to make any further resistance, and therefore resolved on resigning the crown, if the republic required it.

PETER having concerted all the necessary measures with the king of Poland, and ratified the treaty with Denmark, posted away to finish his negotiation with the king of Prussia. It was not common for sovereign princes to perform the function of their own ambassadors. Peter was the first who introduced this custom, but few have followed his example. The elector of Brandenburg, the first king of Prussia, had a conference with the Czar at Marenverder, a small town situated in the western part of Pomerania, built by the old Teutonic knights, and included in the limits of Prussia, lately made a kingdom. This country was but poor, and of a small extent; but its new king, whenever he made a tour, displayed the utmost magnificence. He had received Czar Peter with great splendor at his first passing through his dominions, when that prince left his empire to improve himself among foreigners. But he received the conqueror of Charles XII. in a still more pompous manner. Pe-

ter for this time concluded only a defensive treaty with him *, which afterwards, however, completed the ruin of Sweden.

PETER lost no time, and having dispatched all his negotiations in a much shorter time than ambassadors commonly do, joins his army then before Riga, the capital of Livonia. He began by bombarding the place, and fired off the three first bombs himself †; then changed the siege into a blockade, and being well assured, that Riga could not hold out, he repaired to Petersburg, to view and forward the works carrying on there, the new buildings, and finishing of his fleet; and having laid the keel of a ship of fifty-four guns, with his own hands, he returned to Moscow ‡. Here he amused himself with assisting in the preparations for the triumphal entry, which he exhibited in that capital. He directed every thing relating to that festival, and was himself the principal contriver and manager.

THE year 1710 was begun with this solemnity, so necessary to his subjects, whom it inspired with notions of grandeur, and was highly delightful to every one who had been afraid of seeing the Swedes enter as conquerors, over whom they were now victorious. Seven magnificent arches were built, under which passed the artillery, standards, and colours of the enemy, with all the officers, generals, and ministers, who had been taken prisoners; all moved in procession on foot, amidst the ringing

* Oct. 20. 1709.

† Nov. 21.

‡ Dec. 3.

of bells, the found of trumpets, the discharge of an hundred pieces of cannon, and the acclamations of an innumerable concourse of people, whose voices rent the air. The procession was closed by the victorious army, with the generals at its head on horseback; and Peter, who marched in his rank of major general, brought up the rear. At each triumphal arch stood the deputies of the several orders of the state; and at the last was a chosen troop of young gentlemen, the sons of boyars, in Roman habits, who presented their victorious monarch with a laurel crown.

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

BUT the queen had it not in her power to ob-

lige him, because, by the laws of England, tradesmen were allowed to prosecute their debtors, and there was no law that exempted public ministers from such prosecution. The murder of Patkul the Czar's ambassador, who had been executed the year before by the orders of Charles XII. had emboldened the English to shew little regard to a character which had been so cruelly profaned. The other public ministers then residing at the court of London, were obliged to be bound for the Czar's ambassador; and at length, all the queen could do in his favour, was to prevail on her parliament to pass an act, by which no one for the future could arrest an ambassador for debt; but after the battle of Pultowa the English court thought proper to give more public satisfaction to the Czar.

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

THIS title had been already granted him in Hol-

† Feb. 16. 1710.

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

THE great reputation which he had acquired by his victory of Vultowa, was still further encreased by his manner of improving it. First, he laid siege to Elbing, a Hanse town of Regal Prussia in Poland, where the Swedes had still a garrison. The Russians mounted the walls, entered the town, and the garrison surrendered prisoners of war †. This was one of the best magazines belonging to Charles XII. The conquerors found therein one hundred and eighty three brass cannon, and one hundred and fifty-seven mortars. After the reduction of Elbing ‡, Peter immediately hastened from Moscow to Petersburg: no sooner was he arrived at this latter place than he took shipping under his new fortrefs of Cronstot, scours the coasts of Carelia, and notwithstanding a violent storm, arrives with his fleet safely before Wyburg, the capital of Carelia in Finland; while his land-forces advanced over the frozen morasses, and in a short time the capital of Livonia is closely blockaded §; and after a breach was made in the walls, Wyburg surrendered, and the garrison, consisting of four thousand men, capitulated, but did not receive the honours

† March 11. 1710.

‡ April 2.

§ June 23.

of war, being made prisoners notwithstanding the capitulation. Peter complained of the enemy for having made several infractions of this kind, and promised to set these troops at liberty, as soon as he should receive satisfaction from the Swedes. On this occasion the king of Sweden was to be consulted, who continued as inflexible as ever; and those soldiers, whom he might have set free, remained in captivity. Thus king William III. in 1695, arrested marshal Boufflers, notwithstanding the capitulation of Namur. There have been several instances of these violations of treaties; but it is to be wished there never had been any.

AFTER the taking of this capital, the blockade of Riga was changed into a regular siege, and pushed on with vigour. They were obliged to break the ice on the river Dwina, which waters the north of the city walls. An epidemical distemper, which had raged some time in those parts, now got among the soldiers, and carried off nine thousand; yet the siege was not in the least abated. The garrison at last capitulated, and were allowed the honours of war §, but it was agreed by the capitulation, that all the Livonian officers and soldiers should enlist into the Russian service, as natives of a country that had been dismembered from that empire, and usurped by the ancestors of Charles XII. But the Livonians were restored to the privileges, of which his father had stript them, and all the officers entered into the

§ July 15,

Czar's

Czar's service. This was the most noble vengeance that Peter was capable of taking for the murder of his ambassador Patkul, a Livonian, who had been put to death, for defending those privileges. The garrison consisted of five thousand men. A short time afterwards, the citadal of Dunamund was taken, and the besiegers found in the city and fort above eight hundred pieces of artillery.

PETER now wanted nothing to make himself entirely master of the province of Carelia, but the possession of the strong city of Kexholm, built on an island in the lake of Ladoga, and deemed impregnable; it was bombarded soon after, and surrendered in a short time*. The island of Oesel in the sea, bordering upon the north of Livonia, was subdued with the same rapidity †.

ON the side of Estonia, a province of Livonia, towards the north, and on the gulph of Finland, are the towns of Pernau and Revel: by the reduction of these Peter compleated the conquest of all Livonia. Pernau surrendered after a siege of a few days ‡, and Revel capitulated without waiting to have a single cannon fired against it §, but the besieged found means to elude the conqueror, at the very time they were surrendering themselves prisoners of war: for some Swedish ships having anchored in the road, under favour of the night, the garrison and most of the citizens embarked on board, and when the besiegers entered the town,

*Sept. 19. 1710. † Sept. 23. ‡ Aug. 25. § Sept. 10.

they

they were surpris'd to find it deserted. When Charles XII. gained the victory of Narva, little did he expect that his troops would one day be driven to use such stratagems.

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

THE subjects of the king of Sweden were still more unfortunate than that monarch himself. The contagious distemper, which had made such havock over Livonia, passed from thence into Sweden; where, in the city of Stockholm, it swept away thirty thousand persons; it likewise desolated the provinces already almost depopulated; for during the space of ten years successively, most of the able-bodied men had quitted their country to follow their master, and perished in foreign countries.

CHARLES's bad fortune pursued him also in Pomerania. His troops having come hither from Poland, to the number of eleven thousand; the Czar, the kings of Denmark and Prussia, the elector of Hanover, and the duke of Holstein, joined together to render this army useless, and to oblige general Craffau, who commanded it, to submit to a neutrality. The regency of Stockholm hearing no news of their king, and distressed by the mortality that raged in that city, were glad to sign this neutrality, which promised to deliver one of its pro-

vinces

vinces at least from the horrors of war. The emperor of Germany favoured this extraordinary convention, by which it was stipulated, that the Swedish army then in Pomerania should not march from thence to assist their monarch in any other part of the world; nay, it was furthermore resolved in the German empire, to raise an army to see this most extraordinary treaty executed. The reason of this was, that the emperor of Germany, who was then at war with France, was in hopes to engage the Swedish army to enter into his service. This whole negotiation was carried on while Peter was subduing Livonia, Estonia and Carelia.

CHARLES XII. who was all this time at Bender, putting every stratagem in execution to engage the divan to declare war against the Czar, received this news as one of the severest blows that could happen him; he could not bear that the senate of Stockholm should pretend to tie up the hands of his army; and it was on this occasion that he wrote them word, that he would send them one of his boots to govern them.

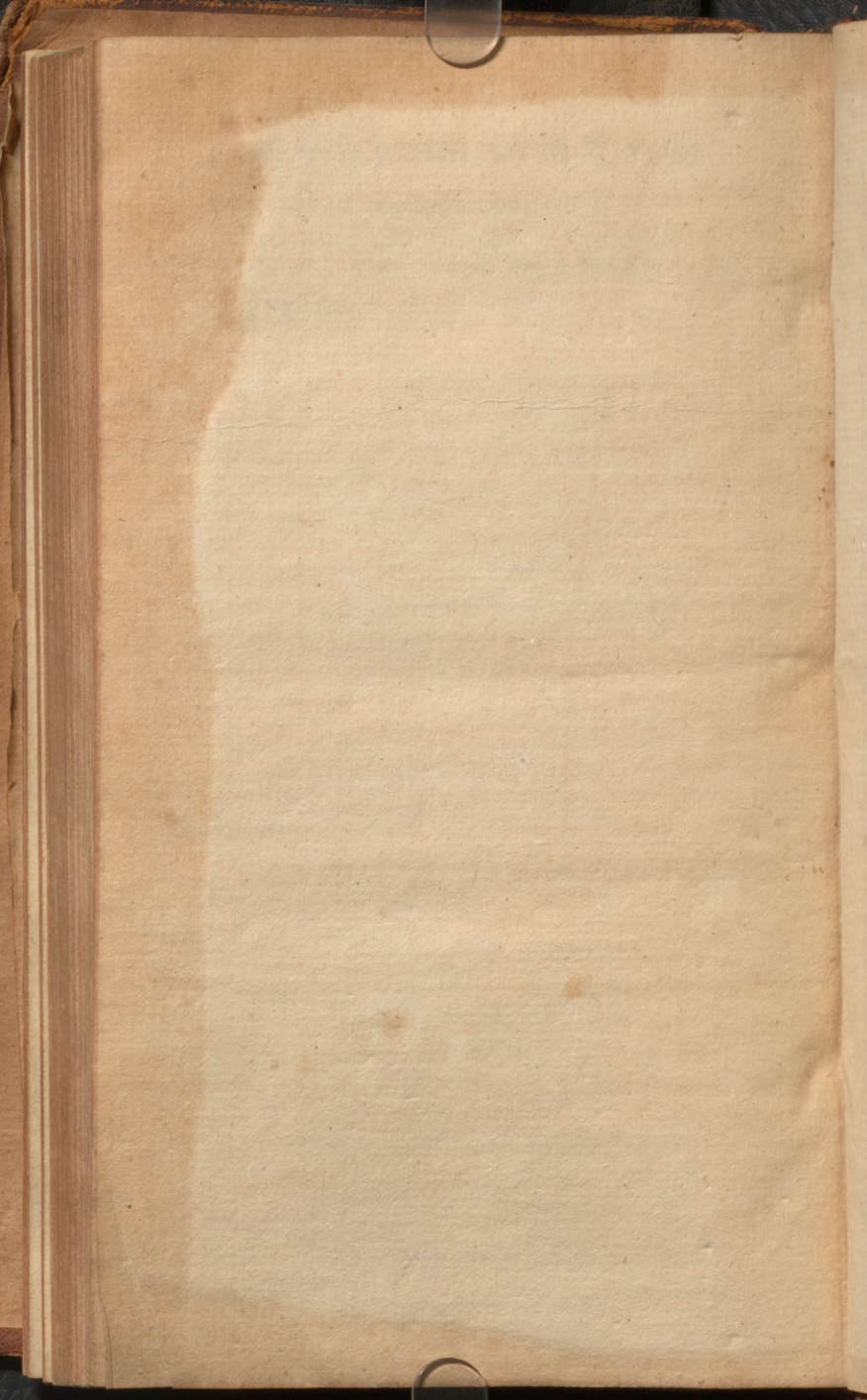
THE Danes were now making preparations to invade Sweden; so that every nation in Europe was engaged in war. Spain, Portugal, Italy, France, Germany, Holland, and England, were contending for the dominions left by Charles II. of Spain; and the whole north was up in arms against Charles XII. There wanted only a quarrel with the Ottoman empire, for every village in
Europe

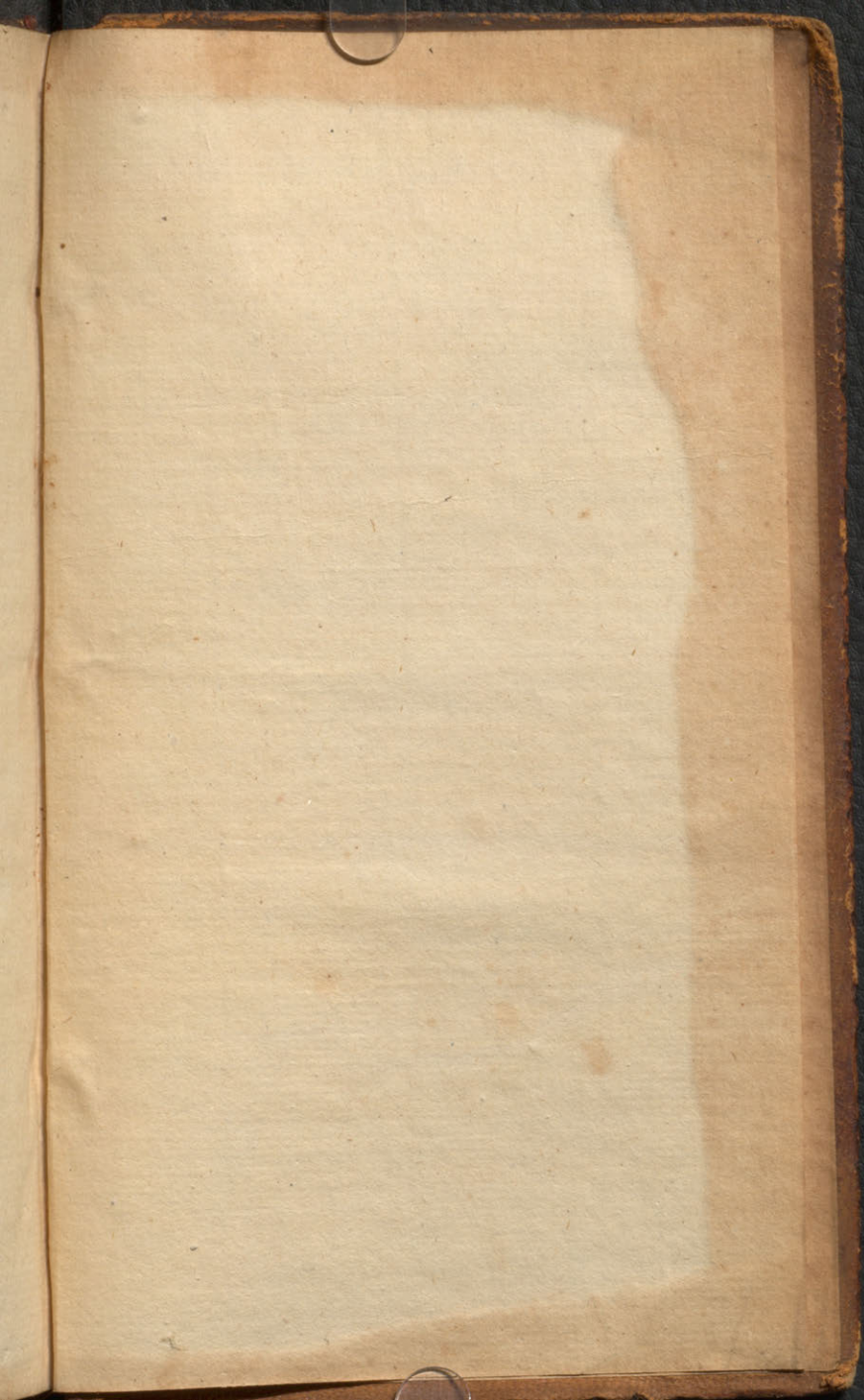
Europe to be exposed to the ravages of war. This quarrel happened through the jealousy of the Turks soon after, when Peter had got to the top of his glory.

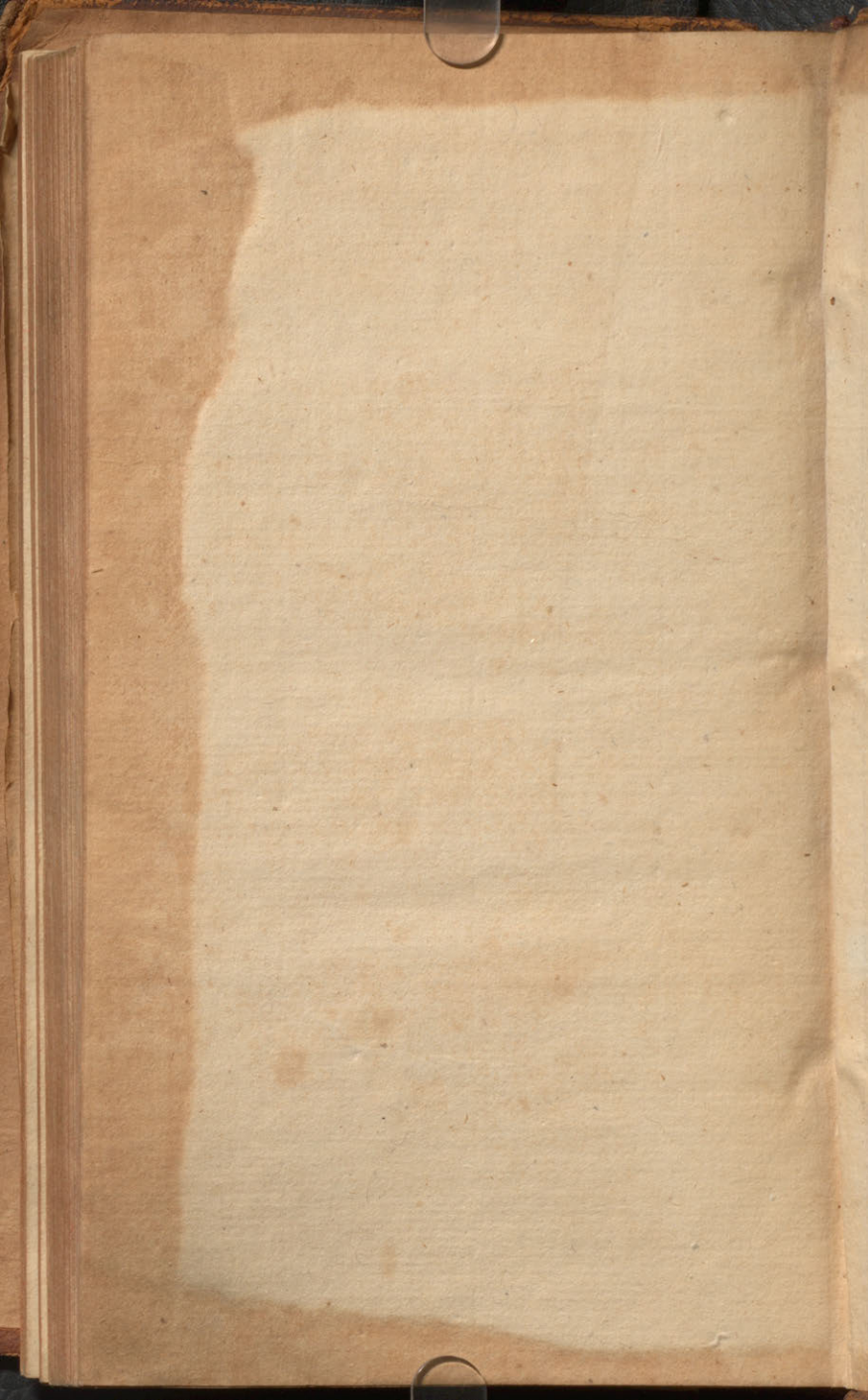
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