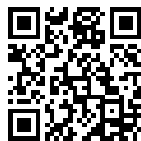

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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
JOHN SOBIESKI,
K I N G O F P O L A N D.

TRANSLATED
From the FRENCH of M. L'ABBÉ COYER.



L O N D O N :
Printed for A. MILLAR, in the Strand.
MDCCLXII.

ANNALS OF THE

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE



TO

His HIGHNESS

The PRINCE of BOUILLON.

DESCENDANT of a great King, you will find, in the History of his Life, a pattern of the virtues you aim at, and of which, at your age, it is sufficient, perhaps, to have only a faint idea. SOBIESKI was a Hero, before he was a King: and the heroism, to which he owed his elevation, must animate all who intend to do great things.

I am not ignorant, my Lord, that your own family can furnish you with models of every sort; and that the blood of the House of Lorrain, which flows also in your veins, was always fruit-

D E D I C A T I O N .

fruitful in Heroes. I would enumerate the Princes of Lorraine and Bouillon, who have been the admiration of Europe, if history, and public monuments did not proclaim their praise. Yet, without forgetting their glory, fix your attention upon that of Sobieski; and you will learn by what actions immortal fame is acquired among all nations. You will acquire it yourself by cultivating the qualities with which nature has endued your mind. To admire great men, and to study their characters, as you do, is beginning to imitate them.

I am, with great respect,

Your Highness's most humble

and most obedient servant,

C O Y E R .

P R E F A C E.

THE History of an hereditary and absolute King does not ordinarily interest our attention in so high a degree, as we naturally wish to have it interested in reading the actions of Governors of nations. To a King of this sort, whatever be his character, his people submit, as having by birth a right to command them; and they are not permitted to shew any marks of their discerning between good government and bad. If any convulsions happen, they are generally slight, and authority, in the end, subdues every thing. This monotony of passive obedience, which is beneficial under a good King, but ruinous under a bad one, fills the stage of history with cold, unanimated performers, who move and act under the direction of one principal actor; and this principal actor, being equally spiritless as he is void of fear, is himself incapable of interesting us in a lively manner.

But the case is not the same with an elective King, who is raised to the throne either by his virtues, or by force. If by the former, it makes a moving sight; if by the latter, he still engages our attention by surmounting
obstacles;

obstacles ; and when he is carried to the summit of power, he stands in perpetual need both of prudence and activity to keep his seat. *The King, the law, and the nation*, are three powers incessantly endeavouring to weigh down each other, and it is difficult to preserve the ballance between them. The nation, under the protection of the Law, thinks, speaks, and acts with a liberty becoming reasonable beings. The King, by either observing or violating the law, is approved or thwarted, obeyed or disobeyed, and has a peaceable or disturbed reign. Of this sort is the History I now write ; which presents us with a Polish Noble, the famous *Sobieski*, rising to the supreme power, and maintaining himself in it, in times of confusion and distress. We shall see him acting in the Army, the Senate, and the Diets ; and I shall describe him with that truth of narration, which it is in vain to look for in the history of an absolute Monarch, who governs in the dark, whereas the head of the republic of Poland acts always openly. So that an Historian, without being reduced to conjectures, and by this means imposing upon posterity after having first imposed upon himself, has nothing to do but to chuse good memorials ; and the two which I have principally followed, seem to be of this sort.

The military part is chiefly taken from the manuscript of a French Officer in the Polish service,

service, named *Dupont*, who being chief engineer of the artillery, and Captain of an independent company of two hundred dragoons, attended his Hero in his campaigns. He relates what he saw with his own eyes; and being neither a Pole by birth, nor a subject of the Prince whose actions he records, he was likely to be free both from national prejudices, and that blind adoration which persons frequently pay to the master under whom they were born.

The political part, I am indebted for to the familiar letters of *Andrew Chrysoptom Zaluski*, a Bishop, Senator, and Chancellor of *Poland*: three qualities which placed him in the very center of business. His letters were writ according as events happened, and intended to be seen neither by the public nor the Prince, but addressed to private friends; and friendship knows no language but that of unreserved frankness. They were put to the press long after the time of their being writ, when *Sobieski* was no more, and his family did not wear the Crown. I find in them neither beauty of sentiment, nor elegance of style, nor exactness of expression: all that I sought for was truth: and if, with this firm purpose, and such guides, I have nevertheless gone out of the way, we may tear all our Histories in pieces.

What remains to be observed, is, that before I exhibit Sobieski upon the stage of Poland, I have given a sketch of Poland itself. This labour might well be called superfluous, if that kingdom was as well known as Germany or the Low-Countries. But without such a short description, the generality of readers would have had a very imperfect idea of many facts recorded in the History of Sobieski, which relate to the soil, the manners, and the government of that country.

T H E

E R R A T A.

Page 19. Line 19. for *Palatins*, read *Palatinate*. P. 22. l. 3. for *shal*, read *shall*. P. 29. l. 5. for *diminishes*, read *dismisses*. P. 35. l. 23. for *Vizier*, read *Vizir*. P. 59. l. 17. for *thei rmanners*, read *their manners*. P. 89. l. 5. for *the*, read *foreign*. P. 90. l. 4. for *off*, read *of*. P. 111. l. 19. for *was*, read *is*. P. 141. l. 22. for *pointed*, read *and pointed*. P. 174. l. 2. for *forrests*, read *forests*. P. 182. l. 19. for *Mandroski*, read *Mondroski*. P. 196. l. 16. for *continued*, read *contained*. P. 198. l. 16. for *entertainmentt*, read *entertainment*. P. 215. l. 10. for *Gulga*, read *Galga*. P. 216. l. 6. for *th ediverfions*, read *the diversions*. P. 226. l. 26. for *but is*, read *but it is*. P. 248. l. 19. for *eight*, read *eighth*. P. 264. l. 34. for *created*, read *erected*. P. 298. l. 15. for *extensiv eas*, read *extensive as*. P. 332. Note 2. for *(a)* read *(b)*. P. 336. l. 1. for *deftested*, read *detested*. P. 363. l. 16. dele *be*. P. 390. l. 16. for *in*, read *an*. P. 412. l. 22. for *the Empire of Poland*, read *the Empire and Poland*. P. 427. l. 9. for *which much*, read *which was much*. P. 449. l. 9. for *Moldovia*, read *Moldavia*. P. 475. l. 12. for *wealtb*, read *benefits*. P. 484. l. 29. for *bens*, read *bens*. P. 489. l. 12. for *interest*, read *interests*.

THE
HISTORY
OF
JOHN SOBIESKI
KING OF POLAND.

BOOK I.

A General Sketch of POLAND.

BEFORE the sixth century after Christ, when the Poles were yet Sarmatians, they had no Kings, but lived without government in mountains and forests, having no habitations but waggons; always meditating some new invasion; bad troops for foot-service, but excellent cavalry (*a*). It is something surprising, that a barbarous people, without a leader, and without laws, should stretch their empire from the Tanais to the Vistula, and from the Euxine Sea to the Baltic (*b*): boundaries prodigiously distant from

(*a*) Tacit. Hist. lib. i. cap. 79.

(*b*) Pompon. Mela, de Situ Orbis, lib. i.

HISTORY of JOHN SOBIESKI

each other, and which they enlarged still further by the acquisition of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Lusatia, Misnia, Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and the Marches of Brandenburg. The Romans, to whom so large a part of the world submitted, never penetrated into Sarmatia.

This historical paradox shews what can be done by strength of body, a habit of living hardly, a natural love of liberty, and a savage instinct, which supplies the place of Kings and laws. The Sarmatians were called robbers by civilized nations, who forgot that they themselves had begun in the same manner.

The Poles, who took this name about the middle of the sixth century, are far from having preserved entire the inheritance left them by their ancestors. 'Tis a long time since they lost Silesia, Lusatia, great part of Pomerania, Bohemia, and all that they possessed in Germany; and they have since lost Livonia, and the vast plains of the Ukraine. Many a great empire has, in like manner, sunk under its own weight.

About the year 550, *Leck* formed a design of civilizing the Sarmatians, though he was but a Sarmatian himself. He begun with cutting down trees, and erecting himself a dwelling. Other huts were soon raised round this model; the nation, hitherto erratic, became fixed; and Gnesna, the first city of Poland, took the place of a forest (*a*). The Sarmatians seem scarce to have known what eagles were, since we are told, that from their finding several nests of these birds in the trees which were cut down upon this occasion, the eagle came to be painted upon the Polish standards. But these fierce birds make their airies only upon the tops of high rocks, and Gnesna is situated in a plain.

(*a*) Martin. Cromer. de Orig. Pol. lib. i. c. 14.

Leck soon drew the eyes of his equals upon him, and by displaying talents fit for government, as well as action, he became their master, with the title of Duke, when he might as easily have assumed that of King.

From the time of this leader, down to the present age, Poland has been successively governed by other Dukes, by Vaivods, now called Palatines, by Kings, Queens, and Queen-Regents, with the intervention of frequent interregna. These last have been little better than so many times of anarchy. The regents have always made themselves hated. The few Queens there have been, have scarce had time to shew themselves. The Vaivods have always been oppressors. Among the Dukes and Kings, there have been some great Princes; the rest have been mere warriors or tyrants. Such will always be the fate, in a great measure, of all the nations of the world; because it is not the laws, but men, that govern.

In this long series of ages, the Poles reckon four classes of sovereigns. The heads of the three first races, are *Leck*, *Piast*, and *Jagellon*; the fourth, which begins with *Henry of Valois*, forms a class by itself, because of the Crown's passing from one family to another, without fixing in any. There are many singularities in the succession of these four classes which are well worth being known.

In the year 750, the Poles had not yet examined the question, whether a woman might govern men. It had long before been decided in the East, that women were born to obey. *Venda* however reigned in Poland, and reigned with glory. The Polish historians (*a*) relate (but are we obliged to believe them?) that a German Prince named *Ritiger*, won

(a) Cromer. Dlugos. Hist. Pol. lib. i.

HISTORY of JOHN SOBIESKI

by the charms of this unfeeling beauty; demanded her for his wife at the head of an army; that she offered him battle; that the German troops refused to fight in a love quarrel; that Ritiger killed himself, and that Vanda threw herself into the Vistula, that she might no more disturb the peace of her subjects. Whatever becomes of the truth of this story, it is certain, that she would have done them greater service by continuing to govern them well.

From this time, the Salick law, or rather custom, of France, was adopted in Poland; for the two Queens that reigned there afterwards, Hedwigia in 1382, and Anne Jagellon in 1575, were advanced to the throne only by accepting the husbands which were appointed to support them in so exalted a station. Anne Jagellon was sixty years old when she was elected, but *Stephen Battori*, who married her to get the Crown, thought that a Queen was always young.

In former ages, other ways had been laid open to arrive at royalty. In 804, the Poles, being embarrassed about the choice of a Governor, offered their Crown as a prize to the best runner; a practice antiently known in Greece, and which did not appear to them more singular than to annex the Crown to birth. It was won by an obscure youth, who took the name of *Lesko II.* The annals of that age say, that he retained, under the royal purple, the modesty and gentleness of his former fortune, and was fierce and audacious only when he (*a*) took the field against the enemies of the State.

Almost all the Poles maintain that their Crown has always been elective; but they are little interested in the decision of this question, because they enjoy the thing contended for. If it was

(a) Kadlubek. Hist. Pol. lib. i. epist. 4.

to be decided, by a series of facts for six or seven centuries, it would be given against them, since it can be shewn, that, under the two first classes, the Crown constantly passed from fathers to children, except in cases of the entire extinction of the reigning family. If the Poles had at this time a power of chusing their Princes, would they have elected children, whose riper years might prove a curse as easily as a blessing to their subjects? It was much more natural to chuse persons of experienced wisdom from the body of the Palatines. Would they have gone and taken a monk out of a cloyster to set him upon the throne, merely because he was of the blood of *Piast*? And yet this was the case of *Casimir I.* the son of a detested father *Miecislaw II.* and of a mother still more execrable. Being left a widow, and Regent of the kingdom, she fled into France with her son. The Polish ambassadors, who came, five years after, to offer him the Crown, found him in the habit of a monk in the abbey of Clugny, where he had taken the vows, and was in deacon's orders (*a*). The ambassadors hesitated a little at this sight; they apprehended that his mind might be debased by lying in ashes, and wearing a hair-shirt; but reflecting that he was of the blood royal, and that any King was better than the interregnum which desolated the kingdom, they executed their commission. One obstacle was still in the way; *Casimir* was bound by his vows, and the holy orders he had taken; but Pope *Clement II.* removed this difficulty, and the monk became a King.

It was not till the end of the second class, (an æra which shall be taken notice of hereafter) that hereditary right was abolished to make way for election.

The form of government has also had its revolutions. In the time of *Leck* it was absolute, per-

(a) Dlugof. p. 208.

haps too much so ; but the nation afterwards felt its own strength, shook off the yoke of a single governor, and divided the authority between twelve *Vaivods* or Generals, with a view to weaken it. But these *Vaivods*, who were exalted upon the ruins of one throne, collected its shattered fragments, and formed them into twelve, which by their mutual collisions, shook the very foundations of the state. The whole was now a scene of rebellion, faction, oppression, and violence. The nation, amidst these dreadful agitations, regretted the government of a single person, without duly reflecting on what they had suffered by it : but the more prudent part sought after a man fit to govern a free people, and to restrain licentiousness without encroaching upon liberty. Such a one was at length found in the person of *Cracus*, who gave his name to the city of Cracow, which he founded in the beginning of the seventh century (*a*).

The extinction of his posterity after the first generation, put the sceptre again into the hands of the nation, who not knowing where to bestow it, had again recourse to the *Vaivods*, who had been so lately proscribed. These last completed the disorders introduced by the first, and the effect of this ill-formed aristocracy, was nothing but weakness and confusion. The Hungarians, who had long been under apprehensions from Poland, now resolved upon its destruction, and spread terror on all sides by a sudden invasion. The Poles assembled, but could come to no resolution. The chiefs of the nation were hated and despised, the soldiers had no confidence in them, and the people was plunged in despair. In the midst of this confusion, an obscure man, of no credit, conceived a thought for saving his country ; and drew the Hun-

(*a*) Dlugof's. Hist. Pol. lib. i. p. 50.

garians

garians into a narrow pass, where the greatest part of them was cut off. Przemislas (that was his name) became in one day the idol of his countrymen: and that wild people, which had as yet no idea of any other title to the Crown but virtue, placed it upon the head of their deliverer, who wore it with equal glory and success, by the name of *Lesko I.* (a). VIII. C.

This restoration of absolute power did not last long without a fresh concussion. *Popiel II.* the fourth Duke from Przemislas, deservedly drew upon himself, by his crimes, the scandal of being the last Prince of his family. He abandoned himself, without the least remorse, to a life of sloth, to the most brutal debauchery, to treachery, cruelty, and poisoning; and his wife was still more detestable than himself (b).

This Prince leaving no children, an interregnum, or rather the most ruinous anarchy, succeeded. The bastards of the Ducal family on one side, and the twelve Palatines on the other, were employed in rending out of each other's hands the reins of government (c); and these two principal factions engendered a hundred more. Every individual flew to arms, and right was made to consist in force only, courage in brutal fury, and safety in murder; till the nation, weary of tearing itself in pieces, (a thing which it had not done in a more uncivilized state) saw the necessity of taking speedy refuge under the government of a single person. The candidates met at Cruswick, a village in Cujavia; where an inhabitant of that country received them in his rustic cott, entertained them with a frugal repast, and displayed a sound judgment, an honest and humane heart, abilities superior to his condi-

(a) Dlugos. Hist. Pol. lib. i. p. 61.

(b) Cromer. p. 38.

(c) Id. lib. ii. p. 39.

IX. cen-
tury.

tion, a resolute mind, and a love for his country, which these madmen did not feel in their own breasts. Ambitious men, who themselves despair of governing, chuse rather to submit to a third person, who has not entered into the competition, than to obey a rival. In the present case, they determined in favour of virtue; and by this means, repaired in some measure, the mischiefs they had occasioned by their contests for the throne. *Piaſt* therefore was chosen King. The Polish historians will have it, that two angels were concerned in this event, though Poland had not at that time embraced Christianity. What they relate of the good government of *Piaſt*, is supported by better proofs.

X. cen-
tury.

The Princes of his family, who succeeded one another, continually encreased their authority, which even seemed to be more absolute than ever under *Boleslas I.* Till his time, the sovereigns of Poland had only the title of Duke. Two powers, the Emperor and the Pope, were then contending for the right of making Kings. If either of them had such a privilege, the Emperor's claim seems the fairest. The diploma of royalty was usually purchased of him; and this custom has subsisted a long time, as a sort of homage paid to the ancient grandeur of the Roman Empire. But if we consider that nations are independent of each other, they themselves only have a right to give titles to their chiefs. The Pope miscarried in his pretensions; and it was the Emperor *Otho III.* who, respecting the virtues of *Boleslas*, invested him with the regal dignity, in his passage through Poland (*a*). One would scarce imagine, that, with this instrument of despotism, the first King of Poland laid the foundations of a republic. This hero, after having penetrated into

(*a*) *Cromer.* p. 53.

the

the heart of the empire, and extended his conquests as far as the confluence of the Elbe and the Sala, where he erected three columns as monuments of his glory, after having twice subdued Russia, begun at last to think seriously; and considering on one side, that his enemies were subdued, and on the other, his subjects exhausted and ruined, and their wounds still bleeding, had the humanity to weep over his victories. Hitherto he had reigned without a council; but he now created one, consisting of twelve persons of distinguished merit (a).

The nation, which had hitherto obeyed implicitly, now turning its eyes towards liberty, discovered with pleasure the first image of it; for this council might in time become a senate. We have seen, that the Poles had long ago abolished monarchy to make way for twelve *Vaivods*; and this transient idea of a republic had never been entirely effaced. Though the Polish Kings, after the restoration of the old constitution, had regularly succeeded one another by hereditary right, yet there still remained a persuasion, that there were circumstances in which the nation might resume the crown: and it exerted this right by deposing *Miecislav III.* XII. century. a cruel, knavish, avaricious Prince, and an inventor of new impositions upon the people. Instances of this sort were repeated more than once. *Uladislas* XIII. century. *Laskonogi*, and *Uladislas Loketek*, were forced to quit the throne; and *Casimir IV.* would have had the same fate, if he had not thought proper to change his conduct upon the remonstrances of his subjects.

It must be owned, however, to the honour of the Poles, that they have scarce ever attempted to depose any of their kings, but such as were incapable of wearing the crown, or wore it only to oppress their subjects; and that to deliver themselves

(a) Cromer. p. 64.

they

HISTORY of JOHN SOBIESKI

they have never shed any royal blood, not even that of Boleslas II. This tyrant, after the taking of Kiowia (*a*), situated upon the western bank of the Borysthenes, forgot his labours and his glory in the arms of the Russian women, and the army followed his example. As soon as the news reached Poland, the Polish women, who had not seen their husbands for eight years, married their slaves. The husbands, upon this intelligence, without asking leave to be absent, (for they did not hope to obtain it) returned home. The slaves had recourse to flight, and the women to tears. The husbands forgave the fault, because there was a necessity either of punishing, or of forgiving them all. The King did not shew the same indulgence, but provoked by the desertion of his army, and forced to return to his dominions sooner than he intended, he returned with a rod of iron. He forced from the women the wretched produce of their prostitution, in order to be exposed in the fields; and by a ridiculous abuse of the sovereign power, forbade them to appear any where without a dog hanging at their breasts (*b*). After this, he let loose his vengeance upon the husbands, who had left their colours; confiscated the goods of the richer sort, and put the rest to death in frightful dungeons, or by ignominious public executions: he even abandoned himself to the most extravagant debauchery, forgetting that it was the crime he punished; and filled up the measure of his iniquities by assassinating with his own hand Stanislas, bishop of Cracow, at the altar. At last,

(*a*) This city, which belongs once more to the Muscovites, was at that time very populous and flourishing; but is now poor, and scarce contains between five and six thousand inhabitants. Whenever a Prince discovers such alterations for the worse in his dominions, he ought to enquire into their causes, and prevent the same ruin from extending, as it may easily do, to other cities.

(*b*) Pastor ab Hirtemberg, p. 43.

the

the patience of his subjects was exhausted, but they contented themselves with banishing him.

A nation which has proceeded so far as to depose its kings, has nothing to do but to chuse its materials for erecting the edifice of liberty, and time will do the rest. The present conjuncture was favourable enough for such an undertaking, there being scarce any absolute sovereigns in Europe. The nobles in France, England, Sweden, Denmark, Italy, and Sicily, confined the authority of their princes within very narrow limits. The Spaniards have not to this day forgot the ancient form of inaugurating their kings. "We, who are as good as you, make you our King, upon condition that you will observe our laws; otherwise, not." The Poles too had laid some restraints upon the regal power; but this power being always ready to overleap its bounds, they still thought it too extensive; for their kings made war and peace at their own pleasure.

In the fourteenth century, Casimir the Great, being impatient to put an end to a long war, made a treaty of peace, which the enemy required to be ratified by all the estates of the realm. Being assembled for this purpose, they refused their concurrence; and from this time were convinced, that it was not impossible to establish a republic, and at the same time keep a king (a).

The foundations of this constitution were laid even before the death of Casimir, who having no son, proposed his nephew, Lewis, King of Hungary, for his successor. The Poles gave their consent, but it was upon such conditions as laid heavy fetters upon absolute power. They had attempted more than once to lessen it by rebellion, but they now attacked it by treaty. Their new ruler ex-

(a) Duglofs. p. 1038.

empted them from all contributions, and gave up an established custom, by which the nation defrayed the charges of the court in all journies. He engaged also to repay his subjects all the expences he was forced to be at, and even all the damages they should sustain in any war which he undertook against the neighbouring powers (*a*). No conditions are thought burdensome, when a crown is to be obtained.

XIV. cen-
tury.

Upon these terms, Lewis gained his point; and his subjects farther obtained, that public offices and employments should be given for life; that all strangers should be excluded from them; and that the government of forts and castles should be no longer conferred upon such nobles as were superior to the rest of that body, and had too much influence in the kingdom by means of their birth (*b*). Lewis, who possessed two kingdoms, chose rather to reside in Hungary, where he commanded with absolute sway, than in Poland, where his subjects were employed in making laws; and sent the Duke of Opelen thither to govern in his name. The Poles resented this appointment of a foreign governor as an affront to their nation, which implied that it had no statesmen of its own; and the storm was increasing every moment, when the King thought fit to dissipate it, by recalling the Duke, and substituting in his room, with very extensive powers, three Polish nobles, who were greatly in favour with the people (*c*). The new regents made their court to the multitude by a soft and insinuating behaviour, and talked much of laws and liberty, and the necessity of a counterbalance to the sovereign power. Lewis died without being much regretted, though he really deserved to be so; and his death, which gave new vigour to the republican government,

(*a*) Dluglofs. p. 1102.

(*b*) Sarnic. p. 1149.

(*c*) Dluglofs. p. 49.

opened

opened also a prospect of farther acquisitions. In the latter part of his life, when he had no hopes of begetting an heir to the throne, he pitched upon his son-in-law Sigismund to succeed him, with the approbation of the Poles, which he purchased by ceding to them fresh Privileges (a).

But the Poles were not contented with having in some measure disposed of the Crown, by their consent's being asked; they were resolved to strike a decisive blow, by abolishing the succession. If either of Lewis's two daughters had a right to the Crown, it was undoubtedly his eldest, the Princess Mary, wife to Sigismund; they therefore rejected both her and her husband, and gave the Crown to *Hedwigia*, the youngest; upon condition that she would take no husband but of their appointing.

Among the competitors that appeared on this occasion, *Jagellon* displayed the lustre of the Crown of Lithuania, which he promised to incorporate with that of Poland. This offer was certainly considerable; but it would have been nothing, if he had not subscribed to the republican form of government. Upon this condition he married *Hedwigia*, and was declared King.

A republic was now established, composed of three estates; the King, the Senate, and the Equestrian order. The King's portion was majesty; power fell to the senate, and liberty was the share of the Equestrian order; an order including all the rest of the nobility, and which soon set up tribunes, by the name of *Deputies*. These deputies represent the whole Equestrian order in the general assemblies of the nation, called *diets*, and put a stop to all proceedings there, whenever they please, by their right of *Veto*. The commonwealth of Rome had no King, but the *Plebeians* were reckoned as one of its

(a) Orichov. Annal. p. 6.

three orders : they had a share of the sovereign power in common with the senate and the knights, and there never was a greater or more virtuous people. Their consuls at home, and their ambassadors abroad, talked in a strain of assurance of the *majesty of the Roman people*. Poland, actuated by different principles, has placed its people upon a level with the cattle that till the ground. The senate, which holds the balance between the King and liberty, can look without emotion upon the slavery of five or six millions of men, who were much happier of old when they were Sarmatians.

It was in this same century, that four peasants, *Meletald, Stauffacher, Waltberfurst, and William Tell*, delivered their country from the yoke of the house of Austria ; but among the Swiss, every individual was free, and had a share in making laws ; and it is certainly good policy to interest all the members of the community in the promotion of the public good.

While the commonwealth of Poland was yet in its infancy, Jagellon seemed to forget upon what conditions he reigned. An edict issued by the King was found contrary to the oath he had taken, and the new republicans hewed it in pieces with their sabres before his face (*a*).

Before the revolution, the Kings of Poland determined concerning peace and war, made laws, changed established customs, repealed old constitutions, and disposed of the public treasure ; but all these privileges were now transferred to the nobility, and the Kings were forced to learn the art of bearing contradiction. . . But the reign of Sigismund Augustus, was the æra when the republican pride displayed itself in the haughtiest manner.

XVI. century.

(a) Okolski, tom. 1. p. 349.

This

This Prince, consulting rather his own inclinations, than the interests of Poland, had married, without the consent of the senate, a young widow, daughter of George Radziwil, Castellan of Wilna. This step occasioned universal discontent, which shewed itself on several occasions, but more particularly in a diet held at Petrikow, where the King was present. The Equestrian order, the Senators, all cried out, " That the King was the man of the nation, and ought not to marry but for the nation's interest. What are the advantages, added they, which we can promise ourselves from this union? If we permit it, we shall perhaps see our Kings, guided only by blind passion, ally themselves to families unworthy of the throne, or pernicious to our happiness (a)."

The whole diet was for having the King himself lend a hand to break the connexion which he had formed; but his inclination, and his judgment equally opposed this measure, and he stood up in his turn to justify what he had done. This brought on several warm replies, which the King, no longer able to contain his indignation, roughly interrupted by commanding submission and silence. A short silence ensued, because the first prerogative of regal dignity is to impress awe and reverence. While they were looking at each other, the youngest Senator in the assembly, *Rapbael Leszczinski*, a name respectable in Poland, Lorrain, and France, a family which has produced more than one great soul, Leszczinski arose, and addressing himself to the King, asked him, " If he had forgot who they were that he presumed to give commands to: we are Poles, added he, and you must be told, if you know it not already, that the Poles pride themselves as much upon humbling the haughtiness of Kings

(a) Stanisl. Orichov. p. 1486.

" who

“ who despise the laws, as upon honouring those
 “ that respect them. Beware of setting us free
 “ from our oaths, by violating your own. The
 “ King, your father, listened to our counsels ;
 “ and it is our business to take care that you shall,
 “ for the future, be guided by the sentiments of
 “ a republic, of which you seem not to know that
 “ you are only the first citizen (a).”

This speech, and the rest, which are recorded in the sequel of this History, are not mere ornaments invented to embellish the narration. If a writer should give us the opinions of Ministers, as delivered in the inaccessible cabinets of absolute Monarchs, we should have a right to ask him, how he got at them ? And the more there was in them of that nervous eloquence, which is the child of liberty alone, the greater reason there would be to question their authenticity. But in a republican council, every thing is spoke in the presence of the whole nation, and even under its protection ; and pieces of spirit are generally preserved.

Y. 1573. Sigismund Augustus dying without children, the Poles took this opportunity of guarding their liberty with new bulwarks. They examined into their old laws, limited many, extended some, and abolished others ; and after many debates, it was agreed that the Kings elected by the nation should make no attempts to get their successors appointed ; that they should not so much as propose any one to the State for this purpose, and consequently should never assume the title of *beirs of the kingdom* ; that they should always have about them sixteen persons by way of council, without whose concurrence they should neither receive foreign ministers, nor send any to other Princes ; that they should not levy new troops, nor order the nobility on horse-

(a) Stanisl. Orichov. p. 1492.

back without the consent of all the Orders of the Republic; that they should admit no foreigners into the Council of the Nation, nor confer upon them any office, dignity, or *starosty*; and lastly, that they should not marry, without having first obtained the permission of the Senate and equestrian order (a).

The whole interregnum was spent in contriving how to guard against what was called *the encroachments of the Throne*; it is not a Master, said they, that we want; 'tis only a Chief. All the expressions which were anciently made use of to describe the regal power, such as, *the will of the King constitutes the Law, the King must be obeyed implicitly like God, King by the Grace of God*, and others of this kind, were exterminated out of the public language: there were some who went still farther, and asserted that a free People wanted no King at all.

This Republican language became henceforward the prevailing stile in all Assemblies of State. Henry of Valois was shocked at it upon his arrival in Poland, and at his coronation. The Protestant religion had got footing in the kingdom under Sigismund I. and its progress increased in proportion to the violence that was exercised against it. When Henry arrived at Cracow, it was known that his brother, Charles IX. had massacred one part of his subjects, in order to convert the other: and it was feared that a Prince, who had been educated in a bigotted and persecuting court, would import that spirit with him. It was resolved therefore to oblige him to swear to certain articles which he had already sworn to in France before the Ambassadors of the Republic, particularly the article of toleration which he had sworn to in very vague and equivocal terms. There were two parties formed upon

(a) And. Max. Fredro. pag. 81.

this occasion, the most numerous of which looked upon the second oath that was required of him as superfluous. Every thing was ready for the coronation, and the Primate was going to begin the ceremony, when the Palatine of Cracow put a stop to all proceedings by the following discourse, addressed to his own Faction. “ Vain then, it seems, “ is the opinion with which you and I have flattered ourselves, of our being hitherto a free people. “ Our privileges are openly made a sport of; and “ almost all our citizens condemn themselves to “ eternal slavery, by their infamous and traitorous “ silence. Let them, if they like it, stoop under “ the yoke of servitude, unworthy as they are to “ enjoy liberty. But let us, my brethren, who “ have both our laws and religion to defend, shew “ by our resolution, or by our death, in what manner tyranny is to be opposed. You undoubtedly “ recollect, continued he, the unanimous resolutions of the whole nation, and the equitable “ conditions it was thought proper to insist on. “ And can you think that they ought to be forgot “ by us, because the King disclaims and rejects “ them? What a disgrace and scandal will it be to “ us, if we delay any longer to make him perform “ his promises? As for myself, added he, I will “ suffer it to be deferred no longer. He shall immediately accept the terms he has acceded to, “ and swear once more to observe them; or from “ this instant, I protest against his coronation (a).” Had it not been for the eloquent *Pibrac*, it is uncertain whether his Coronation would have taken place or not; it was however performed, without his repeating the oath; but a few months after, *Offolinski*, Castellan of *Sendomir*, was deputed, with five others, to notify to Henry his approach-

(a) History of the Diets of Poland, pag. 51.

ing deposition, if he did not more punctually discharge the duties of the Throne (a). Soon after, his precipitate flight put an end to the complaints of the nation and to his reign together.

To these spirited attacks, made at different times, it is owing that Poland has retained royalty without fearing its Kings. A King of Poland, at his very Coronation, and when he swears to the *Pacta Conventa*, absolves his subjects from their oath of allegiance, in case he violates the laws of the Republic.

The legislative power belongs essentially to the Diet, which the King is obliged to call together every two years, and in case of his failure, the Republic has a right to assemble by its own authority: a regulation wisely contrived, and which might perhaps be advantageously adopted by the great Republic of Christendom. The little Diets or Dietines of every Palatine precede the great one; and in these they prepare the matters that are to be discussed in the General Assembly, and elect the Representatives of the Equestrian order, out of which is composed the Chamber of Deputies. The persons of these Deputies or Tribunes is so facted, that in the reign of Augustus II. a Saxon colonel having given one of them a slight wound in revenge for an insult that he had received from him, was condemned to death and executed, notwithstanding all the protection the King could give him. The only favour he could obtain was to be shot to death, instead of dying by the hands of an executioner.

The old castle of Warsaw, in which the Kings of Poland formerly resided, is the place where the Diet meets. In order to form an idea of the senate, which is the soul of this body, we must cast

(a) Reinh. Heidenst. p. 67.

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our eyes upon the Bishops, Palatines, and Castellans. The two latter of these dignities are less known than the former. A Palatine is the chief of the Nobility within his own Palatinate; presides at all their assemblies, leads them to the field of election when a King is to be chose, and to the field of battle, when the *Pospolite* or *Arriere-Ban* (a) is assembled. He has also a right to fix the price of commodities, and to regulate weights and measures: in short, he is a governor of a Province. A *Castellan* enjoys the same privileges within his own district, which always makes part of a Palatinate; he represents the Palatine in his absence. The Castellans were formerly governors of the strong castles and royal cities; but these governments are now in the hands of the *Starosts*, who also administer justice either in their own Persons, or by their deputies. One admirable institution is a register lodged in the hands of the *Starosts*, containing an account of all the estates in the district, whether free or mortgaged; and by this means, a purchaser is sure of having a good title.

The *Starost* of Samogitia is the only one who has a seat in the Senate; but there are in it two Archbishops, fifteen Bishops, thirty three Palatines, and eighty five Castellans, in all a hundred and thirty six.

The ministers of state have a seat in the Senate, without being Senators: they are in number ten, two of each denomination, by reason of the union of the two States.

The Grand-marshal of the Crown.

The Grand-marshal of Lithuania.

(a) *Arriere Ban*, in the French customs, is a general proclamation, whereby the King summons to the war all that hold of him; both his Vassals, i. e. the Noblesse, and the Vassals of his Vassals. *Chambers's Diction.*

It signifies also the persons thus assembled.

The

KING of POLAND.

The Grand-chancellor of the Crown.

The Grand-chancellor of Lithuania.

The Vice-chancellor of the Crown.

The Vice-chancellor of Lithuania.

The Grand-treasurer of the Crown.

The Grand-treasurer of Lithuania.

The Marshal of the Court of Poland.

The Marshal of the Court of Lithuania.

The Grand-marshal is the third person in the Kingdom, having only the King and the Primate above him. As master of the Palace, he appoints ambassadors their days of audience; and exercises an almost absolute authority in the Court, and for three leagues round it. He provides for the safety of the King's person, and the preservation of the public peace: he takes cognizance of all crimes within his District, and judges without appeal, nor can his sentences be reversed but by the whole body of the Nation. 'Tis also his business to assemble the Senate, and to keep in order those who would disturb it; for which purposes he has always a body of troops at his command.

The Marshal of the Court can exercise no jurisdiction but in the absence of the Grand-marshal.

The Grand-chancellor is keeper of the Great Seal, as the Vice-chancellor is of the Privy Seal. One of them is always a Bishop, with a jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters; and all answers given in the King's name upon public occasions, must be given by one of these two officers, either in Polish or Latin, as the occasion requires. It is something singular, that the language of the Romans, who never got footing in Poland, should at this time be so commonly spoke in that kingdom; for every one, down to the very servants, speaks Latin.

The Grand-treasurer is entrusted with the revenues of the Republic: the Poles being very careful not to leave this money, which was called by the Romans

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Treasure of the People, *Ærarium Populi*, at the disposal of the King. A vote of the whole Nation, or at least a *Senatus-consultum*, directs how it shall be employed; and the Grand-treasurer is accountable to the Nation only.

There is very little resemblance between these ministers and those of other courts. They are appointed indeed by the King, but the Republic only can turn them out. Nevertheless, as they are connected with the Crown, which is the source of all favours, and as they are men, the Republic has not thought fit to allow them a deliberative vote in the Senate.

The title given to the Senators is that of *Excellence*; they claim also that of *my Lord*; and it is given them by their servants, their slaves, and the poor nobility.

The first man in the Senate is the Arch-bishop of Gnesna, who is also called the Great Arch-bishop, but more commonly the Primate. This dignity was formerly accompanied with great power, and great abuses of power, all over Europe. It was a Primate of Sweden, the Arch-bishop of Upsal, who caused the whole Senate of Stockholm to be massacred at an entertainment, upon a pretence that they were excommunicated by the Pope; which made the Swedes resolve to have nothing more to do with either Primate or Pope. It was a Primate of England, Arch-bishop Cranmer, who by annulling the marriage between Henry VIII. and Catharine of Arragon, broke off, in concert with his master, all connections between Rome and England. One of the greatest obstacles that the Czar Peter had to encounter in the execution of his great designs, was the enormous power of the Patriarch or Primate; he therefore abolished the office. In France, this dignity is divided among several persons, who are always contesting it with one another, and therefore

fore its power is diminished. In Poland it subsists to this hour in all its strength.

The Primate, by virtue of his office, is Legate of the Holy See, and censor of the Kings of Poland: he is himself in some measure a King in every vacancy of the Throne, during which he takes the name of *Interrex*: and the honours he receives are proportioned to the dignity of his station. Whenever he goes to the King, he is escorted thither with great ceremony, and the King advances to receive him. He has a Marshal and a Chancellor, like the King, a numerous guard of horse, with a kettle-drummer and trumpeters, who play while he is at table, and sound the morning and evening march in his palace. He has the titles of *Highbness* and *Prince*; but among all the great privileges of his office, the most useful to the state is the Censorship, which he never exercises but with applause. If the King governs ill, the Primate has a right to make all proper remonstrances to him in private. If the King persists in his bad measures, 'tis in full senate or in the diet that the Primate arms himself with all the power of the laws to reclaim him; and the mischief is generally put a stop to. But if the King should prove more powerful than the laws (a thing which is extremely difficult in Poland) the thread of oppression is infallibly broke at his death, without passing into the hands of his successor; for an interregnum always takes care to cut it.

When the Diet is not sitting, the springs of government are kept in motion by the Senate, under the inspection of the King; but the King can neither by authority nor violence over-rule their suffrages. The liberty they possess is visible even in their outward forms; for the Senators are seated in arm-chairs, and as soon as the King is covered, they follow his example. However, the decrees of the

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Senate, when the Diet is not sitting, are only provisional: but when the Diet is assembled, the Senate, together with the King and the Chamber of Deputies, has a legislative power.

This Chamber of Deputies would exactly resemble the House of Commons in England, if, instead of representing the nobility, it represented the body of the people. At its head is placed an officer of great weight, but whose post is only temporary. He has commonly great influence in the resolutions of the house; which it is his business to carry up to the Senate, and bring back those of the Senators. He is called *Marshal of the Diet*, or *Marshal of the Deputies*. His importance at Warlaw is greater than that of the speaker of the House of Commons at London, and equal to that of a Tribune of the people at Rome; and as a Patrician at Rome could not be a Tribune, so this Tribune of the Tribunes must be chose out of the Equestrian order, and not out of the Senate.

When the Diet is assembled, all the doors are left open to every one, because it meets to deliberate upon the public good. Persons, who go there out of mere curiosity, are struck with the grandeur of the spectacle. The King seated on an elevated throne, the steps of which are decorated with the great officers of the crown: the Primate almost vying in magnificence with the King: the Senators forming two venerable rows; the Ministers of State over against the King: the Deputies, more numerous than the Senators, disposed round about them, and all standing: the foreign Ambassadors and the Pope's Nuncio have also a place allotted them, but the Diet may make them retire, whenever it thinks proper.

The first thing done in a diet, is always to read the *Pacta Conventa*, containing the obligations which the King has entered into with his people; and if he
has

has failed in any particular, every member of the assembly has a right to insist upon its being better observed for the future.

In the other sittings, which are of six weeks continuance, the usual duration of a diet, are settled all the concerns of the nation; such as, the nomination to vacant dignities, the disposal of the crown lands to such as have served long in the army with distinction, the passing the grand-treasurer's accounts, the diminution or augmentation of taxes as circumstances require, the negotiations with which the ambassadors of the republic have been entrusted, and the manner in which they have executed their commissions; the alliances to be formed or broke, the making of peace and war, the abrogating or passing laws, the strengthening of public liberty, and, in short, every thing that concerns the nation.

The last five days, called the *great days*, are set apart for uniting all the votes. Every decree, to have the force of a law, must be ratified by the unanimous consent of all the three orders; the opposition of a single deputy undoes every thing.

This privilege of the deputies is a striking instance of the revolutions of the human mind. There was no such privilege existing in the year 1652, when *Sicinki*, deputy of Upita, first made use of it. His claim was universally opposed, say the historians of that time; he was loaded with curses, and escaped the fables of his countrymen, to die, as the report goes, by a flash of lightning that same year. At present, this very privilege is considered as the most sacred institution in the commonwealth; and a sure way of being torn in pieces would be to propose its abolition.

There is no possibility of denying, that, if it sometimes does good, it does upon the whole much more mischief. A single deputy may not only annul a good decree, but if he has a quarrel with all, he
has

has nothing to do but to make a protest and leave the assembly, and the diet is instantly dissolved. It sometimes happens, that they do not wait till a diet is formed, before they meditate it's dissolution. The most frivolous pretence becomes frequently a formidable weapon. In 1752, the deputies of the Palatinate of Kiovia, were ordered by their constituents to require of the King, above all things, the extirpation of the *free-masons*, a society which terrifies none but credulous persons, and had done nothing to distinguish themselves in Poland.

The remedy against these dissolutions of the diet is a confederacy, in which matters are decided by a majority of votes, without paying any regard to the protests of the deputies; and one confederacy is frequently formed against another. The acts of these confederacies must afterwards be ratified or annulled by a general diet. All this must needs occasion great convulsions in the state, especially if the army comes to meddle in the dispute.

The affairs of private persons are decided in a much better manner. A majority of voices always determines the cause, but there are no fixed judges. The nobility appoints annually a certain number to form two tribunals, one at Petrikow, the other at Lublin, the former for *Great*, the latter for *Little Poland*. The great duchy of Lithuania has also its own tribunal. Justice is administered in a summary manner, as it is in Asia. No such thing as attornies, or forms of law, only a few advocates, called *jurists*; or the parties may plead their own cause. What is still better, justice is administered without any expence, and consequently the poor can obtain it. These courts are supreme in the proper sense; for the King can neither prevent their trying a cause by taking the cognizance of it out of their hands, nor reverse their sentences.

All

All crimes of treason, or of state, are judged in full diet, where the maxim, that the *church abhors blood*, does not affect the Polish bishops. By a Bull of Clement VIII. they are permitted to advise war, to give their vote for capital punishments, and to sign warrants of execution.

Another thing which is seen no where else, is, that the same men, who deliberate in the senate, make laws in the diet, and try causes upon the bench, act also as officers in the army. We may see by this, that in Poland the long robe and the sword are not considered as incompatible professions.

The nobility, having seized the reins of government, and all the honours and emoluments of the state, have thought themselves obliged to defend it too, and to leave all the rest of the nation to cultivate the lands. Poland is at present the only country in the world, whose whole cavalry is made up of gentlemen, of which the grand dutchy of Lithuania furnishes a fourth part; and in this cavalry consists the chief strength of the state, for the infantry is scarce reckoned as any thing. It is divided into *hussars* and *pancernes*, both included under the general name of *towarisz*, which signifies *comrades*, an appellation always given them by the generals, and even by the King himself. A single word often produces great effects.

The hussars are composed of the flower of the nobility, who are obliged to pass through this service in their way to employments and dignities. All Europe cannot produce a body of horse equal to this in beauty. The Poles are naturally large and well made. Let any one then form an idea of a horseman of advantageous stature, covered with an embellished cuirass, a helmet on his head, a panther's skin with the muzzle fastened upon the fore part of the left shoulder, and coming round behind to the right thigh, a gilded lance fourteen or fifteen feet long,

long, with a streamer hanging at its point to frighten the enemy's horse; a pair of pistols and two sabres, one at his side, and the other under his right thigh, fastened along the saddle. Armed in this manner, he is mounted upon a fine horse, the furniture of which is ornamented with plates of enamelled gold, and frequently with jewels. One of them was once presented to Lewis XIV. who admired his fine appearance.

Ever since the reign of Sobieski, the lance has been abolished to make way for the musketoon, just as the pike formerly disappeared from among the European infantry. The pike however was the weapon of the Macedonian phalanx; and Marshal Saxe, in his *Reveries*, or *Dreams*, laments its not being in use for the legion which he proposed to establish. It will be objected, that this was one of his dreams: true; but the dreams of a great man are worth more than the waking thoughts of an ordinary person.

The *pancernes*, composed also of nobles, differ from the hussars only in having a coat of mail, instead of a cuirass; and their genealogy is not scrutinized with so much rigour. They are not formed into regiments, but into companies of two hundred men each, belonging to the *grandees* of the kingdom, not excepting even the bishops, who, as they do not serve themselves, give great pay to their lieutenants.

This army, or rather these two armies, the Polish and the Lithuanian, have each their Grand-General, independent on one another. It has been already observed, that the office of Grand-Marshal is first in dignity after the primacy; but the Grand-General is superior in power, being unconfined by almost any bounds but what he prescribes to himself. At the opening of the campaign, the King holds a council with the senators and chief officers of the army, concerning

cerning the operations of the war, and from that moment the Grand-General executes as he think fit. He assembles the troops, regulates their march, gives battle, distributes rewards and punishments, promotes, diminishes, and cuts off heads, all without being accountable to any but the republic in full diet. The ancient Constables of France, whose power has given umbrage to the throne itself, were not near so absolute; and this great authority is suspended only when the King commands in person.

The two armies have also each of them a General, whose functions are confined to the field, called the *Petty-General*, who has no authority but what the Grand-General chuses to give him, and who supplies his absence. A third officer of note is the *Stragenik*, who commands the van.

There is also kept up in Poland a third body of troops, consisting of foot and dragoons, the institution of which is of no great antiquity. It is called the foreign army, and made up almost entirely of Germans. When the whole is complete, which seldom happens, the ordinary defence of Poland is about forty eight thousand men.

A fourth army, the most numerous and the most useless of all, is the *pospolite*. In case of necessity, more than a hundred and fifty thousand gentlemen would mount their horses, in order to submit only to such discipline as they liked; to mutiny, if they were detained more than fifteen days in the place appointed them to meet in, without marching; and to refuse to serve, if it should be necessary to pass the frontiers.

As all the wars which I shall have to describe, both under the generalship and the reign of Sobieski, were chiefly carried on against the Turks and Tartars, it will be necessary to take a short view of these two nations, considered only in their military capacity.

The

HISTORY of JOHN SOBIEŃSKI

The Tartars, those furious conquerors, descended from the ancient Scythians, who, under their leader, Genzis-Kan, broke out like a torrent from the north of Asia, to over-run the milder climates of China, Indostan, and Persia, containing more than eighteen hundred leagues from east to west, and more than a thousand from north to south, did not every where incorporate themselves with the nations they subdued. Several of their *bords* or tribes chose to live by themselves, and retain their ancient manners. Towards the north of the Black Sea, there is a large peninsula, anciently known by the name of the Tauric Chersonese, where the Greeks extended their arms and their commerce, and abolished the impious sacrifices of the famous temple of Diana, where it was common to see the skulls of human victims hung up as trophies. This peninsula is now called *Crim*, and in it's neighbourhood lies *Budziac*, formerly *Bessarabia*, and *Nogay*.

The Tartars, who inhabit these countries, have of all the Tartars most to do with the present history of Europe, and particularly with that of Poland, by reason of their vicinity. They live under a Prince, called by us *Cham*, but in the east *Ham*, that is, *judge*, which was the original employment of Kings. His genealogy would dazzle any one but a Tartar, who values no nobility but such as is personal. The Cham is descended from Genzis-Kan, the greatest conqueror that ever existed, by his grandson *Batoucan*.

The features and the manners of the ancient Scythians are to this day discoverable in the Tartars. They are of a squat figure, have broad shoulders, short necks, large heads, flat and almost round faces, little pig's eyes, flat noses, olive-coloured complexions, coarse black hair, and very little beard. They were probably still more hideous in the time of Alexander the great; since Parmenio took notice to

the King of their monstrous deformity the evening before the battle of Arbela, and advised him to attack them in the night, lest the Macedonians should be frightened by it in the day-time (a). But they seem to have been familiarized with their figure, when they went in quest of the Scythians into their own country, upon the banks of the Tanais, now called the Don (b.) The same arms which the Scythians had, are now used by the Tartars, the arrow, the javelin, and the scymetar: they fight also in the same manner, never on foot, always on horseback. Every Tartar has at least three horses; and if that which he rides is tired or wounded, he leaps upon another without stopping his pace. He takes care to cut the cartilage which separates the nostrils, in order to facilitate respiration. Twenty or thirty leagues, without drawing bit, is not too much either for the rider or the horse; and yet they both live upon very little. The Tartar's drink is pure water, or, by way of dainty, fermented milk; his food, the flour of millet, or powdered horse-flesh; (when it is fresh, he thinks it luxury) his habit, a sheep's skin; his bed, the earth; his covering, the sky: his physic, which, they say, succeeds better than ours, is horse's blood, swallowed hot, after which he gallops as far as he can hold out. As for the horse, he is satisfied with such grass as he can find, with moss, and the bark of trees; and in winter he searches for pasture under the snow. It may easily be conceived, that there is no care taken about magazines, or convoys in

(a) *At interdiu primum terribiles occursum facies Scytharum.*
Quint. Curt. lib. 4. c. 13.

(b) We must learn to be upon our guard against names; for this river was also called *Amazonius*, from the Amazons, which, according to Strabo, never existed any where. We must even be upon our guard against the greatest authors; for Ptolemy and Pliay make this river rise in the Riphæan mountains; whereas the Muscovites, who live at it's source, have never discovered any mountains near it.

a Tar-

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a Tartarian army, for every soldier carries all about him. Beaten roads are not made for them: their aim is always to conceal their march, and surprize the enemy. Rivers are no obstacles in their way, for they always swim across them.

If men of this stamp were furnished with the arms, the military art, and the discipline of Europe, under an able and ambitious leader, they would still be formed for vast conquests. But they were supplied with none of these, when the Turks set out from the eastern coast of the Caspian Sea to subjugate those who had overwhelmed so many nations.

The Turkish empire has never ceased increasing in power, from the time of *Ottoman*, it's first Emperor, till about the end of the last century; an event that is chiefly owing to it's troops, which are entirely different from those of the Tartars; the latter having no infantry at all, whereas the Turkish *Gengi-Cberis*, by us called Janizaries, are deservedly in high reputation. Those of them that reside in Constantinople, to the number of twenty-five thousand, are divided into a hundred and sixty-two *odas*, or chambers. Their education begins at their very infancy, and they are inured, by the Aga who commands them, not only to the use of arms, but to all sorts of laborious employments, to carrying burdens, cutting wood, breaking ground, bearing heat and cold, and to every thing which contributes to harden the body. There are no soldiers better clad, or better paid. Every Oda of Janizaries has its purveyor, who provides them with mutton, rice, butter, vegetables and bread in great abundance; and pays them a stipend, which is to encrease in proportion to their merit. This present happiness of condition, and the hopes of being better hereafter, produces great effects upon these military machines. Accordingly, far from being cheated or forced into the service, in a country where despotic power would seem to authorize any thing,

thing, a Janizary's place is much sought after, and at least a year's probation is required. Instances of desertion are never known, because soldiers never desert but with a view to better their condition. The behaviour of the janizaries is a surprize to strangers, who see them in their odas, or in the streets of Constantinople. No such thing is known among them as robbery, murder, or the least act of violence. Mild and gentle to their fellow-subjects, they are formidable only to the Sultan; for they have the power, by their laws, of imprisoning, deposing, and appointing him a successor (a).

The Tartars, who are a body of cavalry without pay, and greedier of plunder than glory, do not stand their ground long in action. The Turkish horse advance and attack in good order. They have among them a numerous and distinguished body, called *Spahis*, of very ancient origin, being instituted by *Ali*, the companion of *Mahomet*; and their exploits from the very first have been extraordinary. They are better educated and more civilized than the rest of the army, being all taken out of the seraglio, where they have employments in their youth. If the Turks admitted of any nobility but that of offices (b), the Spahis might be taken for the nobles of the country; but the descendants of the *Cantacuzeni* and *Paleologi* now live at Constantinople, in greater obscurity than Dionysius did at Corinth. Even the family of Mahomet, who can prove their nobility for twelve centuries, are distinguished only by a green turban, and get their living by trade (c). A Spahi would

(a) Ricaut's Hist. of the Ottoman Empire, p. 340 et seq. The Author here quoted resided five years in Constantinople. His employment of Secretary to the Earl of Winchelsea, Ambassador from Charles II. to Mahomet IV. gave him an opportunity of making good remarks: he is a plain and judicious writer, who makes ornament give place to instruction.

(b) Ricaut, p. 311.

(c) Idem p. 203. et 130.

D

not

not exchange his condition for so splendid a pedigree. The arms of these soldiers are a scymetar, a lance, and a dart two foot long: they have also fire-arms, of which they make little account; but the ancient helmet and coat of mail still keep their credit with them. Their pay, like that of the Janizaries, is fixed to no bounds. An enemy's head raises it two aspers (a) a day. It receives another augmentation, when a Spahi brings intelligence of the death of one of his comrades; which is a contrivance of the Sultan to avoid paying dead men. But what helps most to render the state of a Spahi advantageous, are the *timars* which are bestowed upon them. These fiefs or military benefices return into the hands of the Sultan, whenever a *Timariot* dies; a custom which always furnishes the Prince with means of rewarding merit without impoverishing himself, and produces actions of extraordinary valour. In an assault made by the Turks upon a fortress in Hungary, one of these fiefs was disposed of eight times in one day, seven Spahis who contended for it being killed, and the eighth having the good fortune to keep it (b). It should be observed, that these Spahis are only private men; and that though an officer may be satisfied with glory, (a truth however which should not be examined too nicely) a common soldier must be actuated by a stronger motive.

Besides these incentives, Mahomet, their legislator, Pontiff, and King, omitted no means of banishing fear and heightening resolution. It is written in the Alcoran, *that the days of man are irrevocably determined; and that a kouse which has the*

(a) An asper is worth about eight French deniers. [A French livre, which is worth about eleven pence sterling, contains twenty sols, and each sol twelve deniers; so that eight deniers is very little more than an English farthing.]

(b) Ricaut, p. 325.

plague in it ought not to be avoided. It is farther said, that *whoever dies in battle is admitted instantly to the joys of heaven, with the crown of martyrdom.* The same doctrine was held before this by the ancient Romans (a). A Christian soldier, if he reflects ever so little upon the duties of his religion, stands in fear of hell, at the same time that he sacrifices his life. Happy would it be, if this fear made him more considerate!

The law of Mahomet forbids the use of wine; but this law is enforced with such particular severity in time of war, that drunkenness is made a capital crime. Soldiers that are kept sober are more vigilant, more obedient, and less apt to commit violence. Tumults and quarrels seldom happen among them, and duels are never heard of: indeed no such thing is known in all the east. When the army is upon a march, no peasant comes to complain that his sheep are stolen, or his daughter ravished; and when they reach the enemies territories, no ravage is committed but what the *Seraskier*, or General, commands. No General, however, were it the Grand-Vizier himself, can punish a soldier without the consent of his officer; an admirable means of securing subordinate authority.

It is a common saying among the Turks, *that their troops are innumerable as the sand of the sea.* But this does not hold good in time of peace. It seems incredible that an Empire, which extends from the Archipelago (b) to the banks of the Eu-

(a) *Hic manus, ob patriam, pugnando vulnera passi.*

ÆNEID. Lib. vi.

(b) These limits, however extensive, do not include Turkey in Europe, which certainly deserves to be considered as part of the Ottoman Empire. The translator therefore cannot help suspecting, that either the inattention of his author, or the blunder of the printer, has substituted the word *Archipelago*, instead of the *Gulph of Venice*, or perhaps the *Adriatic*, in one word.

phrates, should be guarded only by a hundred and fifty thousand men. It is a maxim with these infidels, not to let a body, which preys upon the substance of the people, grow to too great a size. And yet in time of war, an army of three hundred thousand men is an ordinary effort for the Grand Seignior. And what is still more astonishing, he is never put to any difficulty about their pay. The Spahis and Janizaries are paid equally, whether there be peace or war. The Timariots live upon their lands; and the other troops, which are raised in Asia or Europe, have all a revenue allotted them in their own country. To all extraordinary expences, however great, the treasury of the empire is more than adequate. No new taxes are ever imposed; for among the Turks their subsidies are as immutable as their laws, customs, and manners. The nation is, in every respect, the same, as when it first came into Europe.

Besides the treasure of the Empire, the Emperor has also his private purse, which is incessantly filling, not at the expence of the subjects, who constantly enjoy their patrimony without any disturbance, but by the appointment and deposition of Bashaws, Beglierbeys (*a*), and the other great officers of state. As they are all taken out of the seraglio, they come impressed with that despotic maxim of the Alcoran, *that they are nothing but clay in the hands of their master*: who, if he forms them into vessels of honour, gets *purfes* (*b*) by it; and if he breaks them in pieces, comes in for the wreck; a temptation always inviting to a Sultan who wants to encrease his treasures. The valiant Amurath IV. without being avaricious, left behind him three hundred and sixty millions of

(*a*) Beglierbeys are Governors of provinces.

(*b*) A purse is worth five hundred crowns.

French money, all in gold. Hence come those inscriptions in the seraglio; *here is deposited the treasure of such a one (a)*; and it is a rule never to meddle with these sums, but when the Empire is threatened with ruin. Possessed of such resources, a Sultan is never known to give himself up into the hands of farmers of the revenue, or to buy the money of his own subjects.

A view of the wealth and œconomy of the Turks, of their extensive power, prodigious number of forces, and of the enthusiastic fury to which they may be wrought up, should naturally make the Christian world tremble, if the Turks knew any thing of naval affairs. But they are only possessed of about an hundred gallies, and a few light vessels, which serve to carry provisions to the isle of Candy: they have no sea-charts, and rarely venture out of sight of land. It is a common saying among them, that *God has given the earth to them, and the sea to the infidels (b)*; and may they always continue to say so!

Not contented with having subdued more than thirty nations in Asia, Africa, and Europe, they can reckon up a crowd of tributaries, who are sure of constant protection. To these tributaries relates that passage of the Alcoran: *Their goods and their substance, are our goods and our substance; their soul is our soul, their eye our eye.* The Turks treat them, as the old Romans treated their allies: they leave them their own laws, customs, and religion, but appoint them Governors, and receive from them a tribute in money. One should imagine that the Christian world would rather have been buried in its own ruins, than suffer such a vassalage to be established in Christendom. But the torrent of a mighty Empire carries every

(a) Tavernier, tom. iii. p. 479.

(b) Ricaut, p. 381.

thing before it. Walachia, Moldavia, and the republic of Ragusa, receive orders from the seraglio. The Ukraine and Transylvania have but lately thrown off this dependence. Even the Empire of Germany has submitted to the Turkish yoke. Busbequius quotes a treaty of peace made between Solyman II. and Ferdinand I. in which the Sultan expresses himself thus: *Of which agreement, peace and alliance, the first condition is, that your dilection shall be bound to send annually to our court thirty thousand Hungarian ducats.* This tribute, it is true, was only paid two years; but it would furnish an everlasting pretence for war, if sovereigns were ever in want of one.

Of all the tributaries of the Porte, those which furnish the greatest succours, more however in men than money, are the Tartars. It is now a long time since frequent plagues, a multitude of eunuchs, and the sterility consequent upon boundless polygamy, have been co-operating to depopulate the Ottoman Empire, which is re-peopled by the Tartars. There may continually be seen along the coasts of the Bosphorus, a great number of saicks, laden with Christians of both sexes, the common produce of their inroads. In time of war, their commerce with Constantinople is much increased; no less than an hundred and fifty thousand slaves being carried away in 1663, out of Hungary, Moravia, and Silesia, and sold in the public markets (a). They do not make war of their own motion, but by the orders of the Grand-Seignior, which is another advantage to the Empire. When the Sultan commands in person, the Cham must take the field himself with a hundred thousand men. If it be only the Vizir, the Cham sends his son, or his Prime Minister with fifty thousand; whereas, taking only

(a) Ricaut, p. 109.

one soldier out of each village, he could furnish two hundred thousand. These villages, some of which are called cities, are nothing but a collection of huts, made of hurdles, and covered with a coarse hair-cloth. *Bascia-Saray*, in which the Cham resides, is situated near the middle of the peninsula. *Precop*, called by the Tartars, *Orapy*, or the Gate of Gold, guards the entrance; and *Cassa*, formerly *Theodosia*, is its principal city. The Cham is perhaps the only Prince in the world who is not permitted to reside in his own capital; it being under the command of a Turkish Governor.

The Tartars may be looked upon as the savages of Europe. They are sensible that they might soon civilize their manners, make laws, erect tribunals, create titles, and call in luxury and magnificence; but they hear of so many calamities which lay waste polished nations, that they chuse rather to be free, and look upon cities as so many prisons where Kings confine their slaves. They scarce feel the dependence they are under upon a remote master, and are pleased with their Prince's being more dependent than themselves. The Cham is always narrowly watched by the Bashaws; and if his subjects complain, he is deposed by an order of the Divan; but if he is too much beloved by them, this is still a greater crime. And yet the Cham never attempts to shake off the Turkish yoke. He looks upon his own family, and that of the Ottoman Emperors, as one and the same. In fact, the Sultans have acknowledged that both sprung originally from the same stock; and they have made a law, which gives the throne of Constantinople to the Princes of Tartary, if the Ottoman blood should fail (a). The hope of this succession is indeed very remote,

(a) Demetrius Cantemir's History of the Ottoman Empire, Pref. p. xxxi. This princely author (a thing not very common) had

remote, when it is considered that a Turkish Emperor has always three or four hundred wives, the very flower of their sex, to furnish him with successors; and the Cham's chance is now still less, because the Sultans have abolished the barbarous custom of putting their brothers to death: but still his hopes are not without foundation. Besides, he has reason to be satisfied with his lot, if he will only conform to the easy rules of Tartarian justice, which requires no more of him, than not to put any force upon the manners of the nation, and to lead them to frequent incursions. A state of war agrees best with his interests; for he is seldom attacked first, but generally begins the fray; he has no army to maintain, his troops being paid by the Grand-Signior: he has nothing to lose, and every thing to gain by plunder. The Tartars are most to be dreaded, not at the time of their entering a country, but at their quitting it, being like torrents which sweep every thing off with them. In time of action, a sense of honour does not restrain them from running away; but then they always return to the combat. In their marches, they spread themselves before, behind, and on the flanks of the enemy's troops, which they harass still more by night, than by day: so that an army, which has not been used to make war against them, would be conquered, without an opportunity of exerting its strength. In their frequent wars with the Poles, they have ravaged and depopulated Podolia, Pokrusia, Volhinia, Moldavia, and the Ukraine; and as these desarts continued to be the seat of war, even in the time of Sobieski, the Poles were obliged to turn Tartars in

had at different times, spent many years as an hostage at Constantinople, before he came to the Crown of Moldavia. He understood the Turkish language, had read their histories, and was acquainted with their manner and customs. Such an author must be quoted more than once.

I

order

order to subsist; that is, they were obliged to carry with them at once all the provisions that would be wanted in a whole campaign. To this necessity, and to their making use of waggons drawn by oxen, is owing their assembling so late, and marching so slowly in the campaigns hereafter described. Every Captain knew by experience how many waggons his troop would want; and as soon as the country was exhausted; they lived upon their provided stock. When a waggon was emptied, it was set on fire, and the oxen killed, to furnish a fresh supply; and it has often happened that the waggons alone, exclusive of the provisions they brought, have saved the Polish armies. In cases of a sudden attack, they serve by way of entrenchments; and this method of defence is called *Tabor*. From them probably, the General of the Hussites, Procopius the Bald, learnt it, and made use of it with great success against the German cavalry, which got his soldiers the name of *Taborites*.

The Poles are born soldiers; and though they resemble their ancestors, the Sarmatians, much less than the Tartars do theirs, yet there are still remaining among them some Sarmatian features. For instance, they are frank and haughty; which last quality is natural enough in a gentleman who elects his own King, and may come to have that honour himself. They are also extremely passionate, affairs being often decided sword in hand by the representatives, in their national assemblies. Hospitality is a virtue much cultivated among them, and was learnt from the Turks and Tartars. A Tartar will go fifty leagues to attack a caravan; but a stranger is always well received at his house, and provided with lodgings, food, and other accommodations, at no expence. The Poles are brave, robust, and inured to cold and fatigue; but they have departed from the simplicity and frugality of the Sarma-

Sarmatians. To the very end of the reign of Sobieski, a few wooden chairs, a bear's skin, a pair of pistols, and two boards covered with a mattress, was all the household-furniture of a nobleman in decent circumstances; and a suit of furs was his dress. Luxury began to get footing under Augustus II. and the French fashions, already adopted in Germany, were added to the magnificence of the east, which displays itself more in pomp than elegance. The Poles love money, but not with a view to hoarding. Their stateliness is such, that a woman of quality never stirs abroad but in a coach and six, though it were only to cross a street.

When a nobleman travels from one province to another, he is attended by five or six hundred horses and as many men. There are no inns upon the road, so that every thing must be carried with them; but then they make no scruple of dislodging the Plebeians, who look upon their nobles as so many plagues and scourges.

One excellent custom among the nobles, is that of spending the greatest part of the year upon their own estates. By this means, they are more independent upon the court, which spares no pains to corrupt them, and the country is the better for what they spend; but it would be much more populous and flourishing, if it was cultivated by a free people. The peasants in Poland are annexed *to the glebe*; whereas even in Asia itself there are no slaves but such as are purchased, or taken in war, and consequently foreigners; but Poland lays the yoke upon the neck of her own children. Every Lord is obliged to lodge his vassals, and he does it in a wretched hut, where the children, which lie naked among the cattle, in a frozen climate, seem to upbraid nature with not having clad them in the same manner. The slave, who begot them, would with great indifference see his cottage

rage in flames, because he has nothing that he can call his own. *My field, my wife, my children,* is a language he has nothing to do with. Every thing belongs to the Lord, who has an equal power to sell his labourers and his oxen. It is not common indeed to sell women, because they serve to multiply the herd, and keep up a wretched breed, great part of which is killed by the cold,

Perhaps there never was a man, to whom the human race is more indebted, than to Pope Alexander III. who, in a council held in the twelfth century, abolished slavery. But Poland has proved more obdurate than the rest of Christendom. Woe to every slave that falls under the displeasure of a drunken Lord! One would think that nature has made a point of refusing to some nations the very thing that they are most passionately fond of. Excesses in wine and strong liquors have occasioned great havock in the republic of Poland. Yet their casuists speak of drunkenness in very gentle terms, as almost necessary in such a climate; and besides, the affairs of the public are never settled but over the bottle.

The Polish women are singularly agreeable in society. They mix with the men in competitions at public games, in hunting, and the pleasures of the table. Less delicate and less reserved than the beauties of the south, they frequently take a journey of a hundred, or two hundred leagues in a sledge, without any apprehensions about inconvenient lodgings, or the badness of the roads.

Persons who travel in Poland find that good morals are of more value than good laws. The number of forests, the distance of habitations, the custom of travelling by night as well as by day, the negligence of the starosts with regard to the safety of the roads, all contribute to favour robbery and murder,

murder, and yet an instance of either is scarce known in ten years.

The Poles were noted for the practice of this branch of morality, before they embraced the Christian religion. They continued idolaters long after the conversion of the rest of Europe. The names of the Grecian gods, whom they adopted, were wretchedly disfigured in their language, because being ignorant of letters, and knowing nothing of Homer and Hesiod, they never opened the archives of idolatry, but were directed only by the glimmering light of confused tradition.

About the middle of the tenth century, *Miecislaw* the First, Duke of Poland, was won over to the faith by the sollicitations of the fair *Dambrowka*, his wife, who was bred a Christian: and the new proselyte undertook to convert his subjects. There is nothing but may become an instrument in the hands of God to execute his adorable designs. One half of Europe owes its conversion to women, who, being raised to the throne, prevailed upon their husbands to be baptized. Thus Hungary is indebted for its Christianity to *Gisella*; Russia, to *the sister of a Greek Emperor*; England, to *a daughter of Childebert*; and France to *Clotilda*. But if Christianity, at its first establishment, had shewn every where the same violence that it did in Poland, it would have wanted two signatures of truth to which it owed its triumphs in the three first centuries, namely, *meeekness* and *persuasion*. The Bishop of Mersebourg, who lived in the reign of *Miecislaw*, informs us, that the punishment of all who presumed to eat flesh in Lent was to have their teeth pulled out; that a fornicator or adulterer was hung up by the instrument of his crime, and a razor placed within his reach, which he might either make use of to disengage himself, or die in torment.

ment (*a*). In the same country, it was a custom for fathers to put to death their children when born with any defect, and for the unnatural offspring to dispatch their decrepid parents; a barbarous custom of the ancient Sarmatians, which was tolerated in Poland till the thirteenth century. When the Priest came to that part of the service of the mass where the Gospel is read, the assembly was always struck with terror, it being a custom for all who wore sabres, to draw them half-way, in testimony of their readiness to shed the blood of idolaters (*b*). That horrid Christian, Miecislaw, had divorced seven Pagan wives, to make way for his union with Dambrowka, and when she died, he closed the scene, if we may believe Baronius and Dithmar (*c*), with marrying a nun, who omitted no expedient to propagate her religion. The zeal of Miecislaw was animated by the hopes of obtaining the title of King, which the Pope had lately given to the Duke of Hungary; but he would not bestow the same reward upon success obtained by such shocking means.

His son and successor Boleslas I. extinguished the remains of idolatry, without having recourse to violence. Humane, accessible, and familiar, he treated his subjects, as a physician would his patients, and made use of no arms to conquer their prejudices, but gentleness and argument. The father had commanded them, the son persuaded them, to be Christians.

In the fourteenth century, Jagellon, being made King of Poland, planted the Christian faith, by the same means, in Lithuania. He was before thought to be of a fierce temper, but Christianity, which he had lately embraced, undoubtedly softened

(*a*) Dithmar. lib. viii. p. 419.

(*b*) Cromer. lib. iii. p. 51.

(*c*) Tom. i. p. 359.

him;

him; and he completed, by presents and acts of kindness, the conversion of such as stood out against the force of argument.

This peaceable spirit passed from the Kings to the nation, which accordingly had very little share in the religious wars which desolated Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Poland was never the scene of a gun-powder-plot, of a Saint-Bartholomew-massacre, of the murder of a Senate, of the private assassination, or the public execution of Kings; it never saw brothers in arms against brothers, and has been more sparing than any country in burning people at a stake, for the crime of being mistaken in matters of opinion. Notwithstanding this, Poland continued in barbarism much longer than Spain, France, England or Germany; which shews that gross ignorance is much less turbulent than half-science. When the spirit of argumentation began to get footing in Poland, King Sigismund I. made a law to punish Protestants with death. It is a strange paradox, that at the very time when he was taking away the lives of such as only questioned the corporal presence of Jesus Christ upon the altar, he gave no disturbance to the Jews who denied his divine mission. Sigismund's zeal had already produced bloodshed, and would have produced more; but the Republic thought fit to interpose, and made a law, that for the future, every King, upon his ascending the throne, should take an oath to tolerate all religions.

Accordingly Poland abounds with Calvinists, Lutherans, Greek Schismatics, Mahometans, and Jews. These latter have long enjoyed the privileges granted them by *Casimir the Great*, in favour of his Jewish concubine *Esther*. Their trade makes them much more wealthy than the natives of the country, and they increase much faster. In Cra-
cow

edw alone, it is computed there are more than twenty thousand, who are ready to give their assistance in all emergencies of state; and Poland, by tolerating more than three hundred synagogues, is called to this day *the Jews Paradise*. If the Poles are upbraided with this indulgence, they answer, that Rome itself lets them live in peace within its walls. A Spanish inquisitor would imagine, that the whole nation Judaized on Easter-day; a *Paschal Lamb* being served up at every table, and eaten with consecrated bread; but then they have a hundred other customs with which he would be highly edified.

There is perhaps no country where the outward forms of religion have been, and still are, better observed. The Poles, from the very first, found fault with Christianity for being too mild a religion; and to remedy this defect, they begun their Lent on Septuagesima-Sunday. But this severe work of supererogation was abolished by Pope Innocent IV. to reward them for the contributions they had furnished, to enable him to make war upon a Christian Emperor, Ferdinand II. (a). Besides the usual fast on Fridays and Saturdays, they keep an additional one on Wednesdays. There was once an entertainment given by Sigismund Augustus, the day after his father's funeral, to the nobles who assisted at that ceremony: it happened to be a Wednesday, and part of the entertainment was flesh. The whole nation was extremely scandalized at this profaneness; and yet at this very time, they wanted him to break through a solemn engagement, contracted at the altar of God, and confirmed by the laws of men; that is, his marriage: "If there be any harm, said the Archbishop and Primate, in repudiating a lawful wife, there is none

(a) Cromer. p. 226.

“ of us, who, for the sake of the common good, will not readily take part of it upon himself (a):” and the thing wanted being a successor to the Crown, the Bishop of Przemisia supported his opinion with this passage of Euripides, *If justice must be violated, let it be for the sake of a Crown.*

The bloody fraternity of Flagellants are as common in this part of the north, as towards the south of Europe; and hence probably it was that Henry III. imported the fashion into France.

No history, in the same number of centuries, pretends to so many miracles. About five miles from Cracow, are to be seen the salt pits of Bochnia, removed, according to all the Chronicles, by St. Cunegunda, wife of Boleslas the Chast, out of Hungary into Poland; and much more admired than those of Velika, where there is a subterraneous city, full three leagues deep; an astonishing monument of art and industry. At the time when so many apocryphal miracles were confounded with the true ones in Poland, very little progress was made in the study of nature; nor can this science be at present much advanced, since the marvellous, which has always served the vulgar instead of reason, preserves its dominion here more than in any other country. The Poles have always met with a refusal from Rome, to their frequent solicitations for predictions of future events.

Their respect for the Papal authority has been remarkable in all ages. When Clement II. absolved Casimir from his monachal vows, that he might change the cloister for the throne, in 1041, his Holiness imposed upon the Poles some very singular conditions, which were most religiously observed. He obliged them to wear for the future, their hair cut in the form of a Monk's crown;

(a) Stanisl. Orichov. p. 1489.

to pay for ever an annual poll-tax, for keeping up in the great church of St. Peter, the most costly lamp that ever was burnt; and he ordered, that upon great festivals all the nobles should wear, during the time of the sacrifice, a linnen stole, like that which is worn by Priests; the first of which injunctions is observed to this day.

This extravagant deference for the decrees of the see of Rome, broke out once in such a torrent as overwhelmed the regal power. Boleslas I. had received the title of King from the Emperor Otho, in the year 1001; and Rome remembered this affront, upon occasion of the murder of Stanislas, Bishop of Cracow, by Boleslas II. It was at this juncture, that *Hildebrand*, who had exchanged a wheel-wright's shop for the throne of St. Peter, which he filled by the name of *Gregory VII.* was grown so formidable to all the sovereigns of Christendom. He had lately excommunicated the Emperor Henry IV. to whom he had been preceptor; and he now pointed against Boleslas all his thunders of excommunication, deposition, interdiction of the whole kingdom, dispensation from the oath of allegiance, and prohibition to the Bishops of Poland, ever to crown any King without the express consent of the Holy See (a). It is hard to say which is most astonishing, the Pope's prohibition, or the blind obedience of the Poles. No Bishop would venture to crown the succeeding King; and this superstitious fear lasted upon the minds both of the subjects; and their Princes, till the time of Przemislas, who having convoked a general diet at Gnesna, was crowned in that assembly, and resumed the title of King, without calling in the authority of Rome (b). His subjects believed that this spirited behaviour, which raised the indignation of the court of Rome, was the cause of his unhappy fate. Seven months af-

(a) Cromer. p. 90.

(b) Sarnic. p. 1116.

HISTORY of JOHN SOBIESKI

ter, he was assassinated by his own nephews, and *Uladislas Loketek*, who ascended the throne yet reeking with blood, applied to Pope John XXII. for leave to be King in his own kingdom.

In the present age, no Pope would venture to attempt what was then carried into execution. But it is still true, that the Papal power is more revered in Poland than in most Catholic countries. A nation, which has assumed a right of chusing its own Kings, has never dared to proclaim them without leave from the Pope; and a bull of Sixtus V. has given the Primate this power.

There resides constantly at Warsaw an apostolical Nuncio, invested with an extent of power which is suffered no where else: but yet he has not enough to enforce the indissolubility of the marriage-contract. It is not uncommon in Poland to hear a husband talk of a wife, who is no longer connected with him by that relation. The Bishops, who are both witnesses and judges of these divorces, console themselves for such a violation of ecclesiastical law, with the ample revenues they enjoy. The private clergy profess the most respectful veneration for the sacred canons; and they are in the right; for most of them hold several benefices with cure of souls.

Poland, in its present state, with regard both to moral and physical evil, presents us with several striking contrasts: the regal dignity existing with the name of a republic, civil laws with feudal anarchy, a rude resemblance of the Roman commonwealth with Gothic barbarism, and abundance united with poverty.

Nature has furnished the country with all the materials of opulence, such as corn, pasture, cattle, wool, leather, salt, metals, and minerals; and yet they are the poorest nation in Europe. The chief source of the wealth of Poland, is the sale of the Crown.

Both

Both land, and water, concur to invite commerce; and yet it has never appeared among them. The number of fine rivers, the *Duna*, the *Bog*, the *Niester*, the *Vistula*, the *Niemen*, the *Borysthenes*, serve only to make a figure in geographical maps. It has been often observed, that it would be an easy matter to join the Northern Ocean and the Black sea by canals, and by this means take in the commerce both of the east and west. But the Poles are so far from building merchant-ships; that they have never thought of forming a naval force to protect them from the fleets of their enemies, by which their country has often been insulted. Their dominions are larger than France, and yet do not contain more than six millions of inhabitants. They leave a fourth part of their lands uncultivated, and yet the land is excellent, which makes the loss so much the more to be lamented.

A kingdom of such extent, being two hundred leagues in breadth, and four hundred in length, would require numerous armies to guard its vast frontiers, and yet it can scarce pay forty thousand men. A King, (*a*) who governed it for some time, and who has shewn what he was capable of doing in a whole kingdom, by what he has actually done in a single province of France; a King equally qualified for writing, and for acting, informs us, *that there are cities in Europe whose treasury is richer than that of Poland; and that two or three merchants of London or Amsterdam trade for much larger sums than the income of all the lands belonging to the republic.* Such a republic can never have made the reflection, that the power of Holland was originally founded upon the art of catching, and salting herrings.

(*a*) Stanislas, King of Poland, and Duke of Lorraine, in his book entitled *La Voix libre du Citoyen, or, The free Voice of a Citizen*, p. 247. & 285.

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The republic of Rome, in its days of virtue, was the very reverse of the republic of Poland. In the former, the Senators were in moderate circumstances, and the state rich. In the latter, the Palatines can raise and pay armies to destroy one another, and the republic is unable to defend itself. When it does take up arms, the two bodies of troops which are its ordinary defence, the Polish army, and the Lithuanian, being commanded by two Grand Generals, independent of each other, are without that principle of union which makes forces act in concert. It has happened more than once, that when one has marched, the other has halted: they have even been known to threaten each other.

Luxury has got footing within doors, but the nastiness of the cities without, is extremely disgusting. It is not more than ten or twelve years since Warsaw was first paved.

The extremes of liberty and slavery seem to be contending which shall ruin Poland. The nobility can do whatever they please; and the body of the nation groans in servitude. The example of Denmark has been hitherto an useless lesson to the Polish nobles. Wherever the great have tyrannically trampled upon the people, the latter have revenged themselves by giving up their oppressors into the hands of an absolute Monarch. That all men are born upon a footing of equality, is a truth which will never be eradicated from the human mind; and if an inequality of condition is become necessary, it must be alleviated by the enjoyment of natural liberty, and equal laws. A Polish noble, whatever crime he has committed, cannot be taken into custody, till he has been condemned in an assembly of all the estates of the realm; which is, in effect, furnishing him with all imaginable means to escape. They have a law among them,

them, which is itself more shocking than the murder it was intended to prevent. If a noble kills one of his own slaves, he is to lay fifteen livres upon the grave of the deceased; but if the peasant belongs to another noble, the laws of honour only oblige him to give another. The maxim of *an ox for an ox*, is the avowed principle of the whole proceeding.

The right of the *liberum veto* makes a single noble more powerful than the whole republic. He can, with a word, defeat the unanimous resolution of the whole nation; and if he leaves the place where the diet is held, the assembly must instantly separate. The Tribunes of Rome had anciently the same power, but their number was very small, and their magistracy instituted for the protection of the people; whereas, in a Polish diet, there are three or four hundred Tribunes, created, it would seem, on purpose to oppress them.

The republic has taken all sorts of precautions to preserve at least an equality among its nobles. There are few countries that can shew such extensive lordships; and yet there are none that have titles annexed to them; French cooks, and the titles of *Marquis* and *Count* were introduced into Poland at the same time; and none but servants and flatterers ever give these Marquisses and Counts their titles. The Holy Empire has filled Europe with Princes; a title, which, at its first rise, about the time of Frederick II. was taken only by Lords of extensive territories; but is now bestowed at a much easier rate upon foreigners, as well as natives, and upon some Poles among the rest. The families of *Jablonowski*, *Lubomirski*, *Radziwil*, *Doenoff*, *Ossoliniski*, and *Sulkowski*, need not have been so fond of this German ornament. Be this as it will, the republic sets no sort of value upon it. The only Princes that are acknowledged as such in the ar-

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ticles of union with Lithuania, are the families of *Czartoriski*, *Sanguisko*, and *Wiesnowieski*; and yet their title of Highness does not give them a higher rank. The lowest Castellan takes place of a Prince who has no office, that the Poles may learn to respect the republic more than birth and titles. Even they, whose rank is owing to the dignities they possess, must confine themselves within the limits of their condition. The Primate, who presided at the election of Augustus II. having erected a canopy over his arm-chair, was forced to pull it down the same day. And yet, notwithstanding all these precautions, nothing can be more cringing than the lower nobility to the higher. It is true, the former have their revenge, whenever the latter aim at *popularity*, which means no more than forming a party in the petty diets, either for the management of the ordinary affairs of the province, or for the election of a King.

The kingdom being elective, it might naturally be supposed, that the People, who are the most numerous, and the most necessary part of the state, should have some share in the election; and yet they have not any, but must take the King that the nobles give them, and would think themselves abundantly happy, in not being loaded with chains of iron in the very arms of liberty. Whoever is not nobly born, is a mere cypher in the city, or a slave in the country; and it is certain, that every state is undone, where the Plebeian has no possibility of rising, but by overturning the whole constitution. In consequence of the slavery of the people, Poland has very few artificers or tradesmen; and these few are Scotchmen, French, or Jews. In all their wars, they are forced to hire foreign engineers: there is no such thing among them as a school for painting: architecture is yet in its infancy; and theatrical entertainments they have

have none. They write history without taste, know little of the mathematics, and less of true philosophy: they have no public building of any note, and not one great city in all the kingdom: even Warsaw does not contain sixty thousand souls. Such was the state of France itself, under the feudal government; for what can be expected from any country, where the weight of the nobility crushes every thing?

The honour of being ranked among the Polish nobles has been solicited by several Princes. The nephews of King Stephen Battori obtained it; and it must be confessed, that no state can shew so numerous a nobility, of the highest antiquity; the pedigrees of all the principal families beginning earlier than the tenth century (a).

Nothing can be more pompous and stately than the Polish Lords. Their wives have adopted the French fashions, without having the arts which minister to luxury; but it must not be supposed that this magnificence implies the state to be rich. On the contrary, it is not the Plebeians only that suffer. For, while about thirty Palatines, a hundred Castellans and Starosts, the bench of Bishops, and the great officers of the crown, live like Asiatic Satraps; there are a hundred thousand of the petty nobles, who get necessaries as they can; and with all their liberty, and all their pride, are not ashamed of entering into the service of the great Lords, and earning wages from them in the lowest stations. When one of these noblemen in livery commits a fault, he undergoes the discipline of the *cancbou* *; *The whip. but out of respect to his pedigree, he is furnished with a cushion to kneel on. Some of them would have applied themselves to commerce, by way of deliverance from such meanness; but it was declared by

(a) Okolski. Orbis Polonus.

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a constitution made in 1677, that commerce degraded nobility. With all this, the meanest nobleman in Poland thinks himself superior to all the nobility in Europe: and yet, this nobility which he is so proud of, is sometimes bestowed by the republic upon slight grounds enough, when a foreigner obtains an act of naturalization. A Jew, who turns Christian, and is baptized, is almost sure of being ennobled, if he can procure a few friends; and then he may make as much noise in the provincial diets, as the blood of the Jagellons.

An historian is obliged to dwell much upon the nobility of Poland, because the people go for nothing. The privilege that is in greatest esteem with them, but of the least use, is that of electing the King. The crown is generally sold by the nobles to the best bidder; and though, at the time of election, they call out loudly for Princes that will govern well; yet, since the reign of Casimir the Great, they have ransacked Hungary, Transylvania, France, and Germany, in quest of foreigners, entirely unacquainted with the manners, prejudices, language, interests, laws and customs of the kingdom.

Whoever was to see a King of Poland in all the pomp of regal dignity, would take him for the most opulent and despotic of monarchs; and yet he is neither one, nor the other. The republic allows him no more than six hundred thousand crowns for the expences of his household; and in all disputes, the Poles invariably pronounce the King to be in the wrong. As he presides in all councils, and issues out all decrees, they call him the *mouth*, not the *soul* of the republic; and compare him to the King of the bees, which, according to the ancient naturalists, has no sting. They keep a constant watch over his administration; and four Senators are appointed to attend him every where, upon

upon pain of a pecuniary forfeit. His Chancellor refuses to put the seal to whatever he thinks wrong: his High-Chamberlain has a right to search his person, and therefore the King always gives that office to a favourite. His subjects forgive in each other what they would think unpardonable in him; they are always holding up against him the buckler of that liberty which they grossly abuse themselves; and it is common with them to say to other nations, *We have a King, but a King has you.*

Yet these very men, who are so haughty to their Prince, can compliment one another in the language of slaves; such as, *I prostrate myself at your feet; I put myself under the sole of your shoes;* and they submit patiently to an exclusion of a very mortifying sort. When the King dines in public, foreign Ambassadors are admitted to his table, and the grandees of the kingdom who keep his hands tied up, are employed in serving him. Poland is perhaps the only kingdom in the world, where the King has not a right of coining, being deprived of this privilege by the republic.

And yet, a King of Poland, limited as he is, may act an important part, if he will content himself with doing good, without having a power to do harm. He not only disposes, like other sovereigns, of all the great offices of state, of bishoprics and abbeys, which last are most of them held in commendam; (for the republic has taken care that Monks, who have made a vow to renounce riches, and given up their rank in civil life, should be supplied only with necessaries) but he is possessed of another treasure which is never to be exhausted. A third part of this large kingdom is royal demesne, under the names of *tenures, advocateships, and starosties*, from the value of seven thousand livres a year, up to a hundred thousand. This royal

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royal Demefne, as the King cannot appropriate it to himself, he is obliged to give away; and it is not transmitted from father to son by the recommendation of merit only. It is a common saying, that there is not an hour in the day, in which the King of Poland has not some favour to bestow.

To complete this sketch of Poland, it is necessary to give a short account of it's most distinguished Kings. The herd of princes need not be dragged out of the obscurity that covers them; but Poland can boast of a greater number of intelligent, active, and indefatigable Governors than any other state: and it is not indebted to chance for this advantage, but derives it from the nature of it's constitution. Ever since the fourteenth century, Poland has elected it's own Kings, and therefore has not been governed by children born with a crown upon their heads, before they have any virtues; and inheriting a privilege of slumbering upon the throne in mature age. A King of Poland is obliged to act in person in the senate, in the diets, and at the head of armies.

If military virtues engross all our admiration, the Poles have had almost as many great Princes as Sovereigns. But if we reckon only those who have aimed at promoting the prosperity and happiness of the nation, the number must be considerably diminished.

VI. cen-
tury.
I. class.

Leck, the founder of the nation, prevailed upon the Poles to leave off wandering in forests for a fixed and civilized life. His character is not transmitted to us in history; but we know in general, that all founders of empires have had good heads, and active vigorous spirits: and *Leck* must have stood in need of both, to govern savages who were acquainted only with the equality of a state of nature.

VII. cen-
tury.
I. class.

Cracus gave them their first ideas of justice, by erecting tribunals to decide the differences of private persons. By this means, order succeeded in the place

place of licentiousness; and the tomb of so great a benefactor was long honoured by the idolatrous inhabitants of Cracow, as the Palladium of the city (a).

Piaſt taught them virtue by practiſing it himſelf; IX. cen-
and inculcated, by the ſoft arts of perſuaſion and tury.
example, what he could not inforce by authority. II. claſs.

His reign was ſpent in peace, and his barbarians be-
gun to be formed into members of civil ſociety (b).

Ziemoſvit, who was of a more martial turn, taught IX. cen-
them military diſcipline. Till his time, like tor- tury.
rents which quickly leave the lands they overflow, II. claſs.
they had been accuſtomed only to temporary incur-
ſions: but they now learnt to ſtand firm in battle, to
conquer by reſiſting their enemies, and to keep what
they had once ſubdued (c).

Boleſlas Cbrobri laboured to reform their manners, X. cen-
to extirpate their prejudices, and regulate their cou- tury.
rage, which was too apt to make a cruel uſe of vic- II. claſs.
tory. Being full of humanity himſelf, he accuſtom-
ed them to conſider their ſovereign as a common fa-
ther; and obedience became an eaſy duty (d).

Caſimir I. gave them a glimpe of ſcience and li- XI. cen-
terature in a ſavage climate, where ignorance had al- tury.
ways reigned (e). The rude manner in which the li- II. claſs.
beral arts were at firſt cultivated by the Poles, could
produce no better fruits, till the arrival of more fa-
vourable ſeaſons. Even to this day, the literary pro-
ductions of Poland are ſomewhat harſh: but time,
which ripens every thing, will finiſh even here what
it has already brought to perfection in other cli-
mates.

Caſimir II. who did not acquire the appellation of XII. cen-
juſt without deſerving it, protected the country-people tury.
againſt the tyranny of the nobles. That wretched II. claſs.

(a) Dlugoff. lib. 1. p. 50.

(b) Cromer. lib. 2. p. 40.

(c) Chronic. Pol. tom. 1. p. 4.

(d) Hartknoch. lib. 1. p. 65.

(e) Sarnic. Annales. Pol. lib. 6. cap. 8.

race was obliged to furnish every nobleman, who travelled, with lodging, provisions, horses, and all other necessaries for his journey. The King abolished this imposition (*a*); and if the nobility had thought as generously of some of their monarchs, there would now be no such thing as slavery in Poland.

XIV. cen- *Casimir III. or Casimir the Great, called also the*
 tury. *King of the Peasants, attempted to set them at li-*
 II. class. *berly; but not being able to succeed in his attempt,*
 he gave them an useful hint, when they came to complain to him of their grievances, by asking if they had no sticks, nor stones at home to use in their own defence. The obstinate resolution of the Polish nobility to keep the people in slavery, could neither be conquered by the authority of Pope Alexander III: who declared, in the name of a council, that all Christians ought to be free; nor by the example of France and England, where feudal tyranny is abolished; nor by the republican form of government, which is so opposite to every thing that has the air of slavery. But Casimir had the greatest success in every other branch of the administration. It is to him that Poland owes its first fortresses, but the nation has never been sensible of that advantage, since instead of increasing their number, they are suffered to go to ruin. The same Prince exerted his utmost efforts to extirpate barbarism from the domain of the liberal arts. In his time, new cities were raised, which furnished models to rebuild the old ones: the public monuments that were then erected were as elegant as the age would admit of. He invited into the kingdom the ablest masters, who unfortunately had no abilities at all (*b*). If he had lived two centuries later, about the time of Leo X. Poland in all probability would not have been what it is at present.

(*a*) Dleglofs. p. 512.

(*b*) Sarnic. Annal. Pol. p. 1147.
 Cramer. p. 319.

It

K I N G of P O L A N D.

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It was he also who observed, that the original system of laws was no longer adapted to the interests or manners of Poland, and therefore formed a new body, by which the kingdom is governed to this time. He had all the great qualities of Augustus, and more valour. His subjects decreed him the honours of the triumph, a custom which begat heroes among the nations of antiquity, who considered emulation as one of the principal springs of the state. Casimir was the last of the Piasts, a family which reigned five hundred and twenty eight years.

Jagellon, the head of the third race, kept up, and even added to, the improvements which his predecessors had made. He did what he pleased with a nation, whose growing liberty, by being always upon it's guard against regal encroachments, must have made government a much more difficult thing than usual. His subjects were surprized at the gentleness of his manners; for while he was only Duke of Lithuania, he had startled all the north by putting his uncle to death: but he changed all at once, and being elected to govern a free people, he found himself under a happy necessity of being a good King. He tried his strength in war against that of Sigismund, who, after being buried alive in a dungeon eighty feet deep, was taken out at the end of six months, in order to join his own crown of Hungary to those of Bohemia and the Empire. *Jagellon* might have deprived him of the former, for it was offered to the Polish King by the Hungarians themselves; but he chose to decline the victory which he was upon the point of gaining, for fear of dismembering the territories of Poland, by being too eager to enlarge them (a). It is surprizing, that an elective crown, for such it was now become, should continue in his family for near four hundred years; while in other

(a) Nenglbaver. hist. Pol. p. 238.

countries

countries hereditary thrones were filled by foreign families: which shews how little the event of things corresponds to the expectations of human wisdom.

XIV. cen-
tury.

Uladislas VI. son of *Jagellon*, was only ten years old when he was raised to the crown; a strange choice in a nation which might have bestowed it's crown upon a Hero of mature abilities; but they discovered an heroic soul already beaming through the infancy of the young King. The republic appointed as many regents as it had provinces; and more than one *Burrbus* undertook the task of instructing the man of the nation. At the age of eighteen, he took into his own hands the reins of government; and though he held them only two years, he shewed himself equal to the greatest Kings. He triumphed over the whole power of the house of Austria; got the crown of Hungary to be set upon his own head, and was the first King of Poland that ventured to contend with the fortune of the Ottoman Empire. Amurath II. having laid waste Transylvania and Servia, was menacing Hungary and all Europe; when the young King put a stop to his conquests, and forced him to sue for peace, which was reciprocally sworn to upon the Bible and the Alcoran: but the Pope broke the compact, and his legate, Cardinal Julian Cesarini, absolved the King from the guilt of perjury. With such auspices, *Uladislas* marched towards the Black Sea, entered Bulgaria, and with twenty-five thousand Poles, attacked the Sultan, whom he found near Varna, at the head of a hundred thousand Turks. At the first onset the Mussulmen gave way, when the Sultan, taking out of his bosom the violated treaty, and fixing it on the top of a lance, called upon God, the Avenger of perjury, to punish this breach of the law of nations (a). No sooner had he finished his prayer, than

(a) Sarnic. lib. 7. chap. 6. Dlugoff. p. 793.

having rallied his retiring troops, the Turkish enthusiasm was rekindled, the right wing of the Christian army gave way, the disorder increased every moment, Uladislas fell dead upon the spot; and his head being cut off by a Janissary, and carried from rank to rank, made the rout complete (a). He was hardly twenty years old at his death; and Poland, equally dreading the future, and grieved at the past, never shed tears of deeper sorrow. The historians agree in saying that, notwithstanding the vivacity of his passions, his virtues were never tarnished with any vice. If he broke his treaty with Amurath, it was then the common opinion that faith was not to be kept with infidels. The legate, who sanctified this act of perjury, was drowned in crossing a river.

The tears of the nation were not wholly dried up till the reign of Sigismund I. who had the singular good fortune of being declared King by acclamation, without any division of suffrages (b). Great men possess the art of fixing fortune; and Sigismund obtained of her another favour, which was that of demolishing the power of a religious order that had laid waste Poland for three centuries. The knights of the Teutonic order, being expelled Palestine, where their business was to take care of the sick, had met with an asylum in Poland in the reign of Boleslas V. and shewed the most indefatigable zeal to convert Prussia to the Christian faith, because, being more dextrous in the use of the sword than of the cross, they usurped the sovereignty of that country, which belonged to Poland. Here they forged the thunders which were so often let loose upon their benefactress; every reign, after that of Boleslas, having suffered by them more or less. It was computed, that, under Casimir IV. a war of twelve years only had occasioned the conflagration of eighteen thou-

XVI. cen-
tury.
III. class.
Race of
the Jagel-
lons.

XIII. cen-
tury.
II. class.
Race of
the Piasts.

(a) Dlugoff. p. 808 and 811.

(b) Neuglbaver. lib. 7.

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land villages, and the bloodshed of three hundred thousand men. So extensive a scene of desolation, and so many victims sacrificed to their ambition, made no impression upon the members of this religious order. They had murdered in cold blood more than ten thousand of the inhabitants of Dantzick, without sparing women or children (*a*); and had beheaded, at a public feast, a numerous body of nobles, for refusing to join in their acts of violence. Uladislus Loketek, Jagellon, and Casimir, had attacked this hydra, which continually acquired fresh strength; but at length, it was exterminated by Sigismund, who thereby delivered Poland from the heaviest scourge it ever felt. The uncommon strength of body which Sigismund possessed, insomuch that he could break in pieces the strongest metals, made him pass for the Hercules of his time (*b*); and the strength of his mind was no way inferior. He lived to the age of eighty-two, victorious in almost all his undertakings, and respected by the sovereigns of his time, who were all cautious of offending him, not excepting even Soliman himself, who shewed that regard upon no other occasion. Under him were formed the many great captains who did honour to their country, such as the Duke of Ostrog, Kamiemiecki, Firley, Lanczoronki, Zarembo, Sienawski, Tarnowski, and Pretfiz. It was a question that could not be decided at that time, whether Francis I. Charles V. or Sigismund, was the greatest monarch; but the latter was perhaps superior to the other two, by being more solicitous for the happiness of his subjects than his own glory, by applying himself with unremitting industry to make his subjects better men than even their laws required, their manners more sociable, their cities more flourishing, their public buildings more elegant, the houses of the nobles

(*a*) Dlugloff. p. 949.

(*b*) Pastor ab Hirtenberg. p. 207. Ctomer. p. 68.

more

more commodious, the country better cultivated, arts and sciences more honoured, and even their religion more refined (a).

Of all his successors, none resembled him more than *Stephen Battori*, Prince of Transylvania, who was elected to the crown of Poland, after the abdication of Henry de Valois. He made it a rule with himself to dispose of all honours and employments according to merit. He reformed the manifold abuses which had crept into the *administration of justice*. He enacted military laws, which have introduced among the Poles and Cossacks all the discipline that they will probably ever be capable of. He maintained peace within the kingdom, and kept in awe the Tartars, Muscovites, and Cossacks. His reign lasted ten years, a space long enough for his own glory, but too short for the good of the public.

Sigismund III. Prince of Sweden, succeeded him in the throne, but did not supply his place, having neither the same great qualities, nor the same good fortune. He lost an hereditary kingdom to gain an elective one; and missed a fair opportunity of conquering Muscovy, and perhaps of recovering Sweden. He suffered Gustavus Adolphus to deprive Poland of the cities of Elbing, and Marienburg, and Livonia, one of it's finest provinces. He had, in short, two faults, which generally occasion great misfortunes; he was very silly, and very obstinate.

(a) Cromer. p. 702 and 709.

End of the FIRST BOOK.

F T H E

THE
HISTORY
OF
JOHN SOBIESKI
KING OF POLAND.

BOOK II.

IN the year 1629, when Sigismund III. reigned in Poland, Lewis XIII. in France, the unfortunate Charles I. in England, the victorious Gustavus Adolphus in Sweden, was born John Sobieski, the subject of the following history. At the time when Poland was drawn into those wars, which lasted till the end of that century, her defender came into the world, in the castle of Olenko, a small town in the Palatinate of Russia. Sobieski was descended from two families, whose origin the Polish genealogists, full as adventurous as those of France, have placed high in the obscure ages of antiquity. It is a truth of greater certainty, that in both these families there has been a succession of virtues, infinitely more valuable than the highest pedigree.

The

The famous Zolkiewski, grandfather to Sobieski by the mother's side, defeated the Muscovites in 1610, took prisoner the Czar Basilus, and brought him to Sigismund III. (a). The monuments of this victory were still to be seen upon the cielings of the castle of Warsaw, when the Czar Peter was called into Poland, to defend King Augustus against Charles XII. The Czar thought proper to destroy them, but the testimony of history cannot be suppressed. In the year 1620, Zolkiewski forced his way through a hundred thousand Turks and Tartars, who invested him in Moldavia, and was retreating before this formidable host, which pursued and harassed him during a march of a hundred leagues. Having reached the frontiers of Poland, upon the banks of the Niester, a slow still river, known to Ovid by the name of Tyras (b), he little expected to be betrayed by his own men. His cavalry, tired with looking death in the face so long, took the first opportunity to escape by swimming across the river, and abandoned in this manner the General, and the foot. His son, who was with him in the army, besought him to provide for his own safety, but he answered, that *the republic had entrusted to his care the whole army*. The foot that remained were cut to pieces before his face; his son expired in his fight; he himself was covered with wounds, and survived only a few hours, to die with greater horror. The Turkish General cut off his head, and sent it to the seraglio, to revive the spirits of the Ottoman Empire (c). The head was afterwards redeemed, and the father and son

(a) Lengnich, Hist. Pol. p. 117.

(b) — *Nullo tardior amne Tyras.*

Ex Ponto, lib. iv. epist. 10. v. 50.

(c) Lengnich, p. 125.

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buried together in the same grave, with this Latin inscription,

Exoriare aliquis, nostris ex ossibus, ultor.

May an avenger arise out of our ashes ! There still remained one son, who attempted to discharge that duty ; and attacked the Tartars with a courage greatly superior to his forces, which consisted only of a small troop raised at his own expence ; but he was soon overpowered by numbers ; and losing his life in the attempt, was, after the battle, buried with his friends.

The glory of avenging the Zolkiewskis, was reserved for Sobieski, their descendant by the female line ; who never read, without emotion, the inscription that exhorted him to vengeance. The republic did not think their merit sufficiently recompensed by this family monument ; but knowing that immortality is both a reward, and an incentive to heroic actions, erected a pyramid, hitherto respected by the Turks and even the Tartars, upon the spot where this noble blood was spilt. The design was to inculcate upon posterity the glorious lesson of dying in defence of their country. The inscription, composed in four languages, is still legible.

The history of the Zolkiewskis would furnish us with many an act of heroism, if it came within our design : and it is not only in his mother's family, that John Sobieski found heroes to imitate.

His grandfather by the father's side, Mark Sobieski, Palatine of Lublin, left his grandson many great exploits to copy. To him was owing the happy event of the battle, in which Michael, Hospodar of Moldavia, was defeated. The Poles were going to take a route, by which the whole army would have been exposed to utter destruction from

the want of provisions, and the fire of the enemy; when Sobieski pointed out to them another way which led to victory; and shewed, by his behaviour in the action, that he could execute as well as advise. He defeated also the rebellious Dantzickers in 1577, near the town of Dirchaw (*a*), and threw himself into the Vistula in pursuit of their General, whom he came up with, and slew with his own hand in the midst of the river. This exploit was performed in the presence of the * King, who declared more than once, that if it should ever be necessary to risk the fate of Poland upon a single combat, as the fortune of Rome was once entrusted to the Horatii, he should not hesitate a moment to chuse the Palatine of Lublin. The intrepid Palatine met his death at the attack of Sokol, a Russian fortress which the Poles took by storm. Such was the grandfather of John Sobieski; and his father, James Sobieski, was not a degenerate son. Before he rose to any great office, he was four times chose Marshal of the diet, and considered as the buckler of liberty. When he came into the senate, it was to fill the second place in it, as Castellan of Cracow, an officer who is greatly advanced beyond his own rank, so as to take place even of the Palatines. When the Pospolite is assembled, he has the honour of heading the nobility, to the prejudice of the Palatine of Cracow; a distinction acquired as the reward of a victory, in which the Palatine run away, while his Lieutenant, the Castellan, stood his ground, and defeated the enemy. He is also the first Lay-Senator, as the Primate is the head of the ecclesiastics, and both have the title of *Highbness*.

* Stephen
Battori.

James Sobieski was qualified to serve the republic in more capacities than one; for the Polish Se-

(*a*) A town of Prussia in the Palatinate of Calm.

nators are in this respect formed upon the model of those of ancient Rome, and equally knowing in arms and law. Poland will long remember the famous battle of *Choczin* (*a*), fought in 1621, in which the young Prince Uladiflas, son of King Sigismund III. had the title of Commander in Chief, but the business was in fact done by James Sobieski, in the absence of the Grand-General. Two hundred thousand Turks and Tartars were defeated in that action by sixty-five thousand Poles and Cossacks; and the hero of the day, being as able a negociator as he was a General, was sent to Constantinople to sign the peace, which the Porte was reduced to solicit. As often as the republic wanted a man of abilities in foreign courts, in Sweden, France, and Italy, Sobieski was the person pitched upon, and the event always justified the choice. By his marriage with *Theophila Zolkiewska*, daughter of the Great Zolkiewski, and heiress of the vast estates possessed by that powerful family in the Palatinate of Ruffia (*b*), he had two sons, *Mark* and *John*, whose education he considered as a duty indispensably incumbent upon himself, and took a large share of it. Though fully employed in the Senate and the army, he neglected not the study of letters, well knowing that Cæsar wrote his Commentaries, while he was subduing Gaul. There are now extant, in the libraries of Poland, several

(*a*) A town of Moldavia upon the Niefter.

(*b*) These estates were much more considerable than the dominions of many sovereign Princes in Italy and Germany. The manor of Zolkiew, a fortified town with a castle belonging to it, includes more than a hundred and fifty villages; that of Zloczow, another fortified place, contains as many; besides Olesko, which would alone make the fortune of the first nobleman in France: the whole is near twenty leagues in extent. Such was formerly the opulence of the French nobles; till extravagance, crusading, and ministerial policy have at length brought it to nothing.

treatises

treatises of James Sobieski's; and whoever writes for the public, though but indifferently, gives always a proof of superior activity of mind. There are also in the palace of Villanow, two leagues from Warsaw, several pieces of painting and sculpture, much admired by the Poles, done by Italian artists, whom Sobieski hired with a view of introducing taste among his countrymen. At the bottom of each piece are verses taken out of Virgil's Georgics, to explain the subject; which, though it be a superfluous ostentation of learning, and favours of Gothic awkwardness, because the figures should explain themselves, yet it shews at least the erudition of the person who could make use of this expedient.

A father of this character was very capable of forming his sons. Before they learnt languages, he took care they should be acquainted with things; and talked to them of justice, beneficence, and respect for the laws, as frequently as of military glory. He gradually laid open to them the interests of Poland, and accustomed them insensibly to defend those interests both in writing and speaking: talents which are useless under an absolute government, but necessary in a republic. He laboured particularly to form in them that habit of application which he possessed himself, and without which there will never be any such thing as a great man.

The eldest son, *Mark*, was of a mild temper, a docile disposition, cut out to be a mother's favourite; and if he had lived long, would have had the fate of Esau, who bowed down before his younger brother.

John was of a lively, ardent, impetuous temper, strongly bent upon whatever he set his mind on, greedy of praise, and more easily wrought upon by disgrace than punishment. If the memoirs

of his childhood were extant, we might perhaps discover, even in that early age, the first rays of the glory with which he afterwards shone; but possibly we should find nothing but the common occurrences of childhood; for men, like fruits, shew themselves only in their proper season.

The Poles have not the vanity to think, that every thing worth seeing or knowing may be met with in their own country. When the two brothers were grown up, they set out upon their travels, and France was the country where they made the longest stay. They arrived there, at the time when the young Duke of Anguien, afterwards known by the name of the Great Condé, had already won three battles: and the two brothers declared, that they thought his victories over veteran Generals set him in a greater light, than his being born a Prince of the blood. At the same period, France was entering into the civil war of the *Fronde*, in order to displace a single Minister, instead of turning her attention to make laws to restrain the power of all Ministers. John Sobieski, who had already just ideas of government, frequently said afterwards, that he was puzzled to account for their not assembling the states of the kingdom, according to the Polish custom. The man, whom fortune had destined to be a King, was now one of the *musketeers* of France. At that time there was only one company of them, established by Lewis XIII. in 1622, and long called the *grand musketeers*: the other company was in the service of Cardinal Mazarin, before it entered into that of the state.

In the countries which the two brothers visited after their leaving France, next to the knowledge of manners and national interests, they applied themselves to the study of languages, which are always learnt best and soonest from the nations that speak them. The younger brother became so
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perfect a master of six, that each might easily be taken for his mother tongue. The first object of their curiosity was Paris, and the last Constantinople; where they prolonged their stay, with a view of being thoroughly acquainted with a power that was so often at war with Poland.

Little did the *Porte* imagine that its armies would one day fly before the youngest of these inquisitive youths. Being now furnished with what knowledge they could collect in Europe, they had formed a scheme of penetrating into Asia, when receiving information that a war was kindled upon the frontiers of Poland, they thought themselves obliged, above all things, to fly to the defence of their country. In all republics this is the leading virtue, and the two brothers obeyed its dictates; but they had not the satisfaction of being received in the embraces of a father, who had instructed them, both by precept and example. Sobieski was lately dead, and had left his sons an inheritance of greater value, in the memory of his virtues, than in his vast possessions.

The throne of Poland was at this time filled by ^{Year 1644.} Casimir V. a Prince, who from a Jesuit became a Cardinal, and from a Cardinal, a King. He was brother to Uladislav VII. who had spent the sixteen years of his reign in acquiring the love of his subjects; and they were both sons of Sigismund III. who would have done admirably well in a private station, but was a very indifferent King.

Scarce was Casimir crowned, when he saw his kingdom become a prey to the Cossacks; a people who formerly inhabited the islands made by the river Borysthemes, where they professed the trade of piracy, and lived wholly by plunder; but they were taught a better, and more reputable manner of life by Stephen Battori, King of Poland, who by this, and the other services he did them, fixed them
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in the interests of his crown. They were formed by him into a military corps of forty thousand men, and settled in Lower Podolia, and Lower Volhynia, with a view of being employed chiefly against the Tartars and Muscovites, the natural enemies of Poland. He afterwards incorporated them with colonies, which he sent to people and cultivate the country, now called the Ukraine; a territory of a hundred leagues long, and nearly the same breadth, divided by the Borysthenes into two almost equal parts. Of all the great things that Battori had done, this was perhaps the most useful; since by this means he secured the frontiers of the kingdom, and doubled its military strength: he cultivated, for its benefit, a barren spot, which grew to be the most fertile of all countries: in short, he increased its dominions with a new kingdom.

But the violence of powerful individuals has more than once subverted the prosperity of states. The Polish nobles in the Palatinates bordering upon the Ukraine, would needs treat the Cossacks as their slaves; and accordingly violated their privileges, invaded their property, and wounded them in a still more sensible part, by demolishing the Greek churches, where they served God in their own way. Uladislas VII. King of Poland, was weak enough to connive at these acts of injustice; and a faithful people was by this means drove into rebellion; but being totally defeated, they were forced to save what remained of the nation, by giving up their General *Pauluk*, who was beheaded, notwithstanding a promise had been given to save his life (*a*).

A new crime, committed by the Poles, furnished the Cossacks with another General, in the person of *Cbmilienski*, a man who lived peaceably upon the possessions he inherited from his father, increas-

(*a*) Lengnich, p. 158.

ed by the addition of some deserted lands, which he had improved by cultivation, and the erection of new mills. A Polish noble, named *Jatinski*, who had a command in the Ukraine, envied the Cossack his fortune, and attempted to make it his own; but meeting with resistance, he burnt Chmilienski's mills, ravished his wife, and massacred her upon the bleeding body of her son. The unhappy father, and injured husband, applied to the King for justice, and he was joined by a numerous multitude, who had heavy complaints to make; but no redress could be obtained.

A refusal of justice, or any similar act of oppression, only draws tears from a nation, whose spirit is subdued by having long wore the chain. But a haughty people, who can distinguish between obedience and slavery, never quench their anger but in blood.

No sooner was this fire kindled, than Uladis-^{Year 1648.} las died; and Chmilienski, with greater fury than prudence, advanced with his Cossacks into the heart of Poland, put all the nobles to the sword, but spared the peasants, gained a compleat victory over the Polish army at Pilawiecz, in Little Poland, marched to Leopold, the capital of Red Russia, which surrendered, to save itself from the horrors of being taken by storm, and spread the alarm to Cracow itself, from whence the crown was removed to a place of greater safety. The Cossack took care to retaliate the injuries he had suffered, by marking his progress with murder, rape, and conflagration; nor in this torrent of fury did he forget to avenge the insult offered to his religion, by forcing the Priests wherever he came to marry nuns, and conform to the Greek ritual (a).

(a) Pastor. Hist. Pol. p. 138 & 192.

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If a register was to be kept, of all the crimes which escape being punished upon earth, both by divine and human justice, it would encourage villains to be still more unruly. Many innocent persons perished by the hand of *Chmilienfski*; while the chief criminal, *Jatinski*, escaped his vengeance.

Another matter of wonder, is the defeat of the Polish army; the Grand-General Potozki being an officer of great experience, whereas *Chmilienfski* had little or none at all. But history presents us with more than one instance of this sort; and they must be accounted for, by supposing, that despair, when it gets possession of an intrepid leader, and a brave people, supplies every other defect.

Casimir, who had but just taken possession of the sceptre, was upon the point of seeing it wrested out of his hands. The age in which he lived was productive of many disasters to crowned heads. Philip IV. had lately lost Portugal, and almost all his possessions in Asia. In France, the mother of Lewis XIV. was forced by a faction to desert the capital with her children. At London, Charles I. expired upon a scaffold. Were it not for these interruptions of regal prosperity, Kings would forget that they are men.

The ignominy of the flight of the Polish army at *Pilawiecz*, was yet recent, when the two *Sobieski's* arrived in Poland. Their mother, a woman of an heroic spirit; as soon as she saw them, cried out, *Are you come to avenge your country? I renounce you for ever as my sons, if you behave like the combatants of Pilawiecz.*

The nobility were soliciting Casimir to put himself at the head of a powerful army; but the King, who aimed at reclaiming the *Cossacks* by negotiation, and by making some satisfaction for the cruel insults offered to a brave people, answered, *that it was wrong to burn Chmilienfski's mills, and still*

still worse to ravish his wife, and murder her and her son. This answer gave great discontent; and the nobles took up arms themselves to the number of fifty thousand men, and advanced into Lower Volhinia, where they met with a great defeat. Their courage being not yet exhausted, they marched towards the *Hypanis*. This river, which joins the *Borysthenes*, and falls with it into the Black Sea, is now called the *Bogh*. In this manner the barbarians have disfigured the very names of those countries which once flourished with colonies from Greece. The banks of the *Bogh* were not more favourable to the Poles than their former field of battle, and they suffered a total defeat.

It was in this second action, that Mark Sobieski, less fortunate than his younger brother, was slain in the flower of his age, and at his first entrance upon the career of glory. When the two brothers were, setting out upon their travels into France, the father gave them this advice: *Be sure, children, to inform yourselves of every thing that is useful. As for dancing, you will have opportunities of learning it here from the Tartars.* In fact, the Tartars fought in conjunction with the Cossacks on this fatal day, the Cham having a personal injury to avenge: for Uladislas had suppressed a considerable pension paid by Poland to him, as well as his predecessor. After the victory, there were brought to him three hundred Polish nobles, loaded with chains, and covered with wounds, among whom was Mark Sobieski. The cruel Tartar, without regarding the law of nations, which protects prisoners of war, ordered them all to be beheaded, and their bodies exposed for a prey to vultures. By this means, Sobieski's mother was deprived of the melancholy consolation of interring her son among the remains of his ancestors. Her grief e'er long induced her to settle in Italy, and abandon a country where she had lost the object of her tenderest

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dearest affections; for her surviving son was less beloved by her, on account of some follies of youth, and his having exposed, in two single combats, that life which was due to his country only. That barbarous custom of duelling, which is unknown in all the east, from Constantinople to the remotest part of Japan, had it's origin in the north of Europe. It is not surprizing that the Poles should pique themselves upon it, as well as we; but they have been less prudent than the French, in not abolishing those public duels, with seconds on both sides, in which the spectators animate the emulation of the Gladiators. The duel Sobieski fought proved the instrument of his punishment; for while his elder brother was treading in the path of true glory, John was detained at Leopold by a wound he had received. As soon as he recovered his strength, he hastened to obey the united calls of vengeance and of glory.

The same enemies still remained to be opposed; and it was time for Casimir to put himself at the head of the army, in order to render it's operations more regular, and to prevent his being despised by a nation which respects only warlike Kings. Accordingly, he assumed the command.

Y. 1649.

What had hitherto been done by young Sobieski, now the chief of his family, was but a prelude to his future exploits in war. All that had been yet observed in him, was an impetuous ardour which made him insensible of danger, and a greediness after military knowledge, which carried him where duty did not require his presence. He succeeded his father in the Starosty of Javorow in the Palatinate of Russia; and appeared in the army at the head of a select troop. In the many skirmishes which must needs happen with an enemy who fled only to return to the charge, he shewed that nature had given him all the courage of a soldier, and what is much more uncommon, that happy quickness of discernment, which indicates
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a general. A singular event displayed the credit he had acquired in so short a time. The Polish army mutinied in the camp of Zborow, a city of Little Poland, upon the borders of Podolia, and every method of quieting the sedition, persuasion, menaces, and even the cannon of the Lithuanian troops, was made use of in vain by the General Czarneski. The attempt was given up as hopeless, when Sobieski desired to be employed. The temerity of extraordinary men is justified by the success that attends it. It is easy to conceive what address and eloquence he needed to persuade men who had arms in their hands. The young orator carried his point; and that empire over the minds of men, which would have done honour to a consummate General, advanced to the height of glory a youth who had yet born no public office.

The army now advanced towards the enemy with that unanimity of sentiment, which is a sure presage of victory. Chmilienski, notwithstanding the justice of his cause, was deserted by his good fortune. Being supported by the Tartars, he undertook to force the King in the camp of Zborow. The battle lasted several days, during which he lost more than twenty thousand men, and was discouraged from trying his fortune any more. A negotiation for peace was set on foot, and before it was ratified, the King rewarded Sobieski by making him great Standard-Bearer of the Crown; an officer of the court and of the army, who carries the banner of the Republic in the *pospolite*, and at the coronation and funeral of the Kings of Poland.

The peace of Zborow gave great dissatisfaction to all the nobles; for the King, who had not given up his design of bringing back the *Cossacks* to their allegiance by fair means, had granted them terms that might be made a bad use of. All past offences were forgot, and twenty thousand of them were to conti-

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nue armed in the Palatinate of Kiovia, which was to be given for the future to a nobleman of the Greek persuasion. They were restored to the unmolested exercise of their religion, and the enjoyment of all their privileges. But as something must be always done to satisfy the offended Majesty of Kings, it was stipulated that Chmilienski should ask pardon on his knees; and the Cossack submitted to this humiliation for the good of his country. The Tartarian Prince found his account in the plunder he gained, and in getting his pension restored. All these regulations were prudent; but the Polish nobles were not possessed of that quality. They exclaimed on all sides that the King had betrayed the Republic, and they thought of nothing but breaking a treaty, the advantages of which they were resolved not to see.

The Cossacks soon discovered that the nobles would get the better of the King, and that the peace they had made would be but of short continuance. They therefore took up arms in conjunction with their old allies, the Tartars; and Bereftesk, a town situated upon the borders of the Palatinate of Beltz, was the field of battle. The Tartars, having lost six thousand men, betook themselves to flight. The Cossacks entrenched themselves in their camp, where they were at length forced; but the victory was a very dear one to the Poles. It may safely be said, that Casimir, whom his subjects had forced to renew the war, was a victor against his will. Sobieski, in this action, was wounded in the head; but so many others had wounds to shew, that this was no mark of distinction.

Year 1651.

Chmilienski, though beaten, was yet alive, and had still resources left him. The Czar Alexis now made use of him to attack Poland, and the Cossack took Smolensko, a large city, situated on the right side of the Borysthenes, which returned to its ancient owners; and he opened himself a passage

lage into Lithuania, which he laid waste with fire and sword.

Our memoirs say little of Sobieski's behaviour in this war against the Muscovites and Cossacks. Fame records only actions of uncommon lustre, and such cannot be performed but upon extraordinary occasions. It is however probable, that he continued to display that union of valour and prudence, which shews a great Captain, since in another war, which was soon after kindled out of the fire of this, and spread its blaze over every province of Poland, Sobieski, who was then only making his first campaigns, was honoured with a distinguished command in the horse. So quick a rise as this, is always founded upon good reasons in a republican kingdom, where the court must be cautious how it proceeds, and confer rewards rather than favours.

Poland, for a long time, had not seen so many Year 1655. enemies united to conspire its ruin. Christina of Sweden, that too philosophic Queen, who resigned her crown, and chose rather to live at Rome among Cardinals, arts and letters, than to employ herself in promoting the happiness of a kingdom, was succeeded by her cousin Charles Gustavus; who, by a mistake too common among Kings, thought he could not begin his reign better than with conquest. In a short time, he made himself master of Mazovia, and a great part of Poland, from whence he transferred the seat of war into Prussia.

Sobieski, though he served in an army that was beat upon all occasions, was learning how to conquer. Being at the head of four hundred horse, between Elbing and Marienburg, he defeated a body of more than six hundred, commanded by a near relation of the King of Sweden. If Casimir had had many Sobieskis, he would have escaped the sad extremities to which he was reduced.

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ferred by his army, he sought an asylum in Silesia; and saw Lithuania, which was not yet subdued, put itself under the protection of the conqueror. One would imagine that all his subjects had been thunder-struck; and that those whom the bolt did not kill upon the spot, had no sensation left them but that of terror. At last, the storm abated, by spreading over a vast extent of country. People began to recover their senses, and to think that Charles Gustavus might possibly not be invincible.

Casimir took advantage of this gleam of courage. Among the officers who most deserved his confidence, he had taken particular notice of Czarneski and Sobieski. He had the address to take off the Tartars from their attachment to the interests of Muscovy, and to fix them in his own. Sobieski was commissioned to command them, while Czarneski headed the Poles. They began with putting to the sword the Swedish troops, which had taken up their winter-quarters in Lithuania: and proceeded to cut in pieces all that were dispersed in Poland. Not a day passed without their breaking some link of the chains of the nation.

In the mean time Charles Gustavus was advancing out of Prussia with his own army, and a reinforcement of the Elector of Brandenburg's troops. Sobieski blocked him up between the Vistula and the Sanus (a small river which runs into the Vistula) hindered his being supplied with provisions, harassed him with continual skirmishes; and receiving intelligence that *Douglas*, one of the Swedish Generals, was advancing with a body of six thousand men to disengage the King, he left his infantry to continue the blockade, marched with his cavalry to meet Douglas, swam across the Pilcza, a river much swelled by the melting of the snow, and with that *celerity* which Cæsar considered

dered as the first qualification of a General, surprized Douglas, defeated him, and pursued his army eight miles towards Warsaw.

Some other bodies of the Polish army, which was obliged to face the enemy on so many sides, did not do their duty so well as that which marched under the command of Sobieski. It was necessary also to make another division, in order to oppose Ragotski, Prince of Transylvania, who advanced, in concert with Sweden, with a view to deprive Casimir of his crown. In the midst of so many enemies, some blunders were committed, of which Charles Gustavus took advantage, and having disengaged himself from the dangerous situation he was in, advanced towards Warsaw, which brought on a general action that lasted three days. The utmost efforts of valour and skill were exerted on both sides, and a torrent of blood was spilt; but at length victory declared once more for Charles Gustavus, though purchased at a very dear rate. The Tartars had never fought before with so much order and firmness. Accustomed to continual rapine, impatient of any discipline, and always ready to fly when they met with resistance, they found themselves changed to other men, under the command of Sobieski; and when the series of future events turned his valour against them, they always remembered, with a mixture of admiration and respect, the great exploits they had seen him perform, and were convinced that glory may well be acquired even when a battle is lost.

The republic must have been inevitably ruined, had Charles Gustavus lived a few years longer; but he died in the thirty-eight year of his age; and if war is to denominate men great, he was little inferior to Gustavus Adolphus.

On the other hand, Ragotski, a man of greater ambition than military talents, and who shewed

little regard to the advice of his ally Charles Gustavus, missed the opportunity of conquering. George Lubomirski, petty General of the Polish army, and Sobieski, made an irruption into his territories, where they committed the same hostilities with which he had afflicted Poland. He succeeded no better in defending himself, than attacking others; and involved in his ill fortune, the sect of the *Unitarians*, otherwise called *Socinians* and *Arians*, who had abused the toleration they enjoyed in Poland. They profess to worship one only God, of incommunicable perfections, who never produced any being equal to himself; but it was not their doctrine, however damnable, but their connections with Ragotski, that occasioned their being proscribed in Poland. This sect, which formerly seduced both the east and west for three centuries, and now mingles with all religions, is perhaps still the most numerous of any, but has no longer any distinct places of worship. Ragotski looked upon his own ruin to be equally inevitable with theirs, and was glad to accept of a shameful peace, which left him no inclination to disturb the repose of his neighbours.

As for Sweden, she thought herself too much exhausted to go on with the great designs of her deceased King, and signed a treaty of peace at Oli-
 Year 1660. va, a famous monastery of Royal Prussia, about a mile from Dantzick.

The republic had still two enemies, the Muscovites and the Cossacks, to deal with; of which the latter were the most inveterate, because the resentment of a grievous injury is more stimulating than the desire of conquest. The republic had for its allies the Crim Tartars, a succour which might prove of the utmost advantage, and was principally owing to Sobieski, who had lived among them as an hostage. An ordinary man, who resides in this capacity among a barbarous people, turns his thoughts wholly

wholly upon the happy moment of restoration to his domestic pleasures ; but Sobieski was taken up with the interests of his country. The Tartars, who had seen his behaviour in battle, already esteemed him, and for this reason pitched upon him preferably to other hostages. The Cham in particular conceived for him a friendship which was of singular use to Poland upon this occasion. In short, an alliance was concluded, and the combined armies attacked the Muscovites, sometimes by secret ambuscade, sometimes in the open field, and the success, upon the whole, was nearly equal. At length they were upon the point of coming to a decisive action near Cudnow, and Casimir, who commanded in person, was earnest for it ; but the Muscovites industriously delayed it, to give Chmielenski and his Cossacks time to join the army. It was of the utmost importance to prevent this junction, and there wanted a man of ability to execute the commission. Sobieski was detached with a body much inferior to that of the Cossacks, and attacked them at the moment of their arrival at Slobodysee in the Ukraine. His victory was so complete, that their General was taken prisoner, loaded with chains as a rebel, and brought to Casimir. The report of this victory so intimidated the Muscovites, that they surrendered their arms almost without fighting.

Nothing now remained but to retake a few places in Lithuania, one of which was Wilna the capital, a large and populous city, but built of wood, for want of quarries of stone. The Muscovite officer, who commanded in the citadel, would have put to death any man that had only talked of surrendering. He entertained suspicions of a Polish Priest, and put him into a mortar, and discharged this frightful bomb upon the besiegers. His cruelty and obstinacy, joined to the impossibility of making

HISTORY of JOHN SOBIESKI

making a long defence, excited some foreign officers of the garrison to mutiny against their commander, whom they gave up, together with the city, into the hands of the besiegers. The Poles having got this barbarian in their power, condemned him to die by the hands of a common executioner; but none being to be found, his own cook offered his service, and cut off his head. It is not hard to guess what sort of a master a man must be that had such a servant.

The war with Muscovy was now near its end, when Casimir suffered himself to be diverted from it, by a project which turned the arms of the republic against itself. This Prince, who seemed to be destined for all sorts of singularities, after having been a Jesuit and a Cardinal, had married Louisa Mary Gonzaga (*a*), his brother's widow. This case was precisely the same with that of Henry VIII. King of England, who married Catharine of Aragon, his brother Arthur's widow; and the disputes which arose in England, had also divided Poland. The divines of the King's party supported their opinion with that passage in Deuteronomy, which not only permits, but commands a man *to marry his brother's wife, if she have no children.* The Doctors of the other side opposed to this a passage in Leviticus, which forbids a man *to uncover the nakedness of his brother's wife.* The Senators, without having recourse to the laws of the Jewish nation, asked the King, "how he could venture upon such an union, after all the disasters which had befallen England under Henry VIII. and Poland under his Father Sigismund?"

(*a*) Daughter of the Duke of Mantua and Nevers, the same who was celebrated in France for her passion for *Cinqmars*, Master of the Horse to the King.

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“ Is it because your father married two sisters (*a*),
 “ that you are resolved upon this contract with
 “ your brother’s widow ? Our sentiments are the
 “ same with those of the Senators of that time :
 “ and you know that they writ to Pope Cle-
 “ ment VIII. that they never suffered such unions
 “ even in their stables (*b*).”

The see of Rome, which had given a sanction to the other two marriages, saw nothing to be abhorred in this ; and it seemed that the more opposition it had met with, the dearer was the Queen to Casimir. Being of a mild and complaisant temper, adopting in every thing her inclinations, employing his thoughts as she directed, and often not employing them at all, he gave himself up to conjugal tenderness, more perhaps than was consistent with his own peace, and that of Poland. Having no children, he formed a project, in order to please his wife, of getting a young Prince who was to marry her niece, declared his successor to the crown. The Queen having been educated in France, had as great an affection for the blood of the house of Bourbon as for her own. The young Prince, who was to be raised to the crown, was Henry Julius de Bourbon, Duke of Anguien, son of the Great Condé ; and the Princess intended for his wife, was Anne of Bavaria, who by her mother was of the Gonzaga family. The Queen, who had been used to govern, flattered herself that she should continue to do so, by the influence she would have naturally over a young Prince, indebted to her for his Crown, in case of the King’s death.

The King founded the inclinations of the Sena-^{Year 1661.}
 tors and great officers ; but they answered him

(*a*) Anne and Constance, daughters of the Emperor Ferdinand II.

(*b*) Zaluski, tom. i. part 1. p. 158.

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with a silence, more expressive than words, and at length openly declared their disapprobation (*a*). Lubomirski in particular, Grand Marshal of Poland, and Petty-General of the Polish army, cried out, that to attempt the election of a King, before the throne was vacant, was to violate the most sacred law of the republic, and to overthrow the strongest bulwark of liberty. He desired the King to recollect, that all his predecessors, from the time of Jagellon, and he himself, had sworn, never to propose a successor. "You would not be suffered," added he, to do for your own son, what you "are attempting in favour of a stranger."

Casimir meeting with such resistance from the Senate, pretended to desist from this project. It remained buried in his cabinet for three years, and all this time was employed in procuring votes, by all the allurements which Kings can offer to the ambitious, and by all the terror they can impress upon the timid. No attempt was thought proper to be made upon Lubomirski, whose character was too well known. Not contented with delivering his opinion in the Senate, he had taken pains to bring over several to his sentiments, and to dispel the apprehensions of others. He was therefore considered by the court as the head of a conspiracy, and no art was omitted to make him appear to the republic in the same light.

Year 1664.

The Polish army, dissatisfied with its pay, and still more with the money's being left in arrear, had entered into a confederacy. Of all the associations of this sort, which are formed in Poland, upon pretence of the public good, that of the army is the most dangerous. The soldiers are no longer under discipline or restraint, but live at discretion, and commit all sorts of excesses: the authority of

(c) Lengnich, p. 208.

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the Grand-General is shaken off, and another commander is chose by the name of *Marshal of the Confederacy*, who is in fact a real *Dictator*, and unites in his own person the power belonging to the three estates of the kingdom. He gives audience to the Ambassadors, issues out orders to the courts of justice, levies troops, and raises supplies, commands the army, inflicts punishments, and exercises a power of life and death. The laws indeed condemn this species of confederacy; but notwithstanding the laws, it is criminal only when it is ill supported. Lubomirski was not the person that the army placed at its head; but the court took it for granted, that Suiderski, who was chose upon this occasion, was only an instrument wholly governed by Lubomirski. A diet was assembled, before which no accusation was brought against the apparent chief, but Lubomirski alone was summoned. Being convinced that the court was resolved to find him guilty at all events, he did not make his appearance; and was tried and condemned to forfeit his estate, his honour, and his life, as an enemy to the state, and guilty of high-treason (a). But the sentence being voted and protested against by the Deputies, was illegal.

The illustrious outlaw well knew that the anger of Kings is a fire that consumes every thing in its first fury. He therefore quitted Poland, and retired to Breslaw, to give it time to cool, and perhaps to go entirely out. He had great dependence upon an extraordinary diet, where his interests would of course come upon the carpet. When this assembly met, a large part of the nobility refused to proceed upon public business, till the King could be prevailed on to remit his resentment against Lubomirski. On the other hand, the royal party in-

(a) Kochov. p. 147. Lengnich. p. 215.

fisted upon it, that the state must be ruined, if the King relented, for that Lubomirski was of a restless and turbulent spirit, and an incendiary, whom it was necessary to get rid off; while the others, who were more numerous, represented him as an upright citizen, an experienced General, an incorruptible Minister, and a firm supporter of the laws of his country, whose destruction was aimed at on these very accounts. The dispute soon ran so high, that nothing was heard but confused exclamations and mutual threats. The assembly separated without coming to any conclusion.

The King, however, executed in part the sentence that was passed upon Lubomirski, by disposing of his offices to two persons who were highly in the royal favour (*a*). Czarneski, Palatine of Kiovia, was made Petty-General; and Sobieski, from standard-bearer of the Crown, was advanced to the dignity of Grand-Marshal; a post of high distinction, but which has no military jurisdiction. The republic has four great officers, entrusted with the four branches of the administration; the Grand-General, who directs the affairs of the army, the Grand Chancellor, who presides over the administration of justice; the Grand-Treasurer, whose province is the public revenue; and the Grand-Marshal, who has the management of the police. They are called *Brachia Regalia*, the Arms of the King; and he sometimes makes use of them to strike the republic. Lubomirski had never consented to be thus employed; and this patriotic firmness acquired him many partizans. Sobieski and Czarneski were also in high reputation; it was even confessed that they deserved the offices they were raised to; but it was added, that it was unjust to dispossess a man who filled them with so much dignity.

(*a*) Kochov. p. 164. Lengnich. p. 216.

Lubomirski, despairing of having justice done him by a regal tribunal, resolved to obtain it by arms. He entered Poland at the head of only eight hundred men; but his little troop increased continually as it advanced, and was found to be five thousand strong, by the time it reached Czenstochow, an inconsiderable town upon the Warta, in the Palatinate of Cracow. The King assembled a superior force in Siradia, and was encamped near the village of Warta; from whence he detached the Lithuanians, commanded by Polubinski, to attack the rebel army, for so it was called. But the rebels defeated the loyalists, and took a great number of prisoners, among whom were the principal officers of the army, and Polubinski himself. The conqueror treated them with all the humanity they could have expected from a friend, and dismissed them without any ransom (*a*). He did not behave to Sobieski with the same generosity; but ravaged his estates, and carried off his studs of horses. The pleasure of crushing a rival, who is raised upon our ruins, must be owned to be a temptation, that shakes the most solid virtue.

This first success laid open to him Great Poland, while the royal army was exerting its utmost efforts to stop his passage. The nobility, who at first hesitated between the King and Lubomirski, now came to a resolution, and joined the army of the subject. The storm, which threatened the destruction of the republic, was every day increasing; when two Senators, who had nothing in view but peace and justice, Andrew Trzebiski, Bishop of Chelm, and Thomas Leszczinski, Bishop of Cracow, prevailed upon the two armies, to continue in sight of each other without coming to an engagement, till the holding of an extraordinary

(*a*) Kochov. p. 173. 192.

diet,

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diet, which the King appointed to meet at Warsaw on the 17th of March; and the mediators gave hopes to Lubomirski of his restoration, and to the confederated army of the pay it required.

Lubomirski was not inflexible, but shewed that he could forgive an injury, as soon as satisfaction was made; and did not disdain, though victorious, to appear in the form of a suppliant. To prove that he was sincere in desiring peace, he quitted his army, and waited at Breslaw for the result of the deliberations of the diet. At last, the great day, which kept both the arms and minds of the Poles in suspense, arrived. The Marshal of the Deputies (*a*), who acted as speaker, enlarged in vague terms upon the advantages of peace; and when Lubomirski's partizans gave signs of impatience, he went on to the demands of the confederates. The attention of the assembly was now heightened, and the moment was supposed to be come which would produce Lubomirski and his interests upon the stage. But the orator, who kept his eyes fixed upon the King, had not the courage to enter upon the subject: and a *veto*, which issued from the midst of the assembly, put an end to the harangue and to the diet together.

Besides the King's resentment, which grew daily more and more inflamed, time had thrown a new obstacle in the way of Lubomirski's restoration. Czarneski, who had been invested with part of his spoils, the office of *Petty-General*, was lately dead; and the King had instantly conferred this important post upon Sobieski. Were it not for his distinguished merit, which spoke loudly in his favour, it

(*a*) The Chamber of Representatives or Deputies from the particular diets of every Palatinate chuses a Marshal, who presides at their deliberations, speaks in the name of the body, and gives the private members leave to deliver their sentiments.

would

would give one pain to see him rise in the midst of confusion, and upon the ruins of a hero.

The King, by this step, had put himself in a perplexing situation; being under a necessity of depriving Sobieski of the two dignities, the power and honour of which he had scarce taken possession of; and in order to give satisfaction to one man of distinguished merit, he must injure another who made already a great figure in the republic. "There is no undoing, said the courtiers, what is done; nor does it become the majesty of the throne to review its past conduct. Better far take up arms again." Accordingly, the war was begun with greater fury than ever. The King, at the head of twenty-six thousand men, marched in quest of the enemy, who had only eighteen thousand. The armies drew near each other on the 13th of July, in the Palatinate of Cujavia. On Year 1666. this occasion it was, that Sobieski first acted as General. The armies were separated by a morass, which the King ordered him to pass. Sobieski represented the danger of such a motion, it being easy to foresee that the enemy would suffer only such a number to pass as they were sure of beating. But passion either sees not at all, or sees badly. The King's troops entered the morass, were embarrassed in the mud, and crossed it with great difficulty. Besides being animated by the interests of their country, which both parties fancied they loved, at the time they were rending it in pieces, there was also a personal animosity between the two Generals, both skilful in war, and intrepid in action. A General, newly invested with that office, attacked another who had been dispossessed to make room for him. The latter, fighting in his own cause, as well as that of the confederacy, fell impetuously upon Sobieski, without giving him time to form his troops as they came out of the morass. By this means

means the royal army was overpowered, before it could come to action; and the King, who beheld the defeat from the other side, had to reproach himself with the blood of four thousand men, who remained upon the field of battle. The whole army must have been ruined, had it not been for the abilities of Sobieski, who brought it off by a retreat equally skilful and difficult (a). And though a defeated General is always in the wrong, yet his very enemies laid the fault upon the obstinacy of the King.

The King, full of regret at not having followed his advice, went and encamped upon the river Pilcza, in the Palatinate of Rava, where he shewed himself less averse to an accommodation; a thing not difficult to be brought about, as Lubomirski, without being elated with his victory, still made overtures of peace. He was inflexible in no point, but what regarded the interests of his army and his country. It was agreed that his troops should receive the sums they had been refused, and that no one should be called to account for what what was past. Nor was the capital article which had kindled the civil war, forgot. The King, by a special diploma issued on this occasion, entered into an engagement not to concern himself, in any degree with the choice of a successor, but to leave it to a free election; when the throne should become vacant. Lubomirski having thus procured satisfaction for the confederated army, and for his country, forgot himself, and was content with having the decree of his proscription revoked, without insisting upon his restitution to the dignities he had lost.

Being thus restored to favour, and having dismissed his troops, he came to Jaroszin, accompa-

(a) Lengnich. p. 219.

nied only by his principal officers, where he waited upon the King. The reconciliation was like all others which are brought about between a Prince and a subject who has made himself dreaded: and Lubomirski, being well acquainted with Kings, though free to remain in Poland, returned to Breslaw, where he died suddenly six months after; and the enemies of the court did not attribute his death to nature only (a).

Sobieski having learnt to conquer, while he served under him, now prepared to surpass his master. Hitherto he had lived in a continual scene of combats, in which being unmarried, he had often risked the putting an end to his life and his family together. Besides, he now drew near the thirty-sixth year of his age. Among the *Maids of Honour* that the Queen brought from France, without suspecting that she brought among them a future Queen, the Polish nobles took particular notice of one, whom the Queen herself honoured with peculiar favour. Her name was *Mary Casmira de la Grange*, daughter of Henry de la Grange, and Frances de la Châtre, who had been Governesses to Queen Louisa; two ancient families of the province of Berry, distinguished by having produced several Marshals of France. Henry de la Grange was better known by the name of the Marquis d'Arquien, Captain of the guards to Philip of Orleans, only brother of Lewis XIV. His daughter *Mary*, who followed the Queen into Poland, married Radziwil, Palatine of Sendomir, and Prince of Zamoski, a town of Poland, in the Palatinate of Beltz, by whom she had four children, who all died very young, and the father did not long survive them.

(a) Kochov. p. 251. & 55.

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Sobieski, persuaded that favour is a good support to merit, and knowing that the Queen still continued her protection to the young widow, instantly asked her hand, without giving her time to dry up her tears. The Queen, to preserve the decency of mourning, got them privately married, and then writ to the Marquis d'Arquien for his consent. The Marquis answered, " That it was
 " a thing unheard of to marry again in a month
 " after the death of a former husband ; that, for
 " his part, he was not dazzled with the splendor
 " of Monsieur Sobieski's name ; but that knowing
 " the little satisfaction his daughter enjoyed in her
 " first marriage, he had resolved to settle her again
 " in her native country, hoping that her Majesty's
 " known equity would leave him in full possession
 " of the authority which parents have over
 " their children, by all the laws both of God and
 " man : but that the thing being done without
 " his consent, which had consequently been considered
 " as unnecessary, the respect he owed to a
 " great Queen, prevented him from giving his
 " sentiments upon it, but that he should not forget
 " the fault committed by Madam Zamoska." Men should learn to submit to their destiny with a better grace. The Marquis would certainly have writ in another manner, could he have foreseen that this match would advance his daughter to a throne, and be the means of loading himself with wealth and honours. Pope Innocent XII. never forgot that he gave his benediction to the nuptial ceremony, while he was Apostolic Nuncio in Poland ; and testified, upon all occasions, a singular affection for this illustrious pair.

They had but a short time to enjoy the favours of the Queen, who died in 1667, employed to the last in setting secret springs at work to insure the crown of Poland to the Duke of Anguien, notwithstanding

withstanding the law lately passed in the diet. She was even accused of having given a commission to the Referendary (*a*), Andrew Morstyn, lately arrived from France, to prevail upon the Great Condé to come into Poland, where she promised him an army to set the crown upon his son's head (*b*).

She was certainly a woman of a masculine spirit, intended by nature to wear a crown, rather than admire its jewels, and much better fitted than Casimir for the management of public affairs. She always assisted at the private council where matters were prepared for the Senate, and had an equal share with the King in the direction of secret negotiations; she even appeared publicly in the diets, where she had great influence by the suffrages of her creatures, and gave occasion to frequent complaints, that her presence lessened the dignity of the republic (*c*). Besides these talents, she had also the virtues of her own sex, and was of a devotional turn of mind; a thing pretty uncommon in a Queen who has great credit in public affairs. If it be true, as some of the Polish historians will have it, that a Queen of this character suggested to the King her husband, the design of abdicating the throne, it can be accounted for only by supposing, that she was at length weary, as she said herself, of the fatigues of royalty, the murmurs of the nation, and the dissatisfaction even of those upon whom she had conferred favours. Besides, the declining state of her health made her wish for a quiet life, which was also agreeable to the King's taste. The grief occasioned by her death was of no long continu-

(*a*) There are in Poland two Referendaries, one for ecclesiastical affairs, the other for secular. Their office is to make a report of petitions to the King or the Chancellor, and to give their advice, when the King holds his court of justice.

(*b*) Lengn. p. 221. Zaluski, tom. i. part 1. p. 153.

(*c*) Lengn. p. 222.

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ance,

ance, except with the King, the favourites, the monasteries, and the churches. She had been twice a Queen, but left no children.

Year 1667.

Sobieski still possessed the favour of the King, and the esteem of the public, two things which do not always go together. His rise was also promoted by events, which fell out in his favour with uncommon rapidity. Lubomirski, by taking up arms against the King, had left vacant for him the dignity of Grand Marshal in 1665. A year after, the death of Czarneski made him Petty-General. He had now only one step left to become the most considerable person in the republic. The Grand-General Potoski died this year (1667) and Sobieski succeeded to his *staff*, resigning that of Petty-General to Demetrius Wiefnowieski, Palatine of Beltz. The two Generals do in fact receive from the King a *staff*, called *Boulaf*, which is a short mace, terminating at one end in a large head, either gilt or of massy silver, and sometimes enriched with jewels. But in the army it is not this staff of command which indicates the General, but a long lance, adorned with a horse's tail, contrived to be seen at a great distance, either upon a march, in time of action, or in the camp. The two Generals have their tents, one on the right, and the other on the left of the line, each with this ensign of office, called *Bontchouk*.

The power of a Grand-General is limited only by his own will; the greatest inconvenience of which arbitrary authority is the abuse of winter-quarters, which he may appoint where he pleases, and oppress or relieve whom he will. There had been instances of Grand-Generals who had accumulated *Starosties* (a), by forcing the gentry to sell them,

(a) A sort of governments. The lands of which they consisted, were originally part of the royal demesnes; and granted out

them at a low rate, in order to save themselves from total ruin. Sobieski, as soon as he was invested with the command, renounced this privilege of appointing winter-quarters, in order to deprive his successors of the means of being tyrants. He himself might have tyrannized more than any man, if he had had that unfeeling nature which is too often united with power. Besides the staff of Grand-General, he possessed, as has been said, that of Grand-Marshal, and by this means had in his hands both the civil and military power, a circumstance which at first occasioned great murmuring, because both the spirit and the custom of the republic directed, that these two offices should be always kept separate, as their union confers too formidable a power upon one man: but Sobieski's conduct soon put a stop to all discontent.

An army of fourscore thousand Tartars appeared upon the frontiers of the kingdom, and was already laying waste Podolia, Volhinia, and the Palatinate of Russia. The Cossacks, always irritated against their masters, from whom they had lately received fresh grounds of discontent, were ready to join in any attempt that aimed at their destruction; and they marched for this purpose under the command of Doroscensko, a chief of less ability, but greater obstinacy, than Chmilienski. Poland was exhausted of men, by so many wars: its army consisted only of between ten and twelve thousand men; and the state was so far from being able to pay fresh troops, that the Grand-Treasurer declared there was not money enough for the old ones. The King, wholly abandoned to grief, and disgusted more than ever with the crown, no longer exerted

out by the crown to the nobles, to enable them to bear the expences of military expeditions, reserving only a right of nominating to them when they should become vacant.

Y. 1667. himself to support its weight. In the mean time, the evil grew more urgent: the Tartars, sustained by the Cossacks, advanced daily; and there was some reason to be under apprehensions from the Turks (a).

The republic expected nothing but ruin; but Sobieski did not despair. If ever he wanted a second, it was upon this occasion; but every thing failed together; for the Petty-General, Wiesnowieski, a man of experience and abilities, was dangerously ill. The whole weight of the war fell therefore upon Sobieski, who laboured to encrease his little army. Being to march over his own ample territories, it was there supplied with recruits. These he joined to such as came from other quarters, formed magazines of provisions, exhausted his own private purse, borrowed large sums to supply the public treasury, and marched with twenty thousand men towards the Palatinate of Ruffia, there to defeat a hundred thousand. He was no sooner arrived, than he detached Konicpolski towards Tarnopol, Szlieniski to Leopold, Modrewski into Brzeſcia; and secured the passages of the rivers by different bodies of troops, in order to stop the inroads of the Tartars (b). He gave the command of two thousand horse to an officer, named *Piwot*, who usually led a marauding party, but had all the abilities of a general, with orders to scour the country, and harass the enemy incessantly. He himself marched towards the enemy's camp, and, as if victory had been at his command, writ to his wife, who was gone to visit France her native country, that "on such a day he would, with twelve thousand men, shut himself up in a fortified camp before Podahiecz, a place that Do-

(a) Zalufki, tom. i. part. 1. p. 9.

(b) Id. p. 2.

“ roscensko intended to besiege; that on the mor-
 “ row, and the following days, he would sally
 “ out upon the enemy; that he had placed am-
 “ buscades on all sides, and would in the end ruin
 “ this great army.”

The Prince of Condé, to whom this letter was shown, could see no possibility of success. Most of the Polish officers loudly condemned the dispositions of their leader; they said that to divide in this manner so small an army, was to destroy it; and that it was necessary they should all conquer or perish together. This discourse begun to spread among the common soldiers, and there was reason to fear the army would be disheartened. Upon such occasions, it is as necessary that a general should *speak*, as that he should *act* upon others. “ I am
 “ determined, says he, to make no change in my
 “ plan; the event will shew whether it be well laid
 “ or not. As to what remains, I lay no restraint
 “ upon such as have not the courage to face a glo-
 “ rious death. Let them retire, and die in flight
 “ by the sword of a Cossack or a Tartar. For
 “ myself, I shall stay here, with all those brave
 “ souls who love their country. This crowd of
 “ robbers makes no impression upon my mind.
 “ I know that Heaven has often given victory to
 “ small numbers, when animated with valour;
 “ and can you doubt but God will be for us against
 “ these infidels?” All who were present looked
 at each other, and blushed; and no one thought of leaving the camp (a).

The Barbarians were free to march on and penetrate into the heart of Poland: but they chose rather to deprive the kingdom of its only resource, by attacking this little army with all their forces; and they were too well acquainted with Sobieski to

(a) Zal. tom. i. part 1. p. 10.

Y. 167. leave him behind them. He had already taken some prisoners, whom he made use of to menace the Tartarian General, at a time when he had every thing to fear himself. Go, says he to the prisoners as he dismissed them, *tell the Sultan Nuradin, that I will treat him in the same manner that he treated my brother: I will have bead for bead.* The only answer that Nuradin gave, was to hasten the attack (a).

Among the Polish officers who defended the entrenchments, there were several who had acquired great glory in former actions; and they were now employed with all the marks of confidence and distinction that they deserved. Alexander Polanowski commanded on the left; Uladislus Wilczowski, on the right; the center was committed to the care of Stanislas Jablonowski, Palatine of Russia, of whom it was become a proverbial saying, *Is he greater in the senate than in the field?* The Grand-General undertook the inspection of the whole (b).

The enemy poured in upon the camp on all sides, and were on all sides warmly received, while the artillery kept playing briskly. At length they forced their way in a weak place, and the Poles running thither, repulse, expel, pursue them, sabre in hand, beyond the entrenchments. The plain was soon covered with dead bodies, but there fell only four hundred Poles: the Tartars carried off theirs, to burn them according to the custom of the nation. Sobieski, having stood this first assault, did not make all the advantage of this success that fortune seemed to invite him to. The assailants had much to lose, but he had every thing to save. He there-

(a) Chruscinski.

(b) Zaluski. tom. i. part 1. p. 11.

fore returned to his entrenchments to make the most of any favourable opportunity that should offer.

A battle is generally over in a few hours; but in this case there was a continued action of seventeen days together, on each of which both sides fought as if the present had been the decisive moment. On the part of the assailants, whose superior number gave them confidence, it was attack upon attack; on the part of the besieged, defence upon defence, sally upon sally. The last day of all was the most bloody. Sobieski had given orders to the several detachments, which had occasioned such murmurs in the army by their separation, to approach insensibly towards the camp. The Barbarians, provoked and disheartened by so obstinate a resistance made by so small a number, had resolved upon a general assault: and the moment was near which must determine the safety or ruin of the republic.

Sobieski, instead of waiting to be attacked, quitted his entrenchments and marched to meet the enemy. His troops had learnt, from the preceding actions, that this crowd of opponents was not invincible. The Barbarians, astonished at such boldness, testified their joy by loud cries, which were instantly succeeded by the battle. A deluge of blood was spilt, and victory still continued uncertain; but before it declared for either side, the several detachments arrived, and attacked the enemy in flank. The braye *Piwot* in particular, after having laid waste the quarters of the Cossacks, carried off their convoys, and repulsed their foraging parties, redoubled his glorious efforts, attacked, sabre in hand, with his two thousand horse, and drove all before him. The very sutlers and peasants converted every thing they could find into arms, and resolved to bear a share in the victory, which was now but feebly disputed. The carnage

Y. 1667. would have been universal; if the victors had not been wearied with slaughter. The Tartars, little accustomed to pitched battles, begun to look behind them; and soon after gave way; lost their ranks, took to flight, and drew the Cossacks after them. At this juncture, Sobieski, whose bravery and skill had animated the whole action, hoped to keep his word with Nuradin, and ordered his life to be spared, if he should be overtaken in the rout, that he might sacrifice him to the manes of his brother. But Nuradin and Doroscensko had retired so early as to fear no pursuit, leaving twenty thousand of their men dead upon the field of battle. After their retreat, the Poles saw, with horror, all the ravages they had committed, the villages sacked, the country-seats and town-palaces of the nobles levelled with the ground, the churches burnt, carcases piled in heaps upon the ruins, and the frontiers entirely laid waste; but the body of the state was preserved (a); and Sobieski's success astonished Poland, the Prince of Condé, and France.

The Barbarians, who had begun the war, now sued for peace, which the conquerors wanted more than the conquered. Jablonowski was appointed to settle the conditions of the treaty, which was impeded by one difficulty. The infidels demanded and offered hostages; whereas the christians alledged that a peace confirmed by oaths made them useless. The Tartars still insisted upon their demand, and answered that past events had taught them what value they ought to set upon oaths. At last, the article of hostages was agreed to, and the peace was signed the 19th of October (b).

Sobieski, preceded by victory, returned to Warsaw. He received upon the road the homage of

(a) Lengnich. p. 22. and 23.

(b) Zaluski. tom. i. part. 1. p. 13. and 15.

the inhabitants for all the possessions he had preserved them; nor was the capital sparing of its acclamations. Y. 1667.

Another subject of joy, attended with less lustre, but perhaps more solid satisfaction, was his becoming a father. His wife was brought to bed at Paris of a son, whom the virtues of his father were destined to raise in time to the rank of princes. The child's Godfather was Lewis XIV. and he was named James-Lewis, uniting by this means the names of his illustrious grandfather, and a great monarch.

The winter is the season usually allotted for diets, that the operations of war may not be interrupted. Y. 1668.
That of the present year was opened in the month of February. The republic of Poland has many customs which greatly resemble those of ancient Rome. The Grand-General gave an account of the instructions he had received from the senate, of the operations and success of the campaign, and the distinguished actions of those who shared his labours, dwelling upon these much longer than upon his own. His discourse was received with applause by all the orders of the assembly; and the Vice-Chancellor rising from his seat at the foot of the throne, gave solemn thanks, in the name of the republic, to the deliverer of his country, and all who had assisted in its preservation (a): a custom admirably calculated to raise emulation, but impracticable in pure monarchies, where the King engrosses all attention.

Casimir had no other share in this victory, but ordering prayers for the success of the campaign, and giving solemn thanks to God in the great church of Warsaw. A deep melancholy preyed upon his spirits: he was inconsolable for the loss of

(a) Zalufki, tom. i. p. 33.

the

Y. 1668.

the Queen; and yet, by no uncommon contradiction between the judgment and the affections, his conscience was uneasy at having married her. The authority of the Holy See had long quieted his scruples; but he now looked upon himself as accountable for all the calamities which the voice of the public attributed to his marriage and his administration. His mind, overwhelmed with grief, was sensible only of the burdens of royalty. He recalled to his memory the many disgusts that had been given him upon different occasions, the violence done to his inclinations in taking up arms against the Cossacks, the confederacy of Lubomirski, the revolt of a great part of the nobles, the perpetual declamations against the Queen, who was accused of engaging him in the projects of foreign courts, the invectives made by the deputies in full diet against the French ambassador, Peter de Bonzi, Bishop of Beziers, a subtle and insinuating Italian, who was highly in the King's favour, and their obstinacy in insisting upon his dismissal in spite of the court. He could not get out of his mind what a deputy had told him to his face, a little before the death of the Queen, *That the calamities of Poland would not end but with his reign.* The diminution of his German guard, though paid out of his own revenue (a), was another circumstance that hurt him greatly. He could see nothing in his regal dignity but a vast burden, which the Queen no longer helped him to support, and which he wanted to remove from his shoulders.

Lewis XIV. had not laid aside his project of reigning in Poland, by procuring that crown for the Duke of Anguien. He commissioned his ambassador to offer abbeys instead of a kingdom, and what-

(a) Zaluzki, tom. i. p. 161. The King's foreign guard may be more or less numerous. That which the republic provides him, consists of 1200 men.

ever place of residence Casimir should fix upon in his whole dominions. The King of Poland's character must have been thoroughly known, or such proposals would never have been made him. The republic as yet knew nothing of the King's having formed a design to quit the throne. He had indeed dropped such a hint a few hours after the Queen's death; but his confidants supposed that he would think no more of it, as soon as the grave was closed; and they kept it a profound secret. The senators had no apprehensions but of another marriage contrary to the inclinations of the republic, and therefore hastened to propose to him one that it could approve.

There were at that time in Europe, as there are now, many Princesses to be disposed of in marriage, and but few husbands to be got. Every state made an offer of such as it could furnish: their pictures were to be seen in the castle of Warsaw; and the King was the only person who never looked at them. To get rid of such troublesome objects, he had nothing to do but to say, *I abdicate*. These words he was resolved upon pronouncing soon, and had already signified his intention to all foreign courts. His letter to Pope Clement IX. contains these words, which gave great edification at Rome, and great scandal at Warsaw: *The diadem for which I am indebted to the benediction of the holy apostolic see, I lay down at your Holiness's feet (a)*. Nothing however was effected by these measures, without treating with his own subjects, who alone could resume the crown they had given him.

He therefore assembled the senate in the month of May, without declaring the subject of their meeting. The senators were all in suspense at this

(a) Zaluski, tom. i. p. 38. and 154.

Y. 1688.

uncertainty, till the Vice-Chancellor Olfowski put an end to it, by taking from the King's hands a paper which he watered with his tears, and read with a voice interrupted by frequent sighs: "The King has resolved to interpose some space of time between the hurry and agitation of a throne, and that state of eternal peace, to which he resolves to dedicate entirely his future thoughts. The hour cannot be far off, which will render him unable to bear the weight of a crown; and he chuses rather to anticipate this hour, than to be overtaken by it. He has heard the murmurings of the nation against his government; he knows the unfavourable constructions that have more than once been put upon his intentions, so as even to accuse him of contriving to get a successor elected by violence. He will therefore deliver the republic from its apprehensions, by resigning the sceptre into the same hands that intrusted it to him. This design is irrevocably resolved on: he therefore desires the senate to spare both itself and him the trouble of useless persuasions to alter it."

It was visible on this occasion, how greatly the affections of men are influenced by whatever has an air of disinterestedness, and greatness of mind. The King, by quitting the throne, seemed to have acquired the qualifications necessary to fill it. All the senators, with their eyes bathed in tears, made signs to the Primate to speak. He rose up, and represented to the King, "that it was cruel to repudiate a nation which had shed so much blood in his cause, and to deliver up a christian republic to the attacks of Barbarians; that they could not submit to have their King wander over the earth, in search of a retreat, without being sure to find it; that if he was fond of repose, the republic had excellent Generals and Ministers; that if his

" con-

“ conscience disturbed him, there were Bishops and Popes to remedy this evil.” As he went on in this harangue, he continued advancing to prostrate himself before the throne, and all the Senators with him. Y. 1668.

This Asiatic custom for subjects to kneel when they address Kings, was hitherto unknown in Poland, and shewed a strange contradiction in the manners of a free people. The King, more careful than they of the public honour, avoided this prostration, by representing to them that it was forgetting themselves, and debasing the dignity of the Senate. After which, he appointed them a day to consider the form of abdication (a).

The Poles were unprovided with a precedent on this occasion, the flight of Henry de Valois being an abdication, not in form, but in effect, which forced the republic to declare the throne vacant. Those who continued attached to Casimir, maintained, that the union between the King and his subjects was indissoluble; but such as desired a change, thought it would be sufficient for him to make his abdication before the Senate. After many debates, it was unanimously resolved, that as Casimir had ascended the throne by the suffrages of all the estates of the realm, he must also descend from it by the same steps. The King, who still continued fixed in his design, appointed a general diet to meet on the 30th of August.

During this interval, he received letters from several sovereigns, who exhorted him to continue on the throne; and considered his uneasiness at having quitted his ecclesiastical profession, and the constant meditation of eternity for the promotion of his temporal greatness, as the effect of undigested scruples. Pope Clement IX. highly pleased with

(a) Zaluski, tom. i. p. 35 & 157.

Y. 1668. the docility he had always shewn towards the holy see, writ to him with his own hand, that *if his conscience was disturbed, he might send his Confessor to Rome to bring from thence the necessary remedies.* These letters getting abroad, made it doubtful whether the King would abdicate or not; and the uncertainty was augmented by his seeming to be less sorrowful, and employing himself more about public than private affairs: for he assisted in the courts of justice, added new ornaments to his palace, encreased his guards, and gave frequent entertainments (a). It was recollected, that in a diet held a little before the Queen's death, being provoked and wearied out with the opposition made to his measures, he had said in a passionate tone: "I have listened to what you have to say; do you also listen to me. I see that you want to give me pain. If you are tired of having me for your King, I am much more tired of having you for my subjects." Notwithstanding this positive declaration, he had still continued to reign. His subjects therefore, looked at each other, and none would venture to declare his thoughts. There were several who reproached themselves, with having been perhaps too plain in expressing their desire of a change.

At length the day that was to unravel the whole mystery arrived. The novelty and importance of the scene made a strong impression upon all. Senators, Equestrians, Deputies, Marshals of diets, Prelates, Palatines, Castellans, Starosts, Great Officers of the Crown, not a man was absent. Casimir, who was now seated upon the throne for the last time, considering himself as having already quitted it, did not employ the usual organ of Kings to signify his will, but spoke himself in the following terms:

(a) Zalufki, tom. i. p. 158.

“ People

“ People of Poland,

Y. 1668.

“ It is now two hundred and eighty years that
 “ you have been governed by my family. The
 “ reign of my ancestors is past, and mine is just
 “ going to expire. Fatigued by the labours of
 “ war, the cares of the cabinet, and the weight
 “ of age; oppressed with the burdens and solici-
 “ tudes of a reign of twenty-one years, I, your
 “ King and father, return into your hands what
 “ the world esteems above all things, a Crown;
 “ and chuse for my throne six feet of earth, where
 “ I shall sleep in peace with my fathers. When
 “ you shew my tomb to your children, tell them,
 “ that I was the foremost in battle, and the last
 “ in retreat, that I renounced regal grandeur for
 “ the good of my country, and restored my sceptre
 “ to those who gave it me. It was your affection
 “ for me that exalted me to the highest rank, and it
 “ was my affection for you that makes me quit it.
 “ Many of my predecessors have transmitted the
 “ sceptre to their children or brothers; and I de-
 “ liver it to my country, whose child and father I
 “ have been; and from this moment I descend
 “ from the pinnacle of greatness to mix with the
 “ inferior throng; from a ruler I become a subject,
 “ from your King, your fellow-citizen; and leave
 “ my throne to whoever you shall think worthy to
 “ fill it. The republic will make a good choice,
 “ and be blessed with prosperity, if heaven listens
 “ to the prayers I shall put up in the solitude to
 “ which I am retiring. Nothing remains but that
 “ I thank the republic for all the favours it has
 “ done me, for all the advice it has given me, for
 “ all the loyalty it has shewn me; and if, contrary
 “ to my intention, I have had the unhappiness of
 “ displeasing any, I desire them to impute it to
 “ the

Y. 1668. “ the misfortune of the times, or to fate; and to
 “ forgive me as I forgive all who may have of-
 “ fended me. I bid you all adieu, and bear you
 “ all in my affections. Distance of place may se-
 “ parate me from the republic: but my heart shall
 “ always be with that affectionate parent; and I
 “ ordain that my ashes be deposited in her bo-
 “ som (a).”

If Casimir did not shew all the greatness of mind that might have been expected, while he continued on the throne, he seemed to come near it upon his quitting that station. The Senate renewed its sighs; and even the Equestrian order, which had so often expressed its discontent, and addressed him so roughly, upon many occasions, conjured him not to abandon the helm of government: tears streamed from every eye; but they were like those which are shed at a tragedy, that leave no impression upon the heart when the spectacle is over. If Casimir had been prevailed on to resume the helm, it is probable that the former complaints and murmurs would have been heard again. It became him, however, to lend an ear to the last representations the republic would have an opportunity to make him. Sarnowski, Marshal of the diet, spoke in the name of all, and omitted nothing which decency required, to dissuade the King. But he first represented the abdication of a throne, as the most heroic effort of which the human mind is capable; he blamed Augustus for deliberating about it twenty years, and not having the courage to do it at last, and bestowed the highest praises upon the few great souls, such as Sylla, Dioclesian, and Charles V. who had the resolution to part with sovereign power (b).

(a) Zaluski, tom. i. part 1. p. 57.

(b) Id. ibid. p. 55.

Such

Such a discourse was not likely to alter the King's design. Night being now advancing, the diet rose, and the republic employed the following days in coming to a final resolution. Casimir was not a tyrant; and had he been so, a tyrant is never universally hated. The persons whom he had much obliged, or who would be losers by his resignation, were earnest for his being solicited a-new in a stronger manner than before. In this number was Sobieski, more however out of gratitude than ambition; for being already Grand-General, and Grand-Marshal, what further could he hope? The majority was of opinion that sufficient entreaties had been used: and that after so many tender scenes, it was time to provide for the public good. It was allowed, that Casimir was a good husband, a good master, and a good friend; that he was of a mild and affable temper, a lover of justice, when he knew on which side it lay, and even a good soldier, with respect to personal courage; but the thing complained of was his want of application and talents for government. Do you not recollect, said the Poles to each other, the life he led in the arms of the queen; how his palace was shut up immediately after dinner; with what diligence all business was kept at a distance; how many hours he threw away in his gardens, in hunting, gaming, and other amusements, which were often protracted so late at night, as to encroach upon the labours of the succeeding day; what a relish he always discovered for a private life, and how much disgust for a public one? Have we not seen him fly into passions upon the bench, in the Senate, in diets, and shew an indecent aversion for the labours of a royal station? Let us no longer weary him with useless remonstrances: to take from him a burthen, which, by his own confession, he can no longer bear, is to serve him,

I

and

Y. 1658. and shew him our affection (a). The Primate, Prazmowski, who had no objection to acting the part of interrex, supported this opinion; and they thought no longer but of settling two articles; one of which, viz. the pension of the abdicated King, was fixed at three hundred thousand florins. The other, which was the instrument of abdication, gave them more trouble; for as they had no form in readiness, it was necessary to compile one. Such an act is worth preserving in history, to be useful to such Kings, as being convinced of their insufficiency, shall be willing to imitate Casimir.

We, John Casimir, King of Poland, and Grand-Duke of Lithuania, do make known to present and future generations, that finding ourselves weakened by age, and oppressed with the many labours to which our strength is no longer equal, we have taken, of our own proper motion, a resolution to abdicate our crown, in order to apply ourselves, with less interruption, to the great business of our salvation. For this purpose, we assembled the senate at Warsaw on the 12th. of June, to communicate to it our intentions. But the Senators, equally surprized at the greatness and novelty of such a resolution, referred the cognizance of it to the tribunal of the whole republic. We therefore appointed an assembly of all the estates of the realm on the 21st of August; where, no sooner had we pronounced the word of abdication, than we experienced the affection and regret of our faithful subjects, who, recollecting all the benefits conferred by our ancestors upon the republic, and in particular, all that we ourselves have done for its advantage, omitted no arguments to prevail with us to continue upon

(a) Zalufki, tom. i. part 1. p. 160.

the

the throne. But our resolution continuing unshaken, it becomes necessary to proceed to a solemn abdication before all the estates of the realm; and accordingly, after mature deliberation, and with the consent of the whole kingdom, “ We John Casimir, being in perfect health of body and mind, do freely and voluntarily resign the Crown of Poland, and the Grand-Dutchy of Lithuania, and all the dominions thereunto belonging. We abdicate, for the present, and for the future, all the prerogatives of royalty; and we give back the crown, with all its dependencies, into the hands of the Senate, the Deputies, and the whole republic; releasing from their oath of fidelity, obedience, and homage, all the estates of the realm, and every subject in particular: and in virtue of this abdication, an interregnum being now commenced, the most reverend Archbishop of Gnesna, Primate of the kingdom, is authorized to proceed, in conjunction with the estates of the realm, to the election of a new King, according to the established laws and usages; and we promise not to concern ourselves, in any manner, with the said election. In witness whereof, and for a perpetual ratification of the same, we have affixed our royal seal to this instrument, and signed it with our hand. Given at Warsaw, in the general diet of the kingdom, on the 17th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1668, and of our reign the twenty-first.”

By this deed, the republic was discharged from all obligation towards the King: but the King was not so towards the republic, till by a reciprocal deed his abdication was accepted, his engagements towards his subjects dissolved, and he himself released from the *pacta conventa*, which he had sworn to at

Y. 1666. his coronation. When this was over, there succeeded harangues of mutual farewell, in which the head had a greater share than the heart; after which the abdicated King was conducted to the suburbs of Warsaw, and received upon this occasion, for the last time, the honours that were henceforth no longer due to him (*a*).

He was the last of the race of the Jagellons, which had reigned near three hundred years. Nothing could be more diversified than the fortune of this Prince. Though born the son of a King, he could not resist the temptation of entering into a monastic life; a sort of disease, says the Abbé de Saint Pierre, which often seizes youth, and which he calls the small-pox of the mind. The Pope cured him of this disorder, by making him a Cardinal. The Cardinal was then changed into a King; and after having governed a kingdom, he came into France to govern Monks. The two abbeys of St. Germain in the Fields, and St. Martin at Nevers, which Lewis XIV. gave him, became a necessary revenue for his subsistence; for the Poles refused to pay him the stipulated pension, which is but a bad proof of the sincerity of the tears that were shed at his abdication. At the same time there were great murmurings in France, at a stranger's coming to eat the children's bread. There were others who attacked his supposed want of the virtues which became his new profession; for he had frequent interviews with *Mary Mignot*, the celebrated laundress, whom the caprice of fortune had first raised to be the wife of a Counsellor of the parliament of Grenoble, and afterwards to the same connection with Marshal de l'Hopital. This singular woman, who had been twice left a widow,

(*a*) Zaluskai, tom. i. part 1. p. 57, 58, & 59.

assured

affured Gourville, that she was privately married to King Casimir. This title of King, which he commonly went by, his former subjects refused to give him, alledging that the utmost they could allow him was the title of *Ex-King* (*b*). If he repented of his abdication, his regret was of no long continuance, for he was soon delivered from it by death. Y. 1668.

(a) Zaluski, tom. i. part i. p. 140.

End of the SECOND BOOK.

THE
HISTORY
OF
JOHN SOBIESKI
KING OF POLAND.

BOOK III.

Y. 1668.

AS soon as any nation wants a Governor, there is no Prince who does not think himself capable of discharging that office, not excepting even youths, who have as yet done nothing, either in the cabinet or in the field. Upon the present occasion, there appeared several candidates; the Czar of Muscovy's son; Ragotski, Prince of Transylvania; the young Duke of Anguien; and in case of his being rejected, the Prince of Condé his father. There were also two others, who entered the lists; Prince Charles of Lorraine, son of Duke Francis; and the Duke of Newburg, Palatine of the Rhine.

The republic soon dismissed the four first for different reasons; the Czar's son, on account of his reli-

religion, though he offered to renounce it; but that this offer did not proceed from conviction; was evident from his thinking no more of it, after he missed the Crown. Ragotski was rejected, because Poland was still smoking with the fire of that war which his father had kindled in the kingdom. The objections to the Duke of Anguien were, his own youth, and a crime committed by another, it being in his favour that Casimir had attempted to bring on a premature election, against the most sacred law of the republic. Even France had withdrawn from him her protection, and given it to the Prince of Condé his father. The son could only give hopes of future merit; the father was already an accomplished hero, celebrated for almost as many victories as he had fought battles, never defeated but by Turenne, and this without any loss of glory; a statesman as well as a General. It required great efforts to ruin the interest of such a competitor for the crown of Poland: the assistance of Calumny was called in, and France furnished the scandal. A libel was transmitted to Poland, and industriously handed about among the Electors.

It was there said, “ that Troy and all its glory
 “ were now no more; that the hero, sinking under
 “ the excesses of his youth, much more than the
 “ weight of years, oppressed with the gout, and with
 “ a disorder in his nerves, which had destroyed all
 “ their elasticity, was obliged to be carried about
 “ like a monument of his former glory; that he
 “ spent his days in indolence, being incapable of
 “ all application; that, if the God of War had formerly
 “ animated him in battle, the Goddess of
 “ wisdom had never inspired him in council; that
 “ he had never known peace, and breathed nothing
 “ but war, for which he was no longer fit;
 “ that supposing his genius should revive, it would

Y. 1668. “ be only to ruin the Polish discipline, which he
 “ would model after the French manner.” The
 libel added, “ that his heart was incapable of
 “ any sentiments of humanity or friendship; that
 “ he had abandoned the Duke of Bouillon and Tu-
 “ renne, who had attached themselves to his for-
 “ tune; that he was of a haughty and violent tem-
 “ per; had treated the French Senate with great
 “ indignity, in the time of the civil war; and had
 “ hired incendiaries to set fire to the Palace where it
 “ was assembled. Nor was his religion represented in
 “ a more favourable light than his moral character.
 “ The practices of the church were the constant
 “ object of his ridicule; he had never been seen
 “ at confession; and his table was covered with
 “ flesh on Fridays. A Polish nobleman had been
 “ present on such an occasion, and made no secret
 “ of what he had seen. Another was witness to
 “ his having danced upon a Saint’s day.” Even
 the pleasantries which were laughed at, at Paris,
 gave great offence at Warsaw. It was made an
 objection to him, that being once at supper with
 Cardinal Mazarin, he said to a page, *Give me some
 of the wine that the Cardinal drinks, when he is in
 private with Madam * * ** The Polish Bishops
 considered this pleasantry as a want of respect for
 the Cardinalship and the Church: nor did they
 forget his own amours, as if Princes ought not to
 be excused in every foible that has no influence upon
 public affairs. In short, the offer which France
 made to Poland of the Prince of Condé, was not
 so much, it was said, with a view of serving that
 kingdom, as of getting rid of him (a).

While Poland was setting out the hero of *Ro-
 croi* in such odious colours, he made himself mas-
 ter of *Franche-Comté* (at that time as free as its

(a) Zaluski, tom. i. p. 83.

name imports) in less than three weeks. He had indeed previously bribed the Governor, and the Abbé *John de Vatteville*, who, after having been an officer in the army, then a Carthusian, then a Muffulman in Turkey, and lastly an ecclesiastic, closed the scene with betraying his King and his country. Nevertheless, the Prince's expedition, in which he had both intrigues and sieges to carry on, shewed that he had still ability and vigour. But the Poles were at this time disposed to believe every thing against France and Frenchmen: "The levity and impetuosity of that nation, said they, will never suit with our phlegm and gravity. Their boundless ambition would involve us in all their wars, and their arrogance deprive us of all our glory. Have not some of them been heard to say, that the Poles were indeed brave, when headed by Frenchmen? They have no esteem but for their own nation, and their own King, who aims at universal monarchy. They have compiled a book (a), which gives him a right to all the countries that his arms can reach. Ours, among the rest, must come to take its trial; and the Sorbonne, the Parliament, or a Court of Justice, will give sentence for our destruction (b)."

Such were the efforts made to ruin the Prince of Condé's party. It received its last blow from Lewis XIV. himself, who, a little before, had treated with the Swedes to force the election in the Prince's favour. A sudden revolution had changed the interests of France, the Elector of Brandenburg having lately joined its enemies, and made himself formidable in the Low-countries. It

(a) Entitled *Recherche des Droits, a Discussion of Rights*; composed by order of the court of France, and containing large claims upon the dominions of most of the neighbouring Princes.

(b) *Zaluski*, tom. i. p. 84.

was

Y. 1668. was of great importance to disunite him from the allies, by presenting to his view the crown of Poland for the Duke of Newburg, from whom he expected great advantages to his family. Lewis therefore hesitated not to declare to the Poles, that he desisted from his first demand, and transferred all his interest to the Duke of Newburg. (a).

Year 1669.

Things were in this situation, when the diet of election was opened in the month of May. As soon as the throne is vacant, all the courts of justice, and other ordinary springs of the machine of government, remain in a state of inaction, and all the authority is transferred to the Primate, who, in quality of interrex, has in some respects more power than the King himself; and yet the republic takes no umbrage at it, because he has not time to make himself formidable. He notifies the vacancy of the throne to foreign Princes, which is in effect proclaiming that a crown is to be disposed of; he issues the *universals* (b) for the election; gives orders to the Starosts to keep a strict guard upon the fortified places, and to the Grand-Generals to do the same upon the frontiers, towards which the army marches. If a foreign Minister was to present himself there, at this juncture, he would be refused admission, till he received a passport from the Primate. The singular situation of affairs made the Poles think once more of Casimir, who, notwithstanding his abdication, had not yet quitted the kingdom. He was obliged to remove forty leagues from Warsaw, that he might be out of the way of forming any party.

The place of election is the field of Wola, at the gates of Warsaw. All the nobles of the king-

(a) Zaluski, tom. i. p. 83. and 154.

(b) *Litteræ universales*. Circular letters sent by the Kings of Poland to the provinces and grandees of the kingdom upon public affairs.

dom have a right of voting. The Poles encamp on the left side of the Vistula, and the Lithuanians on the right, each under the banners of their respective Palatinates, which makes a sort of civil army, consisting of between a hundred and fifty, and two hundred thousand men, assembled to exercise the highest act of freedom. Those who are not able to provide a horse and a sabre, stand behind on foot, armed with scythes, and do not seem at all less proud than the rest, as they have the same right of voting.

The field of election is surrounded by a ditch, with three gates, in order to avoid confusion, one to the east, for Great Poland, another to the south, for Little Poland, and a third to the west for Lithuania. In the middle of the field, which is called *Kolau*, is erected a vast building of wood, named the *Szopa*, or Hall for the Senate, at whose debates the Deputies are present, and carry the result of them to the several Palatinates. The part which the Marshal acts upon this occasion is still more important than in ordinary diets, for, being *the mouth* of the nobility, he has it in his power to do great service to the candidates; he is also to draw up the instrument of election, and the King elect must take it only from his hand. Upon the present occasion, one of the Potozki family filled this important post.

It is prohibited, upon pain of being declared a public enemy, to appear at the election with regular troops, in order to avoid all violence. But the nobles, who are always armed with pistols and sabres, commit violence against one another, at the time that they cry out *liberty*.

All who aspire openly to the crown, are expressly excluded from the field of election, that their presence may not constrain the voters. The King must be elected *nemine contradicente*, by all the suffrages without exception. A single noble opposed the

Y. 1669. the election of Uladiflas VII. and being asked what objection he could make to him, *None at all*, answered he, *but I will not suffer him to be King*: The proclamation was suspended for some hours, which were employed in bringing him over. The attempt succeeded, and the King would fain know the motive of his opposition. *I had a mind to see*, said the nobleman, *whether our liberty was still in being or not. I am satisfied that it is; and you shall not have a better subject than me.* The law is founded upon this principle, that when a vast family adopts a father, all the children have a right to be pleased. The idea is plausible in speculation; but if it was rigorously kept to, Poland could have no such thing as a lawful King. They therefore give up a real unanimity, and content themselves with the appearance of it; or rather, if the law which prescribes it cannot be fulfilled by means of money, they call in the assistance of the fabre.

Before they come to this extremity, no election can possibly be carried on with more order, decency, and appearance of freedom. The Primate, in few words, recapitulates to the nobles on horseback, the respective merit of the candidates, which has already been examined in the dietines; he exhorts them to chuse the most worthy, invokes heaven, gives his blessing to the assembly, and remains alone with the Marshal of the diet, while the Senators disperse themselves into the several Palatinates, to promote an unanimity of sentiments. If they succeed, the Primate goes himself to collect the votes, naming once more all the candidates. *Szoda*, answer the nobles; *that is the man we chuse*, and instantly the air resounds with his name, with cries of *vivat*, and the noise of pistols. If all the Palatinates agree in their nomination, the Primate gets on horseback; and then the profoundest silence suc-

succeeding to the greatest noise, he asks three times, if all are satisfied; and after a general approbation, three times proclaims the King; and the Grand-Marshal of the crown repeats the proclamation three times at the three gates of the camp. How glorious a King this, if endued with royal qualities! And how incontestible his title in the suffrages of a whole people!

This sketch of a free and peaceable election is, by no means, a representation of what usually happens. The corruption of the great, the fury of the people, intrigues and factions, the gold and the arms of foreign powers, frequently fill the scene with violence and blood. The Czar Alexis, to secure the election of his son Fædor, was advancing with an army of fourscore thousand men. He was not yet the father of Peter I. whose greatness was to astonish the earth. The Grand-Chancellor of Lithuania, Casimir Paz, saved his country by amusing Alexis, who came to destroy it; and while he flattered him with the hopes of gaining his point, without drawing the sword, the Poles were discussing the claims of two other competitors, the Duke of Newburg, and Prince Charles of Lorrain.

The former, already sixty years old, was supported not only by Sweden, and the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, but also by the King of France and the Emperor. This cabal presented one of those singularities which always astonish those who know nothing of Princes. Lewis XIV. abandoned a Prince of the house of Bourbon, and Leopold, a Prince of Lorrain, whom he considered as the chief of the eldest branch of his family; and both to protect a stranger.

Prince Charles of Lorrain, son of Duke Francis, and nephew of the inconstant Charles IV. who spent his whole life in losing his dominions, and recovering them again, had to recommend him the
flower

Y. 1669. flower of age, a happy countenance, an heroic figure, strength of body, vigour of mind, the reputation of being humane, application to business, and talents for war, of which he had given proofs in Hungary. There were two other circumstances which presented him in a favourable light. Being yet unmarried, he might make such a choice as the republic approved; and the Prince of Lixen, his Ambassador, told all the nobility, that his master presented himself unsupported by foreign powers, that he might owe his elevation to them only, and testify his gratitude as became a King. Nor were there wanting some zealous jesuits, who, to increase his interest, gravely assured the Poles, that he had a great devotion for the Virgin, and that there were three hundred saints in his own family, whose litanies he daily repeated (a). Having no dominions, his private agents were only his confessor the Jesuit Richard, and an Irish Monk, disguised in the habit of a cavalier. Such emissaries were not likely to procure him great regard.

The assembly was already proceeding to vote, and the decisive moment approached, when Debiczki, standard-bearer of Sandomir, a man venerable for his sanctity of manners and grey hairs, gave the Equestrian order to understand, "That the
 " faction of the Prince of Condé was reviving;
 " that a suspicious assembly had been held at the
 " Primate Prazmowski's; that the usual artifices
 " of France were well known; that the Ambassa-
 " dor of that crown publicly declared one thing,
 " while another was contriving in private; that
 " Condé would be proclaimed at a time when it
 " was least expected, if measures were not speedi-
 " ly taken to prevent it." Immediately the Equestrian order ran to the Senate, to insist upon the

(a) Zaluski, tom. i. p. 44.

exclusion of the Prince: the demand was perplexing; and the Primate sought his answer in the looks of the Senators.

Sobieski, as Grand-General, ought to have been upon the frontiers: he was prohibited by the laws to appear in the field of election: but the high credit he was in had raised him above the constitution; a sure sign of weakness in a republican government, where the laws ought always to be more respected than great men. Sobieski observing the perplexity of the Primate, rose up to speak. It was for his interest that an exclusion should be pronounced against the Prince; for, though he was not in the number of the candidates, he knew that a free nation might, in a moment, look beyond them for some other person; and in this case, the hero of the nation might well flatter himself with the hopes of fixing its attention. And yet these are the terms in which he spoke: "There is a wide difference between refusing to vote for a candidate, and excluding him. A refusal is only an exercise of freedom; an exclusion is a direct affront. If the Equestrian order pretends to restrain, in this manner, the liberty of the Senate, I will neither submit to such slavery, nor have any share in affronting a great Prince, but quit the assembly. If they are contented with refusing him their suffrages, it is well known that I always yield to the voice of the public." Next day the demand for his exclusion became the voice of the public; and the Primate pronounced it, against his own opinion, and that of the Senate (a).

Tranquillity was now restored for a time, the attention of the assembly being wholly taken up with the Duke of Newburg, and Prince Charles.

(b) Zaluski, tom. i. p. 118.

Y. 1669. Their virtues and their vices, the good and the evil that the republic might expect from them, were discussed. 'Tis at the tribunal of liberty that Princes should get themselves tried, if they would know what the world thinks of them; for they can never know it in their own courts. The partisans of Prince Charles, that is to say, the majority of the nobles on horseback, never ceased repeating, "What shall we do with Newburg? A Prince, already sixty years of age, who will no sooner have tried on his crown, than we must throw ourselves again into confusion by thinking of a new election; and even though he should live longer than there is any ground to hope, will his advanced age permit him to learn our language, to fashion himself to our manners, and to support the fatigues of the diet, the bench, the senate, and the camp? What good can we possibly expect from him? Too many powers interest themselves in his behalf, not to make it cost us something: particularly, Sweden and Brandenburg are our very next neighbours. He is recommended to us for our King; but we should be told what he has done either in war or peace, for the glory and happiness of his own subjects. All that we know of him is, that he is the father of a numerous family. Two of his sons are intended for the Priesthood: and will not our richest abbies, and best bishoprics, be for them only? His daughters too! What a burden will they be to the state? His being a candidate for our crown, is not, depend upon it, so much for himself, as for his posterity, whom he wants to fix upon the throne. If he succeeds, we shall for ever be forced to bend under the stiffness of a haughty nation, and see our court and great offices filled by Germans of both sexes, incessantly boasting of their pedigrees, and insulting

“ing us and our wives; us, the descendants of the Sarmatians who have so often made Germany tremble (a).”

“We are presented by fortune with another Prince of a very different stamp: sprung from a modest nation, and endued with that virtue himself; fierce and haughty no where but at the head of an army. The few Lorrainers that he brings with him, if he brings any at all, will be amply satisfied with being on an equality with the Poles. Unsupported by any cabal, without moving all Europe to promote his greatness, he wishes to owe the sceptre only to our suffrages. His age, his stature, his strength, his virtues, the exploits which have already distinguished him, all conspire to promise a long and happy reign. His children, if they are to succeed him, will be born Poles, and by such a mother as we shall approve (b).”

The Senate, the Deputies, and almost all the grandees who were for the Duke of Newburg, allowed the portrait of the Prince of Lorraine to be faithfully drawn; but, after having softened that of his rival, they boasted much of his great possessions, and what he promised to the republic; a body of troops, maintained at his own expence, a year's pay to the national forces, a military school for the young nobility, with a fund to assist them in the expence of travelling; advantages which Prince Charles might promise, but was not in a condition to perform, as he had not the same fortune, or rather had no fortune at all, the French having lately dispossessed his father of his dominions. If we refuse him, added they, we have no inconvenience to apprehend on that account; but if we reject the Duke of Newburg, let us reflect that the

(a) Zaluzki, tom. i. p. 76.

(b) Id. ibid. p. 42.

Y. 1669. powers who propose him to us have armies to make themselves obeyed.

At these words, the nobles could contain no longer; a sudden fury was kindled, and the fire spread through every rank. The Senate, the great Officers, and the Deputies, were ill defended by the entrenchment that surrounds the Szopa. One part of the republic besieged the other. Several discharges were made, as a prelude to all the horrors that might follow. The Senators and Deputies were seen throwing themselves from their seats, and running here and there, or lying flat upon the ground, while the balls whistled over their heads. Some got to the gates of the camp, but were received with pistols at their breasts: two were killed; a great number wounded; and all forced to return to their places to save their lives (*a*). The tumult was every moment encreasing, when Potozki, the Marshal of the diet, interposed to appease it. It was with great difficulty that they refrained from insulting him, but the uproar still continued. Nothing is more difficult than to keep within bounds a nation that makes Kings.

From the first opening of the diet, not a night passed in which persons were not assassinated in the streets of Warsaw, or the field of election. Sobieski had, upon two accounts, a right to command obedience to his orders. As Grand-Marshal, he was entrusted with the civil government; and as Grand General, he had the army at his command. As soon as he exerted his authority, he struck an awe into the people of Warsaw. He threatened

(*a*) This violence was the occasion of the Szopa's being built in a new form. This wooden edifice was formerly open on all sides, supported only by pillars; but was closed up in all future elections. The nobles murmured at this innovation; but it still subsists.

to send for troops, and fire upon whatever party should attempt to disturb the freedom of election. The fear of his executing these menaces having suspended the rage of the assembly, Opalinski, Palatine of Kalisch, completely restored tranquillity by the wisdom of his remonstrances.

“ To what purpose, said he, are we murdering
 “ one another, for princes that we have never
 “ seen, and who perhaps will make use of their
 “ sceptre only to smite us? Our ancestors were far
 “ more wise. Scarce was the nation settled, when
 “ it was divided, as it is now, among several fo-
 “ reign candidates. The calamities which threat-
 “ ened the public, restored the use of reason:
 “ *Piaſt*, a native of Poland, was chosen: and this
 “ man, who had neither birth nor fortune, go-
 “ verned with such wisdom, that to this time eve-
 “ ry Polish King is called *Piaſt* out of honour and
 “ gratitude. Let us leave the Duke of Newburg
 “ to govern his large family, and his small domi-
 “ nions. Let the Prince of Lorrain employ his
 “ money in recovering his hereditary territories.
 “ But let us imitate our ancestors, and chuse a
 “ *Piaſt* (a).”

This is not the first time that a wise speech has calmed a tumultuous crowd. But what *Piaſt* to chuse, was a difficulty not easy to be got over. The assembly turned their eyes upon Sobieski. If at this juncture he flattered himself with the hopes of the crown, the illusion was of short duration. The more any one reflects upon ancient and modern history, the more will he be convinced that human affairs are the sport of fortune. The man whom she secretly destined for the throne, was the last that the public would have thought of. He interested himself so little in the election, that he was

(a) History of the diets, p. 194.

Y. 1669. not found in his tent, but in a convent at Warsaw. His name was Michael Wiefnowieski. The two Palatines, Opalinski and another, conduct him to the field of election without informing him of their design, and there present, propose, and nominate him. Oliowski, Bishop of Culm, and Vice-Chancellor of Poland, a prelate respectable for his virtue, cries out in an enthusiastic strain, *Long live King Michael*. The cry immediately flies from mouth to mouth; all the orders repeat it, and nothing is now wanting but the Primate's proclamation: the nobles force him to it with a pistol at his breast, and Wiefnowieski is King.

The man in the nation that was most surprized, was he himself. He wept as they dragged him to the throne, and protested that he was incapable of filling it; and the truth is, that since the Poles rejected all foreign candidates, and resolved upon choosing a *Piaſt*, it would seem they should not have hesitated a moment between Wiefnowieski and Sobieski. Wiefnowieski was scarce thirty years old; Sobieski, being ten years elder, had nearly reached that maturity of age which is so necessary in the Governor of a great nation. Wiefnowieski's youth had been totally unemployed: Sobieski had spent his in travelling, in the study of public business, and in the fatigues of war: Wiefnowieski had held no office in the state; Sobieski had obtained the highest by actions of distinguished glory, and still went on to acquire new triumphs. Wiefnowieski even wanted that importance which riches bestow; he subsisted upon a pension of six thousand livres which Queen Louisa had given him, and upon the liberality of the Bishop of Plocsko; Sobieski had a vast estate, and numerous vassals. Wiefnowieski came to the election among the crowd of nobles to join his suffrage with theirs; Sobieski, the first person of the republic, seemed to present him-

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himself rather to receive the suffrages of the assembly than to give his own. One circumstance only, if such a circumstance can make a nation happy, spoke in favour of the new King; and this was his birth. He was descended from Koribut, uncle of the great Jagellon; his father was Jeremiah Wiefnowieski, Palatine of Russia, who having possessed a great estate in the Ukraine, was stripped of it before his death by the Cossacks; so that the son, having nothing left him but an empty name, could have little reason to expect so distinguished an honour.

There is nothing in other countries that resembles this ceremony. Let any one figure to himself, more than a hundred thousand nobles on horseback, who would sooner reduce themselves to the lowest poverty than not display their pomp; the grandees in all the Asiatic statelines; a whole nation of curious spectators; the numerous troops that guard the camp; and the roar of artillery, joined to the acclamations of an assembled kingdom. Such is the military and civil pomp, with which the King elect is conducted, first to the great church of St. John, and then to the royal palace. Upon the present occasion, the Poles, in the first moments of their enthusiasm, discovered many a happy presage; for their prejudices in favour of the ancient Romans, dispose them to put all the faith in omens that Christianity will permit. During the election, a dove had flown across the inclosure where the Senate was debating. An eagle had hovered over the nobles. A swarm of bees had buzzed about Wiefnowieski without hurting him, a thing that had formerly happened to a statue of Antoninus Pius. To all this, were added several presages that had happened to Monks at the altar. Every thing concurred to promise a happy reign: but we shall soon

Y. 1669. see, that the dove, the eagle, the bees, and the Monks, were all mistaken (a).

Casimir, however, was not; for being told whom they had chosen, *What, said he, have they set the crown upon the head of that poor fellow?* His reign was thought so unpromising in foreign countries, that, soon after his election, the Elector of Brandenburg, whose house was far from being so powerful as it is now (Frederick II. was then unborn) ordered a Prussian gentleman to be seized under the very windows of his palace; and that asylum was violated without any reparation being made.

Never was there a King who wanted more to be governed; and in this case, it is not always the most able and most upright that get the government into their hands. The Grand-Chancellor of Lithuania, Casimir Paz, possessed all his confidence: a man of eminent talents, great natural eloquence, and improved abilities; but ambition being more prevalent in him than love for his country, he aimed only at promoting the greatness of his own family, which was already the most flourishing in Lithuania, though not originally of that country, but a branch of the *Pazzi* of Florence. This relationship with *Saint Magdalen de Pazzi* had cost the Chancellor near two millions to build a monastery of Camaldules under the patronage of his kinswoman: a singular instance of profusion in a statesman. His brother, Michael Paz, of a turbulent, fiery, and capricious temper, was Grand-General of Lithuania, a professed rival to Sobieski, well acquainted with military affairs, but wanting that superiority of genius which supports a tottering state.

If Sobieski had not stood up in its defence, Poland was on the point of being subjected to ra-

(a) Zalufki, p. 133, 146.

vage and desolation. The Cossacks, notwithstanding the peace they had made with the republic in the reign of Casimir, begun to entertain great suspicions of the designs of the new King Michael. They apprehended he might have a mind to recover the large possessions of his own family in the Ukraine, and those of all the other Polish nobles who had been dispossessed of their estates. To dispel their fears, the Cossacks demanded a renunciation of all these claims. The Poles, on their side, were unwilling to begin a war, at a time when the kingdom was greatly exhausted. The King employed Sobieski to negotiate the affair; though he could have wished for any other fit Ambassador, for he begun to take umbrage at a subject who was too much esteemed by the nation. The leader of the Cossacks, that same Doroscensko whom Sobieski had already beat, was inflexible. It was necessary, therefore, to have recourse to that last reason of Kings, which has spilt such streams of blood since the time that men first chose to set masters over their heads. Sobieski shed as little as he could; for he considered the blood of the Cossacks as belonging to the republic, since they had actually been good subjects before the Poles had made them bad slaves. Another cause of Sobieski's treating them so mildly, was his having but few troops; he therefore called in the assistance of art, and sowed division among the Cossacks. He set up a new leader against the old one, Hanensko against Doroscensko. He reduced to the obedience of Poland the cities of Bar, Nimirow, Kalnick, and Braclaw, and all the country between the Bog and the Niester. Doroscensko being entirely overpowered, had no way to save the rest of the Ukraine but by threatening to give up the country to the Turks, if he was drove to extremities; and this threat made Sobieski suspend his victories. The congratulations he received shew plainly the importance of the campaign. "We

Y. 1671. “ cannot sufficiently admire your valour and prudence in this expedition. With such a handful of men, how could you recover so many places, and particularly Braclaw, which alone is worth a victory? You have opened to us a passage into the Ukraine, and will doubtless compleat its reduction. Even envy itself is forced to own, that Poland is indebted to you for its safety (a)”. These are the terms in which the Vice-Chancellor writ to him in the name of the King and the whole republic; and in this manner the Grand-General took his revenge for having missed the crown.

But he insisted upon it, that, without abusing their victory, the Poles should treat the Cossacks gently, and bring them back to their allegiance by clemency, and the alluring hopes of future prosperity.

Y. 1672. Such was also the opinion of all the Deputies, and the greatest part of the Senate assembled in the diet; but the King and his council thought differently. The reign of the weak Michael was the reign of favourites. His council was made up of pensioners to the Emperor Leopold, whose sister he had lately married. Leopold was apprehensive of a formidable armament that was preparing in Turkey; and had laid a plan that was likely to divert it upon Poland. He knew that Doroscensko had threatened to give up the Ukraine to the Turks, if he was driven to extremities; and he conjectured that the Turks would not be indifferent to the acquisition of so fine a province, which would lay open to them Poland and Muscovy, two kingdoms that had produced so many enemies to the Ottoman empire. He knew besides, that Michael, if he could recover the Ukraine by open force, flattered himself with recovering also the immense pa-

(a) Zaluski, tom. i. p. 133, 146.

trimony of his ancestors, perhaps with some additions. Acquainted with all these circumstances, Leopold had no difficulty to persuade him, that all negotiations with the rebels were no less dangerous than they were mean; and that to pardon Dorofcensko was to weaken the royal authority. Michael therefore thought himself great, by shewing himself inflexible.

In the mean time the diet, by the laws of the kingdom, might force him to make peace: to prevent which, he bribed a Deputy, who made a protest, left the assembly, and the diet was dissolved. A plain proof that the protest of the Deputy was only an artifice of the court, is, that the King took no steps to bring him over, and restore to the council of the nation its power of proceeding upon business.

Dorofcensko was soon acquainted with what had past, and fearing to fall into the hands of a provoked sovereign, went to look for a new one at Constant nople.

Mahomet IV. in his way to the throne, had passed over the body of his father, Ibrahim I. whom the janizaries had strangled. He had beat the Imperialists, made great conquests in Hungary, subdued Transylvania, and taken the Isle of Candy, anciently called Crete. The Turks thought they could not do a greater honour to the Count de Guilleragues, Ambassador from France, and his attendants, than by calling the French the kinsmen of *Mebemmed-Tetib*, Mahomet the Victorious. Hitherto, however, he had been victorious only as most sovereigns are, who do every thing without doing any thing. He had never yet appeared in person at the head of his armies; but his success seemed unalterable under the management of the Grand-Visir *Cuprogli*, of abilities equally exalted with his station. A Grand-Visir is Constable, Chancellor,

Y. 1672. cellor, and First President, all together; and each of these offices was well filled. He succeeded his father in the Visir's place, against the policy of the Empire, which does not suffer honours to be perpetuated in the same family. Another singular circumstance was his obtaining this supreme honour at the age of thirty, whereas the custom is for no one to hold great offices under forty (a). The Turks, who never give into hyperbole but upon great occasions, called him *the light of nations*, *the guardian of the laws*, *the formidable Commander*. The saying of Montecuculi, upon his retiring from public life, when his rivals finished their course, is well known; *should a man who has had the honour of fighting with Turenne, Condé, and Cuprogli, bazard his glory against persons that are only beginning to command armies?* The military part of Cuprogli's character was all that Montecuculi was acquainted with.

This able Minister, reflecting upon Doroscensko's offers, formed a design to conquer Poland, deferring, till another campaign, the destruction of the empire of Vienna, as a victory which would be facilitated by this; and he was for having his master come in person to gather the laurels he had prepared for him. The Visir's insisting upon Mahomet's presence in the army, was a proof both of his policy and attachment to the Sultan, who, notwithstanding the victories of his reign, was beginning to incur the hatred and contempt of his subjects, because he was entirely given up to his pleasures, and spent more money in his seraglio, than he would have done in conquering the Christians.

But the Divan represented, that this war could not be a just one, without a previous summons to the Poles, and a refusal on their part to give satis-

(a) Ricaut's History of the Ottoman Empire, p. 135.

faction to the Cossacks, The *Mufti* in particular, that is, the Pontiff of the Mahometan religion, refused his *Fetfa*. This *Mufti* is a personage of great importance, being the only one in the empire to whom the Grand-Seignior rises; but were he detected in any double dealing, he would be pounded to jelly in a mortar (a). The *Fetfa* which he refused on this occasion, is a sort of Episcopal mandate, that always accompanies the public orders of the Grand-Seignior; because, without this oracle, the people would not obey so well. Cuprogli, who was himself too much a friend to justice and religion, not to listen to their dictates, addressed the following manifesto to the republic of Poland.

“ You assert that the Ukraine belongs to you,
 “ and that the Cossacks are your subjects, as if
 “ we did not know that this nation was formerly
 “ free, and depended only upon itself. It is true,
 “ they have given themselves to you of their own
 “ accord, and upon certain conditions; but they
 “ little expected that you would prove tyrants, and
 “ commit so many outrages. They have therefore
 “ taken up arms, as they are authorized to do by
 “ the laws of nature, to recover their former state
 “ of liberty. They have besought the Sublime
 “ Porte, to take them under its protection, and do
 “ for them what it does for all the unhappy. The
 “ invincible Mahomet has therefore sent to Doro-
 “ scensko, chief of the Cossacks, the sabre and
 “ the standard. Know then, that if you do not
 “ hasten to compose this difference with my mas-
 “ ter, who is already in motion towards Adria-
 “ nople, but suffer him to arrive upon your fron-
 “ tiers with his immense forces, the dispute will
 “ no longer be decided by a treaty, but by the

(a) Ricaut's Hist. of the Ottoman Empire, p. 190.

“ sword,

Y. 1672. “ sword, and the wrath of the God of vengeance (a).”

At the grumbling of this thunder, the Senate assembled, and begun with expressing great indignation, that the letter containing the declaration of war was not writ by the Sultan himself, but by the Visir; which was construed to be a contemptuous piece of arrogance. The King's partisans laid hold of this moment of indignation, to insinuate that the declaration was not made in earnest: “ Why, said they, should the Porte, “ in general so faithful to treaties, break with us, “ who have given her no offence? Can it be to “ enlarge her empire? But it is well known that “ she is more solicitous at present to preserve her “ immense dominions, than to extend them. Can “ it be with a real design of supporting Doroscensko? “ But it was much more natural to favour “ him, while his strength was yet entire. Would “ Mahomet come with all the weight of his power “ to enter into a league with a robber? The Visir's declaration has all the appearance of being “ a menace extorted from him, by the importunity “ and falshoods of Doroscensko. But suppose the “ thunder should follow the lightning, the Czar “ offers us a powerful diversion, in which he promises to engage the Persians; and can we think “ that the empire of Germany is not equally interested to restrain the Tyrant of Asia? Here is “ also a succour that may soon be called for (b).”

To all this the true patriots answered, that it was a much easier way to satisfy the Cossacks, and by this means deprive the Turks of all pretence to disturb Poland. Sobieski being absent at this juncture, the Primate proposed to suspend all debates about war, till the arrival of the hero who under-

(a) Zaluzki, tom. i. p. 360.

(b) Id. ibid. p. 352, & seq.

stood it so well. This proposal was by no means agreeable to the King, who was apprehensive of the Grand-General's becoming of still greater importance. Night coming on, it was proposed to carry on the debates by candle-light; but the Primate opposed this design, for fear that, as the disputes ran high, they might be tempted to use their poniards in the dark; a thing that had happened more than once in these assemblies. Perhaps also he apprehended an attempt upon his own person, from some of those villains, who are always ready to do more than Kings even desire.

The next morning Sobieski arrived, and most of the Senators went out to meet him. He had the pleasure of hearing his own praises in full Senate: he was told, that the gown and the sword became him equally, that he had twisted the laurel with his fasces, and had the abilities both of a Senator and a General. All this was true; but it was necessary, without losing a moment, to fix upon some expedient, to save the republic. Sobieski spoke with great warmth for appeasing the Cossacks, pointed out the articles in which Poland might make concessions. But there is no such thing as persuading weak minds, much less Princes who are accustomed to make no distinction between might and right. Michael persisted in his obstinacy, and returned the *Porte* no answer, as if its menaces had been of no consequence.

From this period may be dated the rise of the league that was formed to dethrone him. It is a maxim with the Poles, that whatever nation has a right to make a King, has a right to unmake him also; so that what would be called a conspiracy in other countries, they look upon only as an exertion of a national privilege. Among the chiefs of this league were the Primate Prazmowski; Sienski

Y. 1671. awski, the Great Standard-Bearer; Lubomirski, Palatine of Cracow; Ledchinski, of Mazovia; Potozki, of Kiovia; Vielopolski, and other nobles of equal importance. The enterprize was not so hazardous as it would have been in an hereditary kingdom, but yet it had its dangers.

The confederated nobles thought proper to shew their regard to the Emperor, by acquainting him with their design, on account of his sister, who shared the throne of Poland with Michael. They therefore laid before him all the grievances of the state, and particularly Michael's incapacity to govern. In proud and haughty nations, a King who is despised, generally totters upon the throne, while usurpers, who are esteemed, sit firmly. The English never thought of deposing Cromwell; for Cromwell had humbled Holland, prescribed the conditions of a treaty to Portugal, beat the Spaniards, forced France to court his alliance, and given the empire of the sea and of commerce to England; but Michael was fit for nothing but to ruin Poland.

The confederated nobles represented therefore to the Emperor, the necessity there was of chusing another Governor; that the only obstacle in their way was their respect for his Cæsarean Majesty, and their Queen Eleonora, whom they were sorry to involve in the King's fate. They therefore desired him to say in what manner he wished she might be treated.

The emperor, after having expressed his pity for his brother-in-law, in having no talents for a throne, answered, that he pitied the republic still more, but could not consent to see his sister without a crown. The method that he proposed, to avoid all difficulties, was this: The most Serene King (such was the title his Cæsarean Majesty gave

to Michael) was of a weak constitution, of unsettled health, and hitherto without children: the validity of his marriage might, by the canons, be questioned, on account of impotence, a way that had often succeeded with crowned heads. The Queen consented to support this accusation, for the good of the republic; but then it must be expressly stipulated, that after the dissolution of her union with Michael, she was to marry the Prince who should succeed him in the throne. A parallel instance had happened so late as the year 1667, when the Queen of Portugal, who had a passion for Don Pedro, brother to her husband King Alphonso, accused the latter of impotence, and obtained a bull from Rome to marry her brother-in-law, and share with him the throne.

Another difficulty was, to settle upon what head they should place the crown. The Emperor insisted upon the exclusion of all heretics, and Frenchmen. His aversion to the former he carried so far, as to extend it even to heretics who should change their religion with a view to the crown; and the French were proscribed “as a restless, turbulent, and inflammatory nation, said Leopold, in his dispatches on this occasion. “Their machinations, added he, “against all Europe in general, and against “the house of Austria in particular, are well “known. It would be unreasonable, that I should “expose my own family and the empire, for the “sake of your interest. The King that I propose “to you is Prince Charles of Lorraine, whom you “were upon the point of crowning in the last “election. Do not consider him as a Prince without fortune, and without power, who would be “burdensome to the republic. His father is indeed dispossessed of his dominions; but this is “only a temporary evil, for which he is indebted “to France, and which that nation will, in the “end,

Y. 1672. " end, have more reason to repent of, than rejoice
" at (a)."

In the last election, Leopold had preferred the Duke of Newburg to the Prince whom he now so warmly recommended; but policy will not permit sovereigns to speak always the same language, and wear the same aspect. After having laid open his plan, he again expressed his sorrow, that the sceptre should be forced out of the hands of the most Serene King Michael, and lamented over so melancholy a necessity, concluding with a most earnest request to the republic, to provide for his subsistence.

Hitherto the confederated nobles, uncertain of Sobieski, whose conduct seemed to indicate an unwillingness to break with the court, had communicated to him nothing of their design; but reflecting upon the necessity of gaining him over, they now laid it before him. The part he should take upon him to act, was likely to decide the fate of the King, and the kingdom. With all the weight of his dignities of Grand-Marshal and Grand-General, of Commander and Father of an army, which thought itself invincible when headed by him, he espoused the cause of the kingdom against the King. But whether, when he resolved upon the deposition of Michael, he aimed at fixing the attention of the nation upon himself, or had nothing in view but the public good, it is certain that he represented how dangerous it would be to take the Emperor's nomination of a King; that it was putting the state under the tuition of the council of Vienna; and that they had felt the melancholy effects of it ever since Michael had been upon the throne: " but just as it is, added he, to take the
" crown from a man who is incapable of wear-

(a) Zaluzki, tom. i. p. 342, & seq.

" ing it, it would be equally unjust to deprive him Y. 1672.
 " of his wife ; and the republic cannot, without
 " disgrace, engage in so infamous a plot. And as
 " to a new King, if Poland cannot supply that
 " want, France has one to offer us, of as war-
 " like a genius as Prince Charles, and who can
 " involve us in no disagreeable connections. The
 " person I mean is the Duke of Longueville (a),
 " descended from the famous Count of Dunois,
 " who saved Charles VII. his King, and France,
 " his country. The Duke inherits the blood and
 " virtues of his ancestor, and is destined to save
 " Poland."

The Queen did not think with Sobieski, that she was inseparably connected with a husband without a crown. She would indeed have preferred Prince Charles to the Duke of Longueville ; but she was determined, at all events, to continue upon the throne. She therefore insinuated to the Grandees, that she would consent to marry the Duke. His picture had been already shewn her, and she did not dislike it.

Sobieski's proposal was conformable to the affection he always retained for France, and the intercourse he kept up with Lewis XIV. As for the Prince whom he proposed, all his merit consisted in valour, which alone will never make a great King: But the confederated nobles were too eager for a revolution to weigh things maturely, and therefore acquiesced implicitly. They made the utmost expedition to form their measures with France; and the thing was conducted with so much secrecy by Sobieski, that neither the court of Vienna, nor that of Warsaw, had the least suspicion of what was carrying on.

(a) Known also by the name of Count de Saint-Paul.

Y. 1672.

The abrupt dissolution of the last diet furnished a pretence for demanding another in the beginning of the spring. Michael durst not refuse it; especially as it was necessary to put the republic in arms, for intelligence came that the Turks were actually upon their march.

Never was a King treated in so rough a manner before all his subjects. A grievance which had, in some measure, been forgiven him, was revived in this diet. He had taken an oath at his coronation, not to marry without the approbation of the republic; and he had not even asked its opinion, when he married Eleonora, Arch-Duchess of Austria.

The Czar offered him his daughter, and the restitution of the dutchy of Severia, with other considerable advantages: and this proposal was highly agreeable to the republic, whereas the Arch-Duchess brought nothing. But the King listened only to the Chancellor *Paz*. The bringing about this alliance had cost him five hundred thousand livres, which sum he attempted to reimburse himself privately out of the national stock; and this was interpreted as a crime against the republic, which ought to know how her finances are disposed of, and had nothing to do with the expences of a marriage that she disapproved. The same match brought upon him another reproach; his acceptance of the order of the *Golden Fleece* being considered as a mark of vassalage, equally disgraceful to the King and to his subjects, and as an engagement to espouse the interests, and avenge the wrongs of the house of Austria. It was even pretended that he had expressly sworn to do so, when he accepted the order, the ceremony of which was performed in private. "Far different, added they, was the behaviour of Stephen Battori, when the Spanish Ambassador made him an offer of the same order. "That

“ That excellent King, whose loss we still de-
 “ plore, ordered a collar to be made, in which,
 “ instead of a *sheep*, there hung a *wolf*, arm-
 “ ed with threatening teeth (a). This, said he,
 “ is my order; I will accept yours, when my bro-
 “ ther, the King of Spain, accepts mine.”

v. 167a.

The comparison was carried on to a still greater length. “ Stephen consulted only with the Senate
 “ and the diets: Michael manages all public bu-
 “ siness with the Queen and the Austrian Amba-
 “ sador, who is employed night and day in con-
 “ triving our ruin. Stephen always headed our
 “ armies in person: Michael has never yet been
 “ seen there. Is it reasonable that the members
 “ should expose themselves for a head, who always
 “ keeps himself out of the reach of danger (b)?”

The Primate, taking advantage of this ferment, addressed him in terms which, in an absolute monarchy, would be considered as high-treason. “ The nation, said he, has made you its King,
 “ and you are compassing its destruction. In-
 “ stead of endeavouring to pacify the Ukraine,
 “ you have irritated its sense of pain. You have
 “ neglected to repair the fortifications of Kami-
 “ nieck, the bulwark of Poland. You still keep
 “ the German guard, which the republic saw with
 “ discontent attending upon your predecessor,
 “ though he paid it with his own money. You
 “ have persons in your court, and your cabinet,
 “ who sacrifice the interests of the nation to those
 “ of the King. The Deputies were preparing
 “ to address you, to remove these public pests;
 “ and you have discovered an expedient to re-
 “ move the Deputies themselves. You violate our

(a) The arms of Transylvania, of which Battori was Prince, before he came to the crown of Poland.

(b) Zaluski, tom. i. p. 168. & seq.

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“ constitution, in disposing of Starosties and seats
 “ in the Senate, before the death of those who
 “ hold them. You have broke off two diets, in
 “ order to screen your authority from the animad-
 “ version of the laws. You have openly laid claim
 “ to the ancient prerogatives of our Kings, and
 “ protested against all encroachments upon them.
 “ These ancient prerogatives, which may be ex-
 “ tended to so enormous a pitch, where do you
 “ propose to search for the records that contain
 “ them? Probably in the Archives of Vienna or
 “ Madrid. 'Tis time, Senators, that we tremble
 “ for ourselves, if we behave as becomes our
 “ rank. That saying which you was heard to
 “ make use of, after your coronation, that you
 “ swore to the *Pacta Conventa*, with a mental re-
 “ servation, is but too true. What faith can we
 “ possibly put in your oaths (a)? We therefore
 “ break ours, after your example.” The firmness
 of mind which such a discourse seems to imply,
 is by no means a prodigy in a state, where the li-
 berty of the subject, and particularly of persons
 in public stations, who speak boldly what they think,
 and trust to the laws for their protection, is invio-
 lably sacred.

The Primate was still speaking, when the con-
 federated nobles, whose number was greatly in-
 creased in the national assembly, signified to Mi-
 chael, without any ceremony, to quit the throne
 by a voluntary abdication, or to expect to be forced
 to it. As soon as he saw Sobieski in the league,
 he despaired of keeping his crown, and the cata-
 trophe daily approached. The magnificent equi-
 pages of the nobles advanced towards the sea-coast
 to receive the Duke of Longueville, who was des-
 tined for the throne. That Prince was yet upon

(a) Zaluzki, tom. i. p. 168. 263. & seq.

the

the banks of the Rhine, which Lewis XIV. was attempting to pass; where every one knows that the Duke met with his death, by firing a pistol wantonly upon some Dutchmen, who begged their lives upon their knees. *These scoundrels* (to make use of his own expression) to whom he ordered the French to *give no quarter*, gave him none; and with him ended the branch of *Orleans-Longueville*. The death of this Prince disconcerted the league, and restored some hope to Michael.

The King, uncertain whether he was still a King or not, assembled all the nobility of the lower order, amounting to a hundred thousand, in the field of Golemba, upon the banks of the Vistula, in the Palatinate of Lublin. He had formerly made one of their body, and lived upon a level with them. To them he was principally indebted for the sceptre; he was beloved by them as an equal, and respected as a King. He chose *Stephen Czarneski* for Marshal of the Royal Confederacy, with a power of raising a new army, and restoring the ancient militia, called *Hastata*, on account of the lance it was armed with. Poland acknowledges only two Grand-Generals; but Czarneski now made a third, and indeed a great deal more; for being armed with the thunder of war, and the sword of justice, he was in fact a Dictator, who could either acquit or condemn at pleasure. The confederates took an oath to him, to maintain King Michael upon the throne at the hazard of their lives and fortunes; and the religion of an oath is as much respected in Poland, as it was in the time of their ancestors, the Sarmatians. The Senators and all persons in office were summoned to join them in a limited time, upon pain of confiscation of goods and loss of dignity. The time allowed was a very short one, and had it not been for the resolution Sobieski took, they must all have thrown themselves at the feet of a provoked

Y. 1672. King, and a Dictator, from whom no mercy was to be expected.

The Grand-General assembled his army at Lovicz, in the Palatinate of Rava, the citadel of which town was built by an Arch-Bishop of Gnesna. There are few instances in Poland of convents built by Princes of the church; and the reason is, because they are all Senators and statesmen. Whoever would see that division of the republic to which the majority of the Senate adhered, must have seen it at Lovicz.

The army, which now formed a confederacy in its turn, (a species of league always to be dreaded) opposed oath to oath, and swore by the name of God and of Sobieski, to maintain the rights and privileges of their country, as delivered down by those ancient warriors who had sealed them with their blood; to recognize as Generals those only who had been invested with the command before the breaking out of the disturbances; to discover to the Generals whatever they should learn, that tended to the detriment of the present confederacy; to reveal none of its secrets; and to consider as an enemy to his country, every soldier who should not enlist under its banners (a).

While the republic was thus arming against itself, *Cuprogli* having received no answer, procured the war he had threatened against the Poles to be declared a just one, and the Musti sanctified it with his *Fetfa*. The orders were already issued out, and the horsetails flying upon the seraglio. It was not mere whim, but the gaining of a victory, that made the Turks adopt this banner. Their troops being put to flight in an action, and the Great Standard taken, the General struck off a horse's tail with his sabre, and fixing it to the

(a) *Zaluski*, tom. i. p. 396.

top of a pike, rallied his men, and got the victory. Y. 1672.

Mahomet now advanced like an angry sea, ready to overwhelm Poland. The King, instead of going to meet him with the hundred thousand nobles that supported his tottering throne, and shewing by this behaviour that he deserved to reign, was employed in prosecuting the first subjects in his kingdom with all the rigour of the law. Confiscation of goods, loss of honours and dignities, degradation from nobility, was decreed against all; but against the ringleaders, loss of life. In the last class were included Sobieski and the Primate; and to complete the whole, a price was set upon their heads. The sentence of death made little impression upon the criminals, who were surrounded with an army that could bring their judges to the scaffold. But twenty thousand ducats might possibly tempt an assassin, especially as the sentence took off all ignominy from such an action, and converted it, upon the present occasion, into a title of honour (a).

At this news, the soldiers gave a shout of indignation against the King and the confederated nobles, and laying their sabres in the form of crosses, swore to defend and avenge their General. It was necessary that such a man should either perish, or become in the end the first man of the kingdom. *I accept your protestations,* answered he, *but let us, before all things, defend our country.* He foresaw that Mahomet would open the campaign with the siege of Kamienieck, the capital of Podolia; a place still stronger by nature than by art; being built upon a steep rock; surrounded with the river Smotricz, and a circle of hills, extending all round the river. It had been, in all ages, the bulwark of

(a) Zaluski. tom. i. p. 444. & seq.

Y. 1672. Poland against the Turks and Tartars; and had long been looked upon by the former with eyes of indignation; nor did it give the Tartars less offence. Sobieski sent thither eight regiments of foot to reinforce the garrison: but the Governor, who was wholly devoted to the King, was afraid that these troops would give Sobieski too great an authority in the place, and therefore refused to admit them; a fatal effect of the civil dissensions.

Mahomet, at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men, passed the Danube, near Silistria, a city of Bulgaria, crossed Walachia and Transylvania, threw bridges over the Niester at the foot of the walls of Choczin, and appeared before Kamiemieck about the end of July. A hundred thousand Tartars arrived there, by his orders, at the same time; commanded, upon this great occasion, by the Cham Selim-Gierai in person. The nation had not had, for a long time, a leader of such distinguished talents, both in war and peace. The Turkish Generals paid great regard to his Judgment; and the Tartars were ready to undertake any thing, when they had him at their head. In another country, he would have introduced politeness, sciences, and arts. Whenever he could lay aside the sabre, he took up the pen; and Cantemir calls him an excellent Philosopher and historian (a). His Lieutenant-Generals were his two sons, Sultan Galga, and Sultan Nuradin. Scarce had they paid their respects to the Grand Seignior, when he ordered them to make incursions as far as the Vistula; while the Cossacks, stimulated by resentment, carried desolation on another side. Mahomet was the idol of this great multitude which exhausted the earth; but the great Cuprogli was its soul.

(a) Cantemir, tom. ii. p. 139.

Sobieski, with thirty-five thousand Poles, could not give battle to an hundred and fifty thousand Turks before Kamienieck: he therefore abandoned this fortress to its dreadful fate. It was of still greater importance to stop that torrent of Tartars which was going to overwhelm the heart of the kingdom. The Cham was ravaging Pokrusia; Sultan Nuradin, Volhinia; and Sultan Galga took the middle way through the center of the Palatinate of Russia.

We must not lose sight of the hundred thousand nobles, under the command of the King at Golemba, and Sobieski, with his little army at Lovicz. An imprudent step of Nuradin discovered on which side lay true courage, and regard for the welfare of Poland. The young Tartar, as he coasted the Palatinate of Lublin, took his march between the two camps. The King and the nobles took it into their heads, that this motion of the Tartar was planned in concert with Sobieski; and the alarm was so great, that the King did not think himself secure in the midst of a hundred thousand nobles; but took refuge within the walls of Lublin (a), a town about six leagues distant from his camp, and the nobility dispersed.

Sobieski, having nothing farther to fear from his countrymen, displayed all his greatness. The man, who had just been condemned to death, exerted his utmost to save his judges. He went in search of the Tartars wherever they appeared. His first victim was Nuradin, whom he came up with and de-

(a) This capital of the Palatinate of the same name, is a place of great note. The courts of justice for all Little Poland which are established here, draw thither many of the nobility, and traders of every nation. Among its buildings, the most noted is the palace of Mark Sobieski, Palatine of Lublin, grandfather to John.

feated

Y. 1672. feated at the gates of Krasnobrod (a). The victory was so complete, that the General escaped almost alone to the army of Sultan Galga, his brother; who, to avoid the like disaster, marched towards the Niester, in order to join forces with the Cham. But he was prevented by the amazing diligence of Sobieski, and his loss exceeded that of his brother. The plain of Nimirow was covered with Tartars breathing their last upon the booty they had carried off; and those that remained took to flight.

Sobieski, leaving his infantry with the baggage, followed the runaways with his horse. A new battle was fought at Grudeck, and another at Komarna, whence the two Sultans escaped in the utmost disorder. Having passed the Niester, they expected to have some respite with the shattered remains of their army, but Sobieski still pursued them. They then threw themselves across two other rivers, the Stry and the Chevitz, which Sobieski also passed; and at length the two Sultans joined their father. The Cham, who had as yet been in no engagement, was strong enough to avenge his sons; but being intimidated by their disaster, and still more solicitous about the preservation of his vast booty, which also embarrassed his army, and rendered it less fit for combat, he fought only to avoid an action. This booty, being the spoils of Poland, interested Sobieski still more than than the Tartar. Besides furs, silver, and gold, the Tartars were carrying off a vast quantity of cattle, both for war and agriculture; and thirty thousand slaves of all ages, sexes, and conditions, most of whom were usually em-

(a) This is only a village in the Palatinate of Lublin; but heroes confer distinction upon every place that is the scene of their actions.

ployed

ployed in tillage. The least valuable part of the spoil was a number of Monks. The Cham kept flying; Sobieski never lost sight of him; and having more experience than the Tartar, waited for an opportunity to attack him with advantage. He found it at last at Kaluffa, at the foot of the Crapack mountains, in a narrow pass where the enemy had not room to draw up their troops. The action was very bloody; for the Cham left upon the field of battle fifteen thousand slain, and all his booty. It was an affecting sight, when the irons were taken off from thirty thousand Poles, to put them upon the Tartars that were taken after the action (a). This multitude of unhappy wretches, who never more expected to see their wives, their children, or their homes, fell prostrate before their deliverer; who himself fell prostrate before the God of battle.

Poland was now delivered from the Tartars, but not from the Turks. If the hundred thousand nobles encamped at Golemba, that Pospolite which the republic so much boasts of, and which perhaps might have done wonders under a great King; had attacked the Turks while Sobieski pressed upon the Tartars, who knows but Kamienieck might have been saved? The Turks were perfectly acquainted with sieges before the Christians: at that of Candy they made parallel lines, in their trenches. Upon the present occasion, Cuprogli exerted all the military art. For near a month, an enormous train of artillery had been playing upon the place, so that nothing was left but ruins and the rock they stood on. This rock, however, was accessible only by a bridge; and the able Visir shuddered at the Mussulman blood that must be shed in an assault. He therefore took advantage of the fault the Governor

(a) Lengnich. p. 239.

had

Y. 1672. had committed. He knew that when he refused to admit Sobieski's soldiers, he had received into the town all the nobility of Podolia, men, women, and children. The Visir had recourse to bombs, which falling within so small a compass where so many people were crowded together, heaped the dead upon the dying. The cries of the women and children enervated the soldiers, and slackened the vigour of the defence. But there was yet no talk of surrendering. Cuprogli next employed another species of terror; and gave the besieged to understand, that if they did not surrender in twenty-four hours, they should all be put to the sword, old and young, down to the very infant at the breast. This menace, accompanied by all the dispositions for a general storm, struck terror into every breast, and a parley was beat on the 29th of August.

A Major of artillery, enraged at the surrendry of a place which might have been better defended, resolved not to survive so great a loss. At the entrance of the bridge there was a large tower, that served for a magazine of powder, in which he placed a match, and mounted the platform, from whence he saw the Turks enter the place, and the Poles run out to implore the mercy of the conquerors. The magazine soon blew up, and buried the officer, and all that were within a certain distance, both Turks and Poles, in its burning ruins. The Poles that escaped had great difficulty to obtain their pardon for a crime of which they were innocent.

Mahomet adhered strictly to the articles of the capitulation; but the Poles were struck with consternation, when they saw him enter the cathedral church on horseback, as Mahomet II. had formerly done the church of Saint Sophia at Constantinople. But the Poles, who were offended at this profanation, did not recollect that the Christians had

had more than once treated the Turkish mosques in the same manner, and that the outrage was reciprocal. Y. 1672.

It is confidently said, that the news of the taking of Kamienieck, which arrived in France in the month of October, had a fatal effect upon Casimir, the late King of Poland. In extreme misfortunes, it is natural enough to reproach ourselves with things that we could not possibly foresee. If Casimir, instead of abdicating, had continued upon the throne, it is highly probable that Poland would have escaped the cruel destiny that now afflicted it; for, though he was not a great King, his incapacity was not such as to commit the faults of his successor. He died at Nevers three years after his abdication, leaving his heart to France and his body to Poland: presents of very little value, when a King does not leave great actions behind him.

Mahomet, being now master of Kamienieck and Podolia, sent garrisons into all the Places of the Ukraine that were possessed by the Cossacks, whom the Poles repented too late that they had oppressed. Their misfortunes however did not end here; for the Sultan resolved to push his conquests into the heart of the kingdom; and while he himself staid with the main body of the army, at Boudchaz, he detached forty thousand men towards Leopold, under the command of *Caplan* Bashaw, Governor of Aleppo. The name of *Caplan*, which was conferred upon the Bashaw by the voice of the public, as a title of honour, shews the difference of ideas that prevails in different nations. An European General might perhaps be pleased with the title of *Lion*, but he would certainly be offended at being called *Tyger*, which is what *Caplan* means. Whether of the two has reason on his side, will admit a doubt. Be this as it will, Leopold, which was but a weak place, made a better defence than could

Y. 1672. could be expected; and when it could hold out no longer, saved itself from being pillaged and burnt; at the price of all its gold.

Every day continued to produce some new disaster. Sobieski brought back his victorious troops from the foot of the Crapack mountains, which divide Poland from Moldavia, Transylvania and Hungary. If at this juncture he had attempted to get himself proclaimed King, he would probably have succeeded. But he was wholly taken up with the Turks, and contriving a plan to attack them in the least disadvantageous manner. He sent out a large detachment to reconnoitre the camp at Boudchaz; and the officer who commanded it, marched with such secrecy, that he surprized the Quarters of the Sultanas. The chief of the Eunuchs, who was accountable for them with his head, had not time to stab them, to prevent the prostitution of the Grand-Seignior's mistresses. They were saved by a Christian, named *Cantemir*, the *Calaux*, or Major-General of the Moldavians, a Tartar by descent, who repulsed the Poles. This service was too great to be forgot by the Sultan; and we shall see *Cantemir* acting hereafter in a higher sphere. The detachment rejoined the body of the army, not without some loss; but it brought the intelligence that was wanted, and Sobieski prepared to make the best of it.

Michael was in such a situation, that he dreaded the success of his own General as much as that of the Turks. Instead of generously forgetting what had past, and uniting with him for the public preservation, instead of leading to battle the hundred thousand nobles that adhered to him, he acted a part that proved the ruin of Poland. He sent to sue for peace of Mahomet at his camp at Boudchaz, leaving him master of all the conditions, except one, which was not disagreeable to the Sultan; and

and this was to maintain him upon the throne of Poland. The Ukraine and Podolia, at that time two flourishing provinces, were yielded to the conqueror. This was the loss sustained by Poland; the ignominy it underwent was in engaging to pay an annual and perpetual tribute of a hundred thousand golden ducats (*a*). This haughty republic, so proud of its independence, now stooped under the yoke; and its King, like so many other Princes, became one of the first slaves of the Porte, obliged to march, at its command, against all the enemies of its power, Christians as well as others. Such was the infamous treaty of Boudchaz.

If we recollect the circumstances of Michael's election, the aversion he shewed to the throne, the tears he shed upon ascending it; and consider him at present, keeping his seat in spite of the grandees of the kingdom, exposed to universal contempt, and bound in the chains of servitude; it will be difficult not to believe, whatever moralists may say, that a crown brings with it more pleasure than pain. It is not Kings that deserve our pity, unless they have great abilities, great virtues, and great misfortunes.

The peace which Michael had just signed upon his knees, not only covered Poland with ignominy, but was an open violation of its laws; for a King of Poland can neither make peace nor war without the consent of the nation; and of all the laws which Philosophers have invented, this perhaps is the wisest.

Cuprogli, who was a good judge of men, esteemed Sobieski as much as he despised Michael: but he wished, for the interests of the Porte, that Michael's reign might be a long one. He removed all the Poles out of Podolia to the other side of

(*a*). Lengnich. p. 238.

the

Y. 1672. the Danube, and across Mount Hœmus; where these unhappy wretches, torn from their religion and their country, were to cultivate and people the territories of their enemies, and two thousand Spaniards, from the neighbourhood of Bender, came to supply their place, and occupy their possessions.

But Cuprogli did not think this body of troops sufficient to insure his conquests, and therefore left fourscore thousand men encamped at Choczyn, with orders to stay there till the Poles had forgot their liberty; and returned himself to Constantinople with victory and his master, who had discovered in this campaign, that there are other pleasures besides those of the seraglio.

The two potentates that made the most noise this year in Europe, were the Sultan and the most Christian King, both by attacking Christian republics, one passing the Niester, the other the Rhine: Mahomet with a hundred and fifty thousand men and Cuprogli: Lewis XIV. with an hundred and thirty thousand, and Turenne, Condé, Luxembourg, and Vauban. But the event of the two expeditions was greatly different. Lewis abandoned his conquests with as much rapidity as he made them, and Holland remained free. Mahomet preserved his, and Poland was enslaved.

In the whole kingdom of Poland, Michael's conduct was applauded only by himself. Contented with preserving his Crown, and unconcerned about the judgment of posterity, he reigned over the nobility that he had assembled in the camp of Golemba. But though all was over with the Turks, the civil war was not yet extinguished. Sobieski, whose hands were tied up by the peace, was returned to his camp at Lovicz. Michael would needs make a shew of generosity and dignity, without being possessed of either: and sent an order to the army, and to the Grand General by name, to take

take a new oath of allegiance to him; upon which condition he promised to forget what was past, and to restore all the proscribed to their honours and estates. Y. 1672.

Sobieski answered, that he himself and the army would take the oath required, provided that the King would take a new one to the republic, without any equivocation; and swear to observe the articles which had been omitted in the *Paſſa Conventa* by a designed precipitation. These articles were a security against all the violations that the Primate had reproached him with. The King, highly incensed at being put upon a level with the nation, as if it had been an affront to that Majesty which the nation only had conferred upon him; and provoked at their refusal of the proffered pardon, breathed nothing but vengeance (a).

To see, in opposition to each other, two names, so respectable in the constitution of Poland, as that of the King and Grand-General, two confederacies so highly incensed, two armies mutually menacing one another, one would have thought that a deluge of civil blood must have been spilt, and that the republic was going to dig its own grave. Upon this supposition, the following epitaph was writ for the expiring commonwealth by a royalist.

Sprung from the too great indulgence of Kings,
nourished by the arrogance of the Senators,
disturbed by the licentiousness of the Equestrian order,
prostituted by the avarice of all the orders,
reduced to pay tribute to the infidels,
here lies the republic of Poland, buried at last
under its own ruins (b).

The author of the epitaph was however in too great haste; for it is not with Warsaw as with ancient Rome, whose civil fury was never extinguish-

(a) Zaluski, tom. i. p. 434.

(b) Id. ibid. p. 415.

Y. 1672. ed but in its own blood; whereas the former, more accustomed to combat with the laws than with arms, often puts a stop to the violence of its Marius's and Sylla's without coming to blows.

There yet elapsed some time longer in a dreadful uncertainty of what would happen. Sobieski was resolved not to begin the attack, his aim being to reclaim the King to a stricter observance of the laws of the republic, and a better government; a design which Kings will always pardon, when they prefer justice to arbitrary power. Michael, who listened only to the dictates of his revenge, had no scruples about shedding blood; but one reflection moderated his ardor. Having nothing to execute his vengeance but an undisciplined body of nobles, and a few new raised troops, he was afraid of a veteran army, inured to victory, under an experienced general. In this perplexity, he listened to proposals of peace. The Queen his wife, and the Austrian Ambassador made an offer of their mediation. 'Tis only in case of such convulsions, that the republic permits its Queens and foreigners to meddle with affairs of state. Rome was at all times excepted from this exclusion, and upon the present occasion gave proofs of its zeal. Sobieski received from Clement X. a very honourable brief; in which the Pontiff, after an encomium upon his great talents and glorious actions, exhorted him to sacrifice his resentments to the safety of his country, and of Christendom in general, which was greatly weakened by the calamitous state of Poland.

In the present situation of things, it was of much more consequence to appease Sobieski than the King. Sobieski was armed, and his party pressed him to make use of his advantages. The King yielding to necessity, erased his name, and those of all the confederated nobles, out of the act of

of proscription; after which, he sent a deputation to the camp at Lovicz, to assure them of his affection, and to invite them to a diet of pacification, which was held at Warsaw in the beginning of February. Y. 1672.

Whether it would be prudent for Sobieski to be present at it or not, was a question of some difficulty, now discussed in the army. The officers and soldiers represented to him, with great emotion, the dangers that might attend his going. But heroes depend for protection upon the superiority of their talents, and the majesty of their virtue. Besides, it was well known at Warsaw, that the army would be ready to avenge the wrongs of its General; and fear is frequently necessary to make Kings shew a proper respect to heroes. The greater severity the King had before shewn towards Sobieski, the more he now affected to shew respect to him. At his arrival, he sent the Great Chamberlain to compliment him at the Palace of Oviafdow. Upon his coming to court, he received him with a smiling countenance, and a rankling heart, being under great anxiety what would be the event of the diet. Y. 1673.

If any one had a right to assume a high tone in this assembly, it was certainly the man who had triumphed over the Tartars, and would have saved Poland, if Poland would have fought with him in its own defence. But he forgot the scaffold that was intended him, and the price put upon his head: no complaint escaped him upon these subjects; but he painted, in the strongest colours, the grievances of his country. He entered again upon all those that the Primate had laid open in the last diet, and went to the bottom of such as he had only touched superficially. He traced out to the Senate and Equestrian order, a plan of the regulations they ought to make, in order to reform abuses, and restore domestic tranquillity. The King was present,

Y. 1673. as his station obliges him to be in all the assemblies of the nation ; but the genius of the throne was awed by that of Sobieski ; and Michael felt by experience what happens too seldom to those who abuse their power ; he lost part of that which the laws had given him.

He had also another wound to bear in a very sensible part. Sobieski shed tears over the treaty of Boudchaz, and appealed from the King to the republic, which had not signed its own slavery and ruin. The conclusion they came to, was to declare it void.

Such a proceeding was easy enough at Warsaw ; but the question was asked, how it would be received at Constantinople. “ With extreme indignation, no doubt, replied Sobieski ; but we have courage and sabres still left us. We will not wait for the enemy’s coming to us, but must instantly go to them.”

This loud alarm to war put the whole assembly in a consternation. Even they who most disapproved the infamous treaty of Boudchaz, were terrified at a new war with a power that had so lately crushed them. They represented that the army was not numerous ; that new levies would neither be capable, by their experience or number, to face the enemy ; that the revenues of the kingdom were exhausted ; that the people, loaded with taxes, during a war of such long continuance, were unable to bear new ones ; and that the Ukraine and Podolia, being in the hands of Mahomet, and fourscore thousand Turks upon the frontiers, fixed the unhappy fate of Poland. “ We are indeed, said they, reduced to slavery, but yet we live. Should we like to see our cities sacked, our wives and children butchered, and breath our last upon their panting bodies ? If we must again try our fortune against the Turks, let us wait at least till our
I strength

“ strength is recovered, and take time to form al- Y. 1673.
 “ liances and solicit subsidies. It is the common
 “ concern of all Christendom, as well as ours.” It
 was so in effect; for from the mouth of the Bo-
 rysthenes to the territories of Venice, the arms of
 Mahomet preyed upon Muscovy, Hungary, Greece,
 and the islands, each in their turn; and the Poles
 were of opinion, that all the Christian world should
 make it a common cause.

These arguments seemed to admit of no reply.
 Sobieski had occasion for all that strength of ge-
 nius which subdues multitudes. It were to be
 wished that the annalists of nations had preserved
 those pieces of eloquence which determine the des-
 tiny of free states. For my part, I pretend to give
 no more than the substance of Sobieski's discourse,
 such as I find it.

“ I am acquainted, says he, as well as you, with
 “ the small number of our forces, and the ex-
 “ hausted state of our finances; but neither of
 “ these evils is without a remedy. The boors
 “ that cultivate our lands acquire a sort of liberty
 “ by taking arms; and soon become soldiers, if
 “ they are headed by a General. I demand only
 “ sixty thousand men to free you from the Otto-
 “ man yoke. But you will ask me, where we
 “ can find a fund to pay them? If I were to pro-
 “ pose the sale of your consecrated plate, you should
 “ not hesitate to give your consent; for our coun-
 “ try is more sacred than the implements of reli-
 “ gion. But I make no such proposal.—The
 “ republic possesses a treasure in the Castle of Cra-
 “ cow. Will you wait for Mahomet's coming
 “ to take it, as soon as he knows that it is there?
 “ Let us rather employ it to break in pieces the
 “ chains he has laid upon us. You chuse to wait
 “ for a more favourable opportunity, for alliances
 “ and subsidies. Negotiations are tedious, the fu-

Y. 1673. "ture is uncertain, the present is in our power.
 " Your ancestors would have preferred death to a
 " single year of slavery."

Whoever has dignity and eloquence should never despair of prevailing upon great assemblies. The fire of the Polish Demosthenes caught the Senate and Equestrian order. The treaty of Boudchaz was declared void, the peace broke, and war rekindled. They fancied already that they saw Mahomet humbled under the sword of the Grand-General. The Poles, in their commendations, have always something of the swelling stile of the Asiatics. Some said, that the Greeks would have taken Sobieski for the God Apollo, whose oracles disclosed Futurity. Others were for reviving the doctrine of Pythagoras, and insisted upon it, that the souls of all the ancient heroes had united in one, and passed into his body. It is certain that he was greater than the King, who heard all this from his throne.

But it is dangerous to be too great : the murmurs of envy, and the indignation of the court, were excited. *Lozinski*, one of the nobles, whose want of fortune made him a Plebeian in that body, as is frequently the case in Poland, a man of an audacious spirit, and voluble tongue, rose up and said, that he had a crime of the deepest dye to lay before the republic ; that a traitor had called in the Turks and Tartars ; that Kamienieck had been sold for twelve hundred thousand florins ; that he had seen this treasure in waggons, without knowing at first what it was ; but that having questioned the guards about it, he was told that it was the price of Kamienieck ; that besides this, he had seen, by accident, in the hands of an officer at *Zloczow (a)*, a note for a sum of money that was to come from Constantinople for a grandee of the re-

(a) A country-house belonging to Sobieski.

public ;

public; and that it was with the utmost reluctance that he accused the Grand-General of this crime, whose correspondence with the enemy might complete the ruin of the state. (a).

It is impossible to describe the astonishment which appeared upon every countenance. Sobieski, without changing colour, and unmoved at every eye's being fixed upon him, addressed himself to the King and the two orders, saying, "If I am guilty of this crime, I deserve to be punished, and never more to appear in the Senate. I therefore leave the assembly, and will not stir from my own house, till I am convicted or acquitted."

There was not the least probability, that the man who had beat the Tartars, had called them in; or that he who had sent eight regiments to defend Kamienieck, had sold it. The first motion the Senate made, was rising to stop Sobieski, and conjure him to despise this calumny which destroyed itself. The King thinking himself obliged to do the same, came down from his throne, but Sobieski was inflexible, and went out accompanied by the Primate and the other nobles of the confederacy. The accuser was immediately arrested; and the trial, by a decree of the diet, committed to four Senators and eight provincial Deputies. This proceeding was necessary, both for the honour of the accused, and the safety of the state.

A scene of this sort very seldom happens in absolute monarchies, where no one dares to accuse men in high stations: the public murmurs, but the monarch protects the crime, and thinks to secure his authority by defending those who abuse it. It is only in countries of liberty, that the law tries all subjects, without any distinction of rank or birth.

(a) Zalufki, tom. ii.

HISTORY of JOHN SOBIESKI

Y. 1673. The informer did not make good his charge upon the trial; but prevaricated, and varied in his evidence; and besides, it was proved that *Prusnowsk*: (the pretended bearer of the note in question) had not set his foot in Zloczow since the taking of Kamienieck. His falshood being detected, he confessed that a powerful party had set him upon this calumny, by promising to make his fortune; and he named two nobles of the first rank, one a Senator, and the other one of the chief officers of the crown (a).

Sobieski, dreading the consequences that might follow, not to his own person, but to the peace of a great number of families, perhaps also to the public tranquillity, came to the Senate and declared, that he was satisfied with his own acquittal, and desired the republic to stop the progress of this affair; that he gave up his resentment to the state, which required that its members should be otherwise employed than in the punishment of private wrongs. But the republic thought it necessary to pass sentence; and the informer being condemned to death, was delivered up to Sobieski himself, to order his execution as Grand-Marshal. This was in effect saving the life of the criminal, who owed his preservation to the generosity of the man whom he attempted to ruin; but he lived, hated by all good men, and tormented with the remorse of his own mind.

The two nobles who had suborned this informer, got off for only expressing their sorrow

(a) The manuscript that I follow suppresses their names, out of regard for their families; but the secret is known by all Poland. One of them, while the trial was depending, put several captive Tartars to torture by fire, in order to make them confess that Sobieski had stirred up their nation against Poland. But virtue had more power over these infidels, than over the Christians, who tormented them to no purpose.

a noble Instance of Virtue!

to

to Sobieski, in the presence of the twelve commissioners. Sobieski took care to make the mortification as light as possible. The palace where he resided being about a hundred paces from the city, he gave them notice that at such an hour he should get on horseback to come to the Senate. The two nobles met him, and every thing passed off lightly. By expressing their sorrow, they certainly confessed their crime. Why then was their sentence different from that of Lozinski? But it has been a complaint in all ages, that the instruments of crimes are punished, and the authors spared.

The acquittal of Sobieski gave great satisfaction to all who loved their country, and particularly to the confederated nobles, who were now no longer united by that bond. The King himself thought he was obliged to express his joy. Every thing was calmed in the diet, and the public welfare was the only object of its consultations.

The Primate Prazmowski did not long enjoy that restoration of public order to which he had so much contributed. He appeared at Warsaw, even before the arrival of Sobieski, without any thing to protect him but his dignity. A dangerous illness confined him to his bed, which he was fated never more to rise from. The court sent frequently to enquire after his health, rather to know the moment of its getting rid of him, than to lament his death. He did not live to see the end of the diet; but before he closed his eyes, he protested in words, and declared in his will, that whatever he had done in the present reign, had been for the sake of the laws, of liberty, and his country, and that he expected his reward from the Sovereign Lord of Kings and people. He was a Prelate, who, with great qualities, had perhaps carried the zeal of his patriotism to too great an excess against the King. But love for one's country is so noble
a passion,

Y. 1673. a passion, that its excesses, even at the hour of death, still pass for virtues; and the opposite party were obliged by decency to lament the man they hated (a).

The diet ended happily with recommending to the care of the Grand-General, all the preparations for a war which must end in the preservation of Poland, or its total ruin. The treasure of Cracow, which had been laid up for several centuries, was brought to the capital. It consisted of Jewels of every sort, set in gold. The Grand-Treasurer Morstyn claimed a right of being entrusted with it, in order to its distribution: and indeed it was a privilege belonging to his office. But in so pressing a juncture, the Grand-General dreaded every thing that looked like form, as being a source of delay; and therefore the treasure was put into his hands. The arts of Luxury were, at that time, so little known in Poland, that they were forced to send for workmen from Vienna, Venice, and Breslaw to value the jewels; and the money they sold for was distributed to the officers to raise recruits.

It was soon discovered that this fund would not be sufficient to pay the great number of troops which it was resolved to keep on foot. The republic therefore imposed a new subsidy, which was paid with surprising readiness, considering how much the nation was exhausted. But extraordinary imposts are not so much dreaded, in a free government, as under an absolute monarchy. The subjects of the former know that they are laid on in cases of necessity only, and will last but a short time.

While the recruits were raising, Sobieski dispatched spies into Walachia and Tartary, towards

(a) Zaluzki, tom. i. p. 439, & seq.

the Danube, and to the camp at Choczyn; who brought back intelligence, that there were some commotions in Walachia, that Tartary was quiet, that after Mahomet's departure, the bridges over the Danube were broke down, and that there was no appearance of their being erected again. But they gave a terrifying account of the camp at Choczyn, which they described as looking like an immense fortress, erected to command Poland, on account of the communication it had with Podolia and Kamienieck by its bridges over the Niester.

Sobieski, without deceiving himself as to the risk he ran, but pleased with the greatness of the attempt, dispatched courier after courier to the Grand-General of Lithuania, Michael Paz, to hasten the march of his troops. The Lithuanian army did not arrive till the end of September in the plain of Glinian, a few leagues from Leopold, where the Poles waited for them with great impatience, and not without reason; for it was time to put an end to the campaign, rather than to begin it.

Sobieski dissembled the vexation he felt at this delay, but had soon a greater to bear. He was far from imagining that the King, who neither loved nor understood war, and had hitherto never quitted the court, would put himself at the head of the troops upon so critical an occasion. But dark suspicion is sometimes a more active principle than the love of glory. The King, who was credulous to excess, could never efface from his mind the reports which had been so often confuted, that Sobieski was not always inaccessible to the gold of the infidels; and besides, having been long jealous of that esteem which he could not obtain himself, he saw with pain the army acquiring a habit of obeying only its General. He therefore came to take upon him the command. Sobieski, and

Y. 1673^v all who loved their country, foresaw great inconveniencies from this step. Never was there greater need of a commander who could act in person : all others were fit only to hinder and perplex the operations.

The King's first proceeding was to call a council in his tent, where he proposed it as a matter of debate, whether it were prudent to provoke so formidable a power as the Turk. The Grand-Chancellor, Andrew Olsowski, one of his favourites, answered, at the hazard of displeasing him, *We have already passed the Rubicon : it is now too late to look back (a)*. Paz, who beheld with an eye of dissatisfaction Sobieski's laurels, though he had gathered some himself, said, in an ironical tone, *I have provided my army for a seven year's expedition, and since we are bent upon a crusade, I am sorry that the true cross is no longer at Jerusalem*. Sobieski rose to speak in his turn : " I expected, says he, " that our deliberations would have turned upon other subjects. To what purpose is it to debate in a private council upon what a national assembly has already decided? Have we forgot that we ourselves made part of that assembly? And do we also forget the obedience we owe to the republic? Every thing is already settled ; we have nothing to do but to execute. " We have lost already too much time." Paz, being hard pressed with this reasoning, had nothing to object, but that he expected to be joined by more troops ; a time of junction was therefore assigned him, and he accepted it.

The King, after this useless council, would make a review of the army. Those who are acquainted with Poland will be astonished that it could assemble fifty thousand men in so short a time. But

(a) A saying of Cæsar's, when he marched against Rome.
Sobieski

Sobieski created every thing. The King commended the fine appearance of the troops, but they were not disposed to return him any compliment; for they considered him only as a weak Prince, who had set his hand to the slavery of Poland. Such an act of meanness could not be expiated under whole centuries of virtue; and besides, he had not that warlike air, which takes so much with the soldiery; that exalted mien, which indicates a hero.

He was dressed in the French manner, (a sure way of giving offence, because every country is attached to its own customs) covered with ribbands, his hat adorned with a plume of feathers, and a cane in his hand instead of the staff of command. He looked as if he were to lead up a ball, when they were marching to the field of battle. He did not go through with the review; for his colour changed on a sudden, and a cold sweat ran down his face. An illness seized him in the reins, and he was carried to Leopold, where he had more need of physic than the army had of him (a).

Sobieski, whose presence was more valued than the King's, put himself in motion, and entered upon a march of six weeks. When he arrived upon the banks of the Niester, he halted some days to wait for the Lithuanians, who there joined him. Hitherto the troops had shewn great alacrity; but provisions begun to grow scarcer, the roads more difficult, and winter was advancing with its frosts. There was in the army a party devoted to the court, always ready to take every opportunity of sowing discontent. They now disguised themselves under the mask of regard to the public, and demanded a council of war; which accordingly assembled, and was very numerous. The harangues that were made were dictated by fear

(a) Lengnich. p. 243.

only;

Y. 1673. only: nothing was dwelt upon but rivers swelled by rain, immense forrests to cros, superior armies to attack, sickness and famine to encounter. Where was the prudence, it was asked, of beginning the campaign so late, and destroying, by this means, the heroes of the senate, the power of the Equestrian order, and all the strength of Poland?

Sobieski, filled with indignation to see Poland conquered before it had fought, spoke in strong terms, of the ignominy there would be in turning back after a march that must have attracted so much notice, and of the danger of leaving the republic any longer in chains. “ I know, says he, that an Aga is
 “ set out from Constantinople to come and demand
 “ that infamous tribute which we submitted to in
 “ the last peace; and that he is bringing to our
 “ King that ignominious (a) vestment, which will
 “ rank him among the slaves of the Porte. You
 “ are afraid, you say, of famine. Do you suppose
 “ that I have not taken all proper precautions?
 “ You shall have supplies of provisions where you
 “ least expect it. You are apprehensive of the
 “ number of your enemies. Must we therefore
 “ be equal in number in order to beat them? But
 “ the Porte has not yet brought into the field those
 “ immense bodies of troops which strike Europe
 “ with terror. It has only fourscore thousand men
 “ under the walls of Choczyn; and ’tis to Choczyn
 “ that I am conducting you. If the officers de-
 “ sert me, I flatter myself, at least, that the sol-
 “ diers, with whom I have so often been victori-
 “ ous, will follow where I lead them. I will ei-

(a) The Captan, which the Sultan sometimes gives to the Ambassadors of foreign Princes, who consider it as a mark of honour; but to their masters it would be a badge of dependence.

“ ther

“ther return with victory, or expire upon the car- Y. 1673-
“cass of some Turk (a).”

Discourses of this sort are more necessary where men are free, than in absolute governments, where every thing submits to the dictates of blind obedience. They often raise the sinking spirits of an army; but on the present occasion, no such effect was produced. Sobieski's harangue was not followed with that agreeable murmur which betokens applause. On the contrary, the disobedience increased; and next morning, at break of day, Sobieski was told that the Lithuanians refused to march any farther. We have here an instance of the ill consequences that follow from an army's consisting of two independent parts, one of which may industriously avoid the mark that the other aims at. Paz alledged that the Polish army shewed no concern whether the Lithuanians followed or not; that by marching first, it left nothing but famine behind it; that the term for which the army was paid, was expiring, and the campaign near its end; with many other specious reasons, which are never wanting, when a man aims at distressing his rival.

Sobieski sent to him the Standard-Bearer of Posenia, Scorazowski, a man of eloquence, and agreeable to him whom it was necessary to persuade. He did his country more service upon this occasion, than if he had exposed his life in a field of battle, for Paz listened to his reasons, and from this moment the passage of the Niester was resolved on. The river being greatly swelled, and no ford to be found, those who had shewn most reluctance, were now the foremost to swim across it, as if they aimed to wipe off the stain upon their characters. So-

(a) Zaluzki, tom. i. p. 493.

bieski

Y. 1673.

bieski put a stop to this rash impetuosity, which cost the lives of several; a bridge was made, which he himself was the last in passing; and the army advanced into the Bucovine, a forest of thirty leagues long, and as many broad, where a branch of the Crapack mountains forms defiles, so extremely difficult to pass, that even a traveller cannot do it without shuddering.

It seems probable, that at Constantinople they knew nothing as yet of the breach of the treaty, and the march of the Poles. The army met the Turkish Envoy coming to demand the first payment of the tribute. He behaved with all the haughtiness that he thought might be shewn with impunity to conquered tributaries. Sobieski asked for his letters, in order to open them. *That honour,* replied he, *belongs only to thy master, to whom they are directed; and nothing but death shall hinder me from obeying the orders of the invincible Mahomet.* Sobieski was tempted to put him in irons, or at least to cut off his beard, which in the east is the greatest of all affronts. But he respected the law of nations, and suffered him to continue his journey, while the army advanced into the forest, where they expected to have the passés disputed. But the enemy did not appear till they arrived in the plain on the other side, and then only a few small bodies, which retired with great expedition.

Sobieski hastened his march along the banks of the Pruth, antiently called Hierasus, which falls into the Danube. 'Twas on the banks of this river that the Czar Peter in 1711, found on a sudden his army without provisions, or forage, and a hundred and fifty thousand Turks in front. At this moment he was more wretched than his rival Charles XII. at Pultowa; but this moment was quickly over. A woman saved him and his army by

by negotiating the peace of the Pruth; and from being the wife of a common dragoon, she married the Emperor, and succeeded him in the throne. Y. 1673.

Sobieski, leaving the Pruth, appeared on the 9th of November before the camp of Choczin. The town on the right side of the river was defended by a high citadel, and a fort on the left side covered the head of a bridge. In this very place, it was, that fifty years before, when Sultan Osman was defeated, Sobieski's father had performed such great exploits: the son was now attempting greater, with this difference only, that at that time the Poles defended the camp, and at present they came to attack it. The Seraskier Hussein, a disciple of the famous Cuprogli, was Commander in Chief, and had with him fourscore thousand of those veteran troops that had conquered the isle of Candy. There were in the army several Bahaws with three tails; but Mahomet had sent Hussein a *fourth*, that he might have the command. The title of *Seraskier* is given to all Commanders in Chief, who represent the Visir. Hussein had exhausted the country for ten or twelve leagues round, to supply his camp with provisions, while the Poles, who had most of them never been in any action, were in want of many necessaries.

A council of war was held in the night, in which Paz, weighing the inequality of forces, protested that it would be a punishable piece of temerity to expose to certain destruction the last resource the republic was possessed of; and that, as for himself, he would retire at sun-rising with his Lithuanians, to preserve them for the service of his country.

Sobieski, more harassed by friends than enemies, answered, that he had foreseen every thing that now presented itself, except this resolution of Paz; that the situation of things was far from giving him any terror; that it was much more dangerous

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Y. 1673. to retire before an enemy of superior strength than to attack them; and that, in short, the only favour he desired of him was to stay and be a spectator of the first blows.

Paz himself loved glory; and since Sobieski was obstinately bent upon seeking it, he would have been greatly mortified at his finding it without him.

On the 10th every thing was prepared for the attack. There was in the Polish army a body of Cossacks, gained over by Sobieski's liberality. Their leader, Samuel Motovildo, impatient to signalize himself at their head, opened the scene, without waiting for the General's order. He was already mounted upon the entrenchments, when he fell dead upon the body of a janizary whom he had just killed. This brave man had been a slave nineteen years in the Turkish galleys, and had set himself at liberty by his courage, with three hundred companions of his ill fate. He made himself master of the galley in which he was chained, and landed at Venice dyed with the blood of his Tyrants. Such a man deserved to die in freedom (a). His men were all cut to pieces.

But this was not the day that Sobieski destined for the effusion of blood. He continued with his army in battalia, hoping that the enemy, with such a superiority, would come out of their camp. But the day was spent in cannonading. Towards the evening an unexpected event increased the forces of the Poles. On the right of the Turks, there was a separate camp of between seven and eight thousand Walachian and Moldavian horse, which, tho' Christians, were under the command of the infidels. These troops did not answer the expectations of the Seraskier, either in number or beauty; and the two Hospodars who conducted them were there-

(a) Zaluski, tom. i. p. 498.

fore treated like slaves. The Seraskier forgot himself so far as to strike the Moldavian with his battle-ax. The Princes, stimulated by revenge, came and offered Sobieski themselves and their troops. The Turks beheld this desertion with indignation, but were unable to prevent it (a).

The following night was extremely severe for the soldiers to continue under arms. They were froze by the snow, which fell in great abundance, but they saw Sobieski visit the posts, rest himself upon the carriage of a cannon, and refuse a tent. At break of day, he observed that the enemy's ranks were thinner than usual. The same number of colours was flying upon the parapet; but much fewer janizaries were to be seen. The Turks, accustomed to a mildness of climate, which the Poles are unacquainted with, are less capable of fatigue. Their strength was exhausted by having been four and twenty hours under arms in such severe weather, and thinking that the Poles would not dare to attack them in open day-light, they were retired to take a little rest.

This is the moment that I waited for, said Sobieski to the officers who were about him: *carry my orders for the attack*; and he instantly set them an example, which, upon any other occasion, would be found fault with in a General. Observing that the first brigades were wavering between courage and fear, he made his own regiment of dragoons, a troop formed by himself, alight from their horses, and putting himself at their head, he marched up to the Turkish entrenchments. He was too bulky to mount with ease; and while his men were assisting him, he was all the while exposed to the enemy's fire, but at length appeared upon the parapet with his dragoons. The foot, seeing his dan-

(a) Cantemir, tom. ii. p. 96.

Y. 1673.

ger, and trembling for him, rushed on violently on the right and left to sustain him, and forcing the first posts one upon another, turned their own cannon against them.

In the mean time, Jablonowski, Palatine of Russia, made a motion of the utmost importance. The cavalry had not yet forced their way, and the infantry was afraid of being surrounded, if they advanced too far. He therefore came round by the camp which the Moldavians had quitted, and forced through with the Pancerns. Sobieski had fought on foot for near an hour: he was at length supplied with a horse, and the rest of the cavalry soon entered through the entrenchment itself.

Surprize occasions greater confusion than fire and sword. The Turks being pushed on all sides, lost many men and much ground. But the Poles, finding a greater number of empty tents than of enemies, stopped to pillage; a common fault with troops that are not under the strictest discipline. If the victory was at all uncertain, it was at this juncture. The Turks, charmed at the power of their wealth, took courage and repulsed the victors. Sobieski with the Towarisz sustained this first shock: and was seconded by Jablonowski with the Pancerns. Lesczinski, Palatine of Podalchia, brought up the plunderers to their colours; and victory, which seemed to be departing, appeared again, accompanied with order.

Sobieski, in the heat of the action, did not neglect to take care of consequences. He ordered the Baron de Boham, a French officer, to march to the bridge to cut off the enemy's retreat (a). By this time, there were none who stood their ground but the janizaries only, who durst not give

(a) He broke down the bridge, apprehending he might be forced from his post.

way

way in the presence of the brave Soliman who commanded them. The Seraskier, on his part, did all that could be expected from a General who was forced in his camp. He rallied and brought back to action his broken squadrons.

But when some of the runaways, being repulsed from the bridge, brought intelligence that the retreat was cut off, the Turks, instead of deriving fresh courage from despair, had no sensation left but that of terror. A body of between six and seven thousand horse endeavoured to escape in a place where the rock was lower than usual; but were charged by the Lithuanians, who forced their way by that very entrance, and drove them back upon the field of battle, where they ran full speed against a body of Polish horse. Sobieski, who was every where, happened to be in this body. Wo be to that General, who, on such an occasion, cannot act the soldier! Sobieski could; and fortune assisted him as much as his own valour. A Turk aimed at him a mortal blow, which was received by a young hero, named Zelinski, whose death was quickly revenged; and there succeeded a series of single combats in the midst of a general action. At last, the Palatine of Kalisch and the Castellan of Posenia, came up with a body of horse and disengaged the Poles. The whole camp was covered with expiring infidels. Soliman was just wounded and taken prisoner in the midst of the janizaries; and that brave corps at length gave way. The Spahis pushed on their horses at random, with no other view but to avoid the sabres of their pursuers. The Seraskier covered with wounds, thought only how to save the wretched remains of his army; but how to effect it, was the difficulty. The only way of retiring that he could discover, was either a few paths across the rocks, or the waves of the Niester.

Y. 1673.

From this moment, the state of the Turkish army no longer presented the idea of a battle, but of a complete rout, where destruction was multiplied in all its various forms. Here the flying squadrons throw themselves from the top of a rock, and are dashed in pieces against other rocks below, where men and horses are heaped one upon another, to the height of several Pikes. There the broken infantry take refuge towards the citadel, which being capable of containing no more, sends them back to the sabres of the enemy. At a greater distance, the cavalry plunge into the river, and are delivered, by being shot in the midst of it, from this scene of horror. Even such as reached the other side, or had crossed before the breaking of the bridge, were not safe. They drew themselves up in battalions, to receive and protect such of their companions as should attempt the passage; but the impetuous Mandreoski, a Brigadier of horse, could not bear to see them live. He throws himself into the river, followed by his brigade: but receives a wound from a musket-ball in the midst of the river, which deprives him of all sense. He was brought back to the place he set out from, and lost his life ten years after in a still more celebrated battle. His troop still pursuing its point, is joined by other squadrons; and the enemy being every where broke, retires for safety under the walls of Kamienieck.

The river was covered with ten thousand turbans, and the earth with twenty thousand slain, among which were eight thousand janizaries. The victory cost the Poles between five and six thousand killed and wounded; among which, the death of the Great-Huntsman of the Crown was particularly lamented. Biginski was dragged from under a heap of carcases the next day after the battle, and had the pleasure of knowing that his supposed death was regretted. If we consider the vast superiority

riority of the conquered army, the whole looks like a fable. But one of these two suppositions will account for it; either it is a great disadvantage to wait for an enemy in entrenchments, or heaven fought on the side of the Poles. There is a third, which will perhaps give a still better solution. When men fight, not for the whim of a sovereign, but for the real interest of themselves and their country, they are raised above the level of humanity.

The Poles took a great number of prisoners, whose destiny stained the brightness of Sobieski's laurels. It is highly proper, that the mischiefs, which men in power do to their fellow creatures, should be related by history. If they would have nothing but good recorded of them, they should take care that all their actions be of that sort. No sooner had Sobieski returned thanks to God, by having mass said in the magnificent pavilion of the Turkish General, than he commanded the prisoners, who made no farther resistance, to be all massacred; and to this first act of barbarity he added a second, by an order to the inhabitants of the country, to put to death every infidel that had taken refuge in their houses, upon pain of being put to death themselves. He forgot that the God of battle (a title which he never assumes but when madmen disturb the earth) is still more the God of mercy. More than one Bashaw perished in this slaughter; but he had not the cruel satisfaction of involving in it the Seraskier Houssein, who had escaped in time (a).

He shewed more humanity to the wretches who waited for their fate in the citadel of Choczyn, which contained vast riches, being the place where the Greeks, Armenians, and Jews kept their ma-

(a) Zaluzki, tom. i. p. 498, & seq.

Y. 1673. gazines for the camp. The artillery was brought up against it the same day; and it could not possibly hold out: a detachment which came to its relief from Kamienieck being quickly repulsed by Samuel Cosacowski. After which, Sobieski sent them a Polish Deputy, accompanied by the Bashaw Czausio, a prisoner of distinction, to summon them to surrender, or to expect to be all put to the sword. These unhappy people had still the courage to demand an honourable capitulation, and to be conducted to Kamienieck, with as much of their effects as they could carry away upon forty waggons. The honest Turk, who read the conditions to Sobieski, watering the paper with his tears, admonished him to reflect, that victory is not invariably appropriated to any nation; that God punishes such as make a bad use of it; and that he has more than once abased, on the morrow, those whom he had exalted the day before. Sobieski granted almost all he asked; and the Bashaw who commanded at Kamienieck, immediately acknowledged the favour, by dismissing, without ransom, fifty Polish prisoners. The Poles, in all their writings, treat the Turks as barbarians: but these barbarians sometimes give lessons of virtue even to Christians.

The Lithuanian General, Paz, is reproached in history, for his behaviour upon the march, and before the attack; but history does him also the justice to own, that, during the action, his natural courage and love for his country regained the ascendant; that he and his Lithuanians behaved like heroes, and left it doubtful whether the Poles or they deserved the palm of valour.

While this was passing between the Pruth and the Niester, the Turkish Aga proceeded on his journey; and arriving at Leopold about the beginning of November, found the King lying there at

the point of death. The disorder, which first attacked him at the review, was so increased as to leave no hopes of recovery. An ulcer in his kidneys, blood instead of urine, convulsions in his stomach, and continual vomitings, left him so small a remnant of life as would not permit him to give audience. And yet the Ambassador insisted upon it, with greater haughtiness than he had even shewed in the army. He declared, that at all events, he would deliver to the King the Sultan's letter, and the casket committed to his charge. The great officers of the crown and the court were in a tormenting dilemma. They apprehended the letter might be writ in an imperious manner, in the stile of a Lord to his vassal; they were afraid even to look at the superscription, which might be changed, since the time that Poland became tributary to the Porte. The Vice-Chancellor, before he would propose the audience to the dying King, demanded a sight of the letter, and of the casket, which gave still greater uneasiness. Their imaginations ran upon nothing but the staff of command, and the vestment, which are the mortifying tokens of vassalage that the Grand-Seignior sends to his tributaries in three quarters of the world. To put such a vestment upon the dying Prince, would be a fatal blow to his life, and an eternal affront to Poland. What increased their apprehensions was, that there was no letter for the Vice-Chancellor. This unusual circumstance left them in a state of uncertainty and suspense, which made them fear the very worst, and in the mean time the Ambassador was obstinate in his refusal to make any discovery, except at the King's bed's-side. It would seem, that they might have left him to vent his dissatisfaction, without endeavouring to get the better of his obstinacy; but the consequences, even in this case, appeared tremendous. They
knew

Y. 1673. knew not what success the army would have; the last intelligence from it was not promising; and if the expedition to Choczin miscarried, what yoke would for the future be heavy enough for the vanquished? Address is usually called in to the assistance of weakness; the Poles dissembled, and flattered the Aga; giving him to understand that the King was recovering his strength, and in a few days would be able to give him an audience. In effect, the ulcer was opened, and the physicians entertained hopes; but nature, which so often deceives them, both on the favourable and unfavourable side, had decided against them. Michael died on the 10th of November, without leaving any issue, at the age of thirty-five, after four years spent upon the throne, or rather, spent in uneasiness, infamy, disturbance and horror. If the sceptre is capable of making any man happy, it must be him only who is able to wield it. Michael, who was naturally of a humane temper, would have been a good King, if he had been a great one; but his want of capacity made both himself and his subjects unhappy. All that he got by being exalted to the regal dignity was, to be drenched with gall, without the least infusion of comfort; he felt all the evil, but none of the good; for he expired on the evening, before the victory of Choczin.

Three days after, the hope of a new triumph gave fresh pleasure to Sobieski, who being informed by the Moldavian Prince, that ten thousand Turks had crossed the Danube, and were advancing through Moldavia to come and increase the camp at Choczin, took with him part of his cavalry, without baggage; and after a forced march of four days, arrived at Pererita, upon the banks of the Pruth. Here he had the mortification of finding that he had missed his aim; for Kaplan Bashaw, the Turkish General, having learnt by the way

way the defeat at Choczin, had marched back towards the Danube. Y. 1673.

Sobieski, upon his return to the army, formed a plan to make the greatest advantages of his success; but every thing concurred to hinder him. Paz, who had been dragged on to victory, was in no humour to follow him; and had taken the road to Lithuania with his troops during Sobieski's absence. The Poles were still earnest in the cause; but the news of the King's death either changed their inclinations, or furnished many of them with a fair pretence for going home. Such as were loaded with the spoils of the east were impatient to lay up their booty safe: others, who were tired with the labours of so severe a season, eagerly wished for the end of it: and all alledged, that the election of a new King was the only thing that should employ the attention of Poland.

Sobieski represented, that the election could not come on before the spring; and that the winter might be usefully employed in driving the Turks out of the Ukraine, and perhaps in making an attempt upon Kamienieck. He produced a letter from the Grand Chancellor, advising them to pursue the victory, and notifying the death of the King. It is surprizing that Sobieski, who had so many claims to the crown, if merit be any claim at all, should be so little in haste to return to Warsaw, and form a party in his own favour. Instead of this, he was busy in animating the Poles to new enterprizes; but was stopped by an order from the Primate Czartoriski, requiring him to bring back the army, without delay, into Poland. The will of the Interrex, is more sacred than that of the King, and nothing was left but to obey. All that the Grand-General could do, was to leave a garrison at Choczin, where the Poles raised a hillock which they call *Mogila*, to be a rude monument of a glorious

*The Victory was, in my opinion, great, victory,
but not glorious, unless it were of so many
Captives, which exceeds all Sobieski's merit.*

Y. 1673. victory. It would have been unjust, to abandon, to the vengeance of the Turks, the Moldavians and Wallachians, who came and joined Sobieski. He therefore detached a body of eight thousand men, under the command of the Grand-Standard-Bearer Sienawski, to defend the two Hospodars, and their territories; but the defence was of very little service. The Moldavian *Petreczeicus*, soon sunk under the Ottoman power, and took refuge in Poland, where the lowest Starost assumed a superiority over an ejected Prince. He heartily repented his not having bore one affront, rather than expose himself to a thousand. At length death delivered him. The Walachian *Gregory*, after having been amused by the Emperor, applied for protection to the Pope, who made a proposal to him of entering into the Roman communion: but he made his peace with Constantinople, and continued a Schismatic and a Prince (a). Sobieski, however, was not wanting in gratitude; for he did every thing for them that lay in his power; after which, he took, much against his own inclination, the road to Poland.

If we consider this celebrated expedition on the side of conquest, it presents no very advantageous idea. The only acquisition was Choczyn, a heap of cottages covered with straw. The citadel, which was a good one for the country, was retaken by the Turks in the winter. But if we view it on the side of glory, and as being the preservation of Poland, there are very few of equal lustre, or so highly interesting. It prevented the treaty of Boudchaz from being ratified by the first payment of the tribute; suspended the slavery of Poland; weakened the Turks by the destruction of a veteran army; and taught them, that Poland, with only mo-

(a) Cantemir, tom. ii. p. 139.

derate forces, was capable of braving their enormous power. Y. 1673.

Sobieski, covered with ^{victory} glory, now came to Leopold, where he received the congratulations of all the orders of the state. The most distant Palatinates sent Deputies to the deliverer of his country. Let Kings be intoxicated, if they can, with the incense which is so profusely, but involuntarily, offered them after victories, in which they have commonly no share: that which Sobieski received was the tribute of gratitude and joy. At the report of the triumph of Choczyn, every one left off mourning for a King who was not lamented, to appear in colours, and assume the language of joy. If any regretted the King's death, it was the Turkish Envoy, because he was hindered thereby from executing his commission, and dreaded the severity of the Porte. But the Primate gave him a certificate, attesting that Michael was dead before the Envoy could fulfil his instructions.

In the mean time Warsaw was filled with intrigues that were forming for the crown; and Sobieski staid at Leopold, as if he had no pretensions. The best title to it, he thought, was continuing to defend his country. He therefore fixed his residence at Leopold for the winter, where he was in readiness to restrain the incursions of the Tartars and the Cossacks, or to endeavour, if an opportunity offered, to win over the latter.

End of the THIRD BOOK.

T H E

THE
HISTORICAL
OF
JOHN SOBIESKI
KING OF POLAND.

BOOK IV.

Y. 1674.

THE diet of Convocation, which precedes that of election, was summoned to meet on the 15th of January. It was to have ended in fifteen days: but the desire which every one had to see Sobieski present at it, caused it to be prorogued to the 22d of February. He refused however to gratify this earnest wish, being wholly taken up with the enemy. Every thing went on quietly in the diet, under the direction of the Primate, to whom the republic was indebted for the general tranquillity it enjoyed during the whole interregnum, which is commonly a time of confusion, of which robbers and seditious persons take advantage. The death of the King, and the time of election were notified, according to custom, to the powers of Eu-

rope : and the field of election was opened on the first of May. It must be remembered, that there are two ways of chusing the Kings of Poland ; either in the General Assembly of the nobility, called *the diet on horseback*, or only by the votes of the Senators and the Deputies who represent the nobility and the provinces. The Primate, fearing the dangers of the former method, which is generally attended with tumult and violence, managed matters with such dexterity, that he got the latter to be preferred ; in which case, the nation being represented by its wisest members, may expect a better choice.

Sobieski shewed so much indifference for the crown, that, notwithstanding the repeated instances of the Electors, who had a mind to profit by his superior talents, he did not arrive till the 10th of May. Perhaps his delay might be partly founded in policy, in order to be more taken notice of. This was the first time of his appearing before the assembly of the Estates since the victory of Choczyn ; and he was received with a pomp which might well astonish the foreigners then present, who were not accustomed, in their own countries, to see Generals receive the honours of the triumph.

There were six competitors bidding for the crown by their Ambassadors.

Prince Thomas of Savoy offered two millions, which would pay the troops of the republic for some months, together with a supply of five thousand foot till the conclusion of a peace with the Turk. Besides this, he promised to sell all his possessions in Savoy and France, amounting in value to nine millions of florins, which sum should be applied to the uses of the republic, in order to rid it of the inconvenience it suffered by the quantity of bad coin ;

Y. 1673. coin; and for the execution of these promises, the Duke of Savoy his uncle was to be guarantee.

The Duke of Modena had little of his own to give, but was profuse in offering the protection of others. The interest of the two Cardinals Barberini, which was at his disposal; his alliances and connections of friendship with all the sovereigns of Europe, and particularly with the house of Austria. The great grandson of Philip II. flattered himself with being powerfully assisted by the two branches of that family against the Turks.

Prince George of Denmark, who was afterwards husband to a Queen (*a*), without being a King, besides pecuniary offers, made a promise of a defensive alliance between the two kingdoms. Another article, of greater consequence perhaps, but which made little impression upon the Poles, was his offering to initiate them into commerce, by laying open to them immediately that of the East-Indies.

The Prince of Transylvania made an offer of fifteen millions, engaged to unite his principality with the crown of Poland, and to maintain a body of fifteen thousand men, as long as the war with the Turks should continue. The proposal seemed so considerable, that it was not thought to be in his power to execute it.

Prince Charles of Lorraine, over whose head the crown had hung suspended in the last election, appeared again with the hopes of fixing it there upon the present occasion. He was no richer than before, but had found good security, no less than the Emperor and the King of Spain, for the performance of his promises. He engaged to furnish five thousand foot for the expedition against the Turks, to take five hundred Polish nobles into his

(*a*) Anne, Queen of England.

body of guards, to found an academy for the education of a hundred more nobles, to erect two forts, one against the Turks, the other against the Muscovites, to advance nine months pay for the Polish army, with a promise of assigning over to Poland one half of the revenues of Lorraine and the dutchy of Bar, as soon as he should be in possession of them.

Prince William of Newburg; who was afterwards Elector Palatine, flattered himself with having better success than his father, who was rejected in the last election, and bade higher than all his rivals. Instead of six or nine months pay for the army, he stipulated for a whole year. His father was to give up to him immediately the revenues of the Dutchy of Juliers to be applied to the exigencies of the republic, till, by means of the immense possessions that were hereafter to fall to him, his liberality should be as boundless as his gratitude. A still more tempting circumstance in the present critical situation, was his offering to take into his pay twenty thousand Swedes and six thousand Brandenburgers, to be employed against the Turks (*a*). If the crown were to be purchased of the republic only, it would be an advantage to the nation; but it is purchased also of private persons, who put it up to the highest bidder; and what increases the misfortune is, that the magnificent offers which an ambitious candidate makes to the republic, are forgot by him when he is seated upon the throne.

Of the six competitors, there were four who had not even the transitory satisfaction of suspending the inclinations of the voters; these were, Prince Thomas of Savoy, the Duke of Modena, Prince George of Denmark, and the Prince of Transylvania. The

(*a*) Zaluski, p. 586.

Y. 1674. other two, Prince Charles, and the Prince of New-
burg, entered the lists.

The Emperor Leopold, who had given up Prince Charles in the former election, had the strongest reasons to support him upon the present occasion. He was a proper husband for Queen Eleonora, who, by marrying him, would still be Queen of Poland: it would do honour to the Emperor, to continue the Austrian blood upon the throne, and it would also be advantageous to the Poles, who might expect every thing from Leopold against the Turks, by shewing this deference for him and his sister. Prince Charles was nominated by almost all the *grandees*, and the Primate-Interrex raised his voice even higher than the rest. “ When we thought of deposing
“ King Michael, said he, our first intention was to
“ give our crown to Prince Charles, and to marry
“ him with Queen Eleonora. What could not then
“ be accomplished without violent convulsions, may
“ now be done by the freedom of suffrage, and with
“ the greatest advantage to our country. Why
“ then should we change our sentiments? We
“ have nothing better to hope for from any other
“ settlement, and shall have two Queens, instead of
“ one, to burden the republic with their mainten-
“ ance.” What contributed greatly to strengthen this party, was the interest of the two Paz’s, the one Grand-General, the other Grand-Chancellor of Lithuania, who drew after them the Lithuanians. The zeal of this faction was so blind, that they were for giving Prince Charles’s Envoy the precedence before the French Ambassador: but the proposal appeared so absurd, that it fell of itself. The French Ambassador, Toussaint de Forbin, Bishop of Marseilles, recommended to the attention of the republic a circumstance that made a greater impression; which was, not to elect a Prince who was an enemy
to

to his master; and he supported the Prince of Newburg. Y. 1674.

This Prince's party was not so much dazzled, as the grandees were, with the splendor of the Austrian name. They feared that very Queen Eleonora, who was to continue upon the throne, if Prince Charles were elected; and they feared still more the influence which the council of Vienna would have in the government of Poland: whereas they had no such apprehensions from the Prince of Newburg, nor from the Princess he should marry, since he offered to be directed in his choice by the inclinations of the republic. The marriage of the Kings of Poland is a circumstance always attended with great difficulties. In other countries, they marry for themselves, without consulting their subjects: in Poland, they marry for the republic; and as there is no such thing as an hereditary right to the crown, the republic would be better pleased, if they continued single. The great offers made by the Prince of Newburg, and the interest of the same powers who supported his father in the late election, spoke for the son in this; and if his party was not the most considerable for the eminence of the persons that composed it, it was certainly so for their number.

Sobieski raised up a third party, by representing, that in the present situation of the republic, when it was on the eve of being attacked by the whole Ottoman power, it wanted an hero of tried abilities, whose bare name might be an omen of victory; that this hero would not be found in the Prince of Newburg, who had never paid his addresses to military glory, nor even in Prince Charles, who had only been honoured with her first smiles: but their want would be amply supplied by the Prince of Condé, who had received all the favours she could bestow, and was so celebrated in Europe, that they ought to have given him the crown; when the throne was last vacant,

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without

Y. 1674. without attending to a wretched libel, the authors of which durst not shew themselves; but that it was not yet too late to chuse themselves a King, whom all nations would be ambitious of, if they had a power to dispose of themselves (a).

This new candidate, who had made no proposal to the republic, and was not expected by any one, gave room to suspect that France was not sincere in it's recommendation of the Prince of Newburg. The two opposite parties expressed their doubts, by the distrustful looks they gave the French Ambassador. They fancied that he had been secretly distributing money in favour of the Prince of Condé, and that Sobieski had not been found inaccessible; but they were mistaken in their conjectures.

Sobieski's proposal continued a mystery, which was not long before it came to light. It was surprising that the diet should never think of giving the crown to him, who was the hero of Poland. But while his talents and his virtues brought him near the throne, there were two pretences that kept him at a distance from it. Mary d'Arquien, his wife, was looked upon by the grandees as unworthy of that station: "That highest of all honours, said they, is fitter for the blood of the house of Austria." Thus it is that men often sacrifice their happiness to a mere fantom. Another obstacle of greater weight, was the positive exclusion given by the Lithuanians to every Piast. "A nation, said they, which has suffered so much from the weak government of Michael, should look out for a foreign King." The Queen had secretly brought about this exclusion, which was such a disgrace to Poland. The Lithuanians did not alledge the true reason. The Queen and the Paz's could not be persuaded that Sobieski had no design upon the crown. He appeared

(a) *Id.*, *Ibid.* p. 555. and seq.

in the diet with all the magnificence of a King, and had all the merit requisite for that station: it was necessary therefore to exclude him under the title of a *Piast*. Y. 1674.

Sobieski being in this situation, and conscious of his own capacity for filling the throne, hit upon the expedient of embarrassing the election with difficulties. He had in his way two powerful rivals; and his object was to triumph over them, by opposing to them the Prince of Condé. He knew very well, that he could not gain the Prince a majority of votes: and therefore aimed only at dividing them still farther, in order to unite them afterwards, if possible, in his own favour. His scheme of division succeeded instantly beyond his hopes. At the name of Condé, the Newburghers shuddered; and the Lorrainers declaimed against him with the utmost virulence. The most odious charges in the libel were revived, and even aggravated: and every thing indicated a division of the republic, and perhaps a civil war. It was obvious, that Sobieski was strong enough to make himself master of the election, being already master of the Polish army, which called out loudly for the Prince of Condé, and followed in this particular the directions of its general, without penetrating into his designs. The Paz's, with the army of Lithuania, less numerous indeed than the other, prepared to support the interests of the Queen and Prince Charles. The two brothers had all the ascendant they could wish over the Lithuanians. They knew that Prince Charles was in Silesia, with a body of troops, which, when joined to theirs, would be a match for the Polish army. These dispositions for a civil war struck with horror all who sincerely loved their country.

In this fermentation of opposite factions, Sobieski proposed a method of reconciliation, which was fit only to embroil things still more. Queen Eleonora

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should break off her engagements with Prince Charles, and give her hand to the Prince of Newburg, from whom the republic had more to expect on account of his great fortune; and upon this condition, the Prince of Condé should withdraw his pretensions. To bring about this scheme, a deputation from the senate waited upon the Queen (*a*), who having engaged her heart and her jewels to Prince Charles, shewed, by her answer, that she continued inviolably attached to him; and the Ambassador of Vienna protested loudly that his court would never give up it's candidate. The grandees persisted in giving him their votes; and he would probably have had the crown, if Florian Czartoriski, the Primate and Interrex, had lived a few days longer. He died suddenly at an entertainment given by Sobieski at Villanow: and as his death was of service to Sobieski, he was suspected of contributing to hasten it. His enemies were busy in spreading reports of the Primate's being poisoned; but history, which never adopts reports without proof, informs us, that a grain of sand in the Primate's reins, which had encreased to a considerable bulk, was the cause of his death (*a*). He was a man of an active genius, had great power over the minds of others, was impetuous and full of fire, like the sun which draws the planets into it's vortex. His death weakened Prince Charles's party, and changed the whole face of the election.

Andrew Trzebiski, Bishop of Cracow, a man of less warmth, took his place in the diet of election, and performed the functions of Interrex, but could not unite the votes of the assembly. In one part, was heard the name of Prince Charles, in another, the Prince of Newburg; and louder still, that of

(*a*) Id. Ib.

(*b*) Lengn. p. 245. Zaluzki, tom. i. p. 556.

Condé.

Condé. At last, the palatine of Ruffia, Stanislas Jablonowski, a Senator, equally respectable for his birth, and his fortune, his knowledge of the law, and his behaviour in arms, who always spoke as he thought, and was a friend to Sobieski, because he loved his country (a), rose up, and endeavoured to put an end to this state of uncertainty: "If in our choice of a King, said he, we were to be determined by appearances only, it would be nearly equal whether we chose the Prince of Lorrain, or the Prince of Newburg: both of them have blossoms to shew, but it is fruit that we want; and upon this footing I would give my suffrage to the great Condé, were it not, that fruit, which is too ripe, is on the point of decaying. I despise, as you do, the infamous libel which was levelled at his reputation in the last election, and dwell only upon what is obvious and striking. Sobieski, in proposing him, considers only his heroic qualities. As for myself, I attend to his age, his infirmities, and the habits he has formed. He is accustomed to another climate, to another way of making war, to other customs, other manners, and other laws. He knows nothing, either of our language, or our liberty; and has no idea but of that arbitrary form of government under which he has lived so long. It is too late for him, under gray hairs, and in that state of incapacity which is advancing fast upon him, to acquire a new body and a new soul. His life will be worn out before he has made himself master of any portion of that knowledge which he must necessarily have, in order to govern us well. Once more be it observed, that Sobieski considers only that blaze of glory which gilds over the ruins of this hero; but

(a) His grand-daughter, a worthy descendant of this great man, is married in France to the Prince of Talmont,

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‘ is his forgetting himself a reason for our following
 ‘ his example? Sobieski is in person before your
 ‘ eyes. His age, his health, his vigour, his ta-
 ‘ lents, and his fortune, all speak loudly in his
 ‘ behalf. He was born in the same country, and
 ‘ educated in the same principles and sentiments
 ‘ with yourselves. You have often profited by his
 ‘ superior abilities in the senate and the diet; and
 ‘ have repeatedly been led to victory under his au-
 ‘ spices. He has supported the crown of Poland,
 ‘ and will know how to wear it. By looking out
 ‘ for a King among foreigners, do you mean to
 ‘ have it said, that Poland produces no heroes of
 ‘ it’s own? By chusing out of sovereign families,
 ‘ we have more than once brought ruin upon
 ‘ our country. You are discharged of all obliga-
 ‘ tions towards Queen Eleonora, by her refusing
 ‘ the husband that was offered her; but you are
 ‘ still bound to your country, whose welfare de-
 ‘ pends upon your choice of Sobieski.”

Jablonowski’s harangue contained without ques-
 tion many truths; but there were in it several ex-
 tremely rash assertions. The hero, whom he paint-
 ed in a state of imbecility and exhaustedness, fought
 this very year the battle of Senef, in which he was
 hurried away by his impetuosity to expose his own
 life and that of his soldiers more than upon any other
 occasion; and though severely tormented with the
 gout, he would fain have renewed the battle the
 next day; “ but there was no one, except himself,
 “ says an officer who was present, that had any sto-
 “ mach left for fighting.”

Scarce had Jablonowski done speaking, when five
 Palatinates, that is to say, their deputies, Castellans,
 Palatines, and many other nobles cried out, *Sobieski*
for ever; we will all perish together, or have him for
our King. The Palatinate of Ruffia, which was So-
 bieski’s native country, distinguished itself by it’s

zeal above the rest; and before the end of the day the acclamation became general among the Poles; but the Lithuanians were extremely averse to this choice. The two Paz's quitted the assembly abruptly with their friends, to enter, before the register of the chancery, a protest against the election as not being unanimous. The crown continued in this state of suspense during the succeeding night, which was spent in agitation and discord. Jablonowski and the Interrex did all they could to unite the suffrages. They applied in particular to a French lady, Elizabeth Clara de Mailly, wife of the Grand-Chancellor Paz; but she refused to abandon the interests of Queen Eleonora, to whom she was lady of the bed chamber, after having held the same office under Queen Louisa, who brought her into Poland. It was said upon this occasion, that women are sometimes capable of great steadiness. The two Paz's, after having spent the whole night to no purpose in contriving methods of making the election miscarry, and reflecting upon the inferiority of their number, and the danger that might attend their obstinacy, appeared again in the field of election on the 19th of May; and Sobieski, by unanimous consent, was proclaimed King. The faint and languid pleasure of a King, who reigns by right of blood, is not to be compared with that of a King, who is made so by the election of a free people, conferring the crown upon the object of it's love and esteem.

Never did the nation discover more joy than upon this occasion. The senate, the equestrian order, the army and the people, conducted the new King with civil and military pomp, with the roar of cannon and repeated acclamations, to the great church of St. John, to return thanks to God, who had often been thanked at the same altar for Kings that he had given in his anger: but the Poles now flattered themselves they had got a good one.

Sobieski's

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Sobieski's elevation to the throne was attributed throughout all France, except in the cabinet of Versailles, to the power of Lewis XIV. and the intrigues of his Ambassador Forbin. But this opinion is confuted by the following fact. As soon as the five first Palatinates, cried out, *Sobieski for ever*, the Baron de Boham galloped away full speed to the garden of the Casimir-Palace, where the Grand-Marshal's then was, to carry her this good news. Forbin, who was then giving her his hand, said to her, that if it ended so, he questioned much whether his master would be pleased. *Pleased or not pleased*, answered she, *who is there that would refuse a sceptre?* Forbin's instructions related only to the Prince of Newburg; and he came too late to form another cabal. He had only three days before the decisive hour; and it is impossible in Poland, more than in any other place, to gain so many persons in so short a time. The most effectual service that France did to Sobieski, without intending it, was disconcerting all Prince Charles's measures, who was so provoked at this treatment, that, though he was naturally discreet and moderate, he swore he would be revenged of Lewis XIV. and he had opportunities in process of time to keep his word. Of all Sobieski's partisans the most serviceable to him was Jablonowski; but his own merit was still more so. Whoever assumes the office of an Ambassador, must bid adieu to truth. They all testified to the new King, and even the Ambassador from Vienna amongst the rest, the satisfaction their masters would receive from this election.

While all Warsaw was filled with rejoicing, Queen Eleonora was sick out of mere convenience. The new King paid her a visit; but this King was not Prince Charles, and the throne must be resigned to Mary d'Arquien. Eleonora's creatures in the senate attempted instantly to avenge her cause, and perhaps
to

to give Sobieski a distaste to the throne before he was seated in it. With this view, they drew up the *pacta conventa* in terms which confined the expences of the King's household and the royal authority, within narrower limits than had anciently been set to them (a).

Sobieski saw the snare that was laid for him, and avoided it by exerting a noble spirit of disinterestedness which always succeeds with great men. " You have chosen me, says he, for your King, but the work is not yet completed; and I am still in a state of hesitation. The republic has not yet delivered to me the instrument of election, nor have I yet accepted it in that solemn form which ratifies the whole transaction: and therefore, if you shew a distrust of me, by laying fetters upon me, which my predecessors would have refused, I reject them and the crown together."

This generous behaviour stopped the mouths of these disturbers; and the fifth of June was destined for tying the knot between the King and the republic, by the formal delivery of the instrument of election, and its acceptation on the King's part. But there arose, a few days before the time, a fresh storm which made him shake upon that throne, where he was yet scarce seated. The same turbulent spirits disputed the validity of the election; alledging that the grand-dutchy of Lithuania had shewn a manifest dissent; that Sobieski, before he was elected, had promised to pay the army for six months; and that, after his election, he retracted his promise.

Jablonowski and the Interrex, at the head of all those who loved peace and their country, answered to the first article, that the dissent of the grand-dutchy of Lithuania confirmed the election instead of invalidating it, since that dissent had been withdrawn by a

(a) Zaluzki, tom. i. p. 548.

Y. 1674. free and deliberate accession; that Michael's election had been held valid, notwithstanding the violence that had been made use of to bring it about, and though the senate yielded at last with no other view than to avoid disturbing the republic.

The other objection, though of less weight, was not so easy to get rid of. It was true, that Sobieski, before he was elected, had promised to maintain the army at his own expence for six months; but after the election, he had examined into the state of his affairs, and found it impossible to keep his promise.

“ If his design had been to deceive you, said Jablowski, he needed only to have let you continue in this hope, without fulfilling his engagements: and how could you have forced him to it, when the sceptre should be firmly settled in his hands? On the contrary, he tells you frankly, I have deceived myself; my finances are not adequate to such an expence; and if this condition be absolutely necessary in order to wear your crown, I can only thank you, and return it to you again. Let us not, countrymen, be outdone by him in generosity. You had a hundred reasons, of which it is hard to say which was the strongest, for dethroning your late King Michael; and yet you did not do it. Can you think then of annulling a lawful election, for so trivial a cause, and depriving yourselves of so great a King? What he now promises, upon maturer deliberation, he will assuredly perform. It is part of the *pacta conventa* which he is to swear to before you all, that he will pay out of his household revenue the pension you assign to King Michael's widow; that he will redeem, out of his private income, the jewels of the crown that have been mortgaged; will found a military academy for the young nobility, and erect two forts in whatever place and manner the republic shall direct.”

The

The face of the republic assumed at last an air of serenity and peace; and every thing being really quiet, or at last seeming to be so, the new King received in form the instrument of election in the same great church to which he was conducted upon quitting the field of election.

It is customary for one part of this solemnity to consist in an harangue, which always places the new King above all that have ever preceded him. The orator, according to the usage of the country, made an awkward mixture of sacred and profane learning. The following extract from his discourse may give some idea of the strain of the Polish eloquence. His harangue was delivered in a church dedicated to *St. John*.

“ As *St. John* anciently prepared the way before the Messias, so the republic, by delivering the diploma of royalty to *John Sobieski*, prepares the way before her Lord, whose name is *John*. The virgin Mary blessed *John* in his mother’s womb; and Queen *Louisa Maria*, wife of *Casimir*, heaped blessings upon King *John*, by marrying him to *Mary d’Arquien*, that ocean of angelical qualities. The republic was deceived in the former election by chusing *Michael*; but it now corrects that error by taking *John*. *John* is a name of *grace* which will re-establish military discipline and the fortune of Poland. The Moldavians and Walachians have paid homage to *John*, and taught us to worship him ourselves as the Saviour of all Christendom. The sun generally appears when the clouds are gone, but frequently produces others. The new sun, which rises in our horizon, promises us bread and not thunder. We have waited for the Holy Spirit on the feast of Pentecost, and have received him in the person of *John*. On the same day that the church celebrates the festival of God our Saviour concealed under the

Y. 1674. “ the form of bread, behold we chuse ourselves and
 “ ther Saviour under the figure of a man. It was
 “ on a Saturday, the eve of the feast of the Trini-
 “ ty, that we all concurred in electing *John*; who
 “ is also a Trinity himself, being *our son, our fa-*
 “ *ther, and our King*. It is not merely by chance
 “ that the election was delayed till the time of these
 “ great festivals. That of the Trinity indicates
 “ that the family of *John* will reign at least three
 “ hundred years: God grant it may be three thou-
 “ sand! It is the seed of Jacob which shall never be
 “ extinct, but be for ever a blessing to the repub-
 “ lic, &c. (a).

It should be observed, that it was not a *Monk* who talked in this manner, but *Gninski*, Palatine of Culm, who had himself the happiness of bearing the name of *John*. It must not however be imagined, that the Polish eloquence always runs in this strain. There are illustrious instances to the contrary, where panegyric is not concerned, and particularly in defence of liberty; for upon such occasions every free man, who is born with any talents, is animated with the same spirit that inspired Cicero and Demosthenes. The Polish orators are often seized with this enthusiasm, but they are too apt to swell into bombast. Upon the present occasion, they were not contented with bare panegyric, but produced Latin prophecies concerning all the Kings of Poland, past and future, of equal value with those of St. Malachias concerning the Popes. The oracle which related to Sobieski, was *Manus Congregatorum*, the hand, or strength, of assemblies, with the letter *J*, which seemed to be a designation of his name *John*. Several Polish nobles, whose name was *James*, had flattered themselves that the oracle meant them.

Sobieski, at the time of his election, was forty-five years old; an age equally distant from the heat of

(a) *Zaluski*, tom. i. p. 548.

youthful

Y. 1674
 youthful passions, and the cold of decrepit age; when all the talents display themselves in full lustre: and if the throne were to be given to the advantages of figure, he would have deserved it in this view also. A tall and graceful person, a full face, regular features, an aquiline nose, eyes full of fire, a frank and open countenance, made up his picture. He had not yet that bulkiness of body, which in time made him less graceful; he had only that plumpness, which indicates vigorous health, and suits so well with the Polish habit. He derived from nature that majestic air, with which courtiers compliment every sovereign. He took the appellation of John III. a name which the two Kings, who had borne it before him, had done no honour to.

John Albert, grandson of the great *Jagellon*, is known only for ill-contrived projects, unsuccessful wars, imprudent treaties, and betrayed allies; a weak, and indolent Prince, who lay open to every prejudice, and saw only with the eyes of others. His preceptor *Buona-Corsi*, better known by the name of *Callimachus*, that Greek poet whom he so little resembled, corrupted and enslaved his mind from his very infancy, and in effect reigned for him.

We have seen that the other *John*, *John-Casimir*, was never more properly disposed of, than when he did himself justice by resigning a kingdom to possess an abbey.

John III. extremely different from the two former, though he was not of royal blood, had a royal soul. He was scarce seated upon the throne, when there was a pedigree formed for him, at which he himself was astonished, but which he suffered those to believe, who were disposed to it. His origin was pointed out to him in Duke *Lesko III.* about the beginning of the ninth century, before Poland was governed by Kings. This *Lesko* had a son named *Sobieslas*, who possessed the

Y. 1674 the sovereignty of Bohemia; and nothing could be more natural than to derive *Sobieski* from *Sobieslas*.

The Queen too had the satisfaction of seeing her genealogical tree grow very fast. Its root was fixed in *Hugh Capet*, from whence it spread its branches into the house of *La Grange d' Arquier*. But *Mary* was possessed of more solid advantages, an elegant shape, a majestic air, a fine complexion, sparkling eyes, a stately look, a great deal of wit; only she was perhaps a little too artful.

The Austrian Queen forgave her all this, and even her genealogy; but could not forgive the loss of the throne, the lustre of which could for the future only give her pain. A few months after, she retired into Silesia, by the direction of the Emperor her brother. This retreat was concealed at first under the pretence of a journey, that she might not lose her settlement; for, by the laws of Poland, whoever enjoys any advantages from the public, must be an inhabitant of the kingdom. But, though she had lost the throne, she still preserved Prince Charles, whom she married in 1678; and if love could make amends to ambitious minds, Eleonora might have been fully satisfied.

The new Queen, though her ambition had been so amply gratified, was yet eagerly desirous of a further object. The King was contented with having deserved the crown, but she was impatient to try it on. To *hereditary* Kings, the coronation is a mere ceremony, which adds nothing to the authority they derive from their birth; but to *elective* Princes, it is a solemn and necessary act which puts them in possession of the exercise of sovereign power. The interval between the election and coronation is a continuation of the interregnum, which still leaves the government in the hands of the Primate. The new King dates his reign only from the day when he is crowned,

rowned, and his hands are so tied up, that he cannot sign himself *King*, without adding *elect*. Y. 1674.

Notwithstanding for many disadvantages, which Sobieski might have put an end to with a single word, he was more in haste to avenge his country, than to reign over it. He had gained the crown solely by his merit, and he now deferred his coronation to give up himself entirely to the war against the Turks. The republic repaid this act of generosity with another; for the law was broke thro' on this occasion, and he was authorized to date his reign from the day of his election, to decide peace and war, to publish *universals* under his privy seal for the assembling of the diets and the Pospolite in case of necessity. He was also permitted to send dispatches to foreign courts under the same seal, and to fill up vacant offices. That of Grand-Master was one, the staff being to be laid down by him, as soon as he took up the sceptre. We have seen that King Casimir, by an unexampled stretch of his private authority, had taken it from Lubomirski to give it Sobieski; who now did an act of justice and policy together, by restoring it to the son, who deserved it. By this means he recovered the alienated affections of a man, who might have instilled his discontent into others. The Primacy, the first place in the republic, was also vacant (a). Andrew Trzebiski had done the business of that office in the interregnum; and having contributed not a little to Sobieski's election, had reason to expect the King would now acknowledge his services. But this dignity was conferred upon Andrew Olsowski, Bishop of Culm, and Vice-Chancellor of the kingdom, a man whose distinguished abilities as a statesman had been tried in two reigns and two interregna. It appears that upon this occasion the new King made gratitude give way to merit, at the same time that

(a) Lengnich. p. 247.

Y. 1674. He declined the pomp of a coronation for the good of his country.

He made also another sacrifice which must have cost him a great deal. He was born with a warm constitution, was eminent for gallantry as well as valour, and had had more than one mistress. His present favourite, who had engrossed for three years the love which he used to scatter with some profusion among the whole sex, was so much in his good graces that he had sworn to her an eternal passion. But this oath was taken only by a private man: when he became a King, and consequently an example to his subjects, he thought it incumbent upon him to break it, and he was rewarded for it during the whole remainder of his life; for the Queen, who had hitherto connived at his transitory amours, would now put up with it no longer, for fear a mistress should possess the influence of a Queen. To form an idea of the uneasiness which the humours of so haughty a Princess, who had not yet lost all her beauty, would have constantly given him, it should be observed, that though superior to the herd of Kings in the cabinet and in the field, he was upon a level with the humblest citizen in his love of domestic peace; and that any cloud which threatened him in that quarter, disturbed him more than the enemy.

Mahomet had no design of avenging this year the defeat of Choczin. Cuprogli was lately dead; and some of the last words that he spoke, fixing his eyes upon the Alcoran, were these: *Prophet, I shall soon see whether thy words are true; but be they true or false, I am sure of being happy, if virtue be the best of all religions.* The death of this great man left the Ottoman Empire in a state of languor; and John thought it a favourable opportunity to reap the fruits of his victory. His first object was to recover the Ukraine: the Cossacks had given themselves to the Turks in a mere fit of despair; and they already felt the

the weight of this new yoke; but they feared still more to return to their former masters. The governors of the world, by refusing to listen to penitent rebels, and by inflicting punishments after having promised forgiveness, have found out the art of making revolts perpetual. The Cossacks would not venture to make trial of the King's clemency; but being informed that he was marching against them, and that Mahomet did not arm in their defence, they looked out for a third master; and fled by troops to the Russian territories, on the other side of the Borysthenes (*a*). It was upon the banks of this river that the Swedes laid down their arms, while Charles XII. wounded and vanquished, after so many victories, took refuge among the Turks.

Mahomet however sent an order to the Cham of Tartary to defend the Ukraine with all his forces, upon pain of incurring the displeasure of the sublime Porte.

Paz, with his Lithuanians, joined the Polish army in the beginning of September. His equal and his rival was now become his King; but the majesty of the monarch did not humble the pride of the subject. Paz ordered a drum-major of his army to be hanged, for daring to beat the General by the King's order, without waiting for his. Hard at all times is the fate of inferiors who come in the way of two contending powers! John took no notice of the affront. Whether he did right or wrong, his conduct was approved by the Senators, who were then in the ar-

(*a*) The head of this river, now called *Ni-per* or *Dni-per*, was not known in Herodotus's time, (book 4. chap. 53.) but has since been discovered in Muscovite Russia, between Wolock and Olechno. Herodotus represents it as navigable throughout, and therefore he must have known nothing of the thirteen Falls called *Porowis*, which the Cossacks, and the Cossacks only, venture to pass in Canoes; and when they have succeeded, make a feast upon Millet. The Nieper discharges itself into the Black Sea.

Y. 1674. my, because they had need of Paz. The King gave up his own resentment to the republic; and exceeded the promise he made at his election, for he paid the troops with his own money during this whole campaign, and entered the Ukraine at the head of between thirty and thirty-five thousand men. Several places, such as *Bar*, *Nimirow*, and *Kalnik*, surrendered at the firing of the first cannon. *Pavoloc*, which was garrisoned only with Cossacks, prepared for a vigorous resistance. But some prisoners being taken in a sally, the King gave them cloaths and money, and sent them back into the town with letters, advising the besieged not to expose themselves to the last extremities, and promising them, *upon the word of a King and the word of Sobieski*, to detain none of those who had a mind to go over to Doroscenko. The effect of this was the surrendry of the town, and the Monarch's clemency induced them all to continue in the Polish service. By this humane conduct towards his rebellious subjects, John spared a great deal of Cossack and Polish blood; for, notwithstanding his being a king, he set some value on the lives of men. A mistaken zeal for religion (which was a common evil in Poland) did indeed sometimes make him behave cruelly to infidels, who do not, however, upon that account, lose either the nature of men, or the relation of brethren. The Cham, with a hundred thousand Tartars, contented himself with coasting and harrassing the Polish army, but would not venture a battle.

Human, the largest and most populous town in the Ukraine was in daily expectation of it's fate. It contained near twenty thousand inhabitants, and a numerous garrison; but John besieged and took it in the Cham's presence, and to shew his contempt of the Tartar, divided his army in order to carry on different operations at the same time; for the frost and snow gave intimations that no time was to be lost.

lost. Jablonowski made himself master of every place in his way that made any resistance. Korefki penetrated as far as Kaskow, a place upon the frontiers of Tartary, which he took possession of. Paz drove the Tartars before him, routed all their small parties, and favoured by this means all the attempts of the army; but his zeal cooled at last, and he took the road to Lithuania, contrary to the promise which he had given the King (*a*). It is true, the winter was extremely severe, the fatigue continual, and provisions difficult to be got; but it was not his patience that failed upon this occasion, for Paz was a foldier as well as a General. He had reasons for chusing to be dependent on himself only; and his antipathy had acquired new strength, since his rival's advancement to the throne. The reader should not forget that in Poland the authority of the King is binding only to a certain degree: the Grand-General scarce feels it at all.

Had it not been for this defection, the King would have completed the conquest of the Ukraine, a country which had been a scene of slaughter for thirty years together. The Primate wrote to him, "That the annals of Poland could furnish no instance of such a division, in the presence of the King himself; that it was a crime of the most horrid nature and most fatal consequences; that if the Lithuanian army did not return to it's duty, the commander and the colonels ought to be proceeded against, and tried, according to law; and that he flattered himself every good citizen would unite in avenging the injury done to the King, the regal dignity, and the republic (*b*)."

If John had been born to the throne, he would probably have embraced the severe measures which the Primate recommended; but he himself had for-

(*a*) Lnegnich. p. 247. Zalufki, p. 546.

(*b*) Zalufki, tom. i. p. 133, 645.

Y. 1674. merly been engaged in a separation much like the present, excepting only that King Michael did not command in person when he was deserted. He recollected the time of his proscription, when he was upon the point of shedding the blood of his fellow-subjects, and perhaps of the King himself. He knew therefore, by his own experience, the danger of driving the commander of an army to extremities. He chose to trust to time and mild measures; and if his moderation did not get the better of Paz's inflexibility, he at least avoided coming to blows with him, which must have given great advantages to the enemy.

The King, being no longer able to keep the field with the remnant of his forces, distributed them among the conquered places: as for himself, instead of going to mix with his court in the pleasures of Warsaw, he fixed his winter-quarters at Braclaw, a place that every one dreaded. It was a town, situated upon the Bog, that had been taken and sacked by the Turks in 1672. A tradesman of Warsaw would have thought himself inconveniently lodged in the house which his Prince inhabited. The most common provisions were very scarce; and the horses were forced to feed upon the straw that was stripped from the neighbouring hovels. The King experienced the labours of royalty, before he tasted its pleasures. His presence produced two good effects. It kept the Poles from deserting, for they durst not murmur or even cast a look towards Poland, when they saw the King share their fatigues. It also restrained the Tartars, who were preparing to take advantage of Paz's defection and the extreme rigour of the season. No horses in the world are comparable to those of the Tartars for bearing fatigue, and the Tartars are at least as hardy as their horses.

The Cham, seeing the Polish army diminished and separated, gave his son, Sultan Galga, a part of his

his forces, in order to attack the Poles on the side of Human and Raskow, while he himself fell upon Braclaw and Kalnik. He even undertook the siege of the latter place, and employed the Cossacks on that service; for the Tartars never make war but on horseback. But John did not give him time to carry on his works: he presented himself in sight of the Tartars, and the siege was raised. Y. 1674.

At last the Cham resolved to close all with a decisive blow. Sultan Gulga had met with such a reception every where, that he durst not make any attempt. The Cham therefore united all his forces, and appeared before the gates of Braclaw, where John had shut himself up with a small force. The Cham's design was either to draw him from behind the walls, or to leave him the mortification of not daring to come out. John suffered him to dance attendance for some days; and at a time when he least expected it, made a sally with his cavalry, attacked him sabre in hand, killed him two thousand men, and made three hundred prisoners in an hour's time.

The Cham, being worsted upon all occasions, and no booty being to be got in a country which he was ordered to defend, retired to his own dominions, and left the Poles in peace; but this peace was soon succeeded by a greater alarm than ever.

Mahomet at length roused himself from his lethargy, and turned his thoughts to revenge. The breaking of the treaty of Boudchaz, the defeat at Choczyn, the insolence of the Poles whom he considered as revolted tributaries, their real weakness, and the greatness of his own strength, all served to provoke him. He called to mind the glorious campaign he had made when assisted by the genius of Cuprogli, but was not tempted by it to try what he could do alone. His love of glory was extinguished by his love of pleasure. It is a general notion, that hunt-

Y. 1675. ing gives a disposition for war: but Mahomet did not feel this effect: and yet all the time he could spare from his seraglio, he spent in rambling amidst mountains and forests, while his subjects were shedding their blood to aggrandize the Empire. A still heavier charge against him, was, that even in the diversions of the chase, he set no great value upon the lives of men. If war has a right to destroy them, the pleasures of a sovereign are not to be allowed the same privilege.

The General, to whom he entrusted his revenge, was *Kara-Mustapha*, a mere courtier, educated in the seraglio, who, by the charms of his person, had gained the good graces of the Sultana *Validé* (a). If it were not a constant custom with the eastern monarchs to advance beauty to the throne, without regarding either birth, or interest, the fortune of this woman would be thought surprizing. She was a native of Circassia, the daughter of a Greek priest, and destined to live by the labour of her hands. Her memory ought to be held in veneration by the Ottoman family, for it was she that procured the abrogation of the cruel law made by Bajazet, enjoining the Sultan to secure his own possession of the throne, by putting his brothers and uncles to death. Nor was this Sultana more distinguished for her humanity, than the strength of her amorous attachments. She was not contented with making her favourite, *Kaimakan*, or Governor of Constantinople, but raised him to the dignity of *Vizir*. He was nephew to Cuprogli, and had presumption enough to aim at surpassing his uncle in his first campaign. Out of several armies he made up one, which would have been sufficient to overturn the greatest power in Europe. The rendezvous was appointed at Ben-

(a) Or Sultana-Mother, she whose son is in possession of the throne. She has not the title of *Validé* till the coronation of her son, and loses it again if he dies, or is deposed.

der, otherwise called Tekin, the place, where in our time, Charles XII. though a prisoner, still made himself feared. Y. 1675.

The triumphs of the King hindered the distresses of the republic from being felt; but they were now aggravated beyond measure, and every one murmured against him as the author of the war. It was said, "that Mahomet ought never to have been provoked, nor the peace, which had been solemnly sworn to, violated; that the victory of Choczin had been productive of bitter consequences; that it was impossible for Poland to contend long with Asia; that prudence required them to submit to their destiny, and that it was better to pay a tribute, than be given up to total destruction: that the name of *tributary* was a mere phantom, terrible only to mistaken pride; that the greatest powers of Europe, by paying subsidies, do in effect make themselves tributaries; that even the Empire of Germany itself had been so to that of Constantinople; and that, in short, this evil, if it were any evil at all, was preferable to all the horrors with which Poland was threatened."

Discourses of this sort, under an absolute monarchy, pass off like a transient cloud. The monarch, whether he hears them or not, ruins or saves his people in his own way. But in a mixed government, the King must subdue his own subjects by reason, before he can conquer his enemies by force.

In order to dissipate the apprehensions of Poland, John quitted the Ukraine after leaving garrisons behind him, and led the rest of his troops to Leopold about the end of April. His army, if it deserved that name, was much diminished by sieges, skirmishes, the severity of the winter, and disorders. He raised recruits in the greatest haste, but was forced to drag them out of the arms of consternation and discontent. His power over the minds of men must

Y. 1675. must have been equal to his reputation, or the republic would never have consented to expose itself with him. He sent orders to the Lithuanians to join him immediately, after having writ to the Grand-General Paz in a style that was likely to make an impression on him: and then formed his plan of defence. Judging of the Vizir's abilities by his own, he doubted not of seeing him fall upon the Palatinate of Russia, which would open a way into the heart of Poland. Upon this supposition; he entrusted the wise Jablonowski with six thousand men, and ordered him to entrench himself under the cannon of Zloczow, that he might guard that pass. Zloczow belonged to the King in his private capacity, and he had converted it into a fortress for the defence of his country. He had only twelve thousand men left to sustain the chief weight of the war. Leopold, though a wretched fortress, is yet of the utmost importance, as it covers Russia and the neighbouring provinces. At the gates of this city, John sat down to wait for the enemy, and was greatly astonished when he heard in the beginning of July that the awkward Vizir had entered the Ukraine to throw away his time in besieging Human, instead of advancing instantly to crush a little army whose destruction would leave Poland at his mercy. *Since he knows no better than this, says the King, I will give a good account of his great army before the end of the campaign.*

The defence of a city was at that time a dreadful commission. In a war among the powers of Europe, the worst that happens, when a place is surrendered, is to continue a prisoner of war till an exchange be settled; but between the Turks and the Poles, the mildest fate is perpetual slavery, which to a brave man is more terrible than death itself; and from Kara Mustapha there was reason to dread the worst of horrors.

Human

Human held out fifteen days against so great a force. The artillery of the Turks was of an enormous weight, and their threats terrible. At length the place, having several breaches in it's walls, and being without hope of succour, capitulated; but the Vizir, with a barbarity scarce to be pardoned when a town is taken by storm, glutted himself with blood. Twenty thousand souls perished in this slaughter; and many an infant was seen vomiting up milk mixed with blood upon it's mother's breast. The Vizir's design was undoubtedly to frighten Poland, and subdue it by means of terror.

Human had cost him too great an expence of time and men to undertake more sieges in the Ukraine. He therefore turned towards the left, and advanced by quick marches into Podolia. The few places which the republic yet possessed in that province, were ill provided with troops and ammunition. They belonged to private nobles, who had neglected them. A fort happened to be in the Vizir's route; which having taken by assault, he found in it some Walachian families who had entered, a century ago, into the Polish service, where they had distinguished themselves from father to son. "This then," said he, "is your treachery towards the Grand Seignior, who honours Walachia with his protection; the whole world shall be taught, by your example, to respect it's masters." He instantly ordered them to be empaled.

The same barbarity was repeated at Mikuliny, after the assault was over. The Vizir then opened the trenches before Podahiecz. The King depended upon the strength of the place, and still more upon the experience of the Governor, Makowski. He was reputed a man of bravery, but men are not brave at all times. Both he and the principal officers were afraid of being empaled, and surrendered the place without striking a blow; but though they
thus

Y. 1675. thus submitted to the victor's clemency, they were treated with all imaginable rigour, bating the effusion of blood. The churches and sepulchres in the town were violated, its fortifications razed, its wealth pillaged, the inhabitants reserved for slavery, and the Governor put in irons among the crowd.

The atrocious cruelty of the Vizir produced two different effects. The pusillanimous surrendered at the first attack, in order to save their lives; but the courageous fought only to die with arms in their hands.

This last was the character of him who defended Sbaras, a large castle covered with some outworks, situated upon a hill, and making part of the large domain of Wiesnowieski, Petty-General of the Polish army, who had garrisoned it with six hundred foot, commanded by Des Auteuils, a French gentleman, originally of Picardy. It was not easy to put the place into better hands. He defended himself with vigour for fourteen days, while the Vizir raved and threatened at his usual rate. There were several noble families who had taken refuge in the castle, and pressed Des Auteuils to surrender: but he was deaf to the suggestions of fear, and threatened to turn them out of the place, if he heard any more of this cowardly proposal. The wretches said no more; but taking an opportunity when Des Auteuils could make no resistance, they gave him several mortal wounds, and threw him over the walls. The Vizir himself was struck with horror at this act of villainy; and covering his natural cruelty with the mask of justice, he cut off every head that he found in the place, to revenge, as he pretended, the death of the Governor.

The barbarian, by these bloody conquests, was only preparing the way for a complete victory, that he had planned in his own mind. When he sat down before Sbaras, he detached fifty thousand men,

men, under the command of Sultan Nuradin, with orders to attack the King, without giving quarter to any one, and to spread destruction on all sides as he marched. Y. 1675.

The King's army, which was encamped at Leopold, had received some additions: the whole amounted to fifteen thousand men. Paz, though the danger was extreme, made no haste to join the King with his Lithuanians.

The city of Leopold, considerable for its commerce, its wealth, its great number of inhabitants of all nations, and all religions; for three Archiepiscopal sees, one for the Polish Catholics, another for the Armenians, and a third for the schismatic Greeks: Leopold, with all this importance, is one of the worst of places to defend. It is situated in a bottom, encompassed on all sides with high grounds that command it, and which, in some places, shut it up so close, that a man might throw stones upon the rampart with his hand. On another side, the eminences are at a greater distance, and form a spacious half-moon. In this spot the King had pitched his camp, and the army being under the greatest concern on his account, conjured him to remove at least his own person out of danger: *You would despise me, said he, if I followed your advice (a).*

It is astonishing that the Visir, instead of employing himself in taking sorry places, did not come in person to give battle to the King. This was the affair of honour, the capital point which would determine all the rest. The Tartar, whom he charged with this commission, had no contemptible reputation. The best thing, however, that he did, was advancing with great rapidity. His march resembled a devouring fire: all the villages and ham-

(a) Zalufki, tom. i. p. 555.

Y. 1675. lets were burnt by his order : he appeared as quick as lightning before Jablonowski's little camp : he even made an attempt upon the entrenchments ; but that General soon convinced him, that it would not be an easy matter to gain any advantage over him ; and the Tartar had a mind to preserve all his forces for a more important purpose. The quickness of his march, and his care to intercept all the Polish couriers were so well conducted, that had it not been for the flames which drew near to Leopold, the King, who was never before surprized, would have been so now. About ten in the morning, the Poles perceived the enemy's army, consisting wholly of Turkish and Tartarian horse, in a vast plain terminated by the foot of the mountains. Though it was only the month of August, it snowed hard : there fell also a heavy shower of hail which happened to incommode the infidels more than the Christians. All the Priests, Bishops, and bad philosophers in the Christian army, cried out, *a miracle* ; and the memoirs of that time assert that it really was one. The King made use of it to inspire his little army with confidence, without neglecting the precautions of human prudence (a). He did not wait for the enemy in his camp, but ascended the rising grounds, where he ordered the Towarisz to plant their lances upon the highest summits, in order to appear more numerous to the enemy, who had already reached the foot of the mountains. He ordered his own regiment of dragoons to descend the hill in small parties, under cover of the bushes ; and these dragoons, by firing at a very small distance, forced the enemy's van-guard to retire. A Polish squadron filled the first vacancy ; others pressing on, formed in the same manner, and the whole army was soon drawn up in

(a) Zaluski, tom. i. p. 555.

battalia,

battalia, while the lances of the Towarisz were still to be seen upon the eminences. Y. 1675.

The infidels seeing no more troops coming down, and trusting to their superior number, begun the charge with cries and howlings, which would probably have fatal effects upon an army that heard them for the first time. The Poles felt no terror at the noise of their enemies, but their attack was really dreadful, and made them stagger: the King restored order, and suffered the infidels to throw away their first fire. They returned to the attack several times, and the Poles contented themselves with giving them a warm reception. The King had placed a body in ambuscade to take them in flank; and a battery was advancing upon a hill to play upon them. This was the moment that the King waited for to attack them in his turn. Never was there a General more determined, nor did the Polish troops ever display greater valour. The infidels, being attacked in front and in flank, gave way at the second charge, and from this instant the confusion increased among them. They were pursued to a deep morass, where a great number perished. They left between fourteen and fifteen thousand men upon the field of battle, and night saved the rest. Nuradin had boasted that he would take the King prisoner, and present him to the Visir; but he narrowly escaped being taken himself, and carried the news of his own defeat to the camp at Sbaras (a).

The Visir, struck with consternation, resolved upon finishing the campaign with some important blow. It was not by marching in person against the conqueror, and wresting from him his victory, but by taking *Trembowa* (v), at the entrance of

(a) Zaluski, tom. i. p. 555.

(b) The French Geographers write it *Tremblowa*: but they ought to consult the natives of the country.

y. 1675.

Podolia, a fortress with large and strong outworks, hanging upon a rock, the access to which is practicable only in one place, which leads to a little plain covered with thick wood. This accessible side is defended by two ravelins, with good ditches and a covered way. The Janow, a deep and muddy river, surrounds almost the whole rock, and consequently obliges an army to separate into several quarters, in order to form the siege.

Kara-Mustapha flattered himself with the hopes of carrying the place, before John could interrupt him; and in order to succeed the sooner in his design, and spare the blood of the janizaries, he made use of art, before he had recourse to violence. He was uneasy at the reputation of the Governor, Samuel Chrasonowski, a renegado Jew, who had quitted the law of Moses for that of Jesus, and was more zealous against his brethren of the circumcision, than if he had never undergone that operation himself. The Visir employed his prisoner Makowski, to represent to him by letter, “ that
 “ it would be rash to persist obstinately in the de-
 “ fence of a place that must infallibly be taken ;
 “ that he ought rather to think of deserving the
 “ victor’s mercy than provoking his indignation ;
 “ that by submitting to his inevitable fate, he
 “ might procure favourable treatment for himself,
 “ the garrison, and the townsmen ; that notwith-
 “ standing the severe orders of Mahomet, the Vi-
 “ sir could shew favour to whom he pleased, and
 “ would treat brave men with peculiar distinc-
 “ tion.”

Chrasonowski returned a double answer : one to Makowski in these terms : “ I am not surprized
 “ that being in irons, thou hast the soul of a slave ;
 “ but what astonishes me, is thy daring to talk of
 “ the Visir’s clemency, after what has happened to
 “ Podahiecz, and thyself. Farewell : all the harm

“ I

“ I wish thee is, that thou mayest live long in
 “ the infamy and servitude thou deservest. Death
 “ would be to thee a blessing, but thou hast not
 “ the courage to confer it upon thyself.”

The answer to the Vizir was not less haughty.
 “ Thou art mistaken, if thou expectest to find
 “ gold within these walls: we have nothing here
 “ but steel and soldiers: our number indeed is
 “ small, but our courage great. Do not flatter
 “ thyself that we will surrender; for thou shalt
 “ never take us till we have all breathed our last.
 “ I am preparing to give thee another answer
 “ by the mouth of my cannon (a).”

The Vizir, foaming with rage, ordered the place to be battered with all imaginable fury. If he wanted conduct, he was not without bravery. He was often seen in the trenches, notwithstanding the fire from the ramparts, encouraging the janizaries to press on the siege. The place defended itself beyond what could be expected. The fact that I am going to relate will perhaps be treated as a fable; but I find better evidence for it than for many things that are never called in question. The wife of the Jewish Governor, equally beautiful with Judith, and more enterprising, having no opportunity like her, to cut off the head of the Vizir while he slept, made great havock of the Turks in sallies conducted by herself, filled up their trenches, and fought upon the breach. But what can the brave do, when the timid are more numerous, and want only to surrender?

Chrasonowski had the same inconvenience to struggle with, which had been the destruction of Des Auteuils and Sbaras. The nobility who had taken refuge in the place, seeing a breach made, which grew wider every hour, and dreading the

(a) Zaluski. tom. i. p. 155, & seq.

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impla2

Y. 1675. implacable fury of the Visir, if they stood a storm, lost all courage. Their despair was the greater, as they expected no relief: but they were mistaken in this particular, for the Lithuanian army had at length joined the Poles in the camp before Leopold. The King was upon his march, and by calling in, upon the way, the small body under Jablonowski, his strength amounted to thirty-three thousand men: but as there was no news at Trembowla of this relief, it had no effect in the present critical conjuncture. Instead of continuing to defend themselves, as they had hitherto done, the nobles communicated their apprehensions to the officers of the garrison; and being accustomed to share the Sovereign power in diets, they considered themselves, in this extremity also, as the representatives of their country, and claimed a right of deciding the fate of Trembowla.

The Jewish heroine heard their consultations, in a place where she was not perceived. It was absolutely determined to surrender. She instantly flew to her husband upon the breach, and acquainted him with it in the thickest of the fire. The brave Governor ran to this assembly of cowards: "It is by no means certain, said he, that the enemy will overpower us; but is absolutely so, that I will blow you up in this very room, if you persist in your base design. There are soldiers at the door with their matches lighted, on purpose to execute my orders." The prospect of inevitable death put arms again into their hands; and they endeavoured to wipe off this stain.

The Visir was not ignorant that John was marching to relieve the town; and therefore hastened his attacks. The place had already stood four assaults; and Chrasonowski himself trembled for the fifth. His wife mistook this just concern for a mark of weakness that boded no good. A woman who has
once

Once got over the natural timidity of her sex, becomes more than man. This Roman of the north, armed with two poniards, said to her husband: "One of these is destined for thee, if thou surrenderest the town; the other I intend for myself (a)."

It was in this moment of distress that the Polish army arrived. The Visir, not believing that the King was there in person, resolved upon a battle. A Polish spy, that was taken, undeceived him. The spy carried a letter, writ with the King's own hand; and the signals already gave notice of his arrival to the besieged, who got together the remnant of their forces with loud cries of joy. The Visir raised the siege, not daring to try his fortune against that of John: but he was forced to it in the event, because he took his measures too late. He repassed the Janow with all haste; but half his army being still on this side of the river, John attacked it, crying out to the foremost squadrons, *that he required nothing of them, but what he would set them an example of himself.* The battle lasted a great while; and the Turks shewed, that with such a commander as they deserved, they might have laid claim to the victory. They lost between seven and eight thousand men, and retired under the cannon of Kamienieck.

The garrisons of the places which the Turks had taken, did not wait for the vengeance of the Poles; but abandoned them to go and rejoin the army. Trembowla owed its deliverance to the intrepidity of Chrasonowski, and gratefully confessed it. He himself was raised to military honours: his wife contented herself with the applauses of the nation; and the soldiers were rewarded with money by an indigent republic. Such was always the practice of

(a) Zaluzki, tom. i. p. 155, & seq.

Y. 1675. the conquerors of the world towards their victorious troops; they were sure either of money or lands.

Kara-Mustapha was now taught, that superior numbers, cruelty, and presumption are not sufficient to ensure victory. He staid some time at Kamienieck, and then directed his march towards the Danube. He had done great mischiefs to Poland by pillage, devastation, the demolition of towns and forts, and the great number of slaves which he carried off. The case is not the same with Poland, as with countries where commerce flourishes. In the year 1666, London was laid waste with plague and fire, in the midst of an unsuccessful war, and yet in three years time was rebuilt in a much handsomer and more commodious manner than before. The cities of Poland, when once destroyed, never recover again. But all these mischiefs were nothing in comparison of what the Visir might have done. He was upon the frontiers of the republic so early as the month of July. An experienced Captain, with the forces that he had, would have come and given law at Warsaw, and added Poland to the Turkish provinces: the least advantage he ought to have reaped from the campaign, was to fix himself in the Palatinate of Russia, and keep his ground in the Ukraine and Podolia. Being master, as he was, of the Niester, with Kamienieck and Choczin behind him, this position would have marked out the fate of Poland for the next campaign.

It was imputed to John as a crime, in some succeeding diets, that he had not immediately formed the siege of Kamienieck. The place had just received a convoy of five hundred waggons, with a reinforcement of janizaries; the season was far advanced, and all the country exhausted of provisions: when things were in such a situation, was it possible

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possible

possible to begin a siege, whose progress would be slow, and its success uncertain? He contented himself with burning the villages, hamlets, and boats which served to furnish the town with provisions. He hindered it also from being recruited with men and cattle, by carrying away both to the territories of the republic. By this conduct, he prepared the way for the recovery of Kamienieck; having acquired glory enough by triumphing over so many enemies with such an inequality of forces. This campaign may serve to teach nations of inferior strength not to despair, when they have a great King at their head.

The army now retired into winter-quarters, and John went to repose himself at Zolkiew, a town in the Palatinate of Russia, three leagues from Leopold, which made part of the Estate of the Zolkiewski's, his ancestors by the mother's side. The castle passed for a master piece of Architecture, in a country where that art is still in its infancy.

During his residence in this place, which he was always particularly fond of, he learnt the death of a French hero, with which he was much affected, in consequence of that sympathy which great men feel for one another: but how great would have been his concern, if he could have foreseen that the blood of Turenne would one day be united with his own?

In the mean time, Warsaw was impatient to enjoy again the presence of its King. The eighteen months which had passed since his election, he had employed in a manner that made him still more worthy of the crown; and the crown was not yet upon his head. He therefore complied with the wishes of his capital, where, before his coronation, he received an honour which happens only to Princes whose name astonishes the earth. Persia, a distant power, which had nothing to do with Poland,

Y. 1675. sent him an Ambassador. The Senate flattered itself at first, that he came to propose a league against Mahomet; but the illusion was of short duration. The only object of his embassy was to congratulate John upon his victories, and to ask his friendship.

Y. 1676. When this ceremony was over, the republic was wholly taken up with the coronation, which was fixed for the 2d of February. In chusing the scene of this solemnity, Poland acts like France; and instead of consecrating its Kings in the capital, conducts them, at a great expence, to Cracow, a city less commodious, and less magnificent, because Ladislas Loketek, in the fourteenth century, was crowned there. This ancient city, more extensive than populous, and situated upon the banks of the Vistula, still boasts an establishment which does honour to France. Its university, the most celebrated in the kingdom, called the town of Sorbonne, actually owes its birth to doctors of the Sorbonne, such doctors as the fourteenth century could produce, invited thither by Casimir III. surnamed *the Great*. The two Dictionaries of *Moreri* and *Trevoux*, attribute this establishment to Casimir I. who reigned in the eleventh century, before the Sorbonne existed in France.

Persons who are fond of magnificent spectacles, and do not consider what they cost the public, would be struck with the splendor of this. All the magnificence of Asia was seen united with all the elegance of Europe. Slaves from Ethiopia and the east, clothed in azure habits, young Poles in purple robes, a whole army drest to the greatest advantage; the equipages, men and horses contending with each other in splendor; the gold eclipsed by jewels; such was the procession, in the midst of which Sobieski appeared upon a Persian horse, going

ing to take possession of a crown which he had Y. 1676.
merited by his virtues.

The Polish Kings, at their inauguration, are presented with the throne and the grave together. The ceremony begins with the funeral of the late King, whose body lies unburied till this time. Upon the present occasion, there happened, by a singular event, to be two. The same hearse carried *John Casimir*, who died lately in France, and *Michael*. The funeral pomp resembles, in most particulars, that of other Kings. One singularity deserves to be taken notice of. As soon as the body is laid upon the scaffold erected in the cathedral, a Herald on horseback, armed from head to foot, enters at the great door, and breaks a sceptre against the scaffold. Five others come in, in the same manner; one of which breaks the crown, another the globe, the fourth a scymetar, the fifth a javelin, the sixth a lance; the cannon, trumpets, and kettle-drums playing all the while.

A warm dispute between the Primate and the Bishop of Cracow was like to have retarded the funeral and the coronation. They both claimed a right of officiating at the obsequies; but after a long contest, which furnished employment for the whole court, the point was accommodated. The Primate officiated at the altar, and the Bishop in the Pulpit, by delivering the funeral oration. To this day of sorrow succeeded the day of joy.

The Queen had employed every expedient in the preliminary diet, that she might be crowned the same day with her illustrious spouse; but had met with many difficulties, which the King had helped her to overcome. The Queens of Poland have a particular interest in being crowned; since, without this solemnity, the republic pays them no jointure

Y, 1676. in their widowhood (*a*); and even ceases to treat them as Queens. Notwithstanding this, there have been two Queens who sacrificed all these advantages to their religion: viz. the wife of Alexander, in the sixteenth century, and of Augustus II. in the seventeenth. The former professed the Greek religion; the latter the Lutheran, which Augustus had lately abjured; and neither of them was crowned. The moment for gratifying Mary's wishes was come: the Primate held in his hands the two crowns; but as she was ascending the throne, to sit down on the left hand of the King, a murmur was heard in the assembly, and several voices protested. This storm being foreseen, was appeased by the trusty servants which the King had dispersed up and down in the Cathedral, and a crown was set upon both their heads (*b*).

The ceremony ended with a custom of some singularity. A Bishop of Cracow, assassinated by a King in the eleventh century, summons to appear at his tribunal, that is, in the chapel where his blood was shed, every new King, as if he were guilty of the crime. John went to the place on foot, and declared, as his predecessors had done, "that the crime was atrocious, that he was innocent of it, detested it, and asked pardon for it, by imploring the protection of the holy martyr upon himself, and his kingdom (*c*)."

It were to be wished that every state would preserve, in this manner, some monument of the crimes of Kings; for flattery can find nothing in them but virtues.

(*a*) This jointure or dowry is two thousand ducats per annum, charged upon the salt-pits and the Starosties of Spiz and Grodeck.

(*b*) Zaluski, tom. i. p. 678.

(*c*) Id. ibid. p. 597.

The medals that were struck upon this occasion Y. 1676. presented a naked sword passing through several crowns of laurel, and at the point a regal crown, with this inscription, *per has ad istam*, through these to that: and John had completely fulfilled its sense. The acclamations increased, when he proceeded to the public square, followed by the Senate, and great officers, all on horseback, where he received, on an elevated stage, covered with the richest tapestry of the east, the oath of allegiance from the magistrates of Cracow, and ennobled some of them. This is the only occasion on which a King of Poland can create nobles; for nobility must be conferred only in a diet, after ten years service in the army at least.

Before the reign of John, the King's military establishment consisted of six hundred body-guards, six companies of light horse of a hundred men each, and a regiment of foot, of twelve hundred men. John made an addition of a company of a hundred Swifs, such as we have in France; of five hundred janizaries, which his victories had furnished him with; and two hundred *Heidukes*. These *Heidukes* appear in the world under very different forms. In Hungary they fight among the infantry. In Germany, and other countries, as the fancy takes, they attend behind the coaches of the superior nobility; in Bulgaria, the neighbourhood of Mount Hœmus, and other passes, they appear as robbers, and plunder travellers. The republic did not interpose in the new regulations which the King made in his guards, because the expence was to fall upon him only.

The solemnity of the coronation being over, the diet was opened. The republic begun with thanking the King for all the services he had done his country, since his election, and desired him to be
more

Y. 1676. more careful of his life in time of action. A great number of the Senators and Deputies made another request to him, which disgraced themselves as much as it did honour to the King. Their admiration of his great qualities made them press him to unite to the crown the office of Grand-General, which he had not yet filled up, though vacant ever since his election to the throne. The persons who made this request broke through the constitution, and betrayed the interest of the republic. Thus it is, that Kings, by the weakness and adulation of their subjects, become despotic; and when it is necessary to bring them back to their former state, the convulsions it occasions are tremendous. The King did not make a bad use of this inconsiderate zeal; and shewed his real greatness, by refusing to be unconstitutionally great. He raised to this important post Demetrius Wiesznowieski, Petty-General of Poland, of the same family with the late King, and distinguished by the title of Prince of Mitra. When Sobieski was Grand-General, there had been frequent dissentions between them, which Sobieski, when King, forgot; and by doing so, shewed his love of peace. Had he been guided by his own inclinations, his gratitude, and the superiority of merit, he would have preferred Jablonowski, who was only made Petty-General. But he knew that his friend would acquiesce in this regulation, to avoid animosity and dissentions. In fact, the expedient succeeded; and from this time no one shewed more fidelity and attachment to his sovereign than Wiesznowieski.

The zealots for the King having thus missed their first aim, were resolved, at least to diminish the power of the Generals, in order to increase that of the King. The General's office being for life, they voted to make it *triennial*, and to oblige him to
take

take an oath to the King, as well as to the republic. Y. 1676.

There are few men, whose manners are proof against a throne. The King, who, while he was General, would have been offended at such a proposal, supported it in secret. But the Queen was not of a temper to conform in every thing to the King's inclinations. Jablonowski was much in her favour; and she was for having him enjoy the office of Petty-General in its utmost extent, and that of Grand-General too, when time should give it him. She therefore thwarted the design by secret intrigues, which oftener hit the mark than open blows (a): and the Generalship is still perpetual.

Another difference arose between the Grand and Petty-General of Lithuania. The latter, who was the Prince of Radziwil, reproached Paz with having deserted the King in the Ukraine; and pretended, that in order to punish him, and promote, at the same time, the public good, it was expedient to withdraw from his command the Petty-General, with his division. He flattered himself, that he should be the more attended to, as he had married a sister of the King's, a King whom Paz had grievously offended. The members of the diet took part on each side with great warmth. The King, who had now a fair opportunity of revenging himself upon Paz, stood neuter; and things continued upon the former footing in the Lithuanian army (b). But it was not without long debates.

A great deal of precious time was spent in these disputes. Mahomet was full of indignation at a little republic, which had dared to contend with him for four years together. His Visir, Kara-Mustapha, was mortified at not being able to subdue it. They were both employed in forging the

(a) Zaluski, tom. i. p. 678 & 679.

(b) Id. *ibid.*
decisive

Y. 1676. decisive thunders: and it was known at Cracow that they were so. The Christian Princes, who, in the time of the Crusades, went to attack infidels who gave them no cause of quarrel, refused to furnish Poland with the succours it wanted, and which they had promised to send. The Ambassador of France, Forbin, Bishop of Marseilles, was bitterly reproached on this account. The Queen, who was under some obligations to him, had got him a nomination to a Cardinal's hat. The Primate, who thought that he himself deserved it better, expressed in high terms his disapprobation of the gratitude of his sovereign: "It is the height
 " of injustice, said he, that a stranger should come
 " and deprive us of our country's right of nomi-
 " nation; and a stranger, moreover, who abuses
 " his character of Ambassador, and purchases the
 " scarlet by cheating us. Where are the subsidies
 " he has promised?"

The Primate's complaint of the preference given to strangers has had frequent occasions to be renewed. The court of Poland has been admitted to the nomination of crowned heads only since the reign of Casimir, who procured this equality with other sovereigns; but it is generally strangers who reap the advantage. The republic entered into this dispute by applauding the Primate, and the hat did not come till a long time after, in the year 1689. But the subsidies from France never came at all; nor did the other courts of Europe keep their promises better (a).

The republic therefore was forced to trust for defence to her own forces only. A decree of the diet fixed them at a hundred thousand men, and gave orders for the levying of taxes in proportion. Had this been done, Poland would never have

(a) Zaluski, tom. i. p. 651.

raised,

raised, on any occasion, such a number of regular troops. But as the plan was great, so the execution was difficult, not to say, impossible; and besides, the decree displeased the provinces. The origin of the discontent was a report, industriously propagated, that while the King was proposing one thing in the diet, he was negotiating another with the enemy; that a peace was privately agreed on with the Turk, and that the great uneasiness he affected was only a pretext for raising money, which would never return again into the purses of private persons, when it was once got out of them.

It was true that John did employ the mediation of the Moldavian and Walachian; but the answers he received contained extremely hard conditions. This, the provinces that were to furnish the contributions, would not believe; their mistake cooled their zeal, so that the levies of men and money were slow, and fell far short of the decree of the diet (a).

On the other side, the report of the great designs of the diet made an impression at Constantinople. Mahomet, at all events, resolved to surpass them; and a hundred and twenty thousand Turks, and fourscore thousand Tartars took arms to avenge the honour of the crescent. But the Sultan was in great perplexity about the choice of a General. Kara-Mustapha had no mind to expose himself to fresh mortifications: Hussein, who commanded at Choczin, was dead of his wounds. The intrigues of the seraglio would needs decide the question. The Sultana Validé supported one person; the favourite Sultana another; and the Visir a third; and all the three Generals, one after another, made trial of the command when the troops were assembled, and were all three re-

(a) Zaluski, tom. i. p. 598. & seq.

called.

Y. 1676. called. A fourth presented himself for the same purpose, but the janizaries having soon found him out, drove him away by their contemptuous behaviour and murmurs. In whatever nation the Generals wrest the command from one another, it is a sign that there are few good ones, or none at all. At last, the seraglio recollected a forgotten Bashaw, who had been deprived of the command the very day after a victory; and Mahomet now restored it to him, with an order to put an end to the war in this last and important campaign. This General was *Ibrahim Shaitan*, a man of cool valour, great experience, and a second Ulysses for stratagem. The surname of *Shaitan*, which signifies *Devil*, was intended to express this last quality. The Ottoman army was long in filling up the chasms which the late losses had occasioned. It did not reach the Niester till towards the end of August, and was joined by the Tartars below Choczin.

Notwithstanding the victories of her King, Poland was still upon the brink of ruin. Thirty-eight thousand fighting men were assembled in the plain of Glinian, near Leopold; and with this small number John marched against two hundred thousand. The Queen accompanied him as far as Jararow (*a*), but it was only to alarm his conjugal tenderness. Having lately been delivered at Cracow of a daughter, Theresa-Cunegonda Sobieska, and scarce recovered of her lying-in; her weakness, the fatigue of the journey, and more than any thing, the dangers to which her illustrious husband was going to expose himself, threw her into a dangerous illness. The King was passionately fond of her, but he gave the preference to his other wife, *the republic*; and without the least delay, continued his march to defend her. He soon joined

(a) A fine country-seat belonging to the Kings of Poland.

his army, and attended upon the motions of the enemy. Y. 1676.

Ibrahim, in order to lead him into an error, threw bridges over the Niefter, imagining that the King would come and dispute the passage with him; in which case he intended to go up higher, penetrate into Pokrusia, and get behind the Polish army. John had no hopes of hindering his passage over the river: so numerous an army could do it when it pleased, by dividing into several bodies; but in order to form his measures, he resolved to assure himself first of Ibrahim's intentions, by continuing in his camp. Ibrahim, after he had lost several days in waiting for him, broke down his bridges, and crossed the Bucovine to get into Pokrusia.

John beginning now to penetrate into the designs of his enemy, formed a plan, which seemed to all his Generals impossible to be executed: it was to remove and fix the theatre of the war upon the extremities of the republic, in order to preserve its vital parts; and he instantly decamped to attempt it. Wiefnowieski commanded the center; Jablonowski the right wing; and Paz the left. The latter seemed at last to be sensible of all the regard the King had shewn him; and the Lithuanians had but one will with the Poles. They still expected to receive recruits both from Lithuania and Poland, which Radziwil and Potoski were commissioned to bring up. The King marched with the utmost celerity; and passed the Niefter, to the great astonishment of Ibrahim, who was still at some leagues distance from it.

Zurawno, a mean town of no note, acquired a celebrity which will last to the end of time. This paltry place, in Pokrusia, situated at the confluence of the Scevits and the Niefter, is defended only by a rampart of earth, without any other fortification.

Y. 1676. tification. The castle of its Lord, (who was then, and is now, one of the Sapieha family) is defended by a second rampart like the first, with four small platforms, where they mount a few pieces of cannon against the incursions of the Tartars. On one side of the town, higher up the Niefter, is a plain which leaves the distance of about half a league between itself and the river, and this space is filled with a large wood of tall trees, terminated by a very deep morass. From this morass there issues a large rivulet, which, after crossing the plain between two very high banks, runs into the ditches of the town, in its way to the Niefter; which river, on its opposite bank, presents a chain of mountains, extending several leagues above and below Zúfawno.

The Christian army extended itself in the plain between the town and the morass; it had on it's left the town and the Scevits, a torrent which after having swept away every thing to-day, is fordable in every part to-morrow: on it's right was the morass; and the wood and the Niefter behind it. The question was how to fortify it in front, since they were in great want of time, and the infidels might make their appearance the next moment. In order to secure the labours of the infantry, John passed the Scevits, went in quest of the enemy, fell upon their van and drove it back upon the center. But when he was on the point of being surrounded by the multitude which covered the plain for several leagues round, he made his retreat in good order, repassed the river and there stopped the infidels for a whole day; a respite of the utmost consequence for strengthening the entrenchments which he found to be very weak. He was well acquainted with the military art in it's utmost extent; and a double defence was formed with redoubts, and detached forts, raised under his own inspection. Here it was that he shut up

Up the last resource that was to fix the fate of Poland, resolved either to perish with his country, or to preserve it in it's ancient glory. The most intrepid officers were not without fear; because courage is not sufficient where strength is wanting, *Did I not deliver you*, said the King, *at the camp of Podbayecz, where we were only twenty-four thousand, and besieged by a hundred thousand? Do you suppose that the crown, by being put upon my head, has made it weaker?* They began to entertain hopes against all reasons for hoping.

Ibrahim was astonished, and at the same time pleased with this excessive boldness. He drew up his army in the form of a bow, of which the Niester made the string; and within this space he included the morass, the wood, the Polish army, the town, and the large rivulet that separated the two camps. But this was not all; for Nuradin Sultan detaching an army from the Turkish army, passed the river, and seized the chain of mountains which was parallel to it's banks. All communication was now cut off, and the Poles could hope for no more convoys, no more succours. When one considers these thirty-eight thousand men blocked up by two hundred thousand, it is difficult not to look upon them as so many victims destined for slaughter, and their country for servitude. And if esteem is always in proportion to the difficulties that are surmounted, what must these men have been, and what their King?

Such was the situation of things on the 21st of September. The 27th was expected to be the decisive day. Ibrahim drew up his troops in battalia, with vast bundles of fascines carried before them, to fill up the rivulets which separated the two camps. John, instead of waiting for him behind his entrenchments, presented himself in the intervals between the detached forts. This bold step made the infidels halt on the other side of the rivulet. On the 29th they shewed greater resolution; for a body of Jani-

R

zaries

Y. 1676. zaries crossed the stream and attacked the redoubts on the right, which were so well defended by the Polish dragoons, that the general engagement was still suspended.

John continued to employ the most exalted and refined expedients of the whole art of war; and being so well prepared to receive the enemy, he thought it would be no disgrace to sue for peace, still reserving a power to reject it, if the conditions were too severe. Bidinski and Koricki were commissioned to negotiate it, and they treated first with the Tartarian prince: "We come, said they, to ask for peace, under your mediation. These are the conditions on which we desire it. Let the Turks restore the places they have taken from us, particularly Kamienieck, and cease to support the revolt of the Cossacks."

It ill becomes you, replied the Cham, to assume so high a strain, when you are actually exposed to the thunder of the irritated Sultan. Your first step must be to pay the tribute which the sublime Porte imposed upon you, by granting you peace at a time when it might have crushed you with the weight of it's arms. When this is done, the Porte will consider what places it will be proper to restore to it's tributaries.

"It is to little purpose, answered Bidinski, to talk of a tribute which was imposed upon us at a time, when the republic was turning it's arms against itself under a weak King. He who now governs us is a Prince of consummate bravery; the conqueror of Choczia, as you well know: the republic and he will perish together, before they will pay tribute to any power upon earth. What brought us hither, is the love of peace, which you yourselves stand in need of. We bring neither the petitions, nor the looks of suppliants, but a courage that is proof against every thing; and our swords shall procure us peace, if a negotiation cannot." As he spoke these last words, he drew

drew his sabre half-way out of the scabbard. The Cham was highly provoked at this gesture. Bidinski undoubtedly shewed his courage, but his prudence may be called in question. Y. 1676.

The Turkish General waited in his pavilion for the result of this conference. As soon as he learnt it, he signified to the Cham that he should break off the negotiation, and that the Poles ought rather to think of asking pardon for their victory at Choczyn, which was a revolt that he should soon make them suffer for, than to boast of it (a).

The Poles, having now no further hopes, depended entirely upon their vigilance and love of glory to make up for the inferiority of their forces. On the 23th of October, they were in a dangerous situation. Their right wing was again attacked, and during the action, Nuradin swam a-cross the Niester below the mouth of the Scevits, which he crossed also, and came and fell upon the left. The center continued immoveable, observing the motions of Ibrahim, who waited for a proper opportunity to make the action general, but this opportunity did not come. The two attacks, though very warm, were without success. Three thousand infidels were slain: the Tartars repassed the river, and the Turks the rivulet.

Ibrahim, perceiving all the difficulties of getting a victory, resolved to carry on his attacks with greater art. He now laid siege to the army which he had hitherto only blockaded. The trenches were regularly opened, as if it had been before a fortified town; and seven great cavaliers were erected, with a labour, of which perhaps the Turks alone are capable. Ibrahim erected his tent in the midst of the labourers, to animate them to their work. The heavy artillery was soon ready to play; and a battery of

(a) Zaluski, tom. 1. p. 565. Lengn. p. 249.

Y. 1676. forty-eight pounders kept plowing up the Polish camp from morning to night, and carrying off men and horses. The death of Major-General Gebroski was particularly lamented; and he had a military tomb erected for him, in the manner of the ancient Romans. A ball went through the King's tent; and the army desired him either to remove to a greater distance, or at least to suffer himself to be covered with a mound of earth: but he rejected upon the present occasion this precaution, which at another time he would perhaps have liked. When the danger is extreme, a King must share it with his subjects, who sacrifice more for his glory than their own. Several General officers, who had dug themselves places of shelter, now appeared again with great alacrity.

In the mean time, the Turkish trenches were carried on with great vigour, and began to draw near the entrenchments. John ordered counter-trenches to be dug, and two armies were seen advancing towards each other under ground; a thing which had hitherto been without example. A battle would have been a relief to the Poles; for their situation grew very alarming. The forage which they had collected in the camp was all consumed. The adjacent forest, which, as a last resource, furnished leaves for the horses, which they mixed with a little grain, no longer afforded any thing but naked wood; and this wood, that is to say, the tenderest branches of the trees, still served for nourishment. Nor were the men in a better condition: all that they had left was bread dealt out very sparingly, and the King was obliged to take up with the same fare as the soldiers. The artillery, by being obliged to answer a superior fire, had almost exhausted the stock of ball: even the powder required good management, since that which was brought from Dantzick could come no farther than Leopold. If the infidels had suffered much in

their frequent attacks, the Christians had suffered much more in proportion to the smallness of their number, by repelling those attacks. Radziwil and Potoski, the deliverers who were impatiently expected, had marched with ten thousand fresh troops; but no reinforcement, no convoy had been able to make it's way through the Turks. In short, all things failed the Poles, except their courage; and every hour might prove fatal (a).

The Queen, who was recovering her health at Warsaw, undertook to ward off the destiny of the King and the kingdom. She called together the senators in her palace, and laid before them the frightful situation of affairs. All voted for the assembling of the *pospolite*, and the primate issued out his *universals* for that purpose, which is the ordinary practice in Poland, when all is given over for lost.

Authority must needs be a thing of a very delicate nature; for, as soon as the King was informed of the *senatus-consultum* that was made for his deliverance, he complained of their having violated the royal prerogative, by which the King only has a power of assembling the *pospolite*. In fact, he depended more upon his own courage and that of his troops, than upon the slow efforts of an undisciplined body of nobles.

Ibrahim, thinking himself sure of conquering by famine, and being willing to spare the effusion of Mussulman blood, deputed to the King two Bashaws and twenty-four Janizaries, who had nothing in their hands but long white staves, their only weapons when they are not going to battle; for the Turks are astonished at the Christians for going to see their friends in time of full peace, with swords by their sides. The deputies represented to John, " that the Serafkier was fully acquainted with the extremities to

(a) Zaluski, tom. i. p. 611. and seq.

Y. 16; 6. “ which their camp was reduced; that all relief was
 “ impossible; that a prudent Prince ought to sub-
 “ mit to the laws of necessity; that despair had
 “ ruined more armies than it had saved; that the
 “ Grand-Seignior aimed at no farther conquests in
 “ Poland; that he required only the execution of
 “ the treaty of Boudchaz, which had been perfidi-
 “ ously violated; that Poland, by becoming tribu-
 “ tary, would for the future live peaceably under
 “ his high protection, like the Tartars, Cossacks,
 “ and many others; and they all swore by their
 “ beards and mustachios to ensure the safety of the
 “ Polish army, offering to continue as hostages till
 “ it had passed the Niester, after the signing of a
 “ more solid peace than the former.”

John answered, “ that if the least mention was
 “ made in the treaty of the tribute imposed upon his
 “ predecessor, he would consent to no peace; and
 “ that if the Seraskier had orders to insist upon that
 “ article, he only desired him to allow him, on the
 “ other side of the river, a spot sufficient to draw up
 “ his troops in battalia; and that then they would
 “ decide the point sword in hand.” The deputies
 departed with this answer, reproaching him with all
 the blood that would soon be spilt.

This haughty behaviour of the King ill agreed
 with the extremities to which he was reduced; for
 having ordered the rations to be counted, there were
 found only enough for four days more. As soon as
 the night came on, he gave his orders for beginning
 the attack next morning at break of day. He after-
 wards confessed, that he never felt any uneasiness
 equal to that of this night. He reflected, that it was
 he who had drawn the republic into this war; that
 it was he who had formed the plan of the cam-
 paign, contrary to the opinion of all the Generals;
 that all his former victories were useless, if he failed
 of this; that he must either perish by hunger, or
 force

force his way through more than a hundred and fourscore thousand men, with little more than thirty thousand; and in short, that, instead of continuing to be the hero of his country, he was perhaps just going to become it's destroyer. But when he reflected, that, in order to save the army, he must renew the infamous treaty of Boudchaz, his mind was fixed in a resolution of putting every thing to the risk.

Let every one, who knows not the power of courage and the mutability of fortune, learn to hope. John was extremely surprized at seeing the two Bashiaws, who had addressed him the evening before, return before break of day. The scene had changed in the night by a concurrence of unexpected events.

The Janizaries, from the very beginning of the campaign, were dissatisfied at not having the Sultan, or at least the Vizir, at their head. "They abandon themselves to their pleasures, said they, while we are suffering for their sakes. They give us a simple Seraskier, as if we, who founded the Empire, were not worthy of fighting in the presence of the Emperor himself." The forced marches they had made in order to surround the Poles, the continual fatigues they had undergone without coming to a decisive action, all contributed to encrease their murmurs, and the sedition was ready to burst out in a flame (a).

The Tartars, who found they were detained upon the frontiers, instead of going to plunder in the heart of the kingdom, exerted themselves in a very feeble manner. They considered Poland as their general magazine; and did not wish to see it become a Turkish province, because in that case they should be forced to respect it. The King was not unacquainted with their dispositions; and to make their weak

(a) Cantemir, tom. ii. p. 72.

Y. 1676. efforts still weaker, having but little powder left, he attacked them with gold. He found means to get access this way to their leader; and to make Ibrahim uneasy, he took care to publish it. The Cham denied the fact; but the suspicion still remained.

To encrease his anxiety, Ibrahim had just received information that the powers of Christendom were sending ambassadors to treat of peace, or to enter into the war. The Marquis de Bethune from France, and lord Hyde (*a*) from England, were already arrived at Leopold; and demanded passports of the Turkish General to go to the King's camp.

Another piece of intelligence disturbed him still more. An army of Muscovites was upon the march, to pour in upon the Ukraine and deliver Poland; an event which was brought about by a secret negotiation of the King's. In fine, the season which was pretty far advanced, (it being the 28th of October, the thirty-eight day of the blockade) the rain which had kept falling for some time, the long march before he could reach the other side of the Danube, the possibility that provisions might fall short for so great a multitude; all these considerations determined Ibrahim to lend a favourable ear to peace, and he gave notice of his intentions to John.

Ibrahim had very extensive powers, with a positive order to put an end to the war in the most advantageous manner he could. He no longer insisted upon the tribute, but dictated in a great measure the other conditions. He required first of all, that Poland should enter into an alliance with the Tartars against the Muscovites, who were marching to deliver it. This demand was rejected with horror as unjust and infamous; and they were on the point of

(*a*) He was brother-in-law to James II. by that Prince's first wife. He sent a trumpet with six Walachians and an interpreter; who had all their heads cut off by the Tartars, a people who know little of the law of nations.

taking

taking up arms again on both sides. Ibrahim, after having stormed at the delicacy of an enemy to whom he considered himself as doing a favour, grew calm again, and proposed more tolerable conditions, which were at length accepted.

I.

The Ukraine had kindled the first spark of this war. The Porte gave up two thirds of it to Poland; and the other third to the Cossacks, who should continue under the protection of the Grand Seignior. By this settlement, the Turks kept a footing in the Ukraine, and an entry into Poland, for any circumstance that might arise.

II.

Podolia, the other key of Poland, had been ceded to the Turks by the unhappy Michael, who now restored part of it to the Poles, but kept the two best places, *Jaslowiecz* and *Kamienieck*. The latter was of such importance, that, unless it had remained to the Turks, Ibrahim would never have signed the peace.

III.

Some Hords of Tartars had settled in Lithuania; and being probably weary of the Polish government, it was stipulated, that they should be free to return under the protection of the Ottoman empire. By this means, Lithuania was deprived of many useful hands, both for the army and the plough.

IV.

It was settled, that the captives (for the name of prisoners of war is never heard of between the Turks and the Poles) should be restored on each side.

V.

Y. 1678. As the Porte usually contrives to insert some pompous article in every treaty, Poland engaged to send a magnificent embassy to the Grand Seignior, and that, in the mean time, an Envoy should accompany Ibrahim himself, by way of harbinger. The person pitched upon was Andrew *Modrzewski*, Cup-bearer of *Siradia*. Ibrahim asked whether his figure, air, and carriage were such as made him fit to appear before the Grand-Seignior. To satisfy his scruples, the Envoy was presented to him, and gained his approbation.

There is nothing in this delicacy of the Turks which ought to raise our astonishment. All the children that are educated in the seraglio, in order to fill public offices, are well made and handsome. Great care is taken that they have no natural defects; no court is composed of persons that make a better appearance. The Turks say, that it is impossible a base mind should inhabit a handsome body.

An article, that came last to be treated of, was warmly disputed. The Greek, *Payanotos*, that second Ulysses, who had contributed by a stratagem to the taking of Candy in 1669, had obtained a grant from *Cuprogli*, that the schismatical Greek church should have, for the future, the keeping of all the holy places in Palestine, notwithstanding the opposition of the orthodox Latin Monks. The Divan had decided, that, as Jerusalem was under the jurisdiction of the Greek church before the time of the Crusades, its pretensions were just. John required that the holy places should be restored to the Latins: *What signifies this to you*, said Ibrahim, *provided you can come there and worship your pretended God? We are far from binding you: and, after all, are*

not these Greeks, Christians as well as you? That the God, whose monuments they kept, held them in abhorrence, was a proposition he would not listen to. However, he did not think that this difficulty ought to retard the peace, and it was signed on the 29th of October.

Ibrahim had not done all that he might with so great a force: but John had done much more than could be expected. When he passed the Niester, to stop two such armies upon the frontiers, all Europe accused him of rashness, and gave him over for lost. But heroes judge better of one another. The great Condé admired his conduct, and congratulated him on it by letter.

And yet when we reflect on the cause of so long a war, who is there that will dare to be an advocate for severity? The Cossacks complained of oppression, were not listened to, and revolted. Common justice and mild treatment would have quieted the commotion; whereas rigour involved their Governors in a war of eight and thirty years continuance. The Turks took part in the quarrel, and every campaign seemed to open the grave of Poland. At length, the catastrophe came; and gave occasion for deploring equally the power of Princes, and the misery of subjects. In four campaigns, Mahomet lost more than two hundred thousand men, and expended sums sufficient to have relieved millions of unhappy persons. By so great a waste of men and money, what advantages did he reap? A few places in Podolia and the Ukraine, which he was not sure of possessing for any length of time.

On the other side, Poland thought itself sufficiently recompenced for all the ravages, burnings, depopulations, and horrors it had suffered, by being delivered from the ignominious tribute that Mahomet had imposed upon it.

The

Y. 1676.

The King returned home crowned with glory ; but he soon obscured its lustre in the opinion of a haughty republic. The weak Michael had been reproached for his accepting *the order of the Golden Fleece* ; John was invested with that of *the Holy Ghost* at Zolkiew, by the Marquis de Bethune, brother-in-law to the Queen. " It was stooping " to the Pride of France, said the Poles, to wear " its livery : " and the indecency was so much the greater, as France had constantly refused to give the title of *Majesty* to the Kings of Poland, and particularly to John himself, when in the year 1674, he solicited it by his Ambassador Andrew Chrysofom Żalufki (a). This title of *Majesty*, of which Trajan thought himself unworthy, and which Christians formerly gave to God only, was deserved by few Kings better than by *John Sobieski* ; and Lewis XIV. who refused it him, gave in his letters, in 1655, the title of *Brother* to the usurper *Cromwell*. The Queen was acquainted with all this ; but being at that time more a Frenchwoman than a Pole, she prevailed upon her husband to shew France this mark of consideration, without consulting the inclinations of Poland.

Y. 1677.

The republic expressed its resentment on this account, when in an assembly of the States-General, it was proposed to ratify the peace of Zurawno. They had nothing to accuse the King of with regard to the treaty itself ; but they were resolved to mortify him ; and the weakness of their objections sufficiently shewed what dispositions they were in. The Emperor, who was a great gainer, while Poland kept the Turks employed, and exhausted itself, endeavoured by his emissaries and his money, to embroil things still more. But John surmounted all obstacles, and sent away the great

(a) Żalufki, tom. i. p. 525.

embassy

embassy which Ibrahim had required, with the Palatine of Culm at its head. When he arrived at *Daud-Pacha*, a country-seat belonging to the Sultans, about a mile from Constantinople; he thought it would enhance the dignity of the republic to insist upon an honour which had never been granted, viz. to be received by the Visir at the very gate of the city.

The answer returned by Kara-Mustapha, the haughtiest of all Visirs, was, that if the Ambassador liked his situation at *Daud-Pacha*, he might stay there till a fresh order. He did stay there in fact, and was very narrowly watched; but when the Visir was informed of his demanding provisions for a retinue of seven hundred Poles, he ordered him to be told, that "if he was come to take Constantinople, his number of men was too small; and if he came only to make a figure, it was too great; but, be that as it would, the Grand-Seignior could as easily furnish provisions for seven hundred Poles, as for seven thousand who were rowing in his gallies (a)."

There wanted only such an incident as this to renew the war between the two nations; so little scrupulous are the Governors of the world about the effusion of human blood! But the King of Poland being informed of the dispute, and not thinking that the honour of his crown was concerned to vindicate the absurdity of his Ambassador, sent orders to him to make his entry, without insisting upon such an unusual demand. The Ambassador obeyed; but resolving, after all, to do something extraordinary, he shod his horses with plates of silver, which being fastened with only two nails, came off in the procession. A French Ambassador once did the same at Rome; and both were equally

(a) Cantemir, tom. iii. p. 73.

blameable;

Y, 1677. blameable; for it is always the people that pays for these extravagancies. One of these shoes being brought to the Visir, *This infidel*, says he, *has shoes of silver, but a bead of lead; since, being sent hither by an indigent republic, he does not make a better use of his money (a).*

The Ambassador was once more upon the point of breaking all off, when two *Capuji-Bacbis*, taking him by each arm to conduct him to the Grand-Seignior's throne, signified to him, that he must lay by his sword. Such is the law which the Porte prescribes to all ambassadors, and he was forced to conform to it. The best thing that he did, was getting the two following articles to be added to the treaty of Zurawno, when he delivered the republic's ratification of it.

We give orders, says the Sultan, to our armies of the Tartars of Crim and Budziac, to the Cossacks and Transylvanians, to desist from this time and henceforward for ever, from entering Poland without our command; and we forbid them to commit there any act of pillage or hostility whatsoever: and if it happens that any violation of this peace should proceed from them, all such as shall have sustained any damage thereby, shall receive restitution, upon producing proper proofs.

We promise, upon our Imperial word and oath, and protest before God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and by the miracles of Mahomet the great Prophet, the sun of the two ages upon whom the glory of the Divine Majesty rests, that we will not break any of these articles, nor perplex them with difficulties or equivocations: but, on the contrary, the peace and union now accomplished and ratified, shall be equal in duration with our glorious

(a) Cantemir, tom. ii. p. 74.

empire:

empire: provided always, that the King of Poland, his Palatines and Generals, shall occasion no impediment thereto, and shall do nothing against the tenor of this peace and friendship, and shall honour it according to its just value. May the inhabitants of Poland enjoy it in its utmost extent, under the shadow of our protection.

Thus every thing was at length concluded. Six months had been spent in regulating the ceremonial of an Ambassador's entry; whereas a peace was settled between the two nations in three days upon a field of battle.

End of the FOURTH BOOK.

T H E

THE
HISTORY
OF
JOHN SOBIESKI
KING OF POLAND.

BOOK V.

Y. 1677. **I**T was now a long time that the republic had supported itself by dint of arms. At length it began to take breath under the laurels with which its hero had crowned it; and the seven succeeding years were years of peace.

At the beginning of the present, there happened an event, which occasioned great complaints in the diet assembled at Warsaw. Poland follows the example which is set it by the other Catholic states. A Cardinal without authority, without an army, without having at his disposal either honours or fortune, frequently sprung from the dunghill of a cloister, extends his *protection* from the banks of the Tiber over nations and Kings. Cardinal Ursini, at that time Protector of Poland, had placed the

the *arms* of the kingdom over the great gate of his palace, from whence he had removed them, by some unaccountable caprice, to a place less visible and less decent. The diet exclaimed loudly at this insult. The King promised to make Rome feel that a kingdom is well able to protect itself: and satisfaction was instantly made (*a*).

The diets in Poland are generally turbulent, but the present was very peaceful. The King gave audience to an Ambassador from Tartary, who came to confirm the alliance with the republic. His retinue was far from being splendid. When he came to the door of the great-hall, the officers in waiting took off his bonnet, (as he shewed no disposition to take it off himself,) which left him nothing but a white skull-cap. Over against the King was a large cushion in the Turkish fashion, upon which, having made three bows, he sat down cross-legged, and made his harangue. The King, in return enquired after the health of the Cham, expatiated upon the mutual advantages of a good understanding between the two nations, and sent him away loaded with presents. He received also the homage of the Duchy of Courland, but upon condition that the Duke should, for the future, pay it in person (*b*). The diet expressed its satisfaction at the peace made at Zurawno, with the Turks, by bestowing thousands of blessings upon the deliverer of his country; and all the orders of the state had one and the same will with him (*c*).

But if the republic enjoyed perfect tranquillity, a city which flourished under its protection was agitated with intestine convulsions. *Dantzick*, after having had the good fortune of escaping from the tyranny of the Teutonic Knights; and the power

(*a*) Zaluski, tom. ii. p. 673.

(*b*) Chvalc. Jur. Publ. p. 542.

(*c*) Lengnich. p. 252.

Y. 1677. of Kings, to enjoy the liberty of a Hanse-Town, seemed to grow weary of being happy. The magistrates accused the people of being ungovernable; and the people complained of being oppressed by the magistrates. Some of the seditious were dragged to prison, and others broke their chains to aim them at the heads of the Ministers of justice. If the poinard was not yet lifted up against the Magistrates, no sort of insult was spared them; and every thing visibly tended towards anarchy and bloodshed.

The King, leaving his subjects to enjoy the sweets of peace, hastened to appease these madmen; and was followed by the Queen, notwithstanding her being big with child. No woman, in such a situation, could be less tender of herself: she travelled with as little delicacy as any citizen's wife of Warsaw, wearing a preservative, the virtue of which ought to have been tried upon some other person. It was a girdle made of the skin of an *urus*, a species of wild ox, with remarkably long hair, and a goat's beard.

Upon the King's arrival, the Dantzickers suspended their fury. He heard the complaints both of the people and the Magistrates; and if he seemed to incline towards either side, it was according to the Chinese rule, which, in public dissensions, always supposes the Mandarins to be in the wrong. Not that he did not discover faults on each side; but as he could not, without injustice, punish the people, and spare the Magistrates, he convinced them, it was for their own interest, that no scaffolds should be erected. He was forced to hear all their complaints, examine a-new into all the laws, inspect the management of the public money, settle the proportion of taxes, and wind up afresh

(a) Lengnich. p. 252.

the

the whole machine of government, which was just going to fall in pieces. He found greater difficulties in re-establishing order than in conquering his enemies, and valued himself more upon his success, in restoring peace among men, without destroying them, than upon the acquisition of a victory.

He staid in this city six months; but the satisfaction he enjoyed there, was disturbed by the death of the Primate Olfowski, whose presence and advice he had desired upon this occasion, and who deserved the tears of the republic. It is a small part of his praise, that he discharged all the Episcopal functions in an edifying manner. Neither the anger, nor the favour of Kings, was ever able to pervert his disinterested patriotism. He opposed Casimir in his plan for bringing on a premature election of his successor. He openly expressed his disapprobation of the proscription of the celebrated Lubomirski. *The King after the law*, was his standing maxim. An embassy, in which he had prevailed upon the Emperor, to withdraw his forces out of Poland, had done him great honour. His application to the study of letters, which he loved himself, and attempted, by founding a public library, to make loved by others, had perfected his natural eloquence. With this weapon he had subdued more than one faction, and brought back the Lithuanian army to its duty. The Poles said of him, that he surpassed Cato in gravity, Cicero in eloquence, and Metellus in purity of manners. The hyperbolical flights of Polish oratory were, in this instance, founded upon truth (a).

The King regretted the loss of his friend with as much real concern as any private person could

(a) Zalufki, tom. i. p. 694, & 695.

Y. 1677. have shewn : but his grief was assuaged by the birth of his second son, Prince Alexander. Prince *James* was commonly stiled the son of the Grand-Marshal ; but this was called the son of the King. The Queen was brought to bed of him in the town of Dantzick. Her accompanying the King in all his journeys, was as much out of a liking for business, as a conjugal regard for his person. This passion of hers for governing displeas'd the kingdom, and brought an odium upon the King. The Queens of Poland are most expressly forbid to meddle with the administration. The Chancellors, Chamberlains, and even Deputies are charged to watch over all violations of this regulation, and to lay them before the diet. Not that the Poles are backward to own, that a Queen, who will apply herself to business, and does not make a bad use of the artifices and charms of her sex, may do great service both to the Prince and the people ; but they have greater apprehensions of her abusing this power, than value for the services it may do them.

When John had appeas'd the disturbances at Dantzick, he made the Muscovites sensible that it was their interest to live at peace with him. While he was engag'd in his wars against the Turk, they had taken possession of three Polish Starosties, which made up a whole province. They now thought proper to restore them, with an indemnification of two millions of florins (a).

Y. 1678. Not long after, he suffer'd himself to be drawn into an act of injustice, which ended but unsuccessfully. The Elector of Brandenburg was laying the foundations of a power, the present greatness of which would astonish him. He little imagin'd that a day would come, when *Berlin* would be a match for the united forces of *Stockholm*, *Peterf-*

(a) Lengnich. p. 253.

burg, the *Germanic Body*, *Vienna*, and *Versailles*; Y. 1678. and that if he himself was the *Great Elector*, his great-grand-son would be a great King. The Elector commanded the army of the allies in Alsace against France; and it was of great consequence to find him employment at home. While Lewis XIV. was contriving how to effect it, the Marquis de Bethune, his Ambassador in Poland, undertook the task. He was a man, who, with all the agreeableness of a supple Courtier, possessed great abilities, both as a General and a Statesman; being lively, enterprising, laborious, and had a talent of writing and speaking with amazing facility. He entered into a close connection with the Swedish Ambassador, and by this means got access to the cabinet of Stockholm. The plot was soon laid, and the Swedes made an irruption into the Elector's territories in Prussia, against the faith of treaties. A passage through Courland and Samogitia being necessary for their purposes, *John* granted it at the instigation of Bethune, who insinuated to him, that part of the conquests should be settled upon his family by hereditary right. Conquest is the chief title of the generality of sovereigns; and *John* thought he might act the King upon this occasion. But his hopes were soon frustrated: for the Elector, at the head of ten thousand men, ran to the defence of his dominions. The Swedish General, *Henry Horn*, had under his command sixteen thousand, of which scarce two thousand five hundred got back into Livonia (a); and the King of Poland sat down, with the regret of having made himself an enemy, without getting any thing by it.

Soon after, he met with another mortification on the side of France, in a family-concern. His father-in-law, the Marquis d'Arquien, lived in

(a) Lengnich, p. 253.

Y. 1678. France upon his commission of Captain of the hundred Swifs-Guards belonging to the King's brother. The Marquis's daughter, the Queen of Poland, was passionately desirous of seeing him honoured with the title of Duke. The King, who had the same wish, applied for this favour to Lewis XIV. and had no doubt of succeeding. In the whole course of his fortune, he had always kept up a close connection with that monarch; he had always been the leader of the French party in the field of election; and in case he was obliged to quit his country, on account of the odium he might incur, Lewis had offered him an advantageous settlement in France; a *Marshal's Staff*, if he retained a relish for military glory; or the title of *Duke*, if he aimed only at an easy and honourable state of vegetation. The latter dignity, as he had now no occasion for it, he flattered himself he should be able to obtain for his father-in-law. Lewis answered, that he was willing to oblige him, provided the Marquis would put himself in a condition to receive such a favour, by acquiring an estate fit to bear the title of a *dutchy*.

While these proposals were making, the Marquis de Bethune, who aspired to the same honour, without knowing that he was his father-in-law's rival, had engaged for himself the interest of M. de Seignelai his friend, and M. Colbert; giving them to understand, that he could get the protection of his brother in law, the King of Poland, when it was time to produce it. The two Ministers promised him, to take an occasion of mentioning it to the King, and actually did so. Lewis would have chose rather to confer this dignity upon Bethune, than upon one of his brother's domestics. "I will not make, said he, two Dukes together in the same family. The person that the King of Poland chuses shall have the preference."

No

No one expected a third competitor, who now entered the lists. Y. 1678.

This new candidate was a person named *Brisacier*, Secretary to *Maria Theresa*, Queen of France. A Carmelite Friar arrived at Warsaw, charged with letters for the King of Poland. The substance of the first was, "that the person, who had the honour of writing to his Majesty, was obliged, at the expence of his mother's reputation, to remind him, that being in France, just after his quitting the academy, he had an intrigue with a fine woman, who had placed to her husband's account a son, that had really the honour of belonging to his Majesty; and that this son, with the fortune that his pretended father had left him, had scarce been able to purchase the post of Secretary to the Queen of France; that since fortune and merit together had raised his true father to a throne, he had reason to hope for some promotion; and that, in fine, the Queen of France warmly supported his request." At these words, the Monk presented to the King a letter from the Queen, pressing him, in the strongest terms, to acknowledge *Brisacier*, and to solicit for him the title of Duke.

John was astonished at all this, but could recollect none of the circumstances; till a third letter, containing a bill of exchange for a hundred thousand crowns (which in Poland is a sum even for a King) payable at Dantzick, dissipated the confusion of his ideas. He reflected that the thing might possibly be as it was represented; and a new ray of light completed his conviction. This was the Queen's picture, richly set with diamonds, with which the Monk terminated his commission. The King consented to solicit at Versailles the title of *Duke*, for this son whom he had forgot in France, and now thought fit to acknowledge.

Y. 1678. *Lewis* thought it strange, that he should be applied to from the same quarter for three favours of the same sort; but he kept the thing secret, and sent an order to his Ambassador to find out, whether the King of Poland was really convinced that *Brisacier* was his son. The Marquis de Bethune took the advantage of a hunting-party, which furnished him with one of those moments in which the mind is off its guard, and conceals nothing. By *Saint Stanislas*, said the King to him, *I remember not the least thing either of Monsieur Brisacier or his wife. I was very young at the time of my living in France; and had several intrigues upon my hands, some agreeable enough, and others the reverse, in a country where the women are so easily got at. Brisacier's wife may possibly have been of the number. Indeed how can I doubt her being so? This bill of exchange, this picture set with diamonds, and more than all the rest, the Queen's letter assures me, that her Secretary is my son.* The Marquis de Bethune had the address to get possession of this letter, which he transmitted to his master. The Queen saw that it was signed by herself; but upon reading the letter, declared she never entertained a thought of so impertinent a project, and that *Brisacier* must needs be mad. Nevertheless, she had certainly put her name to it; but as Princes sign without reading, *Brisacier*, instead of having a ducal palace, was sent to take up his lodgings in the Bastile, where he confessed his imposture.

This adventure, which would have made any man, but a King, ridiculous, cooled the zeal of John's solicitation for his father-in-law; and besides this, the estate which was to be created into a duchy, was not yet purchased. As for the Marquis de Bethune, who was a man not to be discouraged by disappointments, he kept a strict watch upon the situation of Europe, resolving to deserve the

the honours he aspired to, by doing some new service to France in the course of his embassy. The diversion he had effected in Sweden did not fully succeed, but another attempt might be more fortunate. Lewis XIV. laboured incessantly to raise himself upon the ruins of the house of Austria. The Emperor Leopold, under the appearance of great moderation, nourished a profound ambition. He possessed Hungary only by right of election, but wanted to appropriate it to his family; and he governed it in the mean time with a rod of iron. The blood of the Counts *Serini*, *Nadasti*, *Frangipani*, and *Tattemback*, had been shed upon scaffolds; and yet the only crime of these great souls was, that of maintaining their laws, their liberty, and their religion.

The authors of these violent counsels were Jesuits; it being the custom of that age to bring a disgrace upon government by suffering Monks to have a share in it. The famous *Tekeli* burnt with impatience to revenge his friends and his country. The Marquis de Bethune knew this; and formed a project to supply him with arms and men, which should be furnished by Poland, but paid for by France. The plan was transmitted to the cabinet of Versailles, and approved of. Lewis XIV. expelled the Protestants from his own dominions; but protected them in Hungary against Leopold. In this manner, Princes support factions abroad, which they would punish capitally at home.

The King of Poland was gained over to the scheme; but there was still one difficulty in the way, as he could not levy troops without the consent of the republic. But Kings have more expedients than one, in order to evade the laws. He still kept the Starosty of *Strick*, which he possessed when he was Grand-Marshal, and connived at whatever

Y 1679. whatever might pass there. His example was followed by those to whom the republic committed the inspection of this district, and the Marquis de Bethune, with little noise, raised in this Starosty an army of ten thousand men, which he was preparing to conduct to Tekeli. A number of French, who came unobserved into Poland, were to join this body of troops. It would have been a mortal blow to the Emperor; but it was parried, without intending it, by a woman, the Marchioness of Bethune herself. She was sister to the Queen; and before her marriage had been Maid of Honour to Henrietta of England, wife to the King's brother. The Marchioness could not help being a little jealous when she cast her eyes upon her sister's crown. Their father, the Marquis of Arquien, was still in France with his commission of Captain of the guards, and a great many debts.

The Queen, who had laid other schemes for his promotion, than that of a dutchy, being earnestly desirous of his seeing her in all the splendor of a throne; he sold his commission to put himself in a condition to appear in Poland. But the Marchioness prevailed on the King's brother to stop the money, in order to secure her fortune, which had not been paid. This little family quarrel now became an affair of state. The Queen, being informed of this proceeding of her sister, complained of it to her, and to her husband, who was wholly unconcerned in it. In order to appease her, they both wrote to the King's brother whatever she dictated; and at the same time acted a part, which (if double-dealing be any crime in courts) made them both really blameable. Before the Queen's courier could get to his journey's end, they sent an express to the Prince, desiring him to pay no regard to what she required. Upon this, the Queen writ to him in the language of a crowned head: and the

the Prince, who had often seen her at his feet, having reminded her of that circumstance, acquainted her with the whole intrigue. Y. 1679.

The Queen was of a proud and haughty temper. Her father's losing his dutchy, the price of his commission being stopped, the answer she had received from the Prince, all together opened an old wound in her mind, which was but imperfectly healed. Not long after her elevation to the throne, she was very desirous of taking a journey into France, from the natural desire of making a figure in her own country. Her pretence was to drink the waters of Bourbon; but upon her asking the court of France, whether she might expect to be treated in the same manner as the Queen-Dowager of England, the Marquis de Louvois, whose roughness shewed itself upon every occasion, gave for answer, that there was a wide difference between an *hereditary* Queen and an *elective* one. She resolved therefore to take her revenge for all these affronts together, and to make her own family feel a part of it.

She begun with informing the Senators, of the levies that were raising in the Starosty; and sending for the Grand and Petty-General, told them that an armament, carried on without the knowledge of the republic, must needs cover some bad design. The two Generals failed not to reply, that nothing had been done without a tacit order from the King. *Go to him then,* said the Queen, *and give him an account of my having reproached you with this affair.* No one could be more peccant than the King when he commanded at the head of an army; but he loved domestic peace. He quickly took part in the Queen's resentment, and ordered the Generals to go themselves to Strick, disband the troops, and dismiss all the French officers who came to share in the glory of the enterprise.

Y. 1679. prize. Lewis was offended at this step; and John on his side made complaints of the French Ambassador and his wife, who were both recalled, and the latter banished into Touraine. The Ambassador was permitted to come and give his reasons at court, where he laid the whole blame of his ill fortune upon the conduct of his wife.

From this time, Versailles and Warsaw no longer lived in the same harmony. The Marquis de Bethune continued a Marquis; and the Captain of the hundred Swiss guards, whom France did not make a *Duke*, was found at Rome to be fit to be made a *Cardinal*.

Y. 1680. The King now turned towards the house of Austria, from which he expected great assistance in an expedition that he had laid the plan of. He knew, by his intelligence in the Seraglio, that Mahomet intended to attack the Emperor Leopold; but as yet it was only a project, and as the Turks generally make immense armaments, there is time for action while they are getting ready. He knew also that Mahomet, depending upon the late treaty with Poland, had left Kamienieck and Podolia without any great defence. The loss of the former was incessantly regretted by the republic; and its recovery would bring great glory to the King. Mahomet indeed had reason to be without apprehensions, if treaties between Christians and infidels are obligatory; but people form their ideas of morality upon the principles of the age, and the place they live in. Rome was always ready to absolve the Poles from the oaths they had sworn to the Turks. The King saw therefore, that if he could prevail upon Leopold, who was threatened by Mahomet, to be before-hand with him, he should have time to seize Kamienieck on a sudden, under a promise of uniting afterwards his arms to those of Leopold. He thought further of engaging, in the league, the
republic

republic of Venice for a diversion by sea, and Rome for a supply of money. Y. 1680.

To carry on such a negotiation, there needed an Ambassador of the most distinguished merit. The Person that John pitched upon was passionately fond of chymistry, and knew but little of the matter; but then he had married a sister of the Queen's. Prince Radziwil was the man employed, who having miscarried at Vienna and Venice, went next to Rome, where he prostituted the dignity of God and of his master together. He gave Pope Innocent XI. the title of Divine Majesty on earth, and laid the crown of Poland at the feet of this new deity of his own making. The Pope evaded, for the present, the article of money, and answered him only with compliments, good wishes, and benedictions. The Prince considered his embassy rather as a journey of curiosity, than in the light of a public commission. He was the richest nobleman in Poland; and he flattered himself, that, in his rambles over the world, he should find the *Philosopher's stone*. His death luckily spared him the just reproaches to which he would have been exposed in Poland (a).

If the subjects of an arbitrary government have many cruel moments, there are such also for Kings, who have only a limited power. While the Polish Ambassador was throwing away his feeble eloquence in foreign courts, the King displayed the utmost strength of his in the diet held at Warsaw. He did not enlarge upon the necessity, but upon the easiness, of retaking Kamienieck. The two Orders listened greedily, and shewed a disposition to enter into his views; when some persons, either of a timid temper, and afraid of seeing the Turks once more ravaging their country, or, out of en-

(a) Zalufki, tom. ii. p. 665.

Y. 1686. mity to the King's glory, put a stop to the debates. The singularity of one circumstance was remarkable; it being not a Deputy, as usual, that broke off the diet, but *Breza*, the Palatine of Pofnania, a Senator. His right of doing so could not be contested; but by the novelty of the thing, the King was at a loss how to act, since he could not possibly foresee it. The vehement harangue that he made in the Senate, after this, served only to increase the sorrow of the true patriots, and to furnish secret matter of triumph to the faction that tied up his hands. "Restore to us, said he, addressing himself to the latter, restore to us the safety you deprive us of, the glory you wrest out of our hands. You talk of resuming the design to retake Kamienieck at some other time. Imprudent as you are! is time at your disposal? Can you make the opportunity return? The Turk will provide for his own security. He will be informed of our project, and perhaps take his revenge; when instead of shedding a little blood for an important advantage, we shall be forced to shed streams for our destruction (a).

Another mortification soon happened, which affected him both as a father and as a King. The Elector of Brandenburg, whom he had made his enemy, formed a design of getting the richest heiress in Poland, for the Margrave Lewis of Brandenburg, one of his sons. She was daughter to Prince Radziwil, whose death has lately been mentioned. This marriage would transfer to a family, already too formidable to Poland, the immense possessions which the Radziwils had been four centuries in accumulating; four duchies extending from the heart of Lithuania to the frontiers of Muscovy and Sweden. The Elector expected to

(a) Zaluski, tom. ii. p. 133, 784.

meet with opposition, and therefore sent his son to conclude with all expedition this formidable match, without consulting the republic, or even the King, though he was guardian to the Princesses. Y. 1680.

The Poles were extremely offended at this step. "What! said the Senate and the House of Deputies, shall a foreign Prince come and rob us of a treasure, which it is of such importance for us to keep in our own possession! When he has got it, we shall be in a dilemma whether to grant or refuse him the right of *Indigenate* (a.) If we grant it, he will govern both in our general and provincial diets; and make use of his power in Lithuania to dictate all our alliances, and perhaps to make leagues against us. If we refuse it, he will employ the acquisitions he has got by this marriage, and the arms of his father, to compel us. Let us beware then of entering into an alliance with the lion, like the silly beasts in the fable: 'tis sufficient for us to be obliged to suffer a King."

The King was more sensibly affected by this marriage than even the republic; as he had intended the young Princess for his eldest son, Prince James, who would soon be of years of maturity. The Queen indeed, and all the French in the Polish court, did not much regret the loss of this match, which they said was not considerable enough for the son of a King, who ought to marry a Princess by birth, and not one who derived her title from the empire; the daughter of a sovereign house, and not the daughter of a Senator. These monarchical notions never entered into republican heads; and still less into that of the King, who knew that the

(a) The right of indigenate, in other countries called naturalization, is necessary in Poland in order to possess estates or offices, or be admitted into the diets.

Y. 1680. Roman Emperors, that is to say, the masters of Kings, married into senatorial families; and that very lately, James II. King of England, had married the daughter of Counsellor Hyde, advanced afterwards to the dignity of Chancellor, and ranked by the English in the number of great men.

Besides this, the King considered of what importance the great estate of this young heiress would be to his son. An absolute Monarch would undoubtedly have armed his subjects for the interest of his family; he would have painted the carrying off the Princess as an affront to the crown and the nation; and perhaps another *Troy* would have been destroyed for this new *Helen*. But being accustomed to the manners of a free country and restrained by the laws, he conformed to the sentiments of the republic; which, when it's first fit of resentment was gone off, thought it better to give up an heiress, than enter into a war; the event of which, however it turned out, would leave great scars behind it. The republic only sought for an expedient to mitigate the King's vexation. The disputed Princess was his niece: the Elector of Brandenburg promised that this marriage should in no degree be prejudicial to the rights of the royal family; and then the knot was tied (a.) The King's family was soon after encreased by the Queen's being delivered of her third son, Prince *Constantine*.

Y. 1681. The next year was distinguished by a diet's being held in a town, which had never before been the scene of such an assembly. The place appointed both by law and custom, was Warfaw, which by its situation, size, and wealth, is very well adapted for a national meeting. For some time past, the Lithuanians, particularly the Paz's, had demanded that it should be held alternately in Poland and Li-

(a) Puffendorf: *Zaluski*, tom. 2. p. 675.

thuania.

thuania. The proposal had passed in 1673, with this restriction, that Lithuania should enjoy this advantage only once in six years. But the law had never been put in execution. In this year therefore, for the first time, the King, being no longer able to withstand the intrigues and clamours of the Paz's, transferred the diet into Lithuania. But instead of holding it at *Wilna*, the capital of that dutchy, he summoned it to meet at *Grodno*. By this means, he mortified the Paz's, particularly the Grand-General, who was Palatine of *Wilna*; and favoured the Starost of *Grodno*, a near relation of his own, who by so great a concourse of people, acquired a prodigious encrease of the revenue of his district. But *Grodno* is only a mean town, of difficult access upon the river *Memel*, ill built and very unwholsome, known only by the tomb of *Stephen Battori*, a monument which procured no conveniences for the diet. The King's own servants could not help saying, that when people resolve to mortify their enemies and oblige their relations, they ought at least to do it, without any detriment to the public. The contempt which the King shewed for these clamours, was beginning to act despotically in the very face of liberty.

The diet was opened with a very warm dispute, on occasion of the election of a Marshal, which, according to custom, was the first thing they proceeded on. The Paz's were for one person; and the King for another. The event of the election was such as the King wished; it being in favour of *Francis Sapieba*, descended from an illustrious family, which the King aimed at raising upon the ruins of the Paz's.

Another object excited a still greater ferment. The Polish nobles sometimes think fit to raise troops and take them into their own pay; as the great vassals of the crown formerly did in France under the feudal government. This had been lately

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done

Y. 1681. done by one of the *Lubomirski's*, (a) brother to the Grand-Marshal and Great-Standard-Bearer of the crown, in order to favour *Tekeli*, who being seconded by the Bashaw of Buda, had been endeavouring for three years past to raise all Hungary in arms. This step of *Lubomirski's* was a consequence of the disappointed schemes of the Marquis de Bethune. The Grand-General *Wiesnowieski* accused the Great-Standard-Bearer of having violated the Laws; and the Emperor's Ambassador, the Count *d'Altein* warmly solicited the punishment of the criminal: The ferment was rising hourly to a greater height, when the Pope's Nuncio, *Martelli*, extinguished it, by exhorting the assembly to take up arms against the Turk. An alarm for a Turkish war was at that time gladly listened to by the majority, and no farther mention was made of the criminal.

The Queen had an affair which concerned her personal interest to lay before the diet. She wanted to have her household-revenue encreased; but the *Estates*, dissatisfied at their being assembled at Grodno, were not disposed to grant her request. The King, who guessed in what temper they would be, had desired the Queen to defer her demand to a more favourable opportunity; but the present only would suit the Queen. She was present, as usual, at all the sittings; not indeed publicly, for that would have given offence to the republic, but in a place where, without being seen, she heard all the debates. From hence, at a proper juncture, she sent her Chancellor to the King as he sat upon the

(a) He was known by the name of the Chevalier de *Lubomirski*. This appellation may possibly surprize the reader, since in Poland every gentleman is at least a Knight, by being one of the Equestrian Order. But *Lubomirski* was a Knight of Malta, and possessed some valuable commanderies of that order, which he afterwards resigned to marry one of the Queen's maids of honour.

throne,

throne, desiring him to think of her. The King, with a severe look and a gesture of refusal, dismissed the Chancellor, who returned to the Queen, and soon after came back to the King in consequence of a second order. The King, flying into a passion, broke out in harsh expressions against a man, whose situation left him nothing but to obey. The Chancellor, who was a church-man, replied with equal firmness and respect: *If your Majesty forgets that I am a Priest, you should at least recollect that I am a gentleman.* “ ’Tis enough for me, says the King, that you are a man: I see I am in the wrong, and you shall have no more reason to complain of me.” The Queen knew what she did, in persisting in her purpose: she had gained the votes before-hand, though the King could not conceive it, and meet with the success that she expected (a).

Of all the virtues, that which the King most valued himself upon, next to courage, was clemency. A wretch of that detestable species, whose villainy and blackness of soul make them formidable even to the Governours of the world, not content with venting his fury in the most outrageous language against the King, had fired a bullet at his picture, as if with a design of hardening himself in order to make the next attack upon his person. This monster, who was of the body of the nobles, was examined before the diet and condemned to expiate his crime by suffering capital punishment. The laws had decreed his death, but the King granted him a pardon. *I would not grant it, said he, if his offence had been against the nation.* The Parricide was only deprived of his liberty, and even of this for no long time. Every one cried out, what barbarian will dare any more to offend a

(a) Zaluski, tom. i. p. 704.

Y. 1681. King so ready to pardon offences? The criminal himself never ceased blessing him for the whole remainder of his life (a).

While this diet was sitting, there happened an event which would be unworthy of the gravity of history, if it were not connected with public affairs. In the province of Volhinia, a ghost that was said to appear in the house of a Polish nobleman made such a noise, as echoed over all the neighbouring provinces. The dead man said many things that affected the reputation of the living, and the credit of the government: he even went so far as to order, in the name of God, some things to be done, which displeased the King. The Jesuit *Gnievofz*, chaplain to the Grand-General, attested the reality of the apparition; but the King dispatched to the place an intelligent officer of the army, who had some difficulty to persuade himself, that the irrevocable laws of the other world were suspended merely to frighten the inhabitants of this. The affair turned out, as it always does, to be a mere comedy, which however ended tragically when the Commissioner came to make his report. The King was at that instant surrounded with Courtiers, and his Confessor *Pikarski*, another Jesuit who had already had the direction of the consciences of two Kings, standing next to him. Every one listened attentively to the history and contrivance of the trick. At the unravelling of the plot, the King casting an angry look upon the manager of his conscience, addressed him in these words: *Well! what does your rascal Gnievofz say to that?* The director, who preached up patience and Christian resolution to every one else, was himself so struck with this blow, that he survived it only eight days. The loss he sustained, with respect to this world, was

(a) Id. *ibid.* p. 706.

very great; the King, whose confidence he possessed, having intended him the Bishoprick of Kiovia, and the seals of the kingdom. The King lamented the innocent sufferer, but did not punish the guilty *Gnievosz*: one would imagine that his whole pleasure lay in rewarding (*a*).

The King's present dissatisfaction with the Jesuits was preceded by another, arising from a dispute of interest. That order has large possessions at Jaroslaw, a city of Black-Russia, upon the river *San*. The Queen had also an estate there, which she wanted to keep to herself; but the Jesuits, by means of some confusion in the title-deeds, encroached daily upon her. The present is another of those minute events which I should not think worthy to be recorded, but that it serves to shew the mildness of the King's proceedings. Instead of adding his own authority to the letter of the law, he writ to the General of the Jesuits in these terms: "I shall not summon your brethren at Jaroslaw to appear before the diet, where I should have on my side both justice and the respect that is due to me. I am afraid of encreasing by this means the hatred that is already born you. I only advise you to be upon your guard against those that have the management of your houses: they make it a point to extend their possessions by all sorts of means, without any regard to justice. I would have you order them to produce their deeds before two Commissioners whom I shall name; that every thing may be settled amicably and without public scandal. Farewel. Remember that I am a King." The deeds were at length produced; and the good fathers were obliged to own that they understood the value of estates, better than the nature of titles (*b*).

(*a*) Zaluzki, tom. i. p. 706.

(*b*) Zaluzki, tom. ii. p. 775.

Y. 1681.

The diet had now been open six months, and the members begun to be tired of so long an attention to business. The Chevalier Lubomirski, who had just been accused as a criminal, was made Marshal of the court, without the least opposition. There were still several affairs to be settled; and that they might be dispatched the sooner, the King, in one of the sittings, ventured to order candles to be lighted; which was a violation of a custom that had passed into a law. The Deputy *Prziemski*, a man gained over by France, where he had formerly served as a musketeer, waited only for a pretence to dissolve the diet; and took this opportunity to protest and leave the assembly. It may be a doubt perhaps, with such as know the inclination of Kings towards despotism, and the delicate nature of of liberty, whether they ought to blame the Deputy or not; but he was certainly criminal in obstinately refusing to restore to the diet its capacity of proceeding to business, and in bringing over to his faction a part of the Senate and Equestrian order (a).

Y. 1682.

Poland could already reckon five years of peace: the sixth passed over in a lowering calm which foretold an approaching storm. The tempest was gathering at Constantinople, and they fancied at Vienna that it threatened Poland; while at Warsaw they were persuaded that it would fall upon Vienna. At all events Leopold and John resolved to unite

(a) In order to judge of the power which this man had acquired over the multitude, it is sufficient to mention a single fact which happened long after the present time. At the election of a successor in the room of King John, almost all the Palatinates had already cried out, *Saxony for ever*. "What! my brethren, cried *Prziemski*, will you elect a Heretic? What is become of your zeal for religion? 'Tis not to us that you are engaged, but to this——" pulling out a crucifix which he had concealed in his bosom. Immediately they all cried, *Conti for ever*.

their

their forces by a treaty both defensive and offensive. The Emperor engaged to furnish an army of sixty thousand men to act in Hungary, and the King of Poland forty thousand to be employed where it should be thought proper. The two Sovereigns were to march to each other's assistance, as occasion required; and whoever of the two should happen to be with the army, was to have the command in Chief. This last article gave it in effect to John; for Leopold was no warrior.

As for the article of subsidies, the war being expected instantly, and Poland being unable to raise money without the consent of a diet, which it was impossible to assemble so soon; the Emperor was to advance twelve hundred thousand florins to be repaid him by the Pope; and he further undertook to engage the King of Spain to obtain a tenth from his Italian dominions, to be employed for the benefit of the republic. Moreover the two combined powers promised to exert their utmost in order to extend the league, of which the Pope declared himself the head. The Papal Chair was filled by *Odescalchi*, son of a banker in the Milanese, and born a subject of the house of Austria: He had even made two campaigns in the Austrian troops, which made him retain something of a martial spirit. He governed the church by the name of *Innocent XI.* a wise Pontiff, an indifferent divine, a courageous, haughty, and magnificent Prince, fond of enterprizes of lustre, and supporting them with his own money and troops.

The Popes have in all ages sounded the alarm against the Turks: but it must not be supposed that they have been animated by religion only. While the Princes of Christendom are fighting and exhausting themselves to wrest Provinces out of the hands of the Infidels, the Pope extends his spiritual authority, and Italy is better secured,

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Innocent XI. was not ignorant that Mahomet II. after he had made himself master of Constantinople, which Constantine little thought of building for the Turks, had advanced as far as Trieste at the gates of Venice, and set up the Crescent in the heart of Calabria, from whence he threatened Rome and all Italy. He knew also that very lately, the famous Vizir Cuproglu, after the conquest of Candy, had laid it down for one of his projects to overturn the *Holy See*. In the present juncture therefore, the Pontiff cried out *to arms*, and called upon all the Sovereigns of Europe. Some of them listened to his call, but the greatest part turned a deaf ear. Lewis XIV. was of the number of the latter; because his pride, being irritated by that of the Pope, wanted to mortify him. This reason alone would have hindered him from entering into the league; but he declined it also from reasons of state. Notwithstanding the peace which he had signed at Nimeguen in 1679, with the house of Austria, he could not approve a treaty intended for its support: on the contrary, he carried on intrigues in Poland to hinder it from taking effect; and his Ambassadors at the Ottoman court pressed the Turks to carry the war into Germany. His sentiments were widely different in 1664, when he sent six thousand French, who shared in the glory of the battle of St. Gothard, where Montecuculi defeated the Turks: for Lewis at that time had not sworn that he would lower the house of Austria.

But if Lewis was wanting to Leopold, Leopold was still more wanting to himself. It was not long before he found out that the storm was to fall, not upon Poland, but his own dominions. Mahomet dispatched a courier to give him notice, that Tekeli and the Hungarians, with a view to deliver themselves from oppression, had submitted to the Ottoman Empire, of which they were henceforward the tributaries

aries and subjects; and therefore he was expected to withdraw the troops he had sent against them, and to restore the places which he still possessed in the kingdom; unless he chose to be considered as the breaker of the peace, and to see his temerity punished (*a*). Notwithstanding this fatal certainty, Leopold refused to give the title of *Majesty* to John, who alone was able to save him from destruction. Nor is this refusal a thing to be wondered at; since Leopold's predecessor, *Ferdinand III.* in the preliminaries to the treaty of Westphalia, would only give the title of *Most Serene* to the King of France, his conqueror; and the court of France, in its turn, shewed great unwillingness to give the title of *Majesty* to the great Gustavus, who thought that the first of Kings was he that beat the rest. One would have thought, in so critical a juncture, that Leopold chose rather to perish with all his pride, than to see a new *Majesty* in Europe. But John stuck to his point, and refused to treat but upon that condition.

There are some virtues which Christians may learn from Infidels. The Turkish armament was ready in the month of April; but the truce with the house of Austria was not yet expired. This honest dealing of the Mussulmen gave the two Sovereigns time to wrangle; and the dispute ended with the concession of a title that would have raised some sentiments of gratitude in John's mind, if it had been given with a good grace (*b*).

While this difference was settling, Count *Albert Caprara*, Ambassador Extraordinary from Vienna, was endeavouring to appease the Sultan, who refused to make any alteration in the conditions he had laid down, and declared war against the Emperor about the end of autumn. Caprara saw the horse-

(*a*) Cantemir, tom. ii. p. 82.

(*b*) Zaluski, ii. p. 803.
tails

Y. 1682. tails flying upon the seraglio, and departed immediately for fear of being arrested (*a*). An Ambassador at the Porte has a difficult part to act on account of the pride of the Turks; who are accustomed to receive embassies in ordinary from all other courts, and never send any themselves. They consider these perpetual embassies as an homage paid by the Christians to their superiority; and show more regard to a merchant who makes himself useful to the state, than to an Ambassador. Even Lewis XIV. who insisted upon such signal satisfaction whenever his crown was affronted in the person of his Ministers, required none from the Turks for their unworthy treatment of *M. de la Haye*. The Ambassador from Vienna would not have met with better usage. Nothing now remained for Leopold to do, but to ratify with all expedition the treaty of the league. His Plenipotentiaries arrived in Poland in the month of January; but the treaty was not sworn to till the 31st of March at Warsaw, and at Rome about the same time by the Cardinal-Protectors, before the Pope. A circumstance of great singularity, but not thought so at that time, was, that the two Potentates expressly stipulated, by a separate article, not to apply to the Pope for a permission to perjure themselves with a safe conscience (*b*). This false casuistry in matters of conscience had infested Europe for many centuries: Philip II. at the time of the revolt of the low-countries, went so far as to declare, in a public edict, that his violation of the oath he had taken to the Flemings was not criminal, because the Pope had given him a dispensation from it.

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But, not to examine here into the religion of an oath which is respected even by Barbarians, nor into the treaty with the Turks signed by John himself at

(*a*) Cantemir, tom. ii. p. 82. (*b*) Zaluski, tom. ii. p. 808.
Zurawno,

Zurawno, his prudence in entering into this league may perhaps be justly questioned. He engaged by the treaty to march his troops wherever Leopold should want them, whereas by entering into no engagement at all, and leaving Vienna to decide its own quarrel with Constantinople, he might, during that interval, have found it easy to retake Kami-nieck, and all that Mahomet had wrested from the republic. If we believe the author of the present state of Poland, he was drawn into the league by the desire the Queen had to be revenged of France, for refusing to create her father, the Marquis d'Arquien, a Duke and Peer. Besides this, she had a personal affront to revenge, in the refusal she met with from France to treat her with the honours of a Queen in her intended journey to visit her native country. Interests of less importance have often produced bloody wars. But Leopold set to work upon John springs of a more powerful efficacy. He tempted him with a promise of marrying an Archduchess to his son Prince James, and of perpetuating in his family the crown of Poland, by getting it made hereditary, either voluntarily or by force, in a diet, where the authority of Innocent XI. should intervene. Leopold, in the recesses of his cabinet, contrived and brought about the most important revolutions. It is well known, that he made an Elector and a King; and that the Hungarians lost, under him, the right of electing their Sovereign.

The King was prevailed on by those tempting offers; and when the league was formed, employed himself wholly in the execution of what he had promised; but every spring that he attempted to put in motion resisted the impresson of his hand. The *universals* that he published instantly excited murmurs. The provincial diets seemed to assemble with a view only of raising obstacles. The Pala-
tines

Y. 1683: tinates protested that they were exhausted both of men and money.

The Generals knew not where to raise so great a number of troops; and among the Senators, even those, who were most devoted to the King's will, shewed great backwardness. Lithuania, commonly less active in taking up arms than Poland, discovered more aversion than usual on the present occasion. The Paz's raised difficulties, from the natural antipathy they had always born the King. His chief dependence was upon the Sapicha's, a family that he had resolved to raise in opposition to that of Paz, which he wanted to humble. The Sapicha's were four brothers, of great wealth, closely united with each other, of determined courage and high spirit. John had conferred upon them offices of great importance; the eldest was Petty-General and Castellan of Wilna; the second, Grand-Treasurer; the third, Master of the Horse; the youngest, Grand-Master of the Artillery and Treasurer of the court. By means of these offices, their influence was great in Lithuania; but notwithstanding this, their motions were slow, and they seemed to forget what they owed to their benefactor.

Embarrassed by so many difficulties, John set himself at work to discover the cause; and it was not long before he intercepted some letters of the French Ambassador's, which discovered the whole secret. *Forbin*, at that time Bishop of Marseilles, had shewn, in his first embassy to Poland, that his talents were at least equally fit for intrigues of state, as for the government of a diocese. In his present embassy, he followed the Marquis de Bethune's plan for crossing the designs of Leopold.

He boasted in his letters, " that he would destroy the league with the Emperor; and told the court of France, that by means of the Grand-Treasurer *Andrew Morstyn*, he was acquainted with

" all

“ all the counfels of the cabinet of Warſaw ; that, Y. 1683,
 “ by his aſſiſtance, he had gained the Grand-Trea-
 “ ſurer of Lithuania, and brought over the *Sa-*
 “ *pieba's* to the French intereſt ; that he had ſtag-
 “ gered Jablonowski, by giving him a diſtant pro-
 “ ſpect of obtaining, by means of Lewis XIV. the
 “ crown of Poland when it ſhould become vacant ;
 “ that the provincial diets already acted openly
 “ againſt the King's intentions ; that all this could
 “ not be brought about without money ; that he
 “ had already diſtributed penſions, to the amount
 “ of fifty thouſand *Imperials* (a), according to his
 “ maſter's directions ; and that he had alſo fur-
 “ niſhed money to Tekeli, to ſupport his party in
 “ Hungary. He added, that he had not attempt-
 “ ed to corrupt the republic, till after having at-
 “ tacked in vain the virtue of the King, who, for
 “ this time, had not only been inacceſſible by
 “ gold, but even by the temptation of getting his
 “ ſon Prince James elected for his ſucceſſor before
 “ the legal time, by the intereſt of France, pro-
 “ vided he would, in the preſent criſis, give up the
 “ houſe of Auſtria to the mercy of Lewis XIV. and
 “ moreover, that the King's inflexibility had pro-
 “ duced no other ill effect, than making it neceſſa-
 “ ry to diſtribute larger ſums among a people total-
 “ ly venal, and deſtitute of honour and good faith.”
 In this manner, the fate of Kingdoms is often de-
 cided by the gold and intrigues of an Ambaſſador.

When John had got poſſeſſion of this piece, he
 ordered it to be read in full Senate. Some of the
 members inſtantly betrayed their guilt, by their con-
 fuſed behaviour ; while the innocence of others ap-

(a) A piece of money, coined by the Emperors of Germa-
 ny, and worth about three livres, and fifteen ſous French, or
 3 s. 8 d $\frac{1}{4}$. Engliſh.

Y. 1683. peared by their sudden indignation. They all looked
 at each other, till the King fixed their attention,
 by addressing them in these terms: " I know not
 " what opinion you entertain of these letters. It
 " seems credible enough, that *Morstyn* and others
 " like him, have swallowed the bait of corruption.
 " But I cannot be persuaded that the *Sapieha's* have
 " bartered their honour. Still less do I believe that
 " *Jablonowski* would make his way to the throne,
 " by betraying his country and his King. An Am-
 " bassador, who carries on his schemes in the dark,
 " and scruples no means to acquire the favour of
 " his master, is very apt to flatter himself with the
 " success of his own plots. He interprets a doubt-
 " ful gesture, an ambiguous expression, to indi-
 " cate a concurrence in his designs, and often
 " swells the number of the conspirators to make
 " himself more important; having always a re-
 " source ready, in case of necessity, by imputing
 " his own mistakes to the inconstancy of others.
 " As to what he says of myself, I acquit him of
 " the charge of falshood. It is true, he has had
 " the assurance to tempt me with offers of im-
 " mense sums, and with the still more seducing
 " bait, of ensuring the crown to my son. His mo-
 " ney, I found no difficulty in despising: the
 " voice of nature was not so easy to be resisted;
 " but that of the republic has prevailed over all:
 " and if another Sobieski is to reign over you, he
 " shall owe his crown only to a free election. The
 " Ambassador affronts us all, by describing us as
 " a venal nation, without honesty, and without
 " honour. Let us beware of confirming these
 " odious imputations by breaking a treaty, which
 " was entered into with the consent of all the or-
 " ders of the state, and which it would be neces-
 " sary to negotiate now, if it were not already con-
 " cluded. You know as well as I, that the Turk
 " is

“ is in arms. If *Vienna* falls, what power can
 “ ensure *Warsaw*? Let us convince France, and
 “ all Europe, that we have sense enough to see
 “ our own interest, and have integrity and ho-
 “ nour to pursue it.”

When the King had ended his harangue, several of the Senators called out loudly for an examination into the whole affair, that all who were concerned in this act of treason might be brought to light, and treated as such. The person that insisted most upon it was Jablonowski: he valued himself upon his unspotted integrity, and above all, upon his gratitude. The King, who was under great obligations to him, made it a point to discharge the debt, by laying hold of every opportunity to advance him. After having given him the staff of Petty General, he made him Castellan of Cracow, and last of all, Grand General. In this last capacity, he could not have had a seat in the Senate; but being still Castellan of Cracow, he was the first lay Senator, and his opinion had great weight in the assembly. The King was afraid of irritating the wounds of the republic by attempting to heal them, and saw that the time which was so necessary to be employed in action, was going to be spent in dangerous debates: he therefore persuaded the Senate, to leave in the dark all those who had taken any measures to conceal their crimes; adding, that they would find their punishment in the fear of being discovered, and in the success of the treaty. He excepted out of this species of amnesty, only the Grand-Treasurer *Morszyn*, who was convicted by his own confession; a letter of his being read at the same time, in which he professed an entire devotion to the interests of France, and promised to lay open to that court the secrets of the cabinet of Warsaw, to disturb the provincial diets, to overturn the designs of the Senate, to sow division among
 all

Y. 1683. all the orders, and bring the King to such a pass, that he should be forced either to break the treaty, or abdicate the crown. The means that he proposed to make use of, were not easy to be conjectured; but were probably explained in some dispatches writ in a cypher that no one had the key of (*a*). Upon the strength of this evidence, his trial was referred to the diet.

A plot that is once discovered is no longer formidable. As soon as the provincial diets were informed of what had happened, the sentiments of the nation changed, and no one would give room to suspect his being one of the venal tribe: the deputies came to the diet with favourable dispositions; and the first point that was laid before them was *Morstyn's* crime. He had long lain under suspicions, on account of his attachment to France, and his having purchased lands in that kingdom; which shewed a desire of fixing his fortune there.

The diet was inclined to give sentence against him in a summary way, and to treat him with all the severity due to a person convicted of high treason. The King moderated this heat; and the culprit undertook to make his defence before the republic; but it consisted only of vague strains of eloquence, and protestations of respectful submission to the King, to whom he recommended his honour, his fortune, and his life. The diet perceiving that the King leaned towards mercy, gave up the criminal into his hands. The key of the cyphers was demanded of *Morstyn*; he was sentenced to furnish the army with a body of men at his own expence, and expelled the Senate and the diets. His office of Grand-Treasurer was taken from him, with an order to give in his accounts when the republic should call for them, at a more convenient time.

(*a*) *Zaluski*, tom. ii. p. 281.

Morstyn instantly took advantage of the plank that was left him after his shipwreck, and took refuge in France, where he ended his days in peace, though he had ill deserved it. The republic had neither the key of his cyphers, nor the accounts of the public money; of which a much smaller sum, than was generally believed to be there, was found in the treasury. The Poles have omitted no expedients to prevent the dissipation of the public revenue; but no precautions are sufficient, when the manners of a people are corrupted. Cæsar plundered the treasury of the Romans; and Morstyn was generally believed to be a second Cæsar in this particular. It is certain, however, that the King took the fact for granted, in an instruction sent to a provincial diet (*a*).

The fugitive left nothing in his own country but a magnificent fragment of his former opulence, a palace situated in the suburbs of Warsaw. At his first setting out in life, he was lodged in a much humbler manner; there were many, now he was crushed, that even questioned his being a gentleman. It was pretended that he had formerly been a domestic servant to the Grand-Marshal Lubomirski; but by endeavouring to prove too much, they proved nothing at all; for in Poland most footmen are gentlemen, and he himself had several of this rank attending him in his magnificent palace. King Augustus II. made a purchase of it in 1726, with the estate round it, to make it a place of residence for himself. By an ancient law, the Kings of Poland are forbidden to make any acquisitions in a state, which would fain vest all power in the public; and Augustus was obliged to get a dispensation from a diet. This indulgence, which has led the way to others, may one day prove fatal to Poland.

(*a*) Zaluski, tom. ii. p. 283.

Y. 1683.

The diet, after the trial of Morstyn, applied all its care towards the means of fulfilling the treaty with Leopold. The sum furnished by the Pope, which had just been received, was not sufficient for this purpose: the public treasury was plundered, and John was forced to open his own. What had hitherto seemed impossible, immediately became easy: the inclinations of the public were changed, and their judgment changed of course.

This revolution was entirely owing to the King's conduct. If, by using all the severity which the majesty of the throne, and the dignity of the republic would have permitted, he had drove the French party to extremities, that faction, having no longer any measures to keep, would have made use of every expedient, however violent, to oppose his will. The utmost stretch of power can be exerted only by despotic tyrants towards their slaves; and woe be even to them, if the slaves, after having champed the bit with disdain, should go so far as to break it.

The King, having now got the ascendant in the diet, employed himself wholly about the affairs of the army. It could not possibly be assembled under a considerable time. Before the peace of Zurawno, the old troops were accustomed to domestic rapine, which brought desolation upon the peasants. The King quartered them upon the frontiers, where they encamped in the desarts of Podolia, and in part of the Ukraine: a piece of management of greater value than a victory. After the peace, the crown-army was reduced to twelve thousand men, and that of Lithuania to six. This number was far inferior to the succours that Vienna expected; and the Poles were assiduous in raising recruits, and making new levies. The King, who resolved to march in person, was daily on horseback for four or five hours together. The French
Ambas-

Ambassador, who saw this, assured his master notwithstanding, that he was grown too heavy to be able to make the campaign. Lewis XIV. was afraid that he would make it with too much success; and it has always been the practice to say nothing to Sovereigns but what they like to hear. Y. 1683.

End of the FIFTH BOOK.

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T H E

THE
HISTORY
OF
JOHN SOBIESKI
KING OF POLAND.

BOOK VI.

Y. 1683.

IN the beginning of May, intelligence was received that Mahomet had sent to the *Seven Towers* (the Bastille of Constantinople) the Chevalier *Troski*; the Polish envoy. It is in fact, a custom with the Turks, to arrest the Ministers of the Princes against whom they declare war, and this is the excuse they make for violating the most sacred article of the law of Nations: *we never make any but just wars: the Ambassador, who is only an honourable spy, is therefore an accomplice in his master's faithless violation of treaties.*

Intelligence was also received, that the Ottoman forces were arriving out of Asia and Africa in the vast and fertile plains of Adrianople; their usual place of rendezvous when they march against the Christians. That city, called by the Arabs and
Turks

Turks Adranah, was formerly the seat of the little empire of Theodore Lascaris; and afterwards the capital of the Turkish dominions, before the taking of Constantinople. Mahomet came thither with his court, in order to be nearer the scene of war, and to give more life to the expedition. He might have attacked the empire of Germany, before the peace of Nimeguen, when Leopold was engaged with Lewis XIV. and then the empire must have been destroyed. The Porte has been generally unfortunate in chusing its time to attack the Christians, who, by tearing one another in pieces so frequently, seem to present themselves to its strokes. But, after all, if the danger was less now than before the peace of Nimeguen, it was still sufficiently great.

The road to Vienna was laid open to the Turks by Tekeli, whom Leopold would not overcome by clemency, and could not reduce by force. He had lately received from Mahomet a Turban enriched with jewels, a standard, a sabre, royal robes, and the title of King of upper Hungary. The Porte at that time disposed of four crowns to Christian Princes, viz. those of Hungary, Transylvania, Walachia, and Moldavia. The inscription upon the new King's coin was, *pro Deo, pro Patriâ, pro Libertate*; for God, my Country, and Liberty. The malecontents whom he commanded were animated with the spirit of their leader. Caprara and Schulz, two of the Emperor's Generals, had not been able to reduce them; and the former was more mortified at being beat by the rebels, than when he fled before Turenne in 1674.

The General of the Ottoman forces was the Grand-Vizir Kara-Mustapha, the same who had already tried his fortune against John, at Trembowla and Leopol. He still continued in favour with the Sultana Validé; and having also gained

Y. 1683. the affections of Mahomet, had lately married his daughter. The Sultan does not give to every Vizir his *Catiscberif*, that is to say, a full power; but the present had that honour conferred upon him. Never had ambition and pride, two passions that devoured him, a more extensive field to act in: a hundred and forty thousand regular troops, consisting of Janizaries, Spahis, and others; eighteen thousand Walachians, Moldavians, and Transylvanians, commanded by their respective Princes; fifteen thousand Hungarians led by Tekeli; fifty thousand Tartars commanded by *Selim-Gerai*, their Cham; and if we include volunteers, officers of the baggage and provisions, workmen of all forts, and servants, the whole must amount to more than three hundred thousand men, thirty one Bashaws, five Sovereign Princes, with three hundred pieces of cannon: and the object of this mighty armament was equally great, the conquest of the western empire (a).

But who, that casts an eye upon this prodigious number of troops, would believe that there was at that time a Monarch in Europe who could exceed it? The Turkish empire, so powerful in Asia and Africa as well as Europe, has never had four hundred and fifty thousand men in arms, like Lewis XIV. and in time of peace its standing army is only forty five thousand Janizaries, and about the same number of Spahis. The reason of this oeconomy of the Turks must be sought for in the maxim, that *the people's substance must not be consumed wantonly.*

Mahomet reviewed his army in the plains of Adrianople; and fixing his residence in that city, trusted his glory to the fortune of his Vizir.

The Imperial troops were commanded by Charles V. Duke of Lorrain, the same who was Sobieski's

(a) Journal of the siege of Vienna, p. 159.

competitor for the crown of Poland in 1674. He was then young, but had already given proofs of his having the soul of a hero. Since that time, his name was ranked among the great captains; and, by his marriage with Eleonora of Austria, Queen Dowager of Poland, he was brother-in-law to the Emperor. These two great families, which are said to have sprung from the same origin, were destined to be allied to each other, and to make only one at last. The Duke's capacity, much more than his rank, procured him the command in chief, which would have frightened any man but himself; for he had only thirty-seven thousand men to oppose that torrent of Infidels, which came to overwhelm the empire.

The Vizir advanced on the right side of the Danube, passed the Save and the Drave, forced the Duke before him, made a feint of attacking Raab (*a*), while he detached fifty thousand Tartars on the road towards Vienna. The Duke, perceiving the stratagem, made a stolen march in his turn, suffered a check at Petronel, and had scarce time to reach Vienna, where he threw in part of his infantry to reinforce the garrison, and took post in the island of Leopoldtat, formed by the Danube on the north side of the city; while the Tartars arrived about the same time on the south.

Upon this occasion, was seen one of those spectacles, which ought to be a lesson to Sovereigns, and which move the compassion of their subjects, even when the Sovereigns have ill deserved their tenderness: Leopold, the most powerful Emperor since Charles the fifth, flying from his capital with the Empress his mother-in-law, the Empress his wife, the Archdukes, the Archduchesses, and part of the inhabitants following the court in great disorder.

(*a*) Otherwise called *Favarin*, one of the strongest places in Hungary, at the confluence of the Raab and the Danube.

Y. 1683.

The whole country was filled with flying parties, equipages, and waggons laden with goods; the last of which fell into the hands of the Tartars, at the very gates of Lintz (*a*). Even this city, which the imperial family fled to in their first fright, did not seem a safe asylum, and they were forced to take refuge in Passaw (*b*). They lay the first night in a wood, where the Empress, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, found that it was possible to sleep upon straw, surrounded on all sides by terror. Among the other horrors of this night, they had a view of the flames which already consumed Lower Hungary, and advanced towards Austria. The Turks were to be dreaded only as civilized warriors, who conquer by dint of valour; but the Tartars burnt, murdered, and carried into slavery. The deepest caves afforded an insecure retreat: the trembling victims were discovered by dogs trained to hunt men; and Tekeli himself, upon this occasion, was a very Tartar.

The Emperor, by only the first excesses that attended this irruption, paid dearly for his acts of violence in Hungary, and the blood of its nobles that he had spilt. He could not be persuaded that Kara-Mustapha would leave behind him such places as Raab and Comora (*c*), and fall directly upon Vienna. The King of Poland, who knew better, as is always the case with Princes who make war in

(*a*) The capital of Upper Austria, with a bridge over the Danube. It is remarkable for the beauty of its streets; but what is still more striking, is to see a city, full of nobles, carrying on a considerable trade.

(*b*) A city of Bavaria, upon the Danube.

(*c*) Comora, at the confluence of the Waage, and the Danube, owes its first fortifications to the famous Matthias Corvinus, who had the glory of counterballancing the successes of Mahomet II. and of humbling the Emperor Frederick by the taking of Vienna.

6

person,

person, gave him warning of it, but without effect. Y. 1683.

Vienna was become, under ten successive Emperors of the house of Austria, the capital of the Roman empire in the west; but fell far short of ancient Rome in greatness of every kind, and particularly in the number of its citizens, which did not exceed a hundred thousand; and two thirds of these inhabited defenceless suburbs. Soliman the Great was the first Turkish Emperor that marched against Vienna in 1529, after having been crowned King of Persia at Bagdad, making Europe and Asia tremble at the same time. He failed in his attempt upon Vienna, by not daring to contend against the fortune of Charles the Fifth, who marched to its relief with an army of fourscore thousand men. Kara-Mustapha, who saw only a handful to oppose him, flattered himself that he should be more fortunate; and begun the siege on the 7th of July. The Germans are undoubtedly a brave people; but they have never appeared before the gates of Constantinople, as the Turks have before those of Vienna.

The body of the place is washed by the Danube on the north, and was fortified with twelve large bastions in the remaining part of its circumference. The curtains were covered with good half-moons, but no other out-works; the ditch, partly full of water, and partly dry; the counterscarp much neglected. That side of the city, which the river washes, was defended only with strong walls, flanked with large towers, the whole with a good terrace behind it. A circle of mountains, which begins on the southern bank of the Danube, and retires at some distance from it, incloses a plain of three leagues.

In this plain the Visir pitched his camp, which filled its whole extent; and he had the confidence
not

Y. 1683. not to defend it with lines of circumvallation and contravallation : nor was this the only fault that he committed in the course of the siege, out of a brutal contempt for the Christians. His camp abounded with every thing that was necessary for so vast a multitude ; money, ammunition, and provisions of every kind. The different quarters were commanded by Bashaws, who displayed the magnificence of Kings : but all this magnificence was eclipsed by the pomp of the Visir, who wallowed in luxury. A Grand-Visir's retinue usually consists of two thousand officers and servants ; but the present had double that number. His park, that is to say, the space enclosed by his tents, near the palace of the *Favourite*, was as extensive as the city he besieged. The lustre of the richest stuffs, of gold and jewels, seemed to contend with the glare of arms. It was furnished with baths, gardens, fountains, and even curious animals for his amusement. He shut himself up with his young Icoqlans oftener than with his General-Officers. The Iman, or Minister of religion, who attended him in this expedition, threatened him with the divine indignation ; but the Visir laughed at his menaces, and plunged himself deeper in debauchery.

In the mean time, the luxury of the General did not in the least diminish the valour of the janizaries, nor was the Turkish artillery at all less formidable.

No nation but the Turks, uses cannon that carry balls of the weight of sixty pounds. There are writers who have represented them of two hundred on this occasion ; but the quantity of powder which would have been necessary to discharge such bullets, cannot be kindled at once : the cannon would go off before a fourth part of it could take fire, and the ball would have very little effect.

Count

Count Staremberg, a man of abilities and ex-
 Y. 1683.
 perience, who was now Governor of Vienna, and
 had formerly been so to his master, had set fire
 to the suburbs, and, by a cruel necessity, burnt the
 subsistence of the citizens, whom his object was to
 preserve. He had a garrison under him, which
 was computed at sixteen thousand men, but in fact
 amounted only to eleven thousand at most. He
 therefore armed the townsmen and the university;
 the scholars mounted guard, and had a physician
 for their major. (a). Staremberg's second in com-
 mand was the Count de Capliers, Commissary-
 General to the Emperor, a man whose knowledge,
 vigilance, and activity fitted him for the highest
 stations.

Several persons of quality, whose age and wounds
 had made them quit the service, and who might
 have abandoned Vienna to its fate, resolved to
 share its destiny. Their names deserve a place in
 history; and therefore I insert them. They were
 the Count de Trautmansdorff, who had command-
 ed in the Low Countries; the Count of Funskir-
 chen, whose personal interests required his presence,
 in another place; the Baron de Kielmansegg, who
 having taken post in a bastion with fourscore hunt-
 ers, incommoded the enemy greatly from his first
 appearance; the Count de Vignancourt, who had
 distinguished himself as a General and an Amba-
 sador; the Count de Colato, a Venetian, who ex-
 posed his person, as if he had been in the Empe-
 ror's service: add to these an old Colonel, named
 Rumlingen, who was disqualified for action by the
 gout, but his head was still good. They were
 all of approved bravery, and judges of true honour;
 for they made it a point of honour to command

(a) Journal of the siege.

the

Y. 1683. the city-companies, after having distinguished themselves in the regular troops.

The palace of the Emperors was full of valuable furniture, but it afforded no money. The Count de Kollonts, President of Hungary, and Bishop of Newstadt, raised a hundred thousand crowns. The Prince of Schwartzenberg, Master of the Horse to the Empress-Dowager, liberally added fifty thousand florins, and three thousand hogsh-heads of wine for the use of the garrison (a).

The approaches to the place were very easy. The trenches were opened the 14th of July, in the suburb of St. Ulrick, at about fifty paces from the counterscarp. The attack was directed upon the *Bastion of the Court* and that of *Lebl*. In two days time the works were advanced quite up to the counterscarp where the ditch was dry.

The Duke of Lorrain, who had taken post in the island of Leopoldstat, and did his utmost to preserve a communication from thence with the city, thought himself obliged to retire from it, by the bridges which he had laid across the Danube, and now ordered to be broke down. The country-seats, with which the island abounded, served to lodge the Turks. The Duke's quitting this post has been considered as a great fault: if it was so, he made ample amends for it by his behaviour during the whole siege (b). Never was there a General in a more desperate situation; for after he had thrown part of his infantry into Vienna, Raab, and Comora, he had not thirty thousand men left to keep the field. The Chevalier Lubomirski, the same who was accused in the Polish diet, in 1681, of furnishing Tekeli with soldiers, had quitted that leader of a faction, and entered into the Emperor's

(a) Journal of the siege of Vienna, pages 37, 45 and 57.

(b) Id. *ibid.* p. 52.

service with a body of four thousand Polish horse, who could scarce be considered in any other light than as four thousand victims more for Tekeli and the Visir. Y. 1683.

Let any one figure to himself, the Duke of Lorraine commissioned to defend, with so small a force, Moravia, Silesia, and Bohemia; marching incessantly from one to another; sometimes retreating behind rivers, and sometimes passing them; engaged in perpetual skirmishes with Tekeli and the Bashaw of Agria; in daily expectation of success, which he did not receive till two months after: whoever reflects upon this, must tremble for him; and if he does not sink under all these disadvantages, he may safely be pronounced to be a General.

A relation of two actions only will be sufficient to give an idea of the rest. Tekeli was marching towards Presburg, a city of Hungary, upon the bank of the Danube, which, having been long weary of the Austrian government, had already received a garrison into the town from the enemy; but the castle still held out. If Tekeli succeeded, he would throw a bridge over the river at Presburg; the Visir would send him a large detachment; Silesia, Moravia, and Bohemia would lie wholly exposed; the Duke must retire to Krems (*a*), which would cut off his communication with the succours from Poland, and the bridge at Presburg might be brought up as high as Vienna. The Duke flew to ward off this blow; and having thrown some troops into the castle, sum-

(*a*) A village celebrated for an abbey of great antiquity, which would never have existed if the Ion of Tassillon, Duke of Bavaria, had not been torn in pieces in that place by a wild boar. What a herd of Monks has lived upon his death, since the time of Charlemagne!

moned

Y. 1683. moned the city, which surrendered after having suffered the Turkish garrison to escape. The bridge, which was begun, was broken down. Tekeli and the Bashaw of Agria were within half a league; but the Duke's reputation, and a misunderstanding that was between them, made them think of retreating; which they did not however effect, without having their rear defeated by the Poles and the Emperor's dragoons. The Duke, in a letter to the King of Poland, attributes almost the whole glory of this success to the Poles; and expresses his admiration at the impetuous courage of their General Lubomirski. In fact, no one could shine more in action; but in the present case he only executed the plan that the Duke had laid.

Some time after, ten thousand Turks and Tartars advanced from the Moraw (*a*), towards the bridges of Vienna, which were guarded by some squadrons of horse; and the Duke marched to meet them. Nothing can be more impetuous than the Turkish cavalry. Four thousand Spahis fell furiously upon the Imperial army, forced the first and second line, and advanced through the intervals, hewing down all they met with their sabres. Such rashness must naturally fail of success, and so it fell out at present. The Imperialists soon recovered from their astonishment; charged the enemy, and drove them towards the Danube; where a great number quitted their arms and horses; and the Tartars, who durst not mix in the engagement, retired towards Tekeli's army.

In short, every expedient that required daring courage, prudent foresight, or quick execution; marches, countermarches, stratagems of war, and whatever the weaker party can make use of against

(*a*) A river, called by the Germans the Marck, which runs into the Danube.

the stronger, all was put in practice by the Duke, against an army consisting of thirty thousand men at least, and continually recruited with fresh supplies from the grand army. v. 1683.

In the mean time, the siege went on with vigour. On the side of the Turks, there was daily fresh ground raised, works advanced, new batteries, and an encreasing fire; on the side of the Austrians, every expedient was tried to avert their destruction. At the first approaches of the enemy, Staremberg was wounded by the splinter of a stone struck off from the curtain by a ball; and though now scarce recovered, he gave spirit to the whole garrison by his looks, his actions, and his humane behaviour. He treated all the soldiers as his brethren, commended and rewarded them, whenever they did well; and not contented with being with them by day, passed the night upon a mattress, in the guard-house of the Emperor's palace. This palace joined to the bastion of the court, which was included in the attack (a).

So early as the 22d of July, the besiegers were got to the palisade which could no longer be defended with cannon, the soldiers being so near on both sides, that they laid hold of one another through the stakes, and many lost their lives by the wounds they received this way. The Count de Daun, a General officer of distinguished merit, ordered scythes to be fastened to long pikes, which destroyed many of the Turks (b).

The besieged had just received news from the Duke of Lorraine. The person who brought it had swam across the four arms of the Danube, and gave assurances of speedy succour. The intelligence was false; but there are times when men can be served only by deceiving them. The bold

(a) Journal of the siege, p. 99.

(b) Ibid. p. 86.

Y. 1685. swimmer, who would have been immortalized by the Romans, but whose very name is lost to us, returned the same way to the Duke with a letter from the Governor: but he was taken, and the letter sent back into the city by the Turks, at the end of an arrow, which brought also a billet in Latin.

The substance of the billet was, that all letters were now useless, for that God would soon deliver up Vienna to the faithful Mussulmen, as a just punishment upon the Christians, for their wanton violation of treaties (a). The treaties which they reproached the Emperor with breaking, was that which followed the battle of St. Gothard; the privileges of the Hungarians that he had trod under foot; and two truces made with Tekeli, but soon broke. The Poles were reproached with taking up arms against the Porte without being attacked, and in violation of the oaths they had sworn at Boudchaz, and at the late peace of Zurawno.

In this confidence which the Turks had in the justice of their cause, they frequently came forth and made such bravadoes as we read in the history of ancient wars. A champion of uncommon stature advanced one day, in a menacing manner, insulting the Christians both with his words and gestures. A soldier of the Imperial troops, fired at this affront, runs up to him, receives a wound, returns it upon his enemy; disarms him, cuts off his head with his own scymetar, and upon stripping him finds fifty pieces of gold sewed up in his clothes. This easiness of circumstances, which all the Turkish soldiers enjoy in a greater or less degree, fixes them to their profession, and prevents desertion. It is natural to suppose that the Christian champion was rewarded: on the contrary, he continued a private soldier, and his name is not transmitted to pos-

(a) Ibid. pages 71 & 82.

terity. The besieged, who saw the action from the top of the ramparts, considered it as a good omen (a); and it served to increase their courage. Y. 1683.

The enemy did not get possession of the countescarp till the 7th of August, after repeated engagements for three and twenty days together, with great loss of blood on both sides. The taking of this work was greatly retarded by the bravery of Count *Serini*, who had distinguished himself on a hundred occasions, and been present in every sally. The ardour which hurried him on, prevented his feeling an arrow that he received one day in the shoulder; and he kept on fighting in the very moment that they were pulling it out (b). His uncle, the famous *Serini* before-mentioned, had been beheaded by order of Leopold; and yet such is the privilege of sovereigns, that the nephew exposed his life daily in Leopold's cause.

The Turks were now got to the descent of the ditch. No troops can equal them in turning up the ground: the depth of their works was astonishing, the earth they threw out of them being nine feet high, and covered over with planks and beams in the form of a floor, under which they carried on their works in safety. Their trenches are of a different form from ours, being cut in the shape of a crescent, and covering one another, with a communication kept open between them all, much like the scales of a fish, having a labyrinth beneath, from which they fire, without incommoding those who are before, and from which it is impossible to dislodge them. When the Janizaries once enter them, they scarce ever come out again. Their fire grew brisker every day, and that of the besieged slackened. It was time to husband their powder,

(a) Journal of the siege, p. 116.

(b) Ibid. pages 79 & 84.

Y. 1683. and their granadoes begun to fail; but these deficiencies were supplied by the Baron de Kielmansegg, who invented a powder-mill and granadoes of clay, that were of great service. Thus industry is of as much use as courage; but this last resource was most commonly employed, especially by those who were to set an example to others. The Prince of Wirtemberg, Colonel of a regiment of his own name, and who despised all false delicacy, was wounded in doing the duty of a Captain (a).

A hundred others, with their wounds still bleeding, returned to the charge; but the hopes of holding out much longer grew daily less. The enemy's mines, their continual attacks, the decrease of the garrison, the waste of provisions, all contributed to give the utmost uneasiness; and to so many real evils, imaginary ones were added. A report prevailed, that traitors were at work upon a subterraneous passage to let in the enemy. Every one was ordered to keep guard in the cellar of his own house; and this additional duty deprived them of their nightly rest. Other stories were propagated, of incendiaries hired to second the Turks. A young man who was found in a church just beginning to take fire, was torn in pieces by the people, though perhaps he was very innocent. The Turkish artillery was more to be dreaded than all those phantoms. It was a constant employment in the city to extinguish the fires kindled by the bombs and red-hot balls, while at the same time the out-works were falling in pieces: the half-moon, in particular, had already suffered much.

The Duke of Lorrain writ letter after letter to the King of Poland to hasten his march. Notwithstanding all the diligence he had used, his army could not be got together till towards the end

(a) Journal of the siege, pages 147 & 138.

1683.

of the month of August. The place of rendezvous was at Tarnowitz, the first town of Silesia, upon the borders of Poland. He sent away the first bodies that arrived, under the command of the Petty-General Sieniawski, Palatine of Volhinia; and while the main body was getting ready, took up his residence at Cracow, where he did not throw away his time. His fondness for hunting, play, and entertainments, never shewed itself but when the republic was at peace. He examined into the details that he received of the siege; studied the situation of Vienna by a topographical map; considered the position of the Turks in every view; settled his order of battle; and regulated his marches, in order to fix the decisive day.

In one of the Duke's letters, a proposal was made to the King, to come by the way of Presburg, and from thence go up the river towards Vienna. The King made choice of another plan, which he communicated to the Duke, with the reasons that determined him. The council of war decided in favour of the King, who was at the distance of two hundred leagues from the spot. The Duke gave up his own proposal, and applauded that of the King: a behaviour which does honour to both.

The King's son, Prince James, about sixteen years old, attended his august father to Cracow, and solicited leave to be initiated in the fatigues of war. The King granted his request, well knowing, that Princes are ruined by being kept too anxiously out of the reach of danger.

The Queen staid at Cracow, where the King established a council, which he invested with all his own authority, during his absence. At the head of it was the illustrious Potofki, Castellan of Cracow, the city where it was held, in quality of first lay-Senator.

A. 1681.

The French Ambassador saw, with concern, all these preparations for the King's departure, and wanted still to doubt its truth. The King, as he got on horseback, said to him, *Your Excellency may now safely assure your master that I am going.* When he arrived at Tarnowits, he reviewed his army, which amounted only to twenty-five thousand men, and consequently far short of the number stipulated in the treaty; which is no more than every power that treats with Poland must expect. Before the review was over, he received a letter from the Emperor, which was brought by General Caraffa. A copy of it may serve to shew the power of adversity upon haughty minds, and the return of their pride, as soon as the danger is past. "We are convinced, (says the Emperor) that by reason of the vast distance of your army, it is absolutely impossible for it to come time enough to contribute to the preservation of a place which is in the most imminent danger. It is not therefore your troops, *Sire*, that we expect, but *your Majesty's* own presence; being fully persuaded, that if your royal person will vouchsafe to appear at the head of our forces, though less numerous than those of the enemy, your name alone, which is so justly dreaded by them, will make their defeat certain."

It must certainly have cost Leopold a great deal to make this confession. As soon as he despaired of seeing the Polish army, nothing hindered him from putting himself at the head of his own troops, and those of the empire; but the past and the present made him feel the necessity of another commander, to whom he no longer scrupled to attribute the qualities of a hero, or to give the title of Majesty. The Turks had long possessed a superiority over the Germans, which is always a forerunner of new misfortunes to the conquered. *Monteculli*

tecuculli, who had checked their successes at St. Gothard, was no more. John was the only hero capable of opposing them, being acquainted with their manner of fighting, and the way to beat them.

The Emperor concluded his letter with a minute account of all the troops that he was assembling, and which were to arrive forthwith at the bridge where they were to pass the Danube, assuring the King that the bridge was already finished. The sequel will shew that the Emperor soon altered his language with regard to John, and was mistaken in his facts. His letter is preserved to this day in the archives of Poland.

The critical situation of affairs, and the confidence which Leopold reposed in him, determined the King to take a step which exposed his own person to danger.

Leaving his army to the care of the Grand-General Jablonowski, he resolved to go forward himself, and even to give battle without it, if the preservation of Vienna required it. In order to get thither, he had no route to take but across Silesia, Moravia, and that part of Austria which lies to the north of the Danube; three provinces that were infested by Hungarians, Turks, and Tartars, whom the Duke of Lorraine, with all his capacity and courage, despaired of keeping within bounds any longer. The King, in his march, had only two thousand horse. Other Kings, even in the midst of an army, have a second army for their guard. His equipage was no greater than that of the brave soldiers that marched with him. Nothing but a chaise attended him, which even prince James made no use of; they both travelled all the way on horseback. It is true, luxury and effeminacy had not yet made their way into the army: even Lewis XIV. the most stately monarch in Europe, made all his military journeys on horseback. During this whole

Y. 1683. march of a hundred leagues, reckoning from Tarnowitz to the Danube, the King went into no more than two towns, encamping all the way with his little army, and being a daily spectator of ravages, murders, and conflagrations; a presage of what he might expect himself. It is not every King that is formed to be a hero; but whoever is animated with that glorious ambition, must endure fatiguing marches, suffer hardships, and expose himself to dangers like a common soldier, whenever occasion requires it. John was so far from discovering any fear, that he recovered the whole country from its consternation. The peasants, who had sown only that they might not reap, and regretted the fate of their murdered friends, ran together from every hamlet to see their deliverer, and considered themselves as already delivered (*a*). His own troops, that he conducted through so many dangers, stood also in need of being encouraged, and he omitted no opportunity of doing it. One morning, when he was a few leagues from Olmutz, an eagle flew by him on the right; and as the Poles have retained some faith in omens, he told them a story out of the Roman history, and the flight of the eagle was considered as a token of victory. Another day, upon the weather's clearing up, after a thick mist, an inverted rainbow (a phenomenon not common, but which sometimes happens) was seen upon the surface of a meadow. The soldiers fancied it to be miraculous, and the King confirmed them in this persuasion (*b*).

This march of the King's, through so many enemies, without ever drawing a sword, has given occasion to some writers of that time to say, that by a secret convention between him and Tekeli, he was not to be attacked. If the fact be true, it must

(*a*) Dupont. (*b*) Zalufki, tom. ii. p. 836.

be accounted for by supposing, that Tekeli was struck with that respectful awe of the King, which great men always inspire, and that, foreseeing the defeat of the Turks, he had a mind to secure himself a protector. If he really had this foresight, it could be founded only upon the ill conduct of their General; for to consider the forces of each party, the Christians should naturally perish.

At length, the King reached the banks of the Danube, which it was impossible to pass by the bridges of Vienna, in sight of the enemy. He therefore marched to Tulln, a small town on the right side of the river, five leagues above Vienna, remarkable for being the burying-place of the Count of Habsbourg, who was advanced to the empire by the name of *Rodolph I.* for having lent his horse, as the story goes, to a parish-priest. Nor was this the only singularity in his fortune. He had been in his youth Grand-Master of the household to *Ottocar*, King of Bohemia; and as soon as he was raised to the Imperial throne, he summoned that King to come and pay him homage. *Ottocar* answered, that he owed him nothing, having paid him all his wages. *Leopold*, the descendant of *Rodolph*, was not sure, at this juncture, of keeping the empire that his ancestor had left him. He had wrote to *John* that the bridge at Tulln was finished, whereas they were now at work upon it. The same letter told him, that he would find the German troops assembled in readiness, but he saw only the Duke of Lorrain's little army, and two battalions that guarded the head of the bridge. At this sight, he broke out in a passion: *Does the Emperor take me for an adventurer? I have left my own army, because he assured me that his was ready? Is it for myself or him that I come to fight?* The Duke, whose

Y. 1683, whose prudence was equal to his valour, pacified his indignation (a).

The Polish army was left at a great distance, and yet, to the astonishment of every one, it arrived before the Germans. The quickness of its march did great honour to the Grand-General Jablonowski, who made his appearance on the 5th of September. The German Generals, leaving their troops behind, were come to attend the King, and could not help expressing some disquiet at the great day that was approaching: *Consider*, says the King, *the General you have to deal with, and not the multitude that he commands. Which of you, at the head of two hundred thousand men, would have suffered this bridge to be built within five leagues of his camp? The man has no capacity* (b).

The Polish army was by this time passing the bridge. The cavalry was universally admired for their horses, their dress, and fine appearance; but they seemed to be fitted out at the expence of the foot. One battalion among the rest being remarkably ill clad, Prince Lubomirski advised the King, for the honour of the nation, to let it pass in the night. The King was of a different opinion, and when the battalion was crossing the bridge, *Look at it well*, said he to the spectators; *it is an invincible body that has sworn never to wear any clothes but what it takes from the enemy. In the last war, they were all clad in the Turkish manner. If this encomium did not furnish them with clothes, it certainly armed them with cuirasses.*

The Poles, when they had crossed the bridge, extended themselves upon the right, and were exposed, for twenty-four hours together, to be cut in pieces, if Kara Mustapha had known how to

(a) Dupont.

(b) Idem.

make

make the most of his advantages. At length, the bodies of German troops arrived, one after another, and the whole army was assembled by the 7th. Y. 1683.

The most distinguished person in it was the Duke of Lorraine, at the head of the Austrian cavalry, which had already shed so much blood. This Prince had acted the part of Leonidas at Thermopylæ, only he was more fortunate, in being still alive to try another battle.

The Elector of Bavaria, Maximilian Emmanuel; at the age of eighteen, was entering upon the field of glory. He brought with him twelve thousand men, some of the finest troops that appeared on this occasion: his cavalry in particular was admirably mounted.

The Elector of Saxony, John George III. after having distinguished himself in several wars for the house of Austria, came again with ten thousand men to espouse its quarrel.

The Prince of Waldeck led the troops of the circles.

The whole Christian army amounted to about seventy-four thousand men. There were in it four sovereigns, and twenty-six Princes of sovereign families; three of Anhalt, two of Hanover; three of Saxony, three of Newburg; two of Wirtemberg, two of Holstein; one of Hesse-Cassel, one of Hohenzollern; two of Baden, one of Salm; the Chevalier de Savoy, and the Prince of Saxe-Lawemburg, of the ancient and unfortunate house of Ascania.

The Emperor, in whose cause they fought, was not present; and if it be true, as we are told in the Memoirs of Marshal Villars (*a*), that the Count de Sintzendorff and his other Ministers dissuaded

(*a*) Tom. i. p. 329.

him

Y. 1683. him from coming: they have brought a stain upon his memory, by this timid counsel.

Before the arrival of the King of Poland, all the Princes who brought succours, advanced claims, which instead of saving the Emperor, would have compleated his ruin. The Elector of Bavaria aspired to the command in chief; the Elector of Saxony disputed it with him; and every other Prince that furnished troops aimed at being independent. The division of the Greeks before Troy, was revived upon this occasion. But Agamemnon appeared, and a general union was restored, against the common enemy (a). From the camp at Tula they heard the horrid roar of the Turkish batteries. Vienna was reduced to the last extremities, and many officers of the first merit had lost their lives. Among these, were the Baron de Walteri; Kottolinski of Silesia; Rumpler, who had defended the place with the sword and the compass; the Count de Souches, a Frenchman of distinguished abilities, who prepared the way to the victory of St. Gothard for Montecuculi; Galenfels; Count Lesly, Grand Master of the artillery, of which he had made great use; and before he fell, had been sprinkled with the blood of his brother, a young man who gave the greatest hopes. The grave continued open without ever closing its mouth. The dysentery, a disorder as destructive as the sword, carried off sixty persons in a day. Staremberg himself was attacked by it, and Capliers was charged with the command. There were not more than three or four officers left to a battalion; most of these were wounded; and almost all the chief officers were gone. The soldiers, worn out with fatigue, and bad diet, could scarce crawl to the breach; and those who escaped the fire of the enemy, died

(a) Dupont.

of

of weakness. The citizens, who at first partook in all the labours of the siege, had recourse to prayer, as their only defence, and ran in crowds to the churches, where the bombs and balls carried terror after them. Y. 1683.

So early as the 22d of August, Capliers, who had estimated with great exactness the forces on both sides, judged that he could not hold out longer than three days, if the enemy made a general assault (a). From that day, one misfortune followed close upon another. The half-moon was taken: breaches of ten and twenty fathoms were made in the two bastions and the curtain; and the soldiers supplied the place of walls. A mine was advancing under the Emperor's palace, which was already laid flat with bombs, and joined to the bastion of the court; and others were winding about in different places. Some of them indeed were countermined, but the Austrian pioneers, who had been collected wherever they were to be found, refused to go under ground any more, when they heard the enemy at work. The artillery could no longer answer the enemy's fire, most of the cannon being either burst or dismounted.

The Duke of Lorraine had just received a letter from Staremberg, who, in the beginning of the siege, had the firmness, and even confidence to write, *I will not surrender the place but with the last drop of my blood.* At present, he had scarce a glimpse of hope remaining. His letter contained only these words: *No more time to lose, my Lord, no more time to lose (b).*

The stupid inaction of Kara-Mustapha cannot be accounted for. It is certain, that, if at this time he had made a general attack, Vienna must have fallen. But avarice extinguished the thunder that

(a) Dupont.

(b) Idem.

Y. 1683. he held in his hand. He entertained a notion that the place of residence of the Emperors of Germany must contain immense treasures; and he was afraid that he should lose this imaginary wealth by the city's being pillaged, as it inevitably would be, if taken by storm. He chose therefore to stay till the place surrendered, an event which he continued to flatter himself would happen every minute. Nor did his presumption contribute less to blind him than his avarice. He jested at the weakness of the Christian army, which he thought still weaker than it was; and could not suppose it would have the boldness to come and attack him. His intelligence was so bad, that he was still ignorant of King John's having marched in person. This ignorance, besides the Visir's neglect, was a consequence of the mistaken pride of the Porte, which receives Ambassadors from all the courts in Christendom, and does not keep a single Resident in any. Hence it is that the Christians are acquainted with the secrets of Constantinople, while that court is often ignorant of what passes among them in public. The Visir, who had only a suspicion of the King's march, brought with him the Chevalier Troski, the Polish Envoy, bound hand and foot, to be answerable for the conduct of his master (a). Of all the Princes in the league, the Visir dreaded him the most; and we shall soon see, that he had reason.

The King, when he was just going to march, gave out the order of battle writ with his own hand: the following is a copy of it, as found among his manuscripts.

“ The center is to consist of the Imperial troops,
 “ to which we shall add the regiment of cavalry be-
 “ longing to the Chevalier Lubomirski, Marshal

(a) Depont, Journal of the siege.

“ of

“ of the court, and four or five squadrons of our
 “ horse guards ; in the room of which we expect
 “ to have dragoons, or other German troops. This
 “ body is to be commanded by the Duke of Lor-
 “ rain. Y. 1683.

“ The Polish army, commanded by the Grand-
 “ General Jablonowski, and the other Generals of
 “ that nation, is to make the right wing.

“ The troops belonging to the Electors of Ba-
 “ varia and Saxony are to be placed on the left
 “ wing ; to which we shall add also some squadrons
 “ of our horse-guards, and other Polish cavalry ;
 “ instead of which they are to give us dragoons
 “ or foot.

“ The cannon is to be divided ; and in case the
 “ Electors have not enough, the Duke of Lorraine
 “ is to furnish them with some of his. This wing
 “ is to consist entirely of the troops belonging to
 “ the Electors.

“ The troops of the circles of the empire are to
 “ extend along the Danube with the left wing, in-
 “ clining a little towards the right ; and this for
 “ two reasons ; first, to keep the enemy in alarm,
 “ for fear of being charged in flank ; and second-
 “ ly, to be in readiness to throw succours into the
 “ city, in case we should not make an impression
 “ upon the enemy so soon as we hope. This body
 “ is to be commanded by the Prince of Wal-
 “ deck.

“ The first line is to consist wholly of foot,
 “ with artillery, and to be followed close by
 “ a line of horse. If these two lines were to be
 “ mixed, they would embarrass each other in pas-
 “ sing the defiles, woods, and mountains. But as
 “ soon as we enter the plain, the cavalry is to take
 “ post in the intervals between the battalions,
 “ which shall be left for that purpose. This or-
 der

- Y. 1683. “ der is to be observed particularly by our own
 “ horse-guards, which shall charge first.
 “ If we draw up all our troops in three lines
 “ only, we shall take up more than a German
 “ league and a half, which would not be for our
 “ advantage; and besides, we must, in this case,
 “ pass the little river of Vien, which ought to be
 “ left on our right. We must therefore make four
 “ lines; and the fourth will serve for a body of re-
 “ serve.
 “ For the greater security of the infantry, against
 “ the first attack of the Turkish horse, which is
 “ always very warm, great use might be made of
 “ *Spancheraiſtres*, or *Chevaux-de-frize*, but they must
 “ be very light, in order to be carried convenient-
 “ ly, and as often as the battalions halt, be placed
 “ at their head.
 “ I make it my earnest request, to all the Ge-
 “ nerals, that as fast as the army comes down
 “ the last mountain to enter upon the plain, they
 “ will each take his post, according to the direc-
 “ tions given in this present order.”

They had only a march of five leagues to get at the Turks, who were separated from them by nothing but a chain of mountains. Across these, there lay two roads, one over the highest part of the ridge; the other in a place where the hills were lower, and the passage more easy. The council of war being assembled, was for taking the latter; but the King determined upon the former, which was much shorter; nor did any of the Princes murmur, because he convinced them, that the fate of Vienna depended upon a single moment; and that there are cases, when expedition ought to be preferred to caution.

The 9th of September, the whole army was in motion. The Germans, after several attempts to
 6 draw

draw up their cannon, despaired of succeeding and left them in the plain. The Poles were more indefatigable; for *Koniski*, Palatine of Kiovia, Grand-Master of the artillery, got over twenty eight pieces, and none but these were fired on the day of battle (a).

This march, which was encumbered with all sorts of difficulties, continued for three days. Two of them passed, without the King's being seen by his Polish army, which begun to demand where he was with the utmost anxiety. It appeared that he had been among the troops of the empire, employed in raising their courage.

The army at length drew near to the last mountain, called *Calemberg*. It was yet time for the Vizir to repair his faults: he had nothing to do but to take possession of this hill, and mask the defiles in order to stop the progress of the Christian army; but he neglected to seize the opportunity. Upon this occasion, the Janizaries, losing all patience at so many blunders, cried out, *Come on, Infidels, the bare sight of your hats will make us run away.*

From the top of this hill of *Calemberg*, the Christians were presented, about an hour before night, with one of the finest and most dreadful prospects of the greatness of human power: an immense plain and all the islands of the Danube covered with pavilions, whose magnificence seemed rather calculated for an encampment of pleasure than the hardships of war; an innumerable multitude of horses, camels, and buffaloes (b); two hundred thousand men all in motion; swarms of Tartars dispersed along the foot of the mountain in their usual confusion; the fire of the besiegers incessant and terri-

(a) Dupont.

(b) The Turks make use of buffaloes, or wild oxen, to draw their artillery, and of horses and camels to carry their baggage; for they have no waggons in their armies.

ble,

HISTORY of JOHN SOBIESKI

ble, and that of the besieged such as they could contribute to make; in fine, a great city, distinguishable only by the tops of the steeples, and the fire and smoak that covered it.

The besieged were immediately apprized by signals of the approach of the army to their relief. To have an idea of the joy that the city felt, a person must have suffered all the extremities of a long siege, and be destined with his wife and children to the sword of a merciless conqueror, or to slavery in a foreign country. But this gleam of transport was soon succeeded by fear. Kara-Mustapha, with such an army, had still reasons to expect success, though he did not deserve it. The King, who was examining his dispositions, said to the German Generals; *This man is badly encamped; he knows nothing of war; we shall certainly beat him*: words, which must not be considered as an oracle thrown out at random, with a view of inspiring confidence. It is well known that Marshal Villars, then ingloriously employed in the Cevennes, foretold the defeat of Tallard from the bad disposition of his troops at the battle of Hochstet: and every general, who cannot prophesy in the same manner, ought to give up his command.

The cannon on both sides were the prelude to the important scene of the following day, which was the 12th of September; a day that was to decide whether Vienna, under Mahomet IV. should have the fate of Constantinople under Mahomet II. and whether the empire of the West should be reunited to the empire of the East: perhaps also whether Europe should continue a Christian country.

Two hours before break of day, the King, the Duke of Lorraine, and several of the Generals joined in an act of religion little practised in our days. They implored the protection of the son of God, by receiving him in the holy Eucharist; while the
Turks,

Turks were invoking the one, solitary God of Abraham by repeated cries of Allah ! Allah ! (a) Y. 1683.

This cry was redoubled about sun-rising, when the Christian army descended from the mountain with a slow and even pace, keeping its ranks together, preceded by its cannon, and halting every thirty or forty steps, to fire and load again. The front grew wider and deeper, in proportion as the space enlarged. The plain was a vast amphitheatre, where the Turks, in the utmost agitation, beheld the motions of their enemies. It was at this time, that the Cham of the Tartars bad the Vizir observe the lances adorned with streamers belonging to the Polish horse guards, and said to him, *The King is at their head* ; words which filled him with uneasiness (b).

The Vizir, after having ordered the Tartars to put all their prisoners to the number of thirty thousand to death, (a barbarity worthy of such a commander) instantly made his troops march towards the mountain, and at the same time ordered a general assault to be made upon the place. This last order ought to have been given sooner ; for the Christians had now recovered courage, and the Janizaries, provoked at their General, had lost it.

In the mean time, the Christians were coming down, and the Turks ascended to meet them ; so that the action soon begun. The first line of the Christian army, consisting wholly of foot, charged with such impetuosity, that it made room for the line of cavalry, which took post in the intervals between the battalions. The King, the Princes, and the generals, advancing to the front, fought sometimes with the horse, and sometimes with the

(a) An Arabick word which answers to those of *Elohim*, *Adonai*, and *Jehova*, or *tetragrammaton*. They all signify the *Being* by way of eminence, or the *Divine Essence*.

(b) Journal of the siege, p. 79.

Y. 1683. foot. The two other lines followed close upon the foremost. Konfski, whose skill in the military art was equal to his intrepidity in action, had the care of the artillery, which was loaded with cartridge-shot, and fired at a very small distance.

The scene of this first engagement, in the ground between the plain and the mountain, was broken by vineyards, rising grounds, and little valleys. The enemy having left their cannon at the entrance of the vineyards, suffered much from that of the Christians. The combatants, being dispersed about on this unequal ground, disputed it with great fury till towards noon, when the Count de Maligni, brother to the Queen of Poland, got possession of a rising ground which took the Turks in flank, who being drove from hill to hill, retired towards the plain and drew up along the border of their camp.

The Christian army, the left wing in particular, transported at this success, and crying out victory, would needs push their advantages without intermission. Their ardor was unquestionably noble, but the King thought it dangerous. The German cavalry, being heavily mounted, would soon have been out of wind in the distance between them and the enemy. A still stronger reason was, that all the different bodies having been engaged, sometimes upon rising grounds, and sometimes in valleys, had inevitably fallen into some confusion and disturbed the order of battle. Some time therefore was taken to repair the disorder; and the plain became the scene of a triumph which posterity will always have a difficulty to believe. Seventy thousand men marched to attack two hundred thousand. In the Turkish army, the Bashaw of Diarbekir commanded the right wing, the Bashaw of Buda the left, and the Vizir was in the centre, having with him the Aga of the Janizaries and the General of the Spahis.

The

The two armies continued motionless for some time; the Christians in silence, the Turks and Tartars redoubling their cries accompanied with the sound of clarions. In this dreadful moment, a red pavilion was erected in the midst of the Infidels, and close to it the great standard of Mahomet, a sacred object to the professors of the Mussulman faith, like the *Labarum* of the Roman Emperors, or the *Oriflamme* of the ancient Kings of France. But this imposture, which sometimes inspires them with as much courage as truth can give to Christians, did not do its office on this great occasion; for the Vizir had deprived it of all its virtue.

As soon as the King had given orders for the charge, the Polish cavalry, sabre in hand, pushed directly forwards to the Vizir, whose post was marked out by the standard. The first ranks were instantly forced, and the Poles penetrated even to the numerous squadrons that surrounded the Vizir. The Spahis disputed the victory; but all the rest, Walachians, Moldavians, Transylvanians, Tartars, and even Janizaries themselves, shewed no alacrity: a fatal effect of an army's hating and despising its General. The Vizir attempted to recover their good opinion, by shewing courage and kind behaviour; but the time was past. He addressed himself next to the Bashaw of Buda and the other Generals, who answered him only with a silence of despair: *And thou, says he to the Tartar Prince, dost thou too refuse to help me?* The Cham saw no safety but in flight. The Spahis were now reduced to their last efforts. The Polish horse had broke and dispersed them. The great standard soon disappeared: the Vizir turned his back, and his flight made the consternation general. It was soon communicated from the centre to the wings, which were hard pressed by all the divisions of the Christian army at the same time: the left by Jablonow-

Y 1683. fki, the right by the Electors, while the Duke of Lorraine fell upon the centre, and the King animated the whole by his actions and his orders. That immense multitude, which, under a skilful leader, ought to have surrounded its enemy in so extensive a plain, was deprived by terror of all strength and presence of mind. Had night been farther off, it would have been a total defeat; as things were, it was only a precipitate retreat (*a*).

The King advanced next towards the Janizaries, who were left to continue the siege; but they had all disappeared, and Vienna was completely delivered. The victorious troops would fain have entered the enemy's camp, allured by the immense riches that the Turks had left: but the temptation was a dangerous one at this juncture. The enemy, favoured by the darkness of the night, might return, and cut in pieces an army, which would be too much employed in pillage to make any defence. An order was therefore issued to continue all night under arms, upon pain of death. The King might probably have made a better use of the time, by pursuing the enemy, as the Duke of Lorraine advised him: but great men are subject to faults, because they are only men; and those who have undertaken to justify him, alledge, that the Poles, after so long a march, were overwhelmed with fatigue, and that their baggage could not arrive under three days. Others, who have endeavoured to blacken him, pretend that a desire of securing to himself the best part of the spoil, was his principal motive.

Amidst a great number of prisoners, there was brought to the King an Arabian groom, with a horse armed and caparisoned for a tournament, as in the days of the heroes of romance. The horse

(*a*) Journal of the siege, p. 79.

belonged

belonged to the Vizir, and the groom gave a minute account of his genealogy. The Arabs, though they set no value upon nobility in men, pay a great regard to it in their horses, because these animals never degenerate, if they are taken care of, and the breed be kept unmixed.

There were brought also some Polish deserters, who expressed great sorrow for their fault, and returned to their colours. One of them, who had had an office in the Vizir's household, brought with him an enamelled stirrup which his master had lost, as he was changing horses in his flight. *Take this stirrup*, said the King to one of his officers, *carry it to the Queen, and tell her that the person to whom it belonged is defeated.* The Queen loved glory, and had no objection to presents: that which the King sent her was of no great value, but time made her amends.

About six in the morning, the enemy's camp was opened to the soldiers, whose rapaciousness was at first suspended by a most shocking spectacle, of mothers butchered in several parts of the camp, some of whom had their children still hanging at their breasts. These women were far unlike those prostitutes who follow the Christian armies, and are equally pernicious to the health and morals of the soldiers: they were virtuous wives, whom their husbands chose rather to kill than expose to the lust of the Christians. The children escaped this slaughter, and five or six hundred of them were preserved, whom the good Bishop of Newstadt, to whom Vienna was already much indebted, took care of and educated in the religion of the conquerors (a).

When they entered the Vizir's tents, another object of grief and joy suspended for a moment the rage of plunder. This was the Polish envoy load-

(a) Journal of the siege, p. 187.

ed with irons The Vizir had said to him more than once, *If thy master marches, I will order thee to be beheaded.* Fortunately the Vizir knew nothing of the King's march till the moment of the battle, and he was then too much employed to think of keeping his word. But the unhappy Trofki had beheld for two months together the sabre lifted up over him. Upon such an occasion it is natural to ask, whether Sovereigns are sufficiently sensible of such great sacrifices as this?

Never did an army get possession of more abundant spoil; for the Turks, who are oeconomists in time of peace, display great magnificence in the field. Their tables are far from splendid, and no gaming is permitted: they have a proverb, that *he who kills a player at dice, is blessed of the Lord*: but the trappings of their horses are rich, their own clothes and the furniture of their tents valuable, their arms finely ornamented, their pavilions magnificent, and the camp crowded with tradesmen, who carry, to a sort of military fair, all the finery of Asia. The Germans and Poles got great wealth by all this plunder; nor did even the generals neglect their own interests. The manners of different nations should make some difference in the judgments we pass upon warriors. We read in Homer that the Grecian heroes, after a victory, shared the plunder; but without having recourse to the customs of ancient Greece, it is well known that in the time of Charlemagne, the spoils of the Saracens in Spain were divided between the King, the officers, the soldiers. The hero of the day had his share upon the present occasion. He writ to the Queen, "that the Grand-Vizir had made him his heir, and that he had found in his tents the value of several millions of ducats. So that you will have no room, added he, to say of me what the women of Tartary say, when their husbands

“ husbands return empty-handed ; You are no men, Y. 1676.
 “ because you come back without plunder.”

Among the many things which fell into the hands of the soldiers, there were two, which attracted the notice of all, but excited the covetousness of none. One was a large standard, which in the hurry of joy, was taken for that of Mahomet. But this was certainly a mistake ; for the singular precautions that the Turks use, has always prevented this calamity. The standard is inclosed in an ark of gold, with the Alcoran and the robe of the prophet. This ark is carried by a camel which goes before the Sultan or the Vizir ; and when the standard is displayed in battle, an officer, of the race of Mahomet, called the *Naikbul-Eschret*, is appointed to watch the event of the combat ; and when the victory inclines ever so little to the side of the enemy, he makes off with all expedition with the sacred depositum. The Vizir, upon the present occasion, accompanied this officer in his flight (a). But the Christians, who were fond of being mistaken in this fact, have persisted in believing that they possess the famous standard ; and the historians, one after another, not excepting the celebrated author of the Annals of the empire, have adopted this mistake. The other sacred implement that made part of the booty, was a picture of the Virgin found in the Vizir's tent, with this inscription in latin :

Per hanc imaginem victor eris, Jobannes.

Per hanc imaginem victor ero Jobannes.

The first line, *John, by this image thou shalt conquer*, comes from the Virgin : to which John answers, *By this image, I John will conquer*. It was evidently an imitation of the sign which Constan-

(a) Cantemir, tom. ii. p. 154.

Y. 1683. tine saw in the air, when he was marching to give battle to Maxentius.

The image gave occasion to much speculation. Some thought it very remarkable that the Vizir should have in his tent a presage of his approaching ruin, which ought rather to have been in John's possession. Others maintained, that no miraculous facts should be admitted, without an application of the test of severe criticism. The image, however, was placed in a magnificent chappel built by the Queen of Poland; and the pretended standard of Mahomet was sent to the Pope as an act of homage to the Lord of Hosts. All the cannon remained to the Emperor, and the empire also. The Vizir had flattered himself that he should give law to both, and had brought with him all the pageantry that he intended for his triumphal entry into Vienna. He had also brought magazines, artillery, and workmen of every sort, in order to victual and fortify the place, where he proposed to reside till the next campaign, which he considered as the end of Leopold's reign. By the taking of Vienna, Italy would be inclosed within a double Crescent, no place on that side the Rhine could make any resistance, and there remained nothing but the fortune of Lewis XIV. to stop his progress. With such vast projects and great force, he stood in need of other manners, and another head. The only act of vigour he did, was his rapid march to Vienna, while he made a feint of attacking Raab.

After all, so decisive an action was never attended with less slaughter. An Italian Secretary, named *Talenti*, whom the King of Poland dispatched to the Pope, gave out all along the road, and even told the Pontiff himself, that he had travelled for four leagues together upon dead bodies. This fabulous tale was well calculated to amuse the court of Rome; but if the Secretary exaggerated with-

out

out shame, a celebrated author, who by the universal extent of his knowledge, and the beauty of his writings, has acquired a privilege of making mistakes, has diminished without probability. He estimates the loss of the Christians at two hundred men only, and that of the Turks at less than a thousand (*a*). The Jesuit Aurigny, in his memoirs, a work of great value in other respects, thinks he has made a better calculation, by making the loss of the Christians amount to six hundred men (*b*). Thus it is that mistakes are perpetuated. On the side of the Christians, a single squadron of Polish gendarmes lost two and twenty men. All the squadrons charged, and more than a hundred officers were killed. Now it is well known that ten soldiers at least must be allowed for every officer. The Germans did not continue idle; and when blows are given, they must also be received. The Poles lamented the death of Zbaski, Maczinski, the Castellan Urbanski, young Potoski, chief of an illustrious family, the intrepid Mendreoski, who had acquired such honour at the battle of Choczyn; Lieutenant General Assuerus, and many others, whose bodies were found at the foot of the red pavilion which distinguished the Vizir's post. The Imperialists bestowed tears upon the Prince of Croy, as they had lately done, in the unfortunate affair of Petronel, upon the young Prince of Aremberg, and the Chevalier de Savoy, elder brother to Prince Eugene. The death of the latter had something in it very deplorable: a Tartar, after having wounded him with a sabre, threw him across his horse, and squeezed him with such violence that he crushed his stomach. The unhappy Prince was rescued out of his hands, but died the third day after, at

(*a*) Annals of the empire, tom. ii. p. 347.

(*b*) Tom. iii. p. 417.

Y. 1683. Vienna. As for the Turks, they lost a great many colours, and it is well known that colours are never surrendered but with great loss of blood; and indeed, if we take only a transitory view of two armies disputing at first against each other, foot to foot, for six hours, a spot of ground full of eminences and vineyards, and afterwards coming to a general action, this will be sufficient to shew that it could not be done without considerable loss; but this loss will, after all, be thought small, and was so in effect for so great a victory.

The King took a pleasure, perhaps an ill-natured one, in informing Lewis XIV. of his victory. The substance of the letter was, *that he thought himself particularly obliged to congratulate the eldest son of the Church, upon an event so advantageous to all Christendom.* The power and the victories of the French Monarch filled all Europe. John himself could not help being a little jealous. He even shewed it plainly the following year, upon one of those occasions, when Kings, like their subjects, speak frankly what they think. The news of the taking of Luxembourg, a new triumph for the arms of Lewis, was brought to Warsaw. A French surgeon, who attended the King of Poland, and was then in his chamber, cried out, *Ay! he is a King indeed—And I, says the King interrupting him in a passion, what am I then?*—To acquaint Lewis with the deliverance of Vienna and the empire, so great an exploit performed with so small an army, was making him feel, that he was not the only King who had a right to the title of *Great*.

The morrow after a victory is also a day of glory. Staremberg came to pay his respects to the deliverer of Vienna, where John thought he might triumph without offending the Emperor, and entered the town over the ruins, amidst the acclamations of the people. His horse could scarce get through the
 multitude

multitude that fell prostrate before him, came to kiss his feet, and called him their father, theiraviour, the greatest of all Princes. Vienna in this moment of joy forgot that it had a jealous master. The pleasure of delivering the unhappy, and the uncommanded gratitude they expressed, made the King shed tears, and confess, that the throne could furnish no pleasure equal to it. He was conducted with shouts of joy to the cathedral, where he went to return thanks to the God of battle. He discovered upon this temple the Turkish *crescent*, a monument of ignominy, erected there by the great Soliman (*a*), which the King ordered to be taken down and trod under foot by the people. He himself begun the *Te Deum*, which was sung upon the occasion. It is remarkable that no Magistrate was present at this ceremony: even the persons of distinction in the city that attended it were very few, while the people, unrestrained by political considerations, sung the praises of God and the conqueror. The text of the sermon that was preached, was: *There was a man sent from God, whose name was John.* About a century before, Pope Pius V. had exclaimed in the same words, when he heard of the celebrated battle of Lepanto, which the famous John of Austria, bastard of Charles the Fifth, gained over the fleet of the Sultan Selim. There was however a great difference between the victory at Lepanto and that of John Sobieski. The former was of very little service to Christendom, whereas the latter saved the empire and religion together. Had Vienna been taken, the Christian churches, as was the case at Constantinople, would soon have been converted into mosques; and who knows

(*a*) The condition upon which he raised the siege of Vienna, which begun to make him uneasy, while the uneasiness of the place was still greater.

where

Y. 1683.

where Mahomeranism, which has already overrun so many countries, would have stopt ?

Leopold, who expected to have a triumph in his capital, though he had not been present at the battle, advanced by the Danube, scarce venturing to cast his eye upon the smoking ruins of so many hamlets, villages, gardens, and country-seats; ruins so extensive, that it was necessary to make a new topographical map, for the places marked in that of *Vischer* were no longer in being (a). As he drew near the city, he heard the firing of cannon, not intended for him. He was wounded to the very heart with this thought, and turning to the Count de Sintzendorf, said to him: *The weakness of the counsels that you have had a share in, occasions me this disgrace.* These words, uttered with that imperious tone which always crushes a courtier, affected the Minister so much that he died the next day (b). A minister who should die with grief at having advised a measure productive of misery to the people, would deserve tears.

The Emperor suspended his march, that he might not be a spectator of John's triumph. A difficulty of ceremony contributed also to stop him: the question was, whether an elective King had ever been present with an Emperor, and in what manner he had been received. The Duke of Lorraine, who listened only to the voice of gratitude, answered, *with open arms, if he has preserved the empire.* The Emperor was attentive only to his Imperial dignity, and gave John to understand that he would not give him his hand, which was the reception the King of Poland expected in quality of a Sovereign Prince. After much cavilling, it was settled that they should meet in the open plain. The Emper-

(a) Journal of the siege, p. 26.

(a) Memoirs of the Duke of Villars, tom. i. p. 329.

or,

or, in his way, passed before the Bavarian troops, with the Elector at their head. Leopold had given him a sword enriched with diamonds, and he had just made a good use of the present; but this did not secure him from feeling afterwards all the rigour of the house of Austria. Y. 1680.

When the moment of the interview arrived, the King of Poland, in a Polish bonnet, and a plume of feathers terminated by a large pearl hanging loose, clad in the same armour that he wore on the day of the battle, with a Roman buckler, on which were engraved, not the actions of his ancestors, but his own, and mounted upon a stately horse with magnificent furniture, approached the Emperor with that heroic presence which nature had given him, and that air which his victory gave him a right to put on. The Emperor, dressed in a plain manner, as he usually was in his own court, and mounted accordingly, talked of nothing but the services done the Poles in all ages by the friendship and protection of the Emperors. At last, however, he let drop the word *gratitude* for the deliverance of Vienna. At this word the King turning his horse, said to him: *Brother, I am glad that I have done you that small service.* He was going to put an end to the discourse which grew disagreeable; but he observed his son Prince James alight from his horse to pay his respects to the Emperor. *This is a Prince,* said he, *whom I am educating for the service of Christendom.* The Emperor, without saying a word, only nodded his head; and yet this was the young Prince whom he had promised to make his son-in-law. After this, what a reception could the Palatines, who attended the King, expect? One of them stepped forward to kiss his Imperial Majesty's boot; but he drew upon himself this reprimand from his master: *Palatine, no meanness;* and then they separated. No one was more offended at Leopold's behaviour

Y. 1683. behaviour towards the deliverer of Vienna, than the Duke of Lorraine. In the whole course of the expedition, the reader must have observed that the Duke shewed a regard, a deference, and even veneration for the King; and if we recollect that John had stood for, and carried the crown of Poland, in opposition to him, it must be owned that it indicated a great mind to behave thus to a rival.

The King's dissatisfaction with the Emperor should naturally have induced him to return to his own dominions, after having saved the empire. This was what the republic intended, and the Queen desired. The Emperor himself wished it, for reasons which he chose not to publish. He knew that the malecontents in Hungary, no longer trusting in the fortune of Tekeli, had offered their crown to John for his son Prince James. They were at this time in arms, and Leopold was uneasy at seeing so near them a victorious King, who, by accepting that crown, might sell him at a dear rate the services he had done him. But this ambitious design, which John might have justified by the suffrages of a people resuming their liberty in order to dispose of it again, never entered into his mind; he thought only of the common cause of Christendom, and the particular interest of Poland, by continuing to humble the Ottoman empire. He even flattered himself that Leopold, notwithstanding his strange behaviour, would still perform his promises. The double hope of a match between an Archduchess and his son, and of the crown of Poland's being made hereditary in his family, supported him against the Imperial pride.

The council of Vienna no sooner guessed at his thoughts, than they resolved to take advantage of the Polish troops to force *Neubausel* from the Turks. This place, the siege of which the Duke of Lorraine had been obliged to raise in the beginning of

of the campaign, is situated on the North side of the Danube. To lay siege to it would furnish an opportunity of seeing the Turks again, whom they repented of having suffered to escape with so little loss.

Kara-Mustapha, after his defeat, retired to Buda (*a*), where he expected his fate. His being son-in-law to Mahomet was of great use to him, but the Sultana Validé of still greater. The Sultans have a particular respect for their mother, even beyond what nature prescribes. If they were to admit a Sultana to their bed without consulting her, the Alcoran and the court would murmur. They give up into her hands part of the government of the seraglio; she is permitted to assist at councils of state, and debates upon public business, having a veil over her face, with the Vizir and the Musti (*b*). As Mahomet was full of this filial respect for his mother, she suborned witnesses who were glad to gain preferment by compliances that are common enough in courts. The disaster at Vienna was imputed to persons far less criminal than the Vizir. The Bashaw of Buda was strangled and lamented by the whole empire. He had performed prodigies at the siege of Candy, quieted an insurrection in Egypt, increased the tribute paid by that kingdom, without oppressing the people, and gained by his merit the confidence of the great Cuprogli. It is true, he had, on the present occasion, given up the Vizir to the arms of the Christians, but such a defection scarce ever happens but to a despised or

(*a*) The capital of the kingdom of Hungary. It is disputed, whether this be the ancient *Aquincum*, where the second Roman legion, called *Adjutrix*, was quartered. The Vatican copy of Antoninus reads *Aquineo*. It may be doubted, whether this *Aquineo* or *Aquincum* be not rather *Cepol* upon the Danube. Others will have it, that it is neither Buda, nor *Cepol*, but *Strigonia*: an ample subject for a learned dissertation which will end with proving nothing.

(*b*) Cantemir, tom. ii. p. 151.

Y. 1683. detested General. The fault, however, was inexcusable, and he paid for it with his head. Three other Bakhaws fell with him. The Cham of the Tartars was deposed; a punishment which he would not have deserved under another Vizir.

The same courier, who was charged with these cruel orders, brought the real criminal distinguished marks of his continuing still in favour; but it was upon condition of his repairing this misfortune. Vanquished as he was, he had still an army far superior to that of the conquerors; and the lists were again opened.

The King of Poland began his march on the 17th of September, to complete the destruction of his enemy, for he thought that nothing was done, while any thing remained to do. He was followed by the German army, but not so numerous as it was in the affair of Vienna. The Prince of Waldeck was preparing to lead back the troops of the circles. The Elector of Bavaria was ill, and his army waited for his recovery.

The Elector of Saxony had taken part in the just resentment of a Prince of his family, and entirely withdrawn his troops. Whenever two persons of distinguished merit appear in the same field of action, it is as dangerous to reward only one, as to forget both. Staremberg, besides a large sum of money, had the order of the Golden Fleece, and a Field-Marshal's staff. This last honour would have satisfied the Prince of Saxe-Lawenburg, who had deserved it by serving the Emperor. Upon its being refused him, he quitted the service, and at the same time the Elector withdrew his troops. The garrison of Vienna and some other regiments filled up a part of the chasm; so that the Christian army was still fifty thousand strong. It passed the Danube below Presburg, under the cannon of Comora, directing its march towards *Neuhauſel*.

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The German Generals had not all the same deference for the King of Poland with the Duke of Lorraine. Staremburg, commander of the foot, who possessed the favour and was intrusted with the intentions of Leopold, did not always assent to the dispositions made by John; and an event happened to encrease this misunderstanding. Tekeli, after the defeat of the Turks, saw himself upon the brink of a precipice; and sought to accommodate matters with the Emperor, under the protection of the King of Poland. The proposals of his envoys, who were heard before a council, consisted of six articles: the preservation of their privileges, liberty of conscience, restitution of their estates, the convocation of a free diet, a suspension of arms during the negotiation, and for Tekeli their leader, the sovereignty of certain Counties which had been promised him the year before. They had scarce time to deliver their instructions, before Staremburg interrupted them, and talked of nothing but scaffolds and executioners. John's answer was in the strain of a merciful, but potent Prince, who had still arms in his hand, and expected to meet with the respect due to the mediation of one who had just saved the empire. The Imperialists replied with heat, that they had not been idle spectators of that great day. From this moment, the King resolved to shew them that he could conquer without their assistance, though he conquered for their interest.

A body of between six and seven thousand Turks, all cavalry, had passed the Danube at Strigonia, in order to guard the head of the bridge belonging to that town. In this place is situated the fort of Barcan, built of earth, with fraises and palissadoes, of little consequence in itself, but made famous by being the scene of several remarkable actions.

The Turkish cavalry was commanded by a young man, who saw the Bashaw of Buda strangled, and

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was

Y. 1683. was not afraid to fill his place. The young Bashaw, named *Kara-Mehemed*, born for war, full of fire, ambition, and courage, was resolved to deserve his fortune.

The Polish troops always encamped before the rest of the army. The King flattered himself with the hopes of crushing this handful of Turks and taking the fort of *Barcan*: but not chusing that the Germans should share in this victory, he concealed from them his march. In the mean time, some of his spies returned and brought him word that the enemy was very numerous: *Let us not enquire, said he, how many they are, but where they are.* Unfortunately he found them too soon, though their number was really small.

The 7th of October was a day of blood. The Turks being covered with a rideau, the Polish vanguard did not think them so near, and was attacked before it could draw up in order of battle. Disorder and confusion instantly seized the Poles: the officers gave no orders at all, or gave them absurdly, a body of dragoons being made to alight from their horses in a plain. The Cossacks were put into disorder; the Pancerns took to flight; and the Grand-General's dragoons mounted their horses only to save themselves. Those belonging to the King had not time to follow their example, and were cut to pieces. Nothing was to be seen but flying parties, and heads falling by the sabre.

In the midst of this disorder, the King came up with the main body of the horse; but his presence did not stop the conqueror. The young Bashaw redoubled his activity, and the King had scarce time to form his line. He received the Turks with firmness, and even charged them in his turn. But the Turks opening their ranks to inclose the whole Polish line, and being animated with that rage which distinguished the Mahometans under the first Califfs,

Califfs, drove back the left wing, forced the right, and made way through the centre. The Towarisz were no longer that intrepid band, which, about a century before, had said to their King: *What hast thou to fear, with twenty thousand lances? If the sky should fall, we would keep it up with their points.* Y. 1683.

In this universal disorder, when every moment added the dying to the dead, and it became equally dangerous to retreat, and to resist, the Grand-General Jablonowski besought the King to escape with his son, who fought by his side, adding, that he would endeavour to rally a few squadrons, and stand his ground some little time, to protect his sacred person. The King knew that his person was made sacred, only that it might be sacrificed for the republic, and continued the fight till he was hurried along, himself and his son, by the flying multitude. Never were troops struck with greater terror. The hussars threw away their lances, the Cornets their standards, which lay scattered about, with kettle-drums, among the furrows. Let no one be confident that he shall be always brave, and ready to expose his own life, to save that of his Prince. The Polish officers, whose profession it is to be brave, abandoned their Prince to the mercy of the enemy; and when the Generals attempted to stop them, by shewing them the King, they answered, that their own life was their principal concern, and that if the King was killed, or taken, they would make another. If they pretended to use force, they were threatened with the sabre. The Count de Maligni, brother to the Queen, was once in as much danger from the Poles, as from the enemy. The inequality of the ground contributed also much to increase the carnage. The furrows being uncommonly deep, numbers of the cavalry were dismounted, and either trod to death by their

Y. 1683. own men, or beheaded by the enemy. Young Lur² bomirski, being thrown from his horse, offered ten thousand ducats to whoever should save his life : a groom got the money, by giving him a led horse. D'Henoff, Palatine of Pomerania, had not the same good fortune. Being dismounted, and wounded with a ball, he lay weltring in his blood, till a Turk cut off his head.

The King, being hurried away by an ungovernable horse, lost sight of his son. He asked after him with the utmost uneasiness, and those who were near pretended to see him, and pointed him out to his father, deceiving him, in order to quiet his mind: The heat of the pursuit increased every moment, and the flight of the Poles grew precipitate in proportion. Every one found himself obliged to take care of his own preservation, the King as well as the rest. Two Turks coming up with him, he put himself in a posture of defence. One of them lifted up his sabre, against a life so precious to Poland, and so odious to the Ottoman empire. A *Reister* of the King's guards prevented the infidel, and laid him dead with his carbine. But the soldier had no time to receive the thanks of his Prince, for the other Turk instantly avenged his comrade, and pushed on towards the King. The Master of the Horse, *Mateinski*, interposing to defend him at the hazard of his own life, presented a pistol to the Turk, who turned aside to avoid him. This dreadful scene was over in less time than it takes to relate it, and did not at all suspend the rout.

The crowd of runaways increased every moment about the King, and made his situation more dangerous. Bruised all over by the continual shock of horses and arms jostling against him, encumbered with his own bulk, out of breath, and almost suffocated, he stood in great need of assistance. *Mateinski*

teinski supported him on one side, and the first person they found on the other, while his horse, with the bridle on its neck, redoubled its speed. Having thus recovered his breath, the first thing he saw, through a cloud of dust, was a young man held by the cloak, by a Turkish soldier.—This was no other than his son, who got clear by quitting his garment, and escaped to a wood, where he found a safe retreat.

The rout had now continued near an hour, and the plain was covered with dead bodies; a few minutes more, and Poland would have lost, in one day, its King, its generals, and all its cavalry. But fortunately the infantry was advancing at a great rate. The Imperial army followed, and the artillery was getting in order. The Turks, whose number was too small to encounter so great a force, returned to the field of battle, of which they kept possession.

These Turks were the very same troops that had fled before Vienna: they then wanted a General, and had found one in the plain of Barcan. During the whole action, the young Bashaw had been seen directing their motions, defying death, and teaching his soldiers to despise it: a little more experience would have made him a great Captain.

The loss of the Poles was never known exactly; for they took the first opportunity of burying their dead, in order to conceal their number. When this storm was over, the calm that succeeded presented but a melancholy scene. The King, overwhelmed with fatigue and vexation, had laid himself down upon a bundle of hay. Here they brought him his son, whom the King little expected to instruct by adversity; and yet the lesson was of great use, by teaching him how to bear it. The Polish nobles, who had escaped the slaughter, with downcast eyes, and dejected countenances, surrounded their master in mournful silence. The German

Y. 1683. Generals put on also an air of sadness: but the King knew what was in their hearts. *Gentlemen*, said he, with that candour which is never found but in great minds, *I confess I wanted to conquer without you, for the honour of my own nation: I have suffered severely for it, being soundly beat; but I will take my revenge with you and for you. To effect this, must be the chief employment of our thoughts.* This eloquence of the heart is perhaps superior to all the speeches in Livy.

The young Bashaw, proud of the advantage he had gained over so great a King, with an inferior force, was thinking, on his side, of gathering fresh laurels. He dispatched couriers the same night to Buda, with an account of his victory. The Grand-Visir, without losing a moment, sent a body of twenty thousand horse, which arrived next day by the bridge of Strigonia, the distance being no more than six leagues. He writ at the same time to *Te-keli*, who waited to see the turn of affairs at the head of thirty thousand men, “ that if he had his
 “ reasons formerly for keeping measures with the
 “ King of Poland, they were now at an end;
 “ that his army was entirely destroyed, and he him-
 “ self killed or taken; that they had none to deal
 “ with but the Germans, of whom they should
 “ have an easy bargain; and that it was his in-
 “ terest to march with the utmost expedition to
 “ Barcan, where he might secure his crown, by
 “ deserving the protection of the Ottoman empire,
 “ and by sharing in its glory.”

Such were the efforts that Kara-Mustapha made to wipe off his disgrace, without coming in person to take his share of the danger.

The King of Poland, who had recovered his strength by a night's rest, employed the whole following day; which was the 8th, in collecting his scattered army, in consoling it for the misfortune
 of

of yesterday, in animating it to vengeance, in combining it with the Imperial troops, and in regulating the order of battle for the morrow: Y. 1683.

The letter he writ to the Queen, dated this day, informing her of his disaster, was enough to freeze her blood. He told her that *he was advancing towards the enemy, and that she must expect they would be defeated, or bid him farewell for ever.*

Tekeli was not arrived in the morning of the 9th, when the engagement begun. Any one, but the young Bashaw, would have avoided an action, or at least would not have fought it. It will scarce be believed, that twenty-six thousand Turks, all cavalry, and without cannon, could venture a battle against fifty thousand Christians, provided with all the advantages of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. If this was an act of rashness, the young Bashaw committed another, and a more considerable, fault. He drew up his troops upon a spot that scarce left them any retreat, having the Danube on his left, a ridge of mountains on his right, and the river of Gran behind him; so that the bridge of Strigonia, defended by the foot of Barcan, was the only way to escape, in case of a defeat. It was telling his soldiers, that they must either conquer or perish. Such a glorious fit of despair has sometimes succeeded; but prudence is a better thing to trust to. He formed his troops into one line only, with intervals of a moderate distance; but this line was supported by columns of fifteen squadrons each, one behind another. The Turks pretend that these columns are hard to break, easily rallied, and very proper for hemming in the enemy. The Poles had lately experienced it to their cost.

The two Bashaws of Siliſtria and Caramania commanded the wings. The General, elated with his late victory, and promising himself another, was in the center.

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The Christian army outstretched that of the Turks by a full half of its front, which was made up of German and Polish troops, equally divided, that the two nations might share in the danger and the glory, if any could be got by conquering with such a superior force. The King was on the right, Jablonowski on the left, and the Duke of Lorraine in the center.

The Christians were putting themselves in motion to begin the charge, when the Turks, who were quicker, fell upon them with an impetuosity attended with howlings, which it is impossible to describe. A torrent that tumbles from the precipice of a mountain's brow, is neither more noisy, nor more rapid. The Christians received them with such firmness, that not a man lost his post, and with a terrible fire, that brought men and horses to the ground. The Turks wheeled round to recover a little, and instantly returned with greater fury. It was owing to the chevaux de frize, placed at the head of the battalions of the Christian army, that they were not broke. The Turks were often on the point of succeeding, and as often repulsed. Never did squadrons perform their evolutions with greater dexterity and quickness; nor was the excellence of the Turkish horses ever more fully displayed.

After so many efforts, equally bold and unsuccessful, they changed their method of attack. Hitherto they had charged only the left wing; but now they attempted at the same time the right and the center; and if one body was repulsed, another that had had time to recover breath, distinguished itself by fresh efforts, superior to ordinary valour. It was not by their fire-arms, but by using their sabres well in close combat, that they expected to gain the victory. If Tekeli had appeared at this juncture,

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juncture, as he might have done, the Christian army would have been in great danger.

The Bashaw of Silistria having forced his way on the left, his horse was killed under him, and he was surrounded by a body of cavalry. He continued to defend himself on foot, assisted by forty of his domestics, who alighted from their horses to protect him with their sabres. Jablonowski, admiring their heroism, cried out, *spare those brave fellows*, but the Germans cut them in pieces. The unfortunate Bashaw, abandoned to the fury of the soldiers, looked round for Jablonowski, and surrendered to him. The Bashaw of Caramania was taken in the same place, covered with blood.

The General being thus deprived, if I may use the expression, of both his arms, still did every thing that could be expected from the most determined courage. He forced his way into the center, but being wounded at length in two places with a sabre, and perceiving that the strength of his troops was exhausted, he thought of making his retreat.

The King of Poland, who observed his first dispositions towards it, did not allow him time to execute his intention, but advanced at the head of his cavalry to take him in flank, and cut off his retreat. The first squadrons were already seen retiring over the bridge. The Christian army now gave a great shout in its turn, and quickening its march, extended itself in form of a crescent, and got up with the enemy.

The whole was nothing now but a scene of slaughter to the Turks, whose sole object was to fly. Some got to the bridge, but the cannon swept it from end to end; and being built of boats, it was soon overloaded, and sunk under the weight. Others ran towards the fort, but the fort could hold no more, and drove them back. Many threw them-

Y. 1683. themselves into the Danube, which was covered with men and horses; but the shot reached them even here, and the river swallowed them up. A body of eighteen thousand, who would not attempt this dangerous way, staid upon the side of the river in much greater danger. It would seem as if men had only a certain portion of courage, as they have of strength. Those lions, who a few minutes before were ready to devour every thing, now suffered themselves to be butchered, like a defenceless flock of sheep. Though they had still arms in their hands, they made not the least effort to sell their lives dearly, but seemed to be struck with thunder. They cried out *amman*, quarter, and were all put to death. The pen drops from one's hands, at seeing how human creatures treat one another.

The janizaries in the fort were spectators of this slaughter, and expected their own fate. They made all possible signals of surrendry; hung out a white flag, and for fear it should not be taken notice of, tore off the sleeves of their shirts and fastened them to the end of their weapons. But this day was not a day of mercy. Their sentence of death was writ upon their palisadoes, upon which the Polish soldiers saw the bleeding heads of their brethren. The rage that seized them at this sight cost them fresh tears, which they might easily have prevented. The janizaries, upon the point of being forced when they offered to surrender, made a discharge which did great execution. It was an act of mere despair in the last moment they had to live. The author of the Life of the Duke of Lorraine says, that that Prince had granted them a capitulation. If the fact be true, every thing concurs to blacken the Christians on this bloody day. It is to little purpose for commanders to impute acts of unnecessary cruelty to their soldiers. When soldiers are well disciplined, they are no more than brave. Of the

the twenty-six thousand Turks that were in this engagement, only two thousand escaped, before the breaking down of the bridge. The young Bathaw, who would have deserved a second victory, if valour was a sufficient title to it, was one of the number.

Tekeli appeared upon an eminence, when the effusion of blood ceased, for no other reason but because there was no more to spill. He might easily have come in time; and he now disappeared again immediately. The truth is, he was neither enough a Christian, nor enough a Turk: a sure means of being, sooner or later, the victim of one of the parties.

Every circumstance of this engagement, the bloodiest of that age, was astonishing. A young warrior, who had never been in any command, venturing to contend with veteran Generals, and defying the hero of the age: twenty-six thousand infidels fighting a pitched battle against fifty thousand Christians, who were upon the point of being defeated. These same infidels, more than men in the beginning of the action, and less than women in the end. Christians embruing their hands, after the victory, in the blood of eighteen thousand men who begged for mercy; a truth which I would willingly suppress, if the fidelity of history would permit it.

This victory, which put the Christians in possession of the fort of Barcan, made them change their plan of operations. They designed at first to besiege Neuhausel, but they now fixed upon Strigonia, which was weakened by the taking of the bridge. This city, by the Germans called Gran, situated on the right side of the Danube, has its citadel upon a very high rock. Staremberg, in order to reconnoitre the place, walked slowly round it twice, in the midst of a shower of bullets that covered him with

Y. 1683. with earth. His intrepidity gained him great applause, but no notice was taken of the engineers that attended him. Strigonia was abundantly provided with all necessaries, and a long resistance was expected. There is no nation that sustains a siege with so much obstinacy as the Turks; because the head of the Bashaw who surrenders, is generally at stake. If the same practice took place in Christendom, we should not see such rapid conquests. Upon the present occasion, however, this severe law did not produce its effect. The Bashaw set fire to the suburbs, and the lower town; and at the end of four days, he beat a parley, making it one of the articles of his capitulation, that he should give up Strigonia to no one but the King of Poland, and that he and his garrison should be conducted to Buda.

The King entered the place on All-Saints-Day, and gave it up to the Duke of Lorraine. He would have persuaded the Bashaw to accompany him into Poland, in order to save his head: but the Mussulman answered, that his life was in the hands of God and the Grand Seignor, and that he would rather die by their order, than live among infidels. There was no great difficulty in being thus resigned; for it was believed, that the Visir, not having courage to relieve the place, had ordered him to surrender it. The great Soliman had conquered it from the Emperor Ferdinand I. brother to Charles V. a hundred and forty three years before; and it now returned to its former masters.

The season was advancing fast, and the Danube had destroyed more Poles, than had fallen in three battles. The water of this river, which Charlemagne complained of in his time, is remarkable for giving strangers the dysentery. This disorder carried off Sieniawski, Palatine of Volhinia, the first man that marched to the relief of Vienna.

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He was already Grand-Standard-Bearer of the crown, and Petty-General, and died in the midst of so promising a career. His son, in process of time, obtained the Grand-General's staff, which the father would have deservedly acquired; and had the additional happiness of marrying a wife that was worthy of him. She was so much considered in Poland, that Lewis XIV. kept up a correspondence with her.

The taking of Strigonia put an end to the campaign, and the armies separated. The Poles, before they could reach their native land, had a march of an hundred leagues, through a country impeded with rivers and mountains, infested by the malecontents of Hungary, full of towns that belonged either to them, or to the Turks, and the last ridge of mountains which separates Upper Hungary from Poland, presented nothing, at this season of the year, but snow, ice, and torrents, through which they were to seek their way. This ridge, anciently called the *Carpathian* Mountains, is, by the inhabitants of the country, called *Krapack*. The Poles were yet at a great distance from them, and before their arrival there, the difficulties daily increased.

On the third day of the march, the Count de Forgasté, an Hungarian nobleman of Tekeli's party, followed by a body of his own troops, consisting of four hundred horse, came and surrendered himself to the King, desiring him to intercede with the Emperor for his pardon. John granted his request, and prevailed upon the Emperor to forgive him. The Hungarian resolving to deserve the favour he had obtained, followed the army as far as the Carpathian Mountains, plundering and harassing his countrymen all the way. These being more exasperated against him than the Emperor himself, laid an ambush for him, in which his whole troop was cut to pieces. The leader, who had

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had made himself so odious, by his treachery to both parties, had not the courage to die with arms in his hands, but made his escape.

If John had wanted only to march home, he might have avoided the continual molestation that his troops were exposed to. Tekeli, who was still willing to keep measures with him, might easily have been prevailed on to restrain his Hungarians; but the King resolved to march like a conqueror, and reduce to the obedience of the Emperor, all the towns that lay in his way. Eperies held out three days: Sabina something longer: Levochi threw open its gates immediately: Zetchin, a place belonging to the Turks, capitulated at the first sight of the artillery; and John left garrisons in them all. The example of Forgaste, who had made his peace, was a tempting thing to several of the Hungarian nobles. The Count d'Humanai, Tekeli's brother-in-law, was one of the number. The King at last obtained some favours for them from the court of Vienna, because it would have been dangerous to refuse him every thing that he asked. And in fact the service he did the Emperor, by interposing in so gentle, and yet so effectual a manner, was much greater than if he had given up the rebels into his power: their blood, which the court of Vienna was always disposed to shed, would have perpetuated the revolt, and even made it more formidable, by driving the rebels to despair.

The Count d'Humanai, and the other deserters from the malecontents, reaped little benefit from the pardon they had obtained. They fell into the hands of Tekeli, who beheaded them all, and his brother-in-law among the rest.

The King of Poland crossed the Carpathian mountains in the month of December, in the very height of all the horrors that could make his passage dreadful,

dreadful, and arrived about Christmas upon the territories of the republic. He found, upon the frontiers, the Lithuanian army, which had set out so early as the month of July, to march to the relief of Vienna: an effect of that strange dissonance, which must always follow from a state's having two different armies, not under the command of the same leader. The Queen was at Cracow, expecting her illustrious husband, and forgot all her past concern in the exultation of victory, and the tenderness of conjugal embraces.

Thus ended this famous campaign, which preserved Vienna and the empire. Of the most distinguished actors in this great scene, which drew the attention of Europe and Asia, some, at the very time of their services, and others afterwards, had reason to complain of Leopold's ingratitude.

He refused, in a disobliging manner, to grant the Elector of Saxony a military honour, which he solicited for a Prince of his family. He gave up the son of that Elector, Augustus II. King of Poland, to the victorious arms of Charles XII.

Towards the end of his reign, he had thoughts of putting the Elector of Bavaria under the ban of the empire; and his successor actually did it.

He would not permit the first Senator of Poland, *Potoski*, to erect a pyramid to the memory of his son, upon the spot which that young hero had watered with his blood.

We have seen with what haughtiness he behaved to the King of Poland, who had just restored to him his capital. Besides this, he disputed with him some of the Turkish cannon, out of the great number that the Poles had taken; nor could those brave troops obtain winter-quarters in a country that they had preserved.

The court of Rome, always devoted to the Emperors, when its interest requires it, took part in

7. 1683. Leopold's ingratitude. Innocent XI. who was born his subject, instituted a solemnity, in which the Emperor and himself were represented on a banner; but every one talked of him only whose effigy was not seen. Christina, then at Rome, wrote to the Conqueror, "that he had made her feel, for the first time, the passion of envy; for she really grudged him the glorious title of Deliverer of Christendom."

The scene ended tragically on the side of the Turks. The deposition of the Cham of Tartary, and the sacrifice of four Bashaws immediately after the affair at Vienna, was not sufficient to appease the murmurs of the Ottoman empire. Tekeli was sent to Constantinople, bound hand and foot. Kara-Mustapha, charged with being the principal author of the public calamities, and even accused of a design to form for himself, in Austria and Hungary, an empire independent of the Sultan, received his doom at Belgrade. The resignation of Mussulmen astonishes all religions but that of Japan. It is written in the Alcoran, *that no martyrdom is more glorious than that of dying, by the hand, or by the order, of the Prince of Believers.* Kara-Mustapha fell prostrate before the warrant for his death, kissed it, embraced the Kiahia that brought it, took out of his bosom the seal of the empire, which he delivered to the Aga of the janizaries, held out his neck to the four executioners, who strangled him, and his head was carried to Constantinople. Let all, who owe their rise to court-favour, contemplate the fate of this Visir, and tremble at their own prosperity.

All the advantages of the expedition fell to Leopold's share. Poland got nothing but glory and a title. The Letters from crowned heads, in the time of an interregnum, were before addressed, *Inchyta reipublicæ*, to the celebrated Republic. The Im-

Imperial court in particular, was extremely scrupulous in this respect. Ever since the victory of Vienna, the republic is become *Most Serene*; a title void of meaning, and certainly inferior to Celebrity; but in the ceremonial of courts, words take place of things.

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End of the SIXTH BOOK.

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T H E

THE
HISTORY
OF
JOHN SOBIESKI
KING OF POLAND.

BOOK VII.

Y. 1684.

THE King passed the winter at Cracow, where he received the congratulations of Europe. But, in the opinion of the republic, he had done nothing, if he did not retake Kamienieck. This was the general wish in all the diets; and the present juncture seemed favourable for effecting it. The Turks were employed in Hungary by the Imperialists, who had just laid siege to Buda; and new enemies were rising up against the Ottoman empire: The Muscovites and the Venetians were earnest to be admitted into the league. Muscovy had suffered, at different times, considerable losses in its contests with the Ottoman power. Venice also had complaints of the same sort. That republic, which, in the beginning of the fifth century, was nothing but

the retreat of a few fishermen and fugitives, owed its greatness, by sea and land, to its commerce; and, in the time of the Crusades, instead of wasting its strength in that epidemical malady, had increased its power by the conquest of the isle of Candy, of Peloponnesus, and the best parts of Greece. The country which gave birth to *Pericles*, *Sophocles*, and *Plato*, might have recovered some part of its ancient lustre; but the Turks, by expelling the Venetians, had reduced it again to a state of barbarism. Another grievance of very late date, was, that during the siege of Vienna, the ships belonging to the republic had been insulted in the port of Constantinople. The Venetians therefore hoped, as did also the Muscovites, to repair their losses, by entering into an alliance with John, whose valour and good conduct seemed to ensure success. Their Ambassadors arrived at Warsaw, and treated with him, and at the same time with the Emperor, who seemed destined to reap the chief advantages of the league.

The Polish army was greatly weakened by its victories. The Grand-General, Jablonowski, omitted no expedient to repair its losses; but notwithstanding all his care, it continued much less numerous than in the campaign of Vienna. The soldiers still regretted the death of the Petty-General *Sieniawski*; but Andrew Potoski, Castellan of Cracow, who succeeded him, dispelled their grief. He already filled the first post in the Senate, and was now in the way of obtaining the same rank in the army. About the end of July, the Poles were joined by the Lithuanians, who were no longer headed by the Grand-General Paz. Death had put an end to his command, and he was lamented by Poland, but not by the King. There were others of the name of *Paz*, who might have been chosen to succeed him; but the King had resolved to

Y. 1684. humble that family. The eldest of the Sapięha's was invested with the supreme command, and at the same time made Palatine of Wilna.

The King had a variety of plausible reasons to excuse himself from making this campaign. The shining exploits of the last, and of so many others, seemed to give him a right to repose himself with honour. The success of a siege, undertaken with no great force, was very uncertain. The masters of the world generally chuse their own time to tread the paths of glory; but the present occasion presented nothing very tempting. It was not against Mahomet in person, as in 1672, that the King was going to make war: it was not even against a Grand-Visir, invested with all the power of the Sultan; but against a simple Seraskier, who had more Tartars than Turks under his command. Such an opponent was too mean to gratify the pride of the throne; and besides all this, the King might commit the care of the expedition to the Grand-General Jablonowski, whose abilities he was well acquainted with, and who would have been glad to do something without the King.

All these motives could not prevail upon him to stay behind, and enjoy the pleasures of Warsaw. He put himself at the head of the army, and advanced towards Jaslowiecz, a town which was the second in Podolia, before the Turks had made themselves masters of that fine province. They had set fire to the town, and left nothing standing but the castle, a fortification of immense bulk, composed of eight large towers, and situated upon a rock, which is made a peninsula by the river Janowf. The foot of the rock was encompassed by a wall of no great height, with several square towers of the same elevation. It was principally by means of their bombs that the Poles carried this fort, which had a garrison of five hundred and thirty
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janizaries, and thirteen pieces of cannon. When objects are out of sight, the imagination magnifies them as it pleases. The noise of this exploit resounded throughout all Europe; whereas it would scarce have been spoke of, had it not been for the great parade that accompanied it: all the forces of the republic were in motion; the King, and all his court, were present; the Queen herself, by being witness of this first success, fancied that she had a share in the glory of it. Her soul had caught a portion of the warlike fire of her husband: and yet she here ended her campaign.

The object next in view was Kamienieck; an amusement by no means proper for a Queen. The King continued his march along the Niester, with a design of throwing a bridge over that river, and entering Moldavia, in order to hinder the Turks from having any communication with Kamienieck; and even wintering in that province, if the place should make all the defence it was capable of. This project, which deprived the place of all possibility of receiving supplies, must have reduced it, by means of a blockade of six months, to surrender without effusion of blood: a scheme too humane to be attended with glory.

The whole plan was disconcerted by the great diligence of the enemy. The Poles had scarce begun to work upon their bridge, before twenty thousand Turks, and a greater number of Tartars, appeared on the other side of the river. In the campaign of Vienna, Mahomet had lost seventeen Bashaws of merit, and had only three left of any reputation. Of this number *Soliman* was one; born in Bosnia, a province noted for producing men of abilities, and eager for an opportunity of distinguishing himself, in order to obtain the dignity of Visir, to which the course of events raised him. At the first report of the King's march,

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he advanced into Moldavia and Walachia, where the two Cantacuzeni, *Demetrius* and *Serban* then reigned. They had been jewellers at Constantinople, where one of their ancestors wore the Imperial crown. Serban had abilities, but he held a suspicious correspondence with Vienna and Moscow: *I know all*, said Soliman to him, *thou shalt be narrowly watched*. The other, unworthy of the name he bore, was a weak Prince, without talents, and unfit to command in a critical juncture. Soliman deposed him, and gave the crown of Moldavia to Cantemir, who had saved the Sultanas before Kaminieck, and whom he thought well affected to the interests of the Porte. After this regulation, he appeared on the banks of the Niester, at a time when he was thought to be at a great distance from it; and his resolute behaviour, after he arrived, was of a piece with the quickness of his march.

It was not possible to throw a bridge over the river in his presence; but the Tartars did not want one to get at the Poles. That nation, which no obstacles can stop, which lives upon little, and is capable of all sorts of hardships, would still be the most formidable upon earth, if it had the European discipline. In its present state, its ravages are more dreaded than its arms. The kingdom of Hungary thought itself happy in being delivered, upon this occasion, from such a gang of plunderers. They surrounded the Polish army, and harassed it on all sides, without ever coming to action, being equally quick in running away, and in coming on, and always ready to repass the river, if they found themselves forced to it.

There was one Horde among them, which distinguished itself above the rest by a more daring and obstinate fury. These were the *Lipka* Tartars, who had lived under the Polish government in Lithuania, and returned to their mother country by the peace

peace of Zurawno. This article of the treaty Y. 1684. proved more prejudicial to Poland, than was at first imagined. The Kingdom lost a number of useful subjects, both in agriculture and arms, by disturbing them on account of their profession of the Mahometan faith; for though an universal toleration is established by law, there are sometimes powerful zealots who make a bad use of their authority. These persecuted subjects of the republic, became now its most dangerous enemies. The race of them having inhabited Lithuania for three centuries, they were not distinguishable from the Poles. They wore the same habit, used the same arms, and spoke the same language. They had lost nothing but what might have served to make them known; viz. that deformity which is natural to the Tartars, the small eyes, flat nose, and tawny complexion, which they derived from the climate they came from; and were Poles in every thing but in heart. They had some time before surprized the fort of *Mienzibow*, and from thence made incursions into Black Russia. They insinuated themselves with ease into the villages, the castles of the nobility, and the religious houses, committing every where great ravages, and carrying off many slaves. Upon the present occasion their rage was greatly increased. They entered the Polish camp by night, and sometimes by day, carried off the baggage, mixed with the foraging parties, and put them to the sword. Orders were issued, that no quarter should be given them; but it seldom happened that there was an opportunity of exercising this severity.

During this petty war, which, however, greatly harassed the Poles; the Turks, on the opposite side of the river, contented themselves with obstructing the passage. While the two armies continued in sight of each other, without coming to a

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decisive action; a Tartar of distinction, who had formerly been at the court of Poland, to treat about the ransom of his brother, cried out, that he begged to see the great King once more. John ordered him to be told, that he would send him, not only an escort, but hostages for his security. The Tartar answered, that the King's bare word was worth more than all his hostages, and that he would come the next day. The interview did not take place, nor is it known what broke it off.

In the mean time, Kamienieck, the object of this campaign, was secured from all attempts, and the Polish army suffered much in a country that was entirely deserted. When Cuprogli, in 1672, made a conquest of Podolia, at that time a fine and fertile province, he gave leave to the Poles to retire, with all that they could carry off with them. This was not a direct order; but he chose to leave no discontented subjects in the territories of the Porte. The nobility, the clergy, and the religious houses led the way in quitting the province, and the people followed their example: a conduct not very prudent in persons that might one day hope to return again under the Polish government. The conquerors set fire to the towns and villages, which were henceforward of no use, and the whole province of Podolia existed only in the single town of Kamienieck. All the land that was cultivated extended about three leagues, from the glacis of the place to the ruins of Zwanieck, formerly a considerable town. The Polish army consumed all it could; and the rest was destroyed by fire, to the very gates of Kamienieck. This was doing mischief to the enemy, but it was not making them submit.

To lay siege in form to a place of that strength, where there was a garrison of ten thousand men,
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and in presence of a superior army, was a thing v. 1684. impossible.

The King resolved, if nothing more could be done, to erect a citadel against Kamienieck, in order to pave the way for its fall at a more favourable time. He chose for this purpose, at the distance of about a league, a rock that stood by itself upon the bank of the same river that runs by Kamienieck, and not far from the Niester. He employed his infantry and dragoons to fortify this post. The Turks beheld their labours with a jealous eye; and passed the Niester to interrupt them. This was what the King wished for, in hopes of bringing on a battle; but the Seraskier had different views, and contented himself with skirmishing incessantly with the Polish cavalry. The King advanced often towards him; but the Seraskier retired immediately under the cannon of the place. The fort of *the Trinity* (which was the name of the work now raised) was completed in six weeks; a garrison was put into it, and incommoded the town greatly, during the whole time that it continued in possession of the enemy; for no supplies could be received, but at the hazard of a battle.

The season advancing fast, John came to a resolution to draw towards Leopold, where the Queen waited his arrival; but as he retired, being perpetually besieged by the Tartars, he endeavoured to draw them into some snare, where he might have an opportunity to beat them. He got them once in a narrow pass; but the Generals objected the fatigues of the march, and the approach of night; and proposed calling a council of war, in the precious moment when it was necessary to charge. The Power of a King of Poland is very extensive in the army, but never absolute. The Tartars escaped the danger, and shuddering at the risque they had run, slackened the ardour of their pursuit.

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The exploits of the Christian armies in this campaign were extremely unlike those of the last, which had been crowned with victory. The Muscovites and the Venetians had hitherto attempted nothing; and while the Poles miscarried before Kamienieck, the Imperialists raised the siege of Buda, after having lost twenty eight thousand men, and five hundred of their best officers. The besieged, in the midst of their joy, lamented the death of their Governor, the young Bashaw, who had the singular honour of beating the King of Poland in the plain of Barcan, and was killed upon the breach. The siege had already been raised a month, when Valstein, the Imperial Ambassador, assured the court of Poland, that his master's army had only sent off their sick and wounded: a false piece of policy, which is soon found out, and serves only to destroy all confidence among allies for the remaining part of a war. The Duke of Lorraine and the King of Poland were taught by experience, that great talents cannot always ensure success: all the glory of this campaign was gained by the Visir *Ibrahim* and *Soliman*, Seraskier of the army at Kamienieck: the latter of whom, preferring prudent counsels to the splendor of battles, contented himself with frustrating all the King's designs.

If we recollect that Kamienieck, besides the right of conquest, a right so sacred in the code of sovereigns, had also been solemnly ceded to the Turks by the peace of Zurawno, it is obvious that they had justice on their side. Upon the present occasion, they had success also; but such an instance must not always be depended on.

The King, not pleased with his expedition, formed a plan for letting Poland enjoy at least the sweets of peace, in the midst of a war, the end of which could not be foreseen. Instead of going to enjoy the amusements of the capital, he took up

up his residence upon the frontiers, and while he restrained the Tartars, who are always ready for incursions, the nobles enjoyed their fortunes, the merchants carried on their trade, the lands were cultivated, and the peasants got bread. The court, though perhaps inwardly sighing after the pleasures of Warsaw, endeavoured to conform to the Prince, in this military life. He was always found in boots by the Ambassadors from foreign courts. Among the rest, there came one in the habit of a Friar: a character below the dignity of history, but which may be admitted to a place in it, upon having an influence in affairs of state. The person I mean was the Jesuit *Vota*, a Savoyard by birth, but an Austrian by inclination, who, without being invested with the character, he brought with him the spirit of an Ambassador. His real intentions were hid under the specious title of a missionary, sent by the Emperor into Muscovy, to bring about the reunion of that schismatical church with the see of Rome. He soon returned from thence, alledging that the Czar had refused to listen to the first overtures; but he flattered himself, that God would open the eyes of that Prince in another journey. It seemed as if he only passed through the court of Poland: and no one was more likely to be desired to stay there.

Kings, who reign in person, want amusement much more than their subjects. John could find no diversion in the little tales of a court, nor in that elegant jargon which sports itself with trifles, and leaves the mind always empty. The King wanted more substantial food. In the midst of the labours of war, he loved the arts of peace, music, painting, poetry, and eloquence. Poland would have had perhaps it *Lully's*, *Le Brun's*, *Corneille's*, and *Bossuet's*, if his reign had been less disturbed with wars and factions. He often forgot

Y. 1684. got his cares in the arms of history and the sciences. When he read, he had always a pencil in his hand ; and all his marginal notes either shewed his fine taste, or contained some useful observation. Quote me a great man who has not loved and protected letters ; and he will infallibly be found in the annals of the Goths or Tartars. The King of Poland spoke five or six languages from his youth, and besides these, learnt Spanish at fifty. Of the many speeches that he made in the senate [and the diets, the greatest part were in Latin ; and the method made use of to prevail upon Charles XII. when he was a child, to learn that language, was telling him, that the hero of Poland understood it.

The Jesuit Vota, like the King, besides the learned languages, expressed himself with ease in French, German, and Italian. Ancient and modern philosophy, an acquaintance with the history of different ages, places, and empires, an extensive knowledge of religious opinions, and the genealogy of families ; all these accomplishments, though little attended to in most courts, made him very agreeable to a Prince of improved understanding. Leopold intended once to make him preceptor to his son, the Archduke Joseph ; but thought that he might be more successfully employed in negotiation. The King was dissatisfied with the court of Vienna, and grew cold in the league. To hinder him from deserting it, was the true object of the Jesuit's mission ; a point much more easily gained than the conversion of the Russians. A person who negotiates without a public character, is under much fewer restraints. The Jesuit laid claim to no personal respect, was ready to join in any thing, and even encouraged the raillery of the courtiers at his own expence. He was fond of the conversation and caresses of the great, but never seemed disturb-
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ed when he could not obtain them. Being particularly eager to gain the confidence of the King, who grew subject to want of sleep, he often lay upon the floor of an antichamber, to be always in readiness to amuse his weary hours. Besides the advantages of having flexible manners and an improved understanding, of being educated in Italian politics, and acquainted with all the artifices of negotiation, he was also a man of considerable abilities. He began with making himself agreeable, and ended with becoming necessary to such a degree, that the foreign Ambassadors and Polish ministers could not get admittance to the King's cabinet, but when Vota opened the door to them. Even the Grand-Chamberlain, who, though he is not reckoned in Poland as one of the six great officers, enjoys the valuable privilege of coming to the King at all hours, no longer found the same ease in being admitted. Nothing gives greater offence to the grantees, or brings more contempt upon the government, than to see the cloister in high credit at court. One of the Palatines, Martin Matczinski, got a picture drawn representing a long procession, closed by a Jesuit beating time: the Jesuit was followed by a King, and two other Jesuits held before him a book of music, on which he seemed to look with great attention.

Vota not only offended the Poles, but gave umbrage at Versailles; for if Leopold's view was to keep John firm in the league, Lewis XIV. aimed to detach him from it. The Marquis de Bethune arrived in Poland, not with the title of Ambassador, as in his former journey, but upon a pretence of coming to pay his court to the Queen his sister-in-law. His real errand was to pull down what the Jesuit built.

It was a long time since Poland had seen any of its Kings with so brilliant a court: foreign noblemen

Y. 1684. men travelling to visit it, Ambassadors extraordinary coming to form alliances, young Princes desirous of learning the art of war under an accomplished hero, and even men of letters, who always search for Princes acquainted with the arts they profess. John was worthy to enjoy their conversation, as he generally did at table. He loved the pleasures of society, when seasoned with sound philosophy, without which society has no lasting charms. The knowledge he had acquired in every branch cost him much application, intense reflection, and many sleepless nights. He now reaped the fruits of his labour, but their sweetness was often mixed with gall. Such is the condition of all human affairs, whether the part we act be high or low.

Y. 1685. The diet, of which I come now to give an account, exasperated him extremely. The law ordered it to meet at Grodno in Lithuania; but the King appointed it at Warsaw in the month of February. In the universals issued for this purpose, he explained the reason of his having thus violated the law, namely, that by reason of the great distance of Grodno from the frontiers, it would be impossible to come time enough to begin the campaign. The Lithuanians paid little regard to this reason, and assembled among themselves at Grodno, where they created a senate and a chamber of deputies, while the Poles met at Warsaw. Such a separation might occasion civil commotions in the republic. A month was spent in negotiations to accommodate the difference. The King made a proposal to the assembly at Grodno to elect a Lithuanian for Marshal of the diet, and to give the name of diet of Grodno to the council of the nation held at Warsaw. The Lithuanians consented to the expedient: nor is this the only instance, in which policy has reconciled contending factions, by substituting words in the room of things.

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The diet of Grodno was therefore opened at Warsaw; but harmony did not reign in the assembly. Paz, the Grand-Chancellor of Lithuania, was lately dead: and another of that name (*a*), who had already seen the Grand-General's staff transferred from his own family to that of *Sapieha*, flattered himself at least with the hopes of obtaining this other office. The King, who begun to be apprehensive of raising the *Sapieha's* too high, had indeed pass them by on this occasion, but it was not in favour of Paz. He had nominated to this important post *Oginski*, Palatine of Troki, in a privy council held at Javorow, a country-seat of his own in Red Ruffia. This nomination was illegal; for, by the law, it ought to be made in full diet: a regulation wisely contrived; because a King may be supposed to be more scrupulous of making a bad choice in the presence of the whole nation, than before his favourites and ministers.

The Lithuanians discussed this point with great warmth. Some were for rejecting *Oginski*, and demanding another Chancellor. All insisted at least upon a new nomination of the same person, and upon his taking an oath to the diet, in order to preserve the respect due to the law. Paz, who was most interested, was also most vehement in the affair. His eloquence was so audacious, that the King, forgetting himself still more than his subject had done, laid his hand upon the hilt of his sabre, and drawing it half-way, said to him; *Do not oblige me to make you feel the weight of my arm.* Paz, who was the most impatient and haughty of men, replied with the like gesture, accompanied with these words: *Remember, that when we were equals, you knew by experience, how capable I am of dealing with you in that way:* alluding to a duel

(*a*) Paul Michael Paz, Starost of Samogitia, the only Starost who has a seat in the senate.

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Y. 1685. they had fought in their youth, or possibly to some provincial diet, in which they had backed their arguments with their sabres.

Whoever reflects upon a scene of this sort passing in public between a King and his subject, will be apt to shudder at the audaciousness of the latter; and to denounce a woe upon every free nation that does not distinguish between liberty and licentiousness.

The diet continued to sit, but shewed still the same obstinate aversion to comply with the King's will. The King, on his side, wished that he had not advanced so far. His subjects held up against him the buckler of the law, with which he had formerly forced his predecessor Michael to retire; but he was too much exalted with his regal dignity, to think with patience of retiring himself. Not but that he knew the law, and generally respected it; but the Queen, by abusing his conjugal tenderness, had drawn him into this difficulty. She now formed a plan to extricate him from it; and ordered the question to be put to the Lithuanian deputies, by what authority the provincial diets, that preceded the national one, had been assembled. As they could not disown that it was by the authority of that very Grand-Chancellor, the legality of whose nomination they disputed; it was intimated to them, that their own election was invalid, if that magistrate was not lawfully appointed. The deputies had no mind to lose their posts. A sure way of succeeding in any thing is to lay hold of men by their interest. The dispute was going to end as the King wished: but Oginski, laying hold of this moment when both parties were on the point of uniting, proposed, in order to make his nomination more secure, to take a new oath to the republic, and by this means displeas'd the court.

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The Queen gave another proof, in this diet, of the power of artifice when force fails. The post of Vice-Chancellor of the kingdom being vacant, she had a mind to bestow it upon *Radziowski*, Bishop of Warmia (*a*), a relation of the King's. But the two places being incompatible by law, she got the Bishoprick to be declared vacant; and *Radziowski*, a few days after, was again Bishop of Warmia, and Vice-Chancellor. The law indeed was evaded; but this artifice served only to disgust a nation which has a greater affection for its laws than its Kings. After all, the post in question would be despised by a man of quality, in any other country in Europe: *Radziowski*, however, was nearly related to the King: but the case is, that, in Poland, whatever has any connection with the administration of the great affairs of the public, is below no one's acceptance.

A negotiation of some difficulty had been carrying on with France, which it was necessary to conclude at last. The French Ambassador in Poland, the Marquis de Vitry, had been insulted by some servants, who fired several pistols into his House. The Poles would have apologized for their conduct by making them pass for drunk, and perhaps they really were so. Be this as it will, the King of Poland was in no haste to make reparation for the affront. *Lewis XIV.* who, for insults of this kind, had obliged Spain, Rome, and the republic of Genoa to give him satisfaction, by sending solemn embassies, demanded the same from Poland. The Marquis de Beihune, who was privately commissioned to solicit it, had a troublesome business upon his hands. He had republican spirits to deal with,

(*a*) Warmia is a province included within the bounds of Prussia. The episcopal city is, *Hierberg*. The Bishop takes his title from the province, of which he is Sovereign Prince, as head of the chapter to whom the sovereignty belongs.

Y. 1685. and none of the *grandeas* would submit to make the apology. At last, *Wielopolski*, Grand-Chancellor of the crown, who had married one of the Queen's sisters, was persuaded to undertake it. He was received at Fontainebleau with great pomp, loaded with marks of esteem, and carried home with him a picture of the French Monarch richly set with diamonds. All these circumstances reconciled a few individuals to the office of excuse-making; but the republic thought herself debased.

The campaign was opened soon after, and suspended the dissatisfaction of the public. The King proposed in council to resume the project of the preceding year; which was to enter Moldavia, in order to force the *Hospodar* to declare in favour of Poland, and make use of his assistance to take *Kaminieck*. The recovery of this bulwark would have made the nation forget all the miseries of so long a war. The army was already assembling, but a disorder detained the King. The court of Vienna discovered a mystery in this event: they fancied that the Marquis de Bethune had got the better of their Jesuit, and that John had a mind to make his diversion less formidable to the Turks, by not commanding his army in person. But the court of Vienna was mistaken, for the disorder was real.

The Grand-General *Jablonowski* readily undertook the charge of all that might happen; for as often as a King, like John, commanded, it was natural for Europe to attend to him only; and the Generals had complained more than once that he engrossed all the honour of every expedition.

While the army was upon its march, John received a piece of intelligence that struck him with amazement. The Archduchess whom Leopold had promised to Prince James, was married to the Elector of Bavaria; and the King guessed from hence what

what he was to expect from the other promise, which related to the securing of the crown of Poland in his family, by the intrigues, the money, and the power of the court of Vienna. Being naturally warm and impetuous, he had great difficulty to restrain his resentment till the end of the campaign, and then take his measures as events should happen. In the army of the Grand-General there were several Frenchmen, and among others the Marquis de Souvré, second son to M. de Louvois, who came to learn the art of war. Their apprenticeship was very severe. The Grand-General, instead of attempting the passage of the Niefter over-against Choczyn, as the King had done in the last campaign, without success, passed it at Halicz (a) higher up the stream, and advanced through Pokrusia into the Bucovine, a forest thirty leagues long and as many broad, extending from the Crapack mountains to the Niefter. Before the wars between the Poles and the Turks, it was peopled and cultivated in the vacant spaces, which are still to be seen. At present, taking in Pokrusia and Podolia, provinces that border upon each other, there are near a hundred leagues of ruins; a deplorable monument of the fury of the human race, in extirpating each other from a world where their stay is otherwise so short. A detached branch of the Crapack mountains advancing into the Bucovine, supplies it plentifully with water: and the rivers, morasses, and mountains, form defiles in it extremely difficult to pass.

The army had already got through two thirds of the forest, and was encamped upon open ground, when the couriers brought intelligence that the enemy appeared. The Poles soon heard the great

(a) This city, formerly considerable, and the capital of the kingdom of Halicz, is at present very small, but has a strong castle upon the river.

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drums of the Janizaries, which are double to ours in every respect. The drummers beat them at both ends, with a common drum-stick in their right hands, and a switch in their left. They are attended by lads who carry two plates of very sonorous metal, which they strike in cadence one against the other : and this mixture of sounds composes a loud, and not unwarlike, noise.

The two armies drew up in order of battle, with a defile between them. The match was by no means equal ; for forty thousand Turks and as many Tartars must needs overpower thirty thousand Poles. The latter durst not pass the defile before so great a multitude, but wished that the others would pass it, to begin the engagement. But the Seraskier Soliman had conceived a different project. He raised redoubts upon the side of the defile with lines to join the works ; and detached thirty thousand Tartars to seize the passes behind the Polish army, and cut off their retreat. These passes were sufficiently difficult of themselves, but were now made more so by felled trees. The Tartars stole off imperceptibly under the cover of the wood and the night ; so that the Poles did not perceive their situation, till the moment of its growing desperate. One army in front ; another in their rear ; a river (the Pruth) bordered with rocks, on the right ; a morass and a hill possessed by the enemy, on the left ; all together made up a situation like that of the famous *Caudine Forks*, and Soliman thought himself sure of making them pass under the yoke. Every day consumed their provisions and augmented the terror of the army. Some of the soldiers, more frightened than the rest, passed the Pruth, and ran with all speed to the frontier, where they spread the alarm by giving out that all was lost. The consternation became general : the Tartars were already seen in places that they never before approach-

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ed: the inhabitants of the country took refuge in the towns, and the towns expected to be forced. The alarm increased like a torrent, till it reached Zolkiew, a place not far from the Frontiers, where the King resided for the recovery of his health. Though he was still in a weak condition, he put himself at the head of the nobility of the neighbouring provinces, and some Lithuanian troops, which, coming from a great distance, could not join the army in time. But the catastrophe was over, before the King came.

Jablonowski, after he had been fifteen days in this situation, perceiving more distinctly all its horror, and reflecting that so many brave men had no choice but death or slavery, that his country would lose its army, and himself all his glory, made a motion which put a large wood between the enemy and him. This, however, was of no use. But in this new position, he formed a plan for a retreat which seemed impracticable. Behind him there was a wood of Alders, which grew in a morass deep enough to swallow up men and horses. He ordered his men to take hatchets, and cut down the trees close by each other with the branches uppermost: by this means he formed two bridges wide enough for five waggons to pass in front.

The baggage begun to file off, in the beginning of the night, between the eighth and ninth of October. The cavalry followed next, and by break of day there remained behind only fifteen squadrons. The infantry and dragoons, with part of the cannon, came in the rear, and were commanded by Koski, General of the artillery, a man whom it was impossible to surprize, and who had distinguished himself in so illustrious a manner at the battle of Vienna. To be ready for all that might happen, he kept his infantry and dragoons in order of battle the whole night.

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The Turks at length poured out of the great wood, that was in the front of the Polish army. The cavalry begun the attack, and charged with its usual impetuosity; but was so roughly handled, that it retired into the wood again, to make room for fresh squadrons. The charge was repeated in this manner ten or twelve times; and the different bodies succeeded each other so fast, that the Poles had scarce time to load again. Men and horses fell thick on each side, and yet the carnage was only beginning. The combatants stood in need of perhaps greater intrepidity, than if the action had been in an open plain. The distance from an inhabited country, the forest which intercepted the light of the sun, the cries of the Turks and Tartars mixed with the roar of cannon, which the nature of the place redoubled and made more dreadful, all these circumstances encreased the horror of this vast desert, where the wild beasts were less cruel than the human species.

There now succeeded a few minutes of inaction. The Janizaries who had not yet been engaged, flattered themselves they should close the scene by bathing themselves in blood. The cavalry, which supported them, trembled with rage at meeting with such resistance from so small a body. In this juncture, the Poles invoked the assistance of despair, a principle frequently more active than glory itself. The fire-arms on both sides were no longer depended upon: the Turkish sabre, and the Polish battle-ax were to decide the point. The Polish cavalry, like that of all other nations, is armed with sabres: the infantry and dragoons fight with battle-axes: a weapon anciently used by the Romans, and admirably formed not only for cutting but pushing, with a handle five feet long. The soldiers held them with both hands, and lopped off all the heads and arms that came within their reach. Even the head

head of a horse was often cloven in two at one blow. It is said, that in the famous victory which *Procopius the Bald*, successor to Zisca, gained over the Emperor Sigismund, his soldiers were armed with these axes; and that this novelty was the cause of their winning the battle. It was with the same weapon that the Poles were now triumphant. On both sides there was an equal degree of fury and true courage, but the Poles fought with better conduct. The Janizaries, having lost a greater number than they, were at length obliged to regain the wood, and the battle ended. A body of between eleven and twelve thousand men had been engaged for ten hours against forty thousand.

There were three circumstances, exclusive of courage, to which this little army owed its preservation. In the first place, the ground would not permit the Turks to present a more extensive front than that of the Poles. A second advantage was the unskilfulness of the General of the Turkish artillery, who instead of bringing his cannon to the edge of the wood, from whence he might have annoyed the enemy greatly, had the imprudence to place it on a high hill: by which means, the cannon being pointed downwards, the ball was buried as soon as it touched the ground, and made no rebound. But all these advantages would have been useless, had it not been for the great abilities of Koniski. At the head of his battalions, he had placed chevaux de frise, formed a rampart of waggons, and pointed his cannon in such a manner as to have the greatest effect. All the different bodies supported each other, like the bastions of a moveable fortress. The whole rear-guard seemed to be but one battalion performing its evolutions at a review. The small body of cavalry that was present, though not under Koniski's command, obeyed him with as much alacrity as the foot and dragoons. Never was

Y. 1685. any man possessed of cooler valour. The officers and soldiers cried out to him, to take care of himself for the common good: *I have not yet received a single wound*, answered he, *and I see some of you fighting with several*. His behaviour in this action gave the nation so high an opinion of him, that, at the death of King John, he was named among the candidates for the throne, to which his civil virtues gave him also a fair claim. He was contented with living and dying first Senator; and the laurels, which he acquired on this occasion, will continue fresh to the end of time.

As the night drew on, the retreat was completed, the enemy appearing no more. The rear joined the cavalry which, during the whole action, was drawn up in battalia in a little plain beyond the wood of alders, expecting all the while to be attacked by the Tartars who were within view. After all, if Koski had the honour of executing this celebrated retreat, Jablonowski had the glory of having planned it, when it seemed impracticable.

The army, as it retreated, soon came to the famous Foss. which the Emperor Trajan ordered to be dug, when he subdued the Dacians (a). It extends from the Crapack mountains to the Niester, across the Bucovine; and was the boundary which separated the Roman empire from the Sarmatians. Trajan, who fixed upon this limit, seemed to advise his successors not to pass it.

They were scarce got on the other side, when the enemy appeared again, as if with a design of coming to a decisive action. The Poles, encouraged by their late success, returned to the Foss, and drew up in order of battle. The enemy proceeded no farther than a cannonade, which the Poles returned. Most of the days, that they spent in get-

(a) Now the Hungarians, Walachians and Moldavians.

ting through the Bucovine, were of the same sort. They marched from one defile to another, pursued and harrassed incessantly, without being ever defeated. At length, the forest and the pursuit ended together.

Notwithstanding this, Jablonowski kept the field for three weeks longer, to hinder the incursions of the Tartars, who had reason to be greatly dissatisfied with the expedition. The only pay they receive from the Grand-Seignior is their booty: they now returned empty-handed, to be treated by their wives as cowards, and effeminate wretches, unworthy to bear arms: and this domestic contempt is more dreaded by a Tartar than the dangers of war. The Polish arms acquired great glory, but no real advantage. The Moldavians were not subdued: Kaminiack continued in the hands of the Turks: and the whole design of the armament miscarried.

The case was not the same with the other powers of the Christian league. While Poland kept employed a part of the Ottoman forces, the celebrated *Francesco Morosini* attacked the common enemy in Greece. He was accused before the senate of having betrayed the interests of Venice, by surrendering the town of Candia. Accusations of this sort, though often unjust, contributed to keep up the virtue of the ancient Greeks and Romans. The accused was defended with great spirit; and he justified himself still better by conquering the Morea, a country formerly so famous by the name of Peloponnesus, when Corinth, Argos, and Sparta really produced men. The republic of Venice, in imitation of ancient Rome, gave its hero the name of *Peloponnesiacus*.

Vienna gained still more than Venice. The Duke of Lorrain had defeated before Strigonia the Visir Ibrahim, a General, who, with greater merit than his predecessor, Kara-Mustapha, had not bet-
ter

Y. 1685. ter success. Neuhausel, one of the bulwarks of the Turkish empire in Germany, was taken by storm, and made the scene of excessive cruelties, which the Turks will for ever record, as a reproach to the Christian name. Of all the inhabitants of this wretched city, there escaped only thirty Janizaries, who hid themselves when they saw that all was lost. The Kiahia, who commanded them, was carried to Vienna, where, having attempted in vain to force his guard, he killed himself with a pistol-shot. Towards the end of the attack, when the town made no resistance, the besiegers gave no quarter, even to the Christian slaves, whom the besieged had forced to take arms. The persons who first thought of swallowing their gold have been the occasion of many cruelties in succeeding ages. The women of the German army were seen ripping up the bellies of the Turks, while their bodies were yet panting, to search for treasure in their bowels. The French Princes (a) who eloped from the court of Lewis XIV. to make this campaign, returned home with as much horror as glory. The Abbot of Savoy, who renounced France, did not return with them. He then began that glorious career, which has immortalized him by the name of Prince Eugene.

The King returned to Zolkiew, where he endeavoured to confirm his health, not by that delicate and cautious way of living, which serves only to prolong a state of weakness, but by following the diversion of the chace. It has always been said, that hunting is the image of war. In most parts of Europe, this image represents its object of a very small size: but Poland encreases its magnitude, in imitation of the Asiatic sovereigns, who

(a) The Princes of Conti, Roche-sur-Yon, and Turenne; the latter of whom was killed at the battle of Steinkerque.

hunt

Y. 1685.

hunt with a complete army. The King kept in pay five hundred Janizaries, all real Turks, taken in battle, armed and dressed in their former manner. A circular space was marked out for them in a forest, which they encompassed with nets, leaving an opening that answered to the plain. At a considerable distance, a line of dogs held in leashes formed a crescent; behind which, the King, the huntsmen, and the spectators were drawn up in another line. The signal being given, other dogs were let loose into the forest, and drove before them whatever they found. In a short time, there came out stags, elks, *auraxes*, (a sort of wild bulls of singular beauty, strength, and fierceness) lynxes, boars, and bears; and every species of dogs attacked the beast that was its proper prey. The beast could neither get back to the forest, nor stay by the nets; because the Janizaries were posted there to prevent it. The huntsmen did not engage in the combat, but when the dogs were likely to be overpowered. This mixed multitude of men, horses, and wild beasts, the noise of horns, the variety of combats, and all this apparatus of war set out with proper magnificence struck the natives of the south, who were present at it, with surprize; nor did the republic murmur at the expence, because it was not defrayed out of the public coffers. -

Y. 1686.

Hunting however, was not the King's sole amusement. As the nation was not to be assembled this year, and it was uncertain whether the war would be renewed or not; he had much leisure upon his hands. The very recreations of a laborious King are a public benefit. The pleasure of building happening to strike his fancy, he pitched upon a delightful situation on the banks of the Vistula, about two leagues from Warsaw. Villanow rose out of the ground, and the north was ornamented with

Y. 1686.

with the architecture of Italy. But the satisfaction the King enjoyed in raising this edifice, did not make him forget his resentment against Leopold; and he shewed it, by declaring a resolution to quit the league. Leopold saw that it was necessary to present him with some other bait to keep him steady; and proposed to him the conquest of Moldavia and Walachia, to be possessed as a sovereignty by his family; promising him a body of German troops, which should advance from the banks of the Danube to assist him in the reduction of those provinces. They are both inhabited by Christians, and were formerly dependent upon the kingdom of Hungary, but are now properly fiefs of the Turkish empire, ever since the days of the victorious Soliman; whose successors sell the principality of them to the highest bidder. The Hospodar Duca, who died a prisoner in Poland, was servant to a merchant of Yassi, before he grew rich enough to be made a Prince; and Walachia has had Hospodars, whose birth was not more illustrious.

This double crown was a strong temptation to the King. On the other side, Mahomet, who daily sustained fresh losses, made him an offer, if he would quit the league, to restore Kamienieck, with a considerable sum of money, to indemnify Poland for the expences of so long a war.

In this competition between the republic and his own family, the King had not the greatness of mind to make a right choice. He was prevailed upon, by the insinuations of the Jesuit Vota, the solicitations of the Queen, and the voice of paternal affection, to decide in favour of his family, and leave to fortune the interests of Poland. However, he disguised his real design in this expedition, under the specious pretence of conquering only for the republic, and of recovering Kamienieck in a more glorious manner, by cutting off all its succours,
since

since it received none from any other quarter but Moldavia. Y. 1686.

It was a long time since Poland had seen so fine and so numerous an army. It amounted to near forty thousand fighting-men, the Generals having served the King well, which is a thing that does not always happen. Prince James, who had already his eye upon a throne that could be acquired by merit only, endeavoured to get himself a name, by sharing in the fatigues of war; and besides, the intended conquests were to fall to his lot. This project however, was known to very few; for the multitude, as well officers as soldiers, are always ignorant why they fight, and yet do not fight the worse upon that account.

The terrifying difficulties the army had gone through in the last campaign, of which the present was a repetition, did not prevent its taking the same route. The only difference was, that, upon the present occasion, the King, as he proceeded on his march, established fortified posts, at proper distances, from the frontiers of Poland to the very capital of Moldavia. The design of these forts was to secure the couriers and the convoys which were to come from so great a distance.

When the army crossed the Bucovine, a place where it was on the point of perishing in the preceding campaign, they threw bridges over all the passages which could either retard their march, or hinder their return. When they came to that scene of blood where Koniski had deserved so highly of the republic, he again received the thanks of the King and the whole army. There were still to be seen piles of bones, which recalled to some the memory of a friend; to others, that of a brother or a father, and made them wish for an opportunity of avenging their fate. The King secured this defile by a redoubt, strengthened with palisades,

Y. 1686. fadoes, and defended by a good garrison ; and from thence, continuing his march along the Pruth, he entered the vast plains of Moldavia, where the army suffered extremely by the heat. The climate is naturally hot, and was made much more so by having been three years without rain. The ponds and lakes were almost dry : the course of the *Babilouf*, a river as large as the Marne, was stopped ; and the marshy grounds were full of cracks, which, for their depth, might be taken for gulphs. In the midst of so parched a scene, the Poles were astonished to see the earth covered with grass two feet high, growing thick, and excellently good. No cattle were to be found in all the country, which formerly abounded with them, and with men also ; but the glorious profession of war had made it all a desert. Nothing was to be found but cities, whose ruins being overgrown with thistles and nettles, served for nothing but a retreat for serpents. In this condition were *Pererita*, *Chocava*, *Sorock*, *Stefanouf*, *Felki*, *Gallacz*, and several others. Most of them were converted into places of arms to favour the expedition. The difficulty of subsisting in a country, uninhabited and uncultivated, is easy to conceive. The armies of the middle of Europe may well ask those of the north, how they contrive to subsist wherever they go. Their doing it supposes their convoys to be very regular, their officers and soldiers very sober, and their equipages no greater than is necessary ; since otherwise, this last article alone would not only embarrass, but furnish an army. Of two nations, at war with each other, great odds may be laid on that which is most frugal.

If all Moldavia had been like the eastern part of the country which the Poles crossed, they would have marched to the conquest of a wilderness. But, in the west, it was well peopled, and well culti-

cultivated; and the soil so good, that it produces the richest crops, by being only once turned up without any manure. Y. 1686.

The reigning Prince of Moldavia was *Constantine Cantemir*, the same whom Soliman, in 1684, had substituted in the room of the weak *Cantacuzenus*. He was grandfather to that Prince Cantemir, who was not long ago the Russian Ambassador in France, having before had the same character in England. He did not stay to surrender, till the army was at the gates of his capital: it was scarce got out of the Bucovine, when a nobleman arrived from his court, who told the King, that his master thought himself happy in the prospect of being soon delivered from the Ottoman yoke to enter into the obedience of Poland; that he regretted his not being able to come in person to wait upon so great a King; and that his view in staying for him in his capital, was to hinder the people from leaving it.

The King, charmed with a conquest which would occasion the shedding of no tears, hastened his march to the plain of Cetzora, where the army halted. This plain recalled to his mind the slaughter and the glory of his grandfather, by presenting him with a view of the entrenchments, where the famous Zolkiewski, with thirty thousand Poles, repulsed an army of a hundred thousand Turks and Tartars; and of the pyramid, which was still standing, where the manes of that hero addressed the passenger in these animating words; *Learn of me, how sweet and how honourable it is to die for one's country*: a maxim that was engraved upon the King's heart from his earliest youth. From this plain, it is no more than six leagues to the capital, which a detachment of eight thousand men went and took possession of, without the least resistance. The corn was all standing; and to keep the

Y. 1686. the main body of the army at a distance, in such a juncture, was taking care of the interests of the capital.

Yassi, a place of great riches, by means of its commerce with Asia, is a large open town, without gates or walls; but it has twelve vast castles of great thickness, and flanked with terraced towers. They are all mounted with cannon, and have magazines of arms for their defence; but are in fact only so many monasteries, inhabited by Greek Monks, who work out their salvation under the protection of the Turks. The Christian world has no Monks that can vie with them for antiquity; St. Basil having been their patriarch so early as the fourth century; but the Persians and Indians had Monks long before this, in the midst of their idolatry. It was not till later times, that the west grew addicted to the indolence of a contemplative life. It must be owned, that these fortresses of St. Basil's serve also for an asylum to the inhabitants of the country, when the Tartars make their inroads. It is impossible perhaps to find a place where so many Monks are assembled together; for another hive of them may be seen upon a hill over against the city. So great a number of men, who occasion a great consumption, but produce nothing of their own, must needs diminish the riches of the city, and the revenues of the Hospodar. Their extreme ignorance is not so much owing to their idleness or want of capacity, as to the slavery in which they live; and there are good reasons to believe in general that the Moldavians would distinguish themselves both in arms, and arts, if they were once set at liberty. As the Prince who governs them buys his sovereignty, the people must repay the purchaser: *Yassi* therefore was sure to gain by becoming subject to another power.

When

When the King approached the town, he was met by the Bishop, the clergy, the principal inhabitants, and the people; but he was surprized at not seeing the Hospodar. Cantemir's situation was extremely critical. One of his sons was an hostage at Constantinople, with four nobles of the country, as pledges for his fidelity; and on the other hand, a Christian army was ready to fall upon him, without his having any hope from the Turkish forces, which were, at this juncture, at too great a distance to defend him. He had recourse therefore to a pretended submission, in order to engage the conqueror to spare his dominions; and to exculpate himself with the Porte, he took refuge with his family and his treasures in the Turkish army, which was encamped near the mouth of the Danube. His flight was not disagreeable to the King, who, as he resolved to keep his conquests, would have been puzzled how to dispose of the Hospodar; but he was displeas'd at his having carried over his troops to the enemy. He learned from the Moldavians themselves, that he was the worst Prince that had for a long time governed that country; that having bought his crown at a very dear rate, he was a profess'd usurer, and behaved in the most oppressive manner; and that the very moment of his flight had been distinguished by acts of extortion, which exceeded the ordinary measure of his rapaciousness. The King found in his palace some fine apartments, inlaid with Mosaic work: he treated the city with great tenderness, considering it as his own: the shops continued open, the markets free, and every thing was paid for by the conquerors, as punctually as by the citizens. The soldiers, who were quartered up and down the monasteries, did not disturb their regularity; and the Moldavian women, whose dress made them

Y. 1686. no less tempting than their natural charms, were treated with great respect.

While things were in this situation in Moldavia, the Walachians were far from being in a state of tranquillity. Fear, and still more, the humanity of the victor, which was loudly celebrated by fame, induced them to submit; and they obliged their Hospodar to send him a deputation, declaring that their gates were open. Doubtless *Serban Cantacuzenus*, whom Soliman had continued in the principality, notwithstanding the suspicions he entertained of his conduct, had not removed all cause of complaint. His post was filled by another Prince, *Constantine Brancovan*, who submitted to this apparent surrendry purely to escape the present danger.

The King, being now master of Moldavia and Walachia, extended his views still farther. Before him lay the ancient Bessarabia, now called *Budziac*(a), and all that vast country which lies between the Danube and the Niester, up to the coast of the Black Sea. The Crim itself tempted his ambition: he was pleased with the idea of chastising the Tartars upon their own ground, and seemed to intend opening himself a passage even to Constantinople, by ways which were deemed impracticable. He therefore resumed his march, without quitting the *Pruth*, the water of which was necessary for the subsistence of the army in so dry a season; and besides this, was very wholesome, and mitigated a disorder that raged among the troops. The fol-

(a) The Budziac Tartars are a branch of those of the Crim. They obey to a certain degree their *Murzes*, that is to say, the heads of their different Hords. The Porte calls them its slaves, but there is not a freer people upon the face of the earth. They are in a state of almost perpetual war; and while other nations consider them as robbers, they call themselves warriors.

diers,

blers, who were scorched with the heat, by eating greedily of cucumbers, melons, and other fruits, brought upon themselves dysenteries; for which the water of the Pruth was an assured remedy. The necessity of following the river in all its windings, augmented the fatigue of the march.

The army was already far advanced; and no enemy, either Turk or Tartar, appeared: for Mahomet, who was acquainted with the King's march into a country so remote from Poland, had given orders to his General not to quit the islands of the Danube, and to the Tartars not to appear on the hither side of the Niefter, till the Polish army was got a great way into the country. His design was to effect its destruction in the same plains, where Darius I. King of Persia, repented his having carried the war against the Scythians, the ancestors of those Tartars whom John was come in quest of upon their own territories.

The danger increased continually as the march was prolonged. When the Poles came to Gallacz, a town not far from the place where the Pruth falls into the Danube, the plain was covered with a confused multitude of Tartars; and soon after, the Turks made their appearance in good order. The King looked towards the Danube, from whence he expected the succour which the Emperor had promised him; but Leopold, attentive only to his own interests, was pushing his successes in Hungary. The King, finding himself deceived, felt all the danger to which he had exposed himself. He had been upon the march full three months; and must now force his way through fresh troops, superior to his own by more than half their number. The only resource left him was to retreat; and this could be done only by weathering a storm for two months together, before he reached the port. Upon such occasions as these, a King, who had not the abilities

Y. 1686. lities of a General, would have no prospect but of being buried in the same abyfs with the companions of his labours : but the Poles looked towards their King, and conceived hopes. He threw a bridge over the Pruth, which, by this means, he placed between the enemy and himself. It happened fortunately, that forage was equally plenty on the other side ; and there was no want of wood. The two armies contended for the water of the Pruth for twenty days together ; and neither of them procured it, but at the price of blood. There was, on each side, a daily revolution of encampments and decampments on the opposite banks of the river, and the cannon was not idle all the time.

In the mean while, the Tartars swam across the Pruth, with a design of getting before the Polish army ; and attempted to effect its destruction, without coming near it. Having observed that the grass, which covered the plain, being dried by the heat of the sun, was easily inflammable, they set it on fire ; and instantly the Poles saw nothing but flames through which they were to pass. This army of incendiaries molested them in a variety of ways at the same time ; by consuming their forage ; by obliging part of the Polish cavalry to be on horseback, by night as well as by day, in order to keep the incendiaries at a distance ; and by retarding the march of the army, because they were forced to allow time for the flames to die away. But when they came to pass over this burnt land, the air they breathed was on fire also. The ashes that rose under the feet of the men and horses, enveloped the whole army in a black cloud. The sweat that covered their faces made the ashes stick ; and instead of Poles, they all looked like Ethiopians. The deserts, through which they passed, afforded nothing but fruit, and the convoys were brought up with great difficulty. The King, Prince James,
and

and the Generals, taught the soldiers, by their example, to bear these hardships. The French officers that served in that campaign, were astonished at the patience and sobriety of the Poles. As they drew near to Yaffi, they found upon the road a great number of hillocks, thrown up by men's hands, which were intended as burying-places for the warriors that have fallen in the many battles, of which Moldavia, comprehended under ancient Dacia, has been the scene. One among the rest, which was a hundred and twenty feet high, gave occasion to critical speculations. The Moldavians call it *Rebea*; and hence it was concluded to be the Mausoleum of a Prince of that name. The King of Poland, who piqued himself upon his learning, gave it as his opinion, that it was the tomb of *Decebalus*, King of the Dacians. A King, with no other quality but learning, would ill discharge the duties of the throne; but if he were, at the same time, the defender, the oeconomist, and the philosopher of the nation, he would be the prodigy of the eighteenth century.

Yaffi received its conqueror again with great joy; but if we may believe the historian Cantemir, the Hospodar's son, it soon had cause to shed tears. He asserts (*a*), " that the King being abandoned
 " by Leopold, and therefore too weak to preserve
 " his conquest, gave up the city to be pillaged,
 " and carried away even the consecrated plate, and
 " the shrines of the saints, which were set with
 " precious stones; that he was seen in person,
 " with a torch in his hand, setting fire to two mo-
 " nasteries which refused to give up their treasures;
 " and that the murders and rapes which were com-
 " mitted, drove away the inhabitants, both of the
 " town and country; by which means his army

(a) Tom. ii. p. 118.

Y. 1686. "was reduced to great want." The Poles deny these horrid facts; and the veracity of the historian may be doubted, as it was his father's dominions that were invaded. All nations that are at war accuse one another of cruelty; and at the very time of the charge, it is difficult for those who are not upon the spot to find out the truth. Who then will venture to decide, at so great a distance of time and place?

Be this as it will, the King resumed his march towards Poland; and the Tartars perceiving that he took his route by Cornar, poisoned the lake which supplies the town with water. "I doubt not, says Cantemir (a), but what I am going to relate will seem incredible to those who have not seen it; and even after having been an eye-witness of it myself, I cannot conceal the surprize it gives me. The Tartars are possessed of a secret, which is known only by three or four of the nation: I mean, the knowledge of a plant, of so poisonous a nature, that being thrown into water, whether standing or running, it destroys both man and beast without remedy." If Cantemir saw well, these three or four poisoners are masters of the lives of the whole nation, and of all that can do them any hurt.

The King, either from suspicion, or good fortune, changing his design, quitted the flat country, to go and encamp along the *Seret*; from whence, quite to the frontiers of his own dominions, he supplied with provisions all the ruined towns where he had left troops, and compleated the forts he had raised. Though all these precautions did not secure to him his conquests, there resulted from them, however, one advantage to the country itself, which was visible the very next year. The towns,

(a) Tom. ii. p. 166.

which

which had so long been deserted, begun to be filled again with inhabitants, under the protection of the Polish arms: the neighbouring villages were repaired: the Greek and Armenian merchants, who are incessantly passing between Europe and Asia, were glad to find places of safety to lodge their goods: the Jews also came hither to seek an asylum; and even the Poles themselves, I mean the peasants, in order to avoid the slavery in which the nobles keep them, came to enjoy the common rights of humanity in the newly-conquered country. Pokrusia, which the army crossed before it finished its retreat, a Polish province, in a state of desolation, equal to that of the eastern part of Moldavia, partook of the same benefits.

The King, in this expedition, enjoyed the unusual glory of being a benefactor to the people he had conquered. Leopold, on the other hand, while he exposed his ally, kept all his troops to be employed for his own advantage. He felt the crown of Hungary totter upon his head, while Buda continued in the hands of the Turks. The Duke of Lorrain, who had raised the siege of that town in 1684, resumed his design of taking it, with more eagerness than before. The place was very strong in itself, and defended by the Bashaw *Apté*. The Visir Soliman kept the field, with a great army. But the Duke surmounted all obstacles, took Buda by assault, and drove the Visir beyond the Drave. The Visir, who was a man of reflection, now found by experience the truth of what he had often said himself, that success in enterprizes of the second order, is no security of success in those of the first. The Bashaw *Apté* was spared the mortification of being a witness of this disgrace, by being killed upon the breach. Upon this occasion too, Prince Eugene gave specimens of his future merit.

Y. 1636.

At the same time, the Turkish arms suffered another check in the Morea. The Venetians, who had got footing in that country the preceding year, now fortified themselves there, by the taking of Calamata, Navarrin, Modon, and Napoli di Romania (a), after having beat the Turks in several encounters.

If the King of Poland did not gain any great advantage over them this campaign, he at least kept them at bay with inferior forces. In the month of November he arrived at Leopold, where the Ambassadors from Muscovy expected him. The two Czars, *Iwan* and *Peter*, who reigned together upon the same throne, which only one of them deserved to fill, had hitherto done nothing for the league. They wanted previously to secure to themselves the Polish towns and lordships, which they held only in trust; *Smolensko* (b), *Kiowia* (c), *the Palatinate of Czernicow*, and *the Duchy of Severia*. To support so long a war, Poland stood in need of men and money. The Ambassadors made an offer of troops, paid down one million immediately, promised to pay another, and the cession was made in form.

In concluding this treaty, the King consulted rather the authority he had acquired by his virtues, than the laws. The lands of the republic cannot be alienated but by the republic itself, assembled

(a) This town, called by Ptolomy *Nauplia navale*. because it was built by Nauplius, son of Neptune and Amynone, is a seaport situated in a gulph of ancient Argia, called *Sinus Argolicus*. In the room of the ancient Grecian temples have succeeded mosques, synagogues, and Christian churches, without any hostile intentions towards each other; and the traders of all nations have an entire liberty of serving God in their own way.

(b) A town situated upon the Borysthenes.

(c) Kiowia or Kiow, upon the western bank of the same river.

in

in a diet; and the present cession was authorized only by a decree of the Senate. The Poles murmured greatly at this circumstance; and besides, they thought it was purchasing, at too high a price, the assistance of a nation, whom they then looked upon with contempt. But things are now much changed; and the present age has seen Muscovy decide the fate of Poland, by giving it its Kings. Y. 1686.

In the same assembly of the Senate, the King ventured upon another breach of the laws, which made the republic exclaim loudly against him. To understand the foundation of the complaint, it must be observed, that Poland indulges the children of its Kings with no privileges which may induce them to consider the throne as an hereditary possession; and in order to impress upon them more strongly the idea of republican equality, they are subject to the jurisdiction of the Senate, at the time when their father holds the sceptre. There have been instances, particularly those of Albert and Ferdinand, sons of Sigismund III. of their soliciting to be admitted into the Senate; but those Princes were received only upon the express condition of taking an oath of fidelity to the republic. John, upon the present occasion, attempted much more in favour of Prince James, by seating him on the throne by his side, when he gave audience to the Muscovite Ambassadors. This was, in some measure, declaring him King elect, and consequently infringing the liberty of the nation.

The Queen also upon the same occasion, arrogated to herself one of the prerogatives of royalty. By the constitution of Poland, the Queen is kept at a distance from all public affairs, and of course not permitted to give audience to Ambassadors. The Muscovites, seduced by the caresses of her who now sat upon the throne, solicited of her a public audience, and easily obtained it. This step gave occasion

Y. 1686. occasion to general discontent; so that no one received any real satisfaction, except the Ambassadors, who were treated with extraordinary marks of distinction. They met with a different reception at Vienna, where they went next to ratify the treaty of the league. Being at that time a savage race, who felt the brutal passions, but knew not how to curb them, they seized young girls by force; and even fathers came to demand their sons, whom they had corrupted; a conduct which gave great scandal in a decent, and even austere court. The Emperor concluded the alliance in all haste, and sent away these lawless envoys to their own country, and their own manners.

The King of Poland, after their departure, united the apostolic with the regal character. The prevailing religion in Poland is the Roman Catholic; but in the southern provinces of Black Russia, Pokrusia, Podolia, Volhinia, and the Ukraine, there are ten Greeks to one Catholic. The Bishops, like the Basilian monasteries from whence they were taken, were subject to the Patriarch of Muscovy; and their most sacred Dogma is an everlasting hatred for Rome. The King thought it would be serving both God and the state, to reconcile them with that church; and as the Bishops were then at court, on account of their temporal concerns, he gratified them beyond their hopes, and then prevailed upon them to hear the point of the schism discussed. Accordingly, conferences were appointed, and the King assisted at them in person, to moderate the acrimony of the Theologians. The Bishops were but little affected by the arguments that were produced against them; but the lenity and beneficence of the King gave force to the reasons of his party; and several of these wandering pastors sent Deputies to Rome to be admitted, together with their flocks, into the fold of St. Peter.

But

Y. 1686.

But while the King was thus labouring for Rome, he was upon the point of coming to a rupture with that court. The thing in dispute was, whether there should be any Capuchins in Poland; or at least, whether France or Italy should have the privilege of furnishing the kingdom with that precious commodity. Innocent XI. was resolved to allow none but Italians: both parties were obstinate, and grew angry, which might have been attended with bad consequences; for even the whims of Princes become matters of state. At last, since one Capuchin was probably as good as another, the King chose rather to receive the present from Italy, than to continue empty-handed.

It is difficult to reconcile the zeal which the Pope had for the league, with the little regard he shewed for the hero of that alliance. It was now eight years since the King had nominated to a Cardinal's hat, *Forbin*, Bishop of Beauvais, who had been twice Ambassador at his court. Innocent XI. after having seen the extinction of almost the whole sacred college, raised it up again by a promotion of four and forty Cardinals; and in all this great number there appeared not the name of the Bishop of Beauvais; but there were two Poles in the list, whom the King never dreamed of: *Radziowski*, Bishop of Warmia, his relation; and the Abbot of *Henoff*, his Envoy Extraordinary at Rome. It is probable, that the Pope, who had had more than one quarrel with France, had a mind to mortify Lewis XIV. in the person of the Bishop of Beauvais, without regarding the resentment of the King of Poland; who, being equally chagrined at what was granted, and at what was refused him, would not honour the ceremony of investing the new Cardinals with the hat, with his royal presence. The Abbot of *Henoff* quitted Poland for ever, and went to receive the hat at the fountain-head: an event

Y. 1686. event which occasioned a law, to exclude all ecclesiastics from being sent as Ministers to the court of Rome. The Bishop of Warmia was invested with the hat, in a private manner, by the person that brought it from the Pope; and was no sooner clothed in the purple, than he claimed a right of precedence before his master's sons. Such was the will of the court of Rome, which it signified by the Nuncio *Palavicini*.

It was in the age of the Emperor Charles the fifth, that the Cardinals first assumed so exalted a rank. At that time, most of the kingdoms in Europe had a Cardinal for first Minister: *Ximenes* governed in Spain, always clad in the habit of a Franciscan Fryar, but haughtier than even the haughtiest Spaniard; *Duprat* in France; *Wolsey* in England; *Martinusius* in Hungary; and even Charles the fifth himself, after having dismissed *Ximenes*, chose for his prime Minister, his preceptor, Cardinal Adrian, whom afterwards he made Pope. It is no difficult matter for subordinate Kings to usurp honours; but Poland was hitherto unaccustomed to the claims of the Roman purple.

The King, who was nettled to the quick, forbade the new Cardinal and the Nuncio to appear in his presence, till the Pope had given him satisfaction with regard to the Bishop of Beauvais; and he complained heavily of the affront to the court of Rome. The King of France joined in the remonstrance; but Innocent heard them with pleasure, and continued inflexible; nor was it till after the Pope's death, that the two Kings saw the Bishop *Forbin* converted into a Cardinal de *Fanson*.

Y. 1687. These mortifications increased the disorders which already preyed upon the health of the King of Poland. A wound that he formerly received at the battle of Berestek, in the reign of Casimir, had left impressions behind it, which became more trouble-

troublesome as he advanced in age : and the gravel, a still more dangerous complaint, gave him frequent intimations that he was mortal. His physicians advised him to give up the command of the army, and to relax his attention to affairs of state : but his answer was, *Why was I made a King? If I am to be cured, it shall not be by sitting still.*

While the physicians were consulting in what manner to treat his case, he was informed of the death of the *Great Condé*, whom the gout had at length worn out. They had both discovered, from their earliest youth, great talents for war : they had saved their country more than once : they had both stood for, and both deserved, the same crown ; and they had congratulated each other by letter upon their victories : all which formed a sort of connection that made the King more sensibly affected with his death. In one respect however they were different, that Condé had quitted the field at fifty five ; but the King, who was farther advanced in life, and felt equally the symptoms of illness and decay, was still intent upon war ; and for this purpose quitted Leopold to come to Zolkiew.

This change of situation placed him upon the frontiers of the kingdom, in the midst of the winter-quarters of the army, and at a season of the year when other Generals are of opinion, that the smallest degree of success gives them a right to unbend themselves in the pleasures of the capital. The Queen pressed her husband to make use of this privilege ; and her intreaties were seconded by deputations from the nobility of all the provinces, who represented to him of what consequence his health was to the state, and how great a loss the kingdom would sustain by losing him. Harangues of this sort are mere empty compliments to the generality of Kings ; but upon the present occasion they expressed the real sentiments of the nation. But as

John

Y. 1687. John was not born upon the throne; he had none of that delicate attention to his own ease, which is always the effect of effeminacy, and frequently the cause of inconveniences to the public. He refused to comply with their solicitations, and he had his reasons for so doing. He was apprehensive of incursions from the Tartars, who are never stopped by winter: it was necessary to reinforce and sustain the posts which he had established from the Niester to the very heart of Moldavia; and he knew that things are always best done, under the inspection of the master's eye: a maxim which is still more to be depended on, if the master be himself a judge of the business; and the King was certainly a good one.

There were many Polish prisoners, or rather slaves, confined at Kaminiack, whose fate gave the King great concern: the republic also had Turkish prisoners in its hands: the King therefore sent the officer (a), from whose memoirs these particulars are taken, to treat about an exchange. By the constitution of Poland, the power of the King is confined within such narrow limits, that even his subjects are not suffered to be exchanged by his authority, but by that of the Grand-General. Upon this occasion however, the affair was transacted in the King's name. The captives whom he claimed belonged to the *Gendarmes* and *Pancerns*, two bodies of cavalry entirely made up of gentlemen: the Turks he had in his power were officers of the Spahis, or Janizaries, and the two Bashaws of Silistria and Caramania, who were taken in 1683, at the battle of Barcan. The King made a present of them to the Grand General, who had not yet received their ransom (b): There were also in irons

(a) Dupont.

(b) The ransom of the two Bashaws was fixed at 200 purses, each worth about five hundred piastres; in the whole 700,000 French livres, or about 32,000 pounds.

On

On both sides many common soldiers, whose exchange was attended with no difficulty. At the first conference that was held upon the subject, the Bashaw Husein, Governor of Kamienieck, declared to the Polish envoy the intentions of the Grand Seignior, in these terms: "If thy master will be contented with exchanging the common soldiers, thou mayest take them away with thee immediately, and send me the captive Spahis and Janizaries. I will even return him his gentlemen at a fixed price: but as for the Grand-Seignior's officers, who have suffered themselves to be taken prisoners, and particularly the two Bashaws, tell them that they must never hope to see the Sublime Porte again. A true Mussulman, who bears arms, should die a thousand times, rather than be reduced to slavery; and if those who command had this greatness of soul, their example would be followed by those who obey."

The negotiation was protracted to a great length: because Husein had no money to give, and that which he was to receive from the Poles was not ready. It is natural to pity the fate of the two Bashaws, whose chains were riveted on them afresh, if we recollect their gallant behaviour in the bloody battle of Barcan; where they were taken in the very thickest of the action, covered with wounds, and faint with loss of blood. The Porte continued its severity towards them for eight years longer; but the Grand-General alleviated the weight of this long captivity, by treating them like brethren.

By the laws of Poland, a diet was to be assembled this year: but the senate put it off, to save expences at a time when the continuation of the war was so heavy a burden. The nation, however, though not assembled in form, murmured greatly at the projects of its chief. His plan for the ensuing campaign, was to secure his conquest of Moldavia,

Y. 1697. davia, by carrying his victorious arms quite to the black sea, where he depended upon making himself master of the fortresses of Kilia and Bialogrod. To execute this design, it was necessary that he should continue steadfast in the league, notwithstanding his dissatisfaction with the Emperor, to the end that the Turks, being attacked on all quarters, might be more easily dispossessed of their territories on the side of Poland. But Poland begun to suspect that these great projects were calculated for the benefit of his own family more than for that of the nation; and those who had no doubt that this was his intention, observed in an angry strain, that it would be still more difficult to keep than to conquer; that it was maintaining a war of which there would be no end; and aiming at distant objects, while the enemy was suffered to continue undisturbed at the gates of the kingdom, in a fortress which it was a disgrace not to retake. The King could not help feeling that the complaints were just; and the bombardment of Kamienieck was resolved on. The Polish soldiery, the chief strength of which lay in the cavalry, was by no means proper for sieges of any sort, and much less for the present service, when a place was to be attacked, that was well able to defend itself. The Turks, since they had been in possession of Kamienieck, had considerably increased its fortifications; and a garrison of ten thousand men, made up both of Janizaries and Spahis were resolved to sell their lives at a dear rate. It was therefore judged prudent to attack it by bombardment; and as it expected a convoy which was supposed to be absolutely necessary for its subsistence, the Poles flattered themselves with the hopes of intercepting it, and taking the place by famine, if the fire of the bombs was found to be insufficient.

The

The army begun its march about the end of June. Y. 1697.
 The King attended the expedition in a languid and exhausted state: his mind had lost nothing of its former vigour; but his bodily strength failed him entirely at Jallowiecz, where he was obliged to give up the command, and Prince James took possession of it with all the ensigns of power. When a King of Poland is at the head of his army, a lance adorned with a horse's tail, called *Bontchouk*, is carried before him, as a signal of the royal presence. The four Generals, of Poland and Lithuania, have also their *Bontchouks*; but they are lowered in the King's presence. The same respect was now paid to Prince James; and the Generals, who are subject to the King only, received orders from his son. The thing was hitherto without example, and of great consequence to a young Prince who aimed at regal dignity. The most singular circumstance of all was, that the Generals consented to it without reluctance; for they were afraid of disobliging a King, who, by his virtues, disarmed even pride itself.

The Prince therefore, taking the thunderbolt out of his father's hands, advanced towards Kamienieck, where he arrived on the 10th of July. The Turks have a degree of confidence that is unknown among us; for, after the place was invested, they sent back several Polish prisoners, whose ransom had been paid. In such a case as this, we should be afraid of discovering the defects of the place; but it is a maxim with the Turks, that surprize can never succeed against persons who are upon their guard; and yet this does not prevent their having an eye upon such as are suspected of giving intelligence. They had allowed the public exercise of the Christian religion to be continued in a church, which they called the mosque of *Iffevi* (the Turkish word for Jesus) where two Jesuits officiated. The Turks

Y. 1687. consider the Christians as idolaters, and yet protect them in their dominions. The two Jesuits made a bad use of this protection, by giving intelligence to the Poles of the dispositions they observed in the place. Their letters were intercepted, and they expected nothing but death. The Bashaw only ordered them to be conducted to Prince James, and gave them leave to carry with them as much as they could of their effects. The remainder was deposited in the church, and the doors sealed, till the Grand-Seignior's pleasure was known: a lenity of behaviour, which astonished the criminals and the whole Christian army.

The bombardment lasted six days with a most terrifying noise. The besiegers played upon the town with fifty pieces of cannon, and sixteen mortars; and the besieged returned their fire from three hundred. The Bashaw *Hussein* had taken all proper precautions to lessen the effect of the bombs; and besides, the place was not now in the same case, as when Mahomet took it. At that time, it was filled with all the nobility of Podolia, who dreading the last extremities, (the women especially and the children, who made the air resound with their cries) struck the garrison with terror and confusion; and talked of nothing but surrendering: whereas, in the present crisis, it contained nothing but soldiers.

The Poles soon discovered that their powder was consuming to little purpose; and thought proper to slacken their fire, when they saw the Tartars pass the Niefter, and advance towards them; and a few days after, the Seraskier appeared at the head of twenty five thousand Turks, preparing to pass it also. Prince James was eager to come to blows: it was the first time of his commanding in chief, and he was impatient to shew that he deserved that honour. But the Seraskier whose reputation was
 already

already established, resolved to fight only in case of necessity, and seeing the enemy retire to a league's distance from the place, he contented himself with observing their motions, without passing the river.

While they were thus watching each other, the King, who staid at Jaslowiecz, was more solicitous about the operations of the army, than his own health. He continued in this post; in order to be ready for whatever might happen, and to be able to act with his head, though his arm was useless. The situation, however, was not without danger; being distant only ten leagues from the Tartars, who are a wandering and rapid body, and the King was guarded by a little camp of no more than two thousand men. The circumstance that gave him most uneasiness, was his being attended by the court, which was put into an alarm as soon as the Tartars had passed the Niester. The Queen, the Princess of Poland, the Marchioness of Bethune, and the maids of honour might easily fall into the hands of these barbarians: it could not be expected that they should be all heroines; and some were so far from it, as to fall sick out of fear. The Queen, however, was not one of this number: her curiosity was so great, that she ventured to advance to the bank of the river, though some boatmen had been taken prisoners the same day in that very place. A Tartarian envoy, who came to the court next day, thought proper to remind the King, that his companions did not wear bells to give notice of their approach.

In the mean time, nothing decisive happened between the two armies, who only cannonaded each other across the river with little loss. The campaign ended with no other exploit than the ruin of a few houses in Kaminiéck, and the death of three or four hundred Tartars, who fell into an ambu-

Y. 1687. cade : inconsiderable effects to be produced by so great a cause.

The efforts of the league were attended with success in other places ; but it was not where the greatest armies were employed, as might naturally have been expected. Prince *Galliczin*, Favourite of the Regent of Muscovy, first Minister of state and Generalissimo of the army, advanced through the Ukraine towards the Black Sea, with an army of three hundred thousand foot and a hundred thousand horse. *Peter the Great*, who was destined to discipline these troops, was yet a child. Galliczin proposed to make himself master of the Crim, a peninsula from whence had issued so many swarms of Tartars that carried terror to the very gates of Moscow. By exterminating this hive, he would have greatly weakened the Turkish power ; but when his army, which eat up all the countries through which it passed, had crossed the Samara, a little river which is the boundary of the Ukraine, it was presented with a smoking desert, fifty leagues in extent. The Tartars had burnt the whole country as far as Pre-cop, a fortress which guards the Isthmus of the Crim. Galliczin was stopped by famine and disease, and a great part of his soldiers perished, without having seen the enemy.

Morosini, who was more fortunate and more discreet, though his forces were but small, after having made himself master of the Dardanel, Lepanto, Castelnovo, Portoleone and ancient Attica, completed the conquest of Peloponnesus, which was of greater value than Candia. The Venetian bombs destroyed, in this expedition, many monuments of antiquity which the Turks had spared ; and among the rest, the famous temple of Athens dedicated *To the unknown God (a)*. That celebrated city, whose
very

(a) Some learned men assure us that the whole inscription, which St. Paul saw upon the altar at Athens, was as follows :

very ruins still command respect; together with Epidaurus and Corinth, seemed to rejoice at being under the dominion of masters who were judges of arts and genius.

But the General, who gave the greatest blow to the Ottoman empire in this campaign, was the Duke of Lorrain. This defender of the house of Austria, after having defeated the Visir Soliman upon the banks of the Drave, taken his camp with the tents standing, and passed the bridge of Esiek with the runaways, extended himself along that river towards Sclavonia, without losing sight of what remained to be subdued in upper Hungary. *Agria*, surnamed by the Turks *the impregnable*, was capable of making great resistance; but when the Visir intended to reinforce it with twelve thousand Spahis, they refused to obey his Commands. The spirit of mutiny, being communicated from one troop to another, almost instantaneously, made the Visir tremble for his own safety, and take refuge in Belgrade. The army, deserted by its General, chose one of its own; and instead of opposing the progress of the Duke of Lorrain, marched directly to Constantinople to change its master. Mahomet IV. who had taken Candia, and other islands, from the Venetians; the Ukraine, Podolia and Volhinia from the Poles; and Hungary from the house of Austria, was upon the point of being stripped himself of all his power by the hands of his own slaves. His reign, ever since the fatal expedition of Vienna,

To the Gods of Asia, Europe, and Africa; to the unknown and foreign Gods. St. Jerom in particular is clearly of this opinion: *Comm. in Epist. ad Titum. C. 1.* And yet St. Paul, in his sermon before the Areopagites, comprehends the whole inscription in these two words *Ignoto Deo, To the unknown God.* St. Jerom will have it that he did so, in order to give more force to his preaching: but it is difficult to imagine, that the belief of one God stood in need of this inconsiderable advantage, in order to be preached with success.

Y. 1687.

where the King of Poland put a stop to his victories, had been nothing but a series of disgraces.

When the mutinous troops were arrived at the gates of Constantinople, Mahomet sent to demand what they wanted of their Emperor. But, during their march, he had already made a reformation in certain points, which had long excited the murmurs of the public. He had taken off some extraordinary taxes, which the dissipation of his revenues had forced him to lay on; he had sold his jewels, reduced his stables and hunting-equipages, diminished the expence of his gardens, dismissed from his seraglio a great number of Sultanas, who carried away with them a still greater number of slaves, and broke off his commerce with *Kulogli*, a passion equally condemned by the Alcoran and by nature. This Catamite, who was one of the pages of his music, was dressed in the same manner with himself, never absent from his side, richer than any *Bacha*, and had all his wishes anticipated. But the sacrifice which must have cost the Sultan most, was to depose four of his favourites, two of whom had helped to ruin the empire: the only crime of the other two was being unfortunate. The army demanded their heads, and he was forced to send them: they were those of the *Testerdar*, or Treasurer of the empire; of the *Giurumchi-Bachi*, or Receiver of the revenue of the Demesne-lands; of the *Visir Ibrahim*, who had been disgraced two years before; and of *Soliman*, his successor. The latter was a formidable instance of the revolutions of human fortune. He had distinguished himself in twenty different engagements; and was esteemed and beloved, till the time of his being invested with all the authority of his master. His head was brought to the army last of all; and the mutineers, at the very time when they rejoiced at its being taken off, seemed still to shew it some respect.

Hitherto

Hitherto the army had not ventured within the limits of Constantinople; but the Janizaries soon led the way, crying out in the streets that the indolent and unsuccessful Mahomet ought to be deposed. The *Ulema*, that is to say, the assembly of Lawyers and Divines, met in the mosque of St. Sophia, where the Emperor's trial was finished in a few hours. He had had too long a series of misfortunes not to be charged with all the calamities of the state. On this occasion, he repented that he had not executed, upon his brothers, the cruel law of Bajazet; for news was brought to the seraglio, that it was intended to set the crown upon the head of his brother Soliman. It was then too late to make away with him; for the Bostangi-Bachi guarded the apartment of the Princes with an armed force. The reins of government were taken from Mahomet, and delivered into the hands of Soliman, who had languished in prison for forty years. When the Caimacan, the Cherif of the mosque of St. Sophia, and the Nakib, or keeper of the standard of Mahomet, signified to the Emperor that he must quit the throne, and that such was the pleasure of the nation, he answered; *The will of God be done, since his indignation is destined to fall upon my head. Go tell my brother, that the Almighty declares his pleasure by the mouth of the people.* We see, by this answer, that these Sultans, with all their despotism, acknowledge a power in the nation superior to their own; and it is a maxim with the Lawyers of the Ottoman empire, that this power is inherent in all the nations of the world.

Mahomet had several sons, but they were too young to reign. The Turks always chuse their Emperors out of the Ottoman family; but they do not think that an infant, a weak, or a wicked Prince, has a right to reign, because he is descended in a direct line, or happens to be the first-born: Sons, brothers,

Y. 1687. thers, or uncles, they chuse indifferently out of all ; and have often made a happy choice. As for what farther relates to Mahomet, having spared the lives of his brothers, he died a natural death ; and was not taken off by poison, as was reported in Constantinople (a). The ground of such surmises is, that the people, in all countries, suppose the great to commit all the villainies they can : a supposition not at all to the honour of their own morals.

While the Turks were employing their strength in civil broils, the Duke of Lorraine completed the reduction of Hungary. There was yet remaining a woman of undaunted courage, who defended herself to the last. Being daughter of the unhappy Serini, widow of Ragotki, and wife of Tekeli, she had vowed an eternal hatred to the house of Austria. She held out for two years in Mongatz, a fortress where Tekeli had shut up his treasures, his archives, and his children, with a strong garrison. He himself was wandering about in remote provinces, and could give no assistance to his wife ; who being besieged by famine, partook at last in the fate of Hungary ; and being carried to Vienna, was reduced to repeat her Rosary in a convent, while her children were taken from her, and put under the tuition of the Jesuits of Prague. What completed her grief, was to see the Archduke crowned King of Hungary, without an election. The victorious Leopold refused to grant the Hungarians any terms but a scaffold, which he erected in the town of *Eperies*. The blood of the natives of that kingdom continued to flow from March to December ; and the crown of Hungary was declared hereditary by the nobility, in the presence of the executioners. It is but a melancholy consideration for the people, that so dreadful a method should succeed.

(a) Cantemir, tom. ii. p. 134.

One satisfaction was still wanting to Leopold; Y. 1687. namely, to get Tekeli into his power. The Turks, who had restored him to liberty, did not give him up; but assigned to him the towns of *Widin*, *Carranfibes*, and *Lugos*, with their territory, which he exchanged for the kingdom of Hungary.

The King of Poland, when he was informed of the horrid tragedy that had been acted in Hungary, repented that he had not set that crown upon the head of his son, when the Hungarians, won by his virtues, solicited him to do it, after the battle of Vienna. Being now decaying in his health, he hoped at least to transmit to him that which he wore himself, and resolved to take advantage of the approaching diet, to make the Poles concur in his design.

End of the SEVENTH BOOK.

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF
JOHN SOBIESKI
KING OF POLAND.

BOOK VIII.

Y. 1688. **T**HE diet, which ought to have been assembled at Gródno the preceding year, was now appointed to meet at that place. The King would have chose it rather at Warsaw, where he hoped to make it turn out more to his advantage; but the Lithuanians adhered strictly to the law; and Grodno was fixed upon for the 25th of January. The King and all his court came there, without delay: Prince James, who flattered himself with the expectation of acting a distinguished part upon this occasion, was there before the day appointed. He had lately commanded the army, and taken his seat upon the throne by his father's side in 1686. These were so many steps towards royalty; but there yet remained one, which was more delicate and more decisive

decisive than all. He had as yet been seated upon the throne, only in an assembly of the Senate, without the consent of the nation assembled by its representatives: the point now in question was, to ascend it in the most public manner; and the King, who earnestly desired it, lent his hand to help him up. In absolute governments, where the King acts contrary to the law, the grandees are silent, because they have every thing, even their liberty itself, to lose: but in Poland, they speak out, because the Prince can take nothing from them.

The King, however, had no reason to expect the opposition on that quarter from whence it proceeded. He had loaded the Sapięha's with riches, honours, and power; and it was they who thought themselves obliged to prefer the constitution of their country to private gratitude. They called to their assistance the Ministers of the Emperor and the Czar, without forgetting the Nuncio from Rome: a person, whose authority in Poland is a surprize to other nations; being allowed a jurisdiction and a tribunal in a republic, whose haughty spirit is always opposing its Kings.

The union that was formed against the projects of the court gained daily new partisans. The cry was, that the laws were no longer respected; that an attempt was made to impose a King upon the nation, without its consent; whereas it could not, even itself, dispose of the throne, till it should become vacant: and menaces were thrown out of dissolving the diet, and taking vigorous measures to secure the rights of the nation, if Prince James did not immediately leave Lithuania. A hard necessity this for the son of a King, to whom Poland was so much indebted! When the Great are thus obliged to submit to the will of the people, they endeavour, at least, to find out some specious pretext to palliate their weakness. Prince James found himself strongly

Y. 1688. strongly inclined to pay his devotions at a celebrated monastery, called the Mount of Pazzi, and to hunt in the neighbourhood of Wilna; and it happened fortunately that his pursuit of the game carried him out of Lithuania.

This act of complaisance restored tranquillity to the diet, and its deliberations were beginning to grow favourable to the court; but the Queen, who was highly piqued at the affront put upon her son, was carrying on an intrigue to dissolve the assembly. The agent she made use of was *Dombrowski*, a man of a bold front, strong lungs, and turbulent eloquence, who by his clamours, and his *veto*, incapacitated the tribunal of the nation to proceed upon public business. The Queen's venturing so far, was owing to the ascendant which the King had suffered her to assume.

The King, who was not in the secret, and who intended to take the opinion of the nation upon matters of great importance relating to the approaching campaign, attempted to remedy the evil, by summoning all the members of the first order of the state, to a Senatorial assembly; but the spirit of discord was gone forth, and disturbed all his measures. The new Cardinal Radziowski was the first rock of offence. He was a Senator by virtue of his Episcopal character, and as such, no one disputed his right to a seat in the Senate; but he was also a Cardinal, and upon this footing claimed the first place. By the laws of Poland, no rank or precedence is allowed to the Roman purple; and for this reason, there had hitherto been only three Cardinals in that kingdom; *Ofus*, *Radziwil*, and Prince *Casimir*, before he came to the crown. The Poles had avoided a rupture with them as well as they could; but the generality of the nation entertained the same sentiments with the Greeks, in the time of the last Emperor of Constantinople:

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We had rather, said they, see the turban here, than the Cardinal's hat. Radziowski was embarrassed with his dignity from the very day that he received it, and studiously avoided both the court and the Senate; the former, because, according to the maxims of Rome, he must have claimed precedence before the royal family; and the latter, because the Bishops, his brethren, would make him no concessions. There was only one event, which could put an end to all difficulties, by uniting the primacy with the purple; and the death of the Archbishop of Gnesna fell out in a lucky season. By the favour of the King, Radziowski was advanced to that exalted post, and became a striking example of the power of fortune. His mother indeed was a Sobieski; but when he studied at Paris, he was obliged to live in a manner that ill became his birth. He was now, next to the King, the first person in the republic, and little imagined, that his right of precedence in the Senate would be disputed; but the Bishops made it an objection, that he had not yet received his bulls of investiture from Rome. This new difficulty was the more puzzling, as it was unforeseen; but after much heat and many debates, the Bishop of Cracow convinced his brethren, that the Pope's bulls related entirely to spiritual functions; and Radziowski took his seat, much to the satisfaction of the King, who expected great assistance from him in the present juncture. But the Primate, whose conduct was always dark and artful, secretly thwarted his designs; and besides, the minds of the members were so exasperated, that he could not have been of much use.

Instead of deliberating upon the means of continuing the war with greater vigour, or making an advantageous peace; the first persons that spoke, dwelt entirely upon the presumption of Prince James,

Y. 1688. James, the influence of the Queen in public affairs, the suspicious residence of the Marquis de Bethune in Poland, the intrigues of France, the inutility of so many expeditions against the Turks, and the disgrace of leaving Kaminiéck any longer in their power. Their complaints, however, were expressed at least in respectful terms: but the Palatine of Siradia, a creature, and even a prisoner of the King's, declaimed against his benefactor in the most outrageous manner, and called him, to his face, an infringer of the laws, an oppressor of the people, and an enemy to his country (a). Examples of this sort are enough to deter men from beneficence; but great minds find a pleasure in furnishing men with opportunities of being ungrateful.

The King had learnt, from his dispute with Paz, in the diet of 1685, that though a subject forgets his duty, a King, who is the image of God, ought to command his temper; and therefore he replied to all these accusations, as if they had not concerned himself. He made a distinction between the language of passion, and what had some appearance of reason. He did not pretend to have been exempt from all faults; and defended himself with that dignity and moderation which confounds the efforts of calumny, and diminishes real faults. The only revenge he took of the violent Palatine, was not doing him the honour to address his discourse to him, but to the nation in general. He had made no preparation for this apology; but having formed an habit of speaking in public, and being thoroughly acquainted with affairs of state, he could at any time dispense with the ceremony of delivering his sentiments by his Chancellor, and speak, as the Poles call it, *ex Throno*.

(a) Zaluski, tom. ii. pages 1059, and 1090.

While this passed in the Senate, there was handed about, in Grodno, a satire against the King and the Queen, of so scandalous a nature, that the memoirs of that time have not transmitted it to posterity. A clergyman also, who was preaching upon the subject of confession, had the audaciousness to say, in the Queen's presence, that *Kings confessed only small sins, and said nothing of great; that it was well known, there was a Prince in the world, who thought it no crime to sell offices of state, and to sacrifice his country to his blind complaisance for a wife.* The preacher, whose enthusiastic zeal offended even those who agreed with him in opinion, got off for only making a recantation, in the same pulpit where the offence was given; and the libel was condemned to the flames, without any enquiry after the author (a).

In the midst of this scene of distraction, the King could not help seeing that the Queen alienated from him the affections of many of his subjects, and therefore sent her away; but without any diminution of his tenderness. She set out for Warsaw with great reluctance, and full of resentment against those whom she suspected of giving the King this advice.

He himself, when he had calmed the minds of the Senators as much as possible, proposed to their consideration the maintenance of the war, and got a subsidy to be assigned for that purpose, but far short of what was necessary. He put an end to the assembly of the Senate, by protesting, that, notwithstanding the mortifications they had given him, he would not desert the republic; that the weakness of his health should not hinder him from commanding the army; and that death would be welcome to him, if he left Poland victorious and

(a) Zaluski, tom. ii, pages 1059 and 1060.

happy.

Y. 1688. happy. He must needs have been highly offended with the Sapieha's; and yet he honoured with his presence the funeral of one of the brothers, who was Master of the Horse of Lithuania. The Poles display as much magnificence in their funerals as in their diets. The expence the Sapieha's were at in mere pageantry, and in purchasing prayers for the soul of the deceased, would have supplied the numerous retinue of gentlemen in their brother's service, with bread. The ceremony and the sorrow ended together with a great entertainment, where all the company got drunk, according to established custom.

At the same time, a scene of a more joyful sort was preparing for the King at Wilna, the capital of Lithuania; a city, which, having never seen its sovereign, was impatient to pay him its homage. The people took no part in these quarrels of state; they were attentive only to the glory, and the benevolent disposition of their sovereign; and left it to the grandees to criticize his faults. He was received upon the road, and in that great city, with those acclamations, and signs of joy which are never extorted from a free people against their will.

From Wilna he repaired to Warsaw, where the Queen was impatient to see him, as much for the pleasure of sharing with him in the government, as for the love she bore him. She prevailed upon him to submit to a course of physic, before he took up arms; and to concert measures for marrying Prince James to a widow, whose immense possessions were coveted all over Europe. This widow was the heiress of the house of Radziwil, the same that Prince James would have married once before, in the year 1680, and whom he lost by means of the Elector of Brandenburg, who procured her for his son, Prince Lewis. The young husband
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did not long enjoy his acquisition; and the court of Poland negotiated at Berlin to get possession of the widow, with greater hopes of success than ever. The treaty was already far advanced, and the Polish Envoy sent word, that Prince James's presence was necessary to ensure success. The Prince flew to Berlin, entered the town incognito, and had a conference with the French Minister, who was ordered by his master to promote the match, with a view to take off King John from the interests of the house of Austria. He had a private interview with the young widow, and got from her a formal promise to marry him in eight months, (by which time her mourning would be out,) upon pain of forfeiting all her fortune. The marriage-presents were given and received on each side, and the Prince set out for Warsaw, perfectly satisfied with his success. In consequence of this match, he would be in possession of four duchies in the heart of Poland, acquire great personal weight, and be a considerable step nearer to the throne.

The news of the Prince's success was received with great joy by the court of Warsaw, and particularly by the King, who loved his son tenderly, and stood in great need of laying his heart open to the impressions of joy. But it was only a transitory gleam, which was soon followed by grief. While Prince James was returning home with his promise, a more fortunate rival actually married the Lady at Berlin. The Husband was Prince Charles of Newburg, third son to the Elector Palatine, and brother to the Empress. The Elector of Brandenburg, to whom Leopold held out the alluring object of a regal crown, favoured this act of treachery, if the ill offices which the maxims of politics have sanctified in the morality of sovereigns, can be called by that name. It was still the Emperor

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Leopold

Y. 1688. Leopold who thwarted all the views of his ally, the King of Poland.

This mortifying blow was received by the court of Poland with all the transports of grief and revenge. While the surprize was yet recent, the Marquis of Arquien, who had quitted France without losing the vivacity of a Frenchman, proposed sending the insulted Prince to Hamburg, with his uncle the Count de Maligny, and a third champion, to challenge the successful rival. The Prince relished this expedient: but the King considering, that, if his son should fall, it would be a greater loss than he had already sustained, and that in case of his being victorious, it was very uncertain whether the Princess would marry the murderer of her husband, prevented its being put in execution. If John had been master of a force equal to that of Leopold or Lewis XIV. he would not have been affronted with impunity in the person of his son. As things were, he submitted to the only expedient he had left, and acted as his weakness, and indeed reason itself, required. He consulted the Polish Lawyers concerning the promise given by the faithless Princess, and the penalty to which she had subjected herself. They were of opinion that the King had a right to confiscate all her estates; but such a sentence could be pronounced only by the tribunal of the nation assembled in a general diet; and the nation was, at this juncture, wholly intent upon war. The negotiation of Berlin, and the weak state of the King's health, put off, till the month of August, the opening of the campaign, which was attended with no success.

The King could not quit his designs upon the two crowns of Moldavia and Walachia, which he hoped to leave to his family, if that of Poland should pass into other hands. He was so much taken up with this great object as to forget Kamnieck;

minieck; and therefore the Poles continued their murmurs. They marched, however, under his standards, induced more by the respect which is due to heroic qualities, than by a conviction that it was for the interest of their country. He led the army, as in 1686, through Pokrusia and the Bucovine. When he came to Pererita, where he had left troops and workmen, he saw the ruins of that deserted town, changed into houses, the neighbouring villages re-peopled, and the lands cultivated: and this was the only satisfaction he enjoyed in the whole expedition. He hastened to cross the Pruth, in order to make sure of Walachia, from which he had hitherto received nothing but vague expressions of submission, extorted by fear only. Though he had as yet neither established posts, nor quartered troops in that country, as he had done in part of Moldavia, he looked upon it as an easy conquest.

But an event, quite contrary to the long drought which had so much incommoded his army in 1686, threw him into still greater difficulties. There fell so violent and continual a rain, that in a few days the brooks were changed into torrents, the streams into rivers, and the whole country into a vast slough. The army, however, crawled on as far as the river *Chocava*, which they passed with incredible difficulty. But when they came to the *Seret*, it was impossible to attempt to pass it. They wandered about upon its banks, changing the situation of the camp every day, in order to avoid sinking in the mire, and to divert the soldiers from attending too much to the hardships they suffered. Six weeks were thus lost by means of the inundation; and there appeared no hopes of its ceasing. The Turks and the Tartars said, that heaven undertook their defence, and they never made their appearance. The army, being defeated by the elements,

Y. 1688. ments, marched back towards Poland, having lost a greater number of horses, and more baggage, than if it had met the enemy. The heavy artillery was buried in the Bucovine, in order to be dug up again at a convenient season.

But it was not in Poland only that the Christian arms were unfortunate : the same want of success attended them in other parts. The Muscovites had resumed their design upon the Crim; and *Galliczin*, who had failed in his former attempt, again commanded the expedition. Precop was besieged by an army of two hundred thousand men, who attacked it with fourteen hundred pieces of cannon. The Tartars gave all up for lost, but the Cham did not despair. The brave *Selim-Gerai*, whom the Turks had deposed after the battle of Vienna, was restored to his throne, out of respect to his superior abilities. He amused the Russian General, by proposing an accommodation, as a means to prevent the effusion of blood; and disputed the terms like one resolved to surrender, and aiming only to alleviate the weight of his ill fortune. While the conferences were carrying on, (an interval often fatal to the strongest party) the Cham was daily growing stronger from behind, and Galliczin weaker by consuming his provisions; nor did he perceive the snare that was laid for him, till it was necessary to decamp in search of food; and as he retreated, the Cham cut in pieces his rear-guard. Thus the Tartars were saved by the address and courage of their chief, without humbling the spirit of the Muscovites: for Galliczin had no sooner regained the banks of the Samara, after a march of three weeks, than he dispatched couriers to Moscow and Warsaw, with advices that he had beat the Tartars, and pursued them beyond Precop. The two capitals made public rejoicings, when they ought to have put on mourning; and the General,

neral, before he returned home, received compliments from the Rege^{nt}, and ample rewards for his army; a practice common enough in the Russian empire, except in the reign of Peter the Great.

Y. 1688.

The Venetians laid siege to Negropont, anciently called Chalcis, in Eubœa. This Island, the finest in all the Archipelago, was taken from them by the irresistible Mahomet II. Morosini was animated by the recollection of the calamities that his countrymen suffered at the time of this loss: his imagination was full of the ideas of the brave Erizzo sawed in two, his daughter stabbed in defending her virtue, and all the inhabitants, of both sexes, above the age of twenty, devoted to death. He hoped to avenge so much barbarity and murder, and to restore to his country a part of its ancient dominions. His efforts were amazingly great; but the resistance of the Turks was still greater; and his attempt miscarried.

Of all the powers engaged in this war, none had any success but the Emperor Leopold, who, without stirring from his cabinet, pursued the Turks from one loss to another. The new Sultan, Soliman III. was no formidable enemy. He had been forty years in prison, studying the Alcoran, and was unrivalled in the practice of religious exercises. The zealots esteemed him much; the Divan little; and the soldiery not at all. He had the merit, however, of knowing his own weakness; and therefore made Leopold the most advantageous offers by his Ambassador *Mauro Cordato*, a physician of Padua, whose first maxim in negotiation, was that saying of the Poet *Saadi*; that *a lie which gains the point, is better than truth which misses it*. But his maxim, if he made use of it upon this occasion, did not succeed; for Leopold rejected all the offers he made with his usual haughtiness, which was still increased by prosperity.

Y. 1688. rity. He was no greater a warrior than Soliman; but with a profound skill in politics, and great firmness of mind, he found Generals in all the Princes of Europe. He now transferred his favour from the Duke of Lorraine to the young Elector of Bavaria, whom he had lately made his son-in-law, and entrusted him with the command of the army, and the siege of the important town of Belgrade, which was taken by storm before the Visir's face.

Leopold was just upon the point of driving the Turks out of Europe; but he undertook too much at once, by entering into the famous league of Augsburg against Lewis XIV. which divided his attention and his forces. This new league placed Innocent XI. in a very singular situation: for he gave his benediction equally to the attack that was made upon the Turks, and that which was preparing to be made upon the Most Christian King. His fortune was such as must needs have astonished himself: he was the son of a banker of Milan, and came to be able to assist the empire of Poland against the Turks with his money, and the Venetians with his gallies. He was insulted indeed in Rome itself by Lewis XIV. but it was not till after he had first had the courage to affront him.

The King of France, on his side, laboured more than ever, to break the connection between the Emperor and the King of Poland, while the latter imagined he had a reason for adhering to it with more firmness than before. The taking of Belgrade had given the alarm to Walachia, and induced it to put itself under the protection of the Emperor; and John hoped that the Emperor would give it up to him, according to a secret treaty between them. By this event, the object of his late unsuccessful campaign would be happily obtained:

tained: but the Emperor only held out Wala-
chia to his view, without any design of giving it. Y. 1688.

The King of Poland, in his present situation, cannot but excite compassion, as a Prince, who, with great qualities and little power, is made the sport of a superior potentate. He was destined to be so in more ways than one, as he experienced in the diet, of which I come now to give an account.

The kingdom grew weary of a ruinous league, of which Vienna reaped all the profit; and was inclined to make a separate peace with the Turks. An Envoy from the Cham of Tartary came to offer that Prince's mediation, with very advantageous conditions. The Emperor was highly averse to this separate treaty; and the King did not much relish it, for the reasons above mentioned. But Leopold apprehended that the republic would get the better of its Sovereign. Y. 1689.

Another point which was to be discussed in the diet, gave him also some concern, and this was the proposed confiscation of the Princess of Newburg's vast estate to Prince James's use. He was displeased to think that his brother-in-law, the Prince of Newburg, should marry the heiress of the house of Radziwil, and be deprived of all her fortune.

To avoid these inconveniences, there was only one method to be taken, which was to get the diet dissolved, as soon as it thwarted his views; and this method he took. He prevailed upon the Elector of Brandenburg, whose business it was to court him in order to be made a King, and whose money made him powerful at Warlaw, to enter into his scheme. He gained over to his interest the Sapieha's, who had great influence in the Senate, and the Equestrian order; and when things were thus set in order, the diet was opened.

Y. 1689.

The debates turned at first upon Prince James's claim. The lawyers had given it as their opinion, that the Princess's fortune was forfeited to him, by her having broke her promise; and that the penalty was justly incurred, because she had subjected herself to it by a voluntary act. In reply to these arguments, the contrary party offered reasons, which at least made the point doubtful. There were others, who, affecting to stand neuter, (though this was far from their intention) cried out, that it was not a time to mind the interests of the royal family, when the republic had such important business of her own to attend to. The proper question to be debated, was, *Whether they shou'd accept the separate peace that was offered them by the Turks, or continue the war with redoubled vigour?* Some were eager for peace, and others as earnest for war. The King himself agreed in opinion with these last: but the attention of the assembly was taken off from this subject by the discussion of another point that was started. He was reproached with the treaty made in 1686, with Muscovy, by which he ceded to that crown two cities, a Palatinate and a duchy. This exchange of certain possessions in lieu of uncertain advantages, had been made with the consent of the Senate only: and it being necessary that the diet should ratify it, it was now debated, whether it ought do so, against the public interest (a).

This objection to the King's conduct was soon succeeded by another. The Queen was always supposed to have put him upon every measure that was disagreeable to the republic: and Raphaël Lesczinski, Palatine of Posnania, a man respectable for his own merit (b), and still more so for being the

(a) Zaluski, tom. ii. p. 1135.

(b) His personal abilities, supported by the splendor of his birth, raised him to the highest offices of the republic. He

was

the father of a Prince who has been long regretted by Poland, and is now adored by Lorrain, was not afraid to displease the court in order to serve his country. He knew that the Queen was caballing busily, in order to bring on again, before the diet, the confiscation of the Princess of Newburg's fortune, which was a question productive of nothing but confusion. He therefore aimed his discourse against her, and said nothing of the King. "She was exalted, he said, above the rest of her sex in spirit and abilities; but a mere woman in intrigue and artifice. Of what use added he, is superior sense, if it be employed only to foment discord among all the orders of the state? She complains frequently of the badness of her health; we commiserate her case; but she is indebted for it to her too great application to affairs of state, which the public will readily excuse her, for not meddling with at all."

The Queen had lately lost a female confidant, whose death gave great joy to the city, and even to the court. The Palatine was very severe upon her memory, and took occasion to make it a fresh matter of objection to the Queen (a). It would have been much less dangerous to offend the King than the Queen, who declared openly that she disliked all speakers of truth; but in Poland the laws protect the subjects from the indignation of their sovereign.

In this manner, the sessions of the diet passed away in quick transitions from one subject to another, without coming to any decision. These

was Marshal of the diet that made the league against the Turks, in 1683, Ambassador at Constantinople, Grand-Treasurer, and General of Great Poland. He married a daughter of the Grand-General Jablonowski, by whom he was the father of King Stanislas.

(a) Zaluzki, tom. ii. p. 1104, and 1147.

Y. 1789. public dissensions were the occasion also of private quarrels. Count Vielpolski challenged the Standard-Bearer of Cracow, who refused to fight, not for want of courage, or out of respect for the laws of God or man; but because it happened to be Saturday, a day which is held peculiarly sacred in the system of Polish devotion.

In the mean time, the diet continued sitting, but without any regular dispatch of business. They had refused to hear the King upon the subject of his family-concerns: and he and all the orders of the state were now obliged to lend an ear to a private quarrel between two Bishops. Casimir Opalinski, Bishop of Culm, who was one of them, made a long and absurd harangue; and pretending that the King was prejudiced against his cause, addressed him in these words; *either cease to reign at all, or reign with justice.* All his brethren, and particularly the Cardinal Primate, expressed immediately their disapprobation of his behaviour. Maczinski, Palatine of Beltz, confounding the innocent with the guilty, cried out, that all the Bishops ought to be expelled the Senate, and sent to Rome. One of them answered, "We were Polish noblemen before we were Bishops: in the former capacity, we are as essentially connected with Poland as you: in the latter, we are your pastors, which gives us a new title to respect." The quarrel quickly grew warm, and would have proceeded to great extremities, if the King, forgetting for a moment the affront put upon himself, had not interposed and stopped it. But the saying of the Bishop of Culm was still a load upon his mind. He required that the Prelate should publicly retract it, and ask pardon, declaring that it was owing to a sudden start of passion, and thrown out without reflection. Some of the Senators had prevailed upon the Bishop to give the King this satisfaction, but many more dissuaded him.

him. The ingratitude of many had a greater effect upon John than the insolence of one, and he talked of abdicating the throne, as there was little pleasure in governing a people by whom he was not beloved (a). But this thought, which derived its origin from his present chagrin, soon vanished; and the Bishop of Posnania, to suspend these frequent skirmishes, laid before the assembly a treaty of commerce proposed by the Dutch; which much for the interest of Poland, as it would have occasioned a great exportation of grain, which is one of the most considerable advantages that can happen to a corn-country. It has lately been made appear, before the Parliament of England, that in four years time, this article alone brought into the kingdom a hundred and seventy millions, three hundred and thirty thousand French livres. It is true that Poland has no marine; but the Dutch made an offer of theirs. The Bishop of Posnania laid before them all these circumstances; but their minds were in such a ferment, that they instantly hurried away to other matters.

The only thing that seemed to fix their attention, was the trial of Lysinski, a nobleman of Lithuania. He had been educated among the Jesuits, and led a studious retired life, distinguished only by acts of beneficence and humanity. His love of religious truth had tempted him to ridicule some of the Polish superstitions. He might perhaps have been forgiven this fault, if he had not been possessed of a considerable fortune, which, by the laws of Poland, was to be divided between the informer and the exchequer. He was accused of atheism by one Brzoska, a man in public office. The strongest proof that could be produced was a note writ by Lysinski in a book upon the existence of

(a) Zaluski, tom. ii. p. 1105.

V. 1689. God. The author of the book was a German, who, with the best intention in the world, of proving a truth which never wanted to be proved, did in fact subvert it. Lysinski, observing that the reasoning was false, writ in the margin, *ergo non est Deus*, therefore there is no God. The Polish Bishops, since the Primate's promotion to a Cardinalship, had acquired a relish for that dignity. The Bishop of Posen had long been seeking an opportunity to gain the good graces of the court of Rome; and fancying that he had now found it, undertook to support the accusation, and contrived to make the whole assembly, and particularly the bench of Bishops, enter warmly into the cause. The consequence was, that Lysinski, after undergoing the discipline of the whip from the hands of a Bishop, and being protected, by absolution, from punishment in the other world, was burnt in this. The sentence of condemnation was expressed in very singular terms; that the blasphemer had not only denied the existence of God, but the doctrine of the Trinity, and the divine maternity of the Virgin Mary (a). There were few centuries that had not produced instances of noblemen's being guilty of riots, rapes, assassinations, and burning of houses; but as the laws of Poland do not suffer a nobleman to be arrested before he is condemned, the criminals had always had time to escape the punishment. Upon the present occasion, the law was violated, and Lysinski arrested as soon as accused. When the form of the proceeding was known at Rome, that court disapproved so inhuman a sentence; and the King reproached himself more than once, for not having checked this furious eruption of zeal.

(b) Zaluski, tom. ii. p. 1120.

The diet had now been assembled three months, without dispatching any business but this; and no sooner were the affairs of the republic, or the royal family, brought again upon the carpet, than the Imperial faction spirited up the Deputy Sulkowski to protest and leave the assembly. The diet met again the next day, and sent repeated deputations to Sulkowski, to persuade him to return. The King himself sent after him to the house of Sapieha, Grand-General of Lithuania, where it was known that he had passed the night; but Sapieha coldly replied, that he was not Sulkowski's keeper. When this answer was brought to the diet, it gave the King, and all who loved their country, great concern: even the Grand-Treasurer of Lithuania, brother to the Grand-General, seemed affected, and made as if he would remedy the evil. He rose from his chair, and went out, saying that he would not return without bringing Sulkowski with him, and re-instating the diet in its privileges. The assembly began to entertain some hopes, but they were soon totally extinguished, by the Grand-Treasurer's not appearing any more. The Castellan of Samogitia made a last effort, by conjuring, in the name of their country, Dambrowski, a Deputy of great interest, to restore the powers of the diet, by prevailing upon his colleague and friend, Sulkowski, to return. *In the name of your country!* answered the Tribune: *say rather in the name of the King: you mind nothing but him.* These words, which were made more offensive by the manner in which they were spoke, were an affront to the whole Senatorian Order in the person of the Castellan; and the Bishop of Wilna thought himself obliged to avenge the insult, by reprimanding the Deputy in very haughty and severe terms. But Dambrowski treated the Bishop with greater roughness than he had done the Castellan; he even lifted up his hand

to

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to strike him, and by this sacrilegious gesture deprived Warsaw of the benefit of hearing mass for three days; for the Primate laid all the churches under an interdict; and the calamity would have continued longer, if the fiery deputy had not made his submission to the offended Bishop. Upon this, the churches were opened again, but the diet was closed; and the members carried with them to their respective Provinces the animosity of the contending factions. The next day, the King received a billet which the Elector of Brandenburg's Minister had dropped. The substance of it was, that the Sapiaha's had acted their part well, and deserved the promised reward (a).

If we reflect upon the spirit of discord that agitated the nation in this diet, the condition of mankind will seem much to be pitied. Place them under the absolute government of a single person, and they are perpetually complaining of the weight of their yoke. Leave them in the enjoyment of liberty, and they know not how to use it for their own good.

The diet having come to no resolution about peace or war, and the negotiations with the Turks being insensibly dropped, the war was continued by virtue of the treaty of alliance, but in a very feeble manner. The army was not commanded by the King, but by Jablonowski, the hero who was best able to supply his place: but the troops were few in number, and ill paid. As he could attempt nothing by open force, he laid a scheme to surprize Kaminieck. His measures were well formed; but the Turks, who were attentive to the least motion of their enemies, rendered them abortive.

The successes of the league were always appropriated to the fortunate Leopold. But the maxim

(a) Zaluski, tom. ii. p. 1131.

of ancient Rome, that the best time of making up matters with an enemy is after a victory, was not the rule of his conduct. The Turks came to sue for peace at Vienna, as well as at Warsaw; but he rejected their proposals. Europe abounded at that time with Generals, particularly France and the Empire. Prince Lewis of Baden carried the Imperial standards into Servia and Bulgaria, where, after having defeated the Turks in three engagements, he took from them the important towns of Nissa and Widin.

The Infidels had the good fortune to escape being molested this year by the Venetians. Morosini was preparing to attack them, but was prevented by a long fit of illness; and the republic, which had lately elected him Doge, would trust the command of its forces with him only. The abilities of the new Prince were equally great in the army and in the senate; nor did he at all fear the menace which had been made to one of his predecessors, by Mahomet II. who having pushed his conquests to the very gates of Venice, and hearing of the ceremony of the Doge's espousing the Adriatic Sea, said, *that he would soon send him to the bottom of the sea to consummate his marriage*: Morosini, though enfeebled by sickness, was still dreaded by the Turks.

The Muscovites were too much agitated with intestine commotions (of which the Regent and Galliczin were the authors and the victims) to march out of their own country, and therefore gave no assistance to the league. This circumstance was a fresh mortification to the King of Poland, who was exposed to everlasting incursions from the Tartars. A calamity of a heavier nature conspired also to increase his affliction; one of the ten miraculous plagues, which desolated Egypt in the days of Moses, being renewed in Poland. The whole country was covered, a foot thick, with clouds of locusts that

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that were brought by the wind from Asia. Their colour was a deep black, and their size such as caused astonishment at Paris, and in other parts of Europe, where they were sent in boxes as objects of curiosity, while Poland was devoured by them. The grass, corn, fruit, and even the bark of the trees was eat up by these voracious insects, which continued plundering for two months from their arrival, till they were killed by the coming on of the frost. Their carcases made some amends, though but small, by manuring the ground against the succeeding year, which proved to be very fruitful.

The present year begun and ended in sorrow; but the King had a larger share of it than his subjects. A diet in which all his views proved abortive; the miscarriage of his attempt upon Kami-nieck; the dearth that desolated the kingdom; the jealousies of opposite factions; the dissensions that reigned among all the orders of the state; all these circumstances filled his mind with melancholy. His own suspicions greatly added to the weight, and pushed him on to an act of power, which in other countries would have passed for an undoubted right of the crown. The Grand-Chancellor, Wielopol-ski was lately dead, after many secret conferences with a faction that opposed the court. A rumour had got abroad that the Sapiaha's were contriving to dethrone their benefactor; and that the Primate Radziowski was an accomplice in the scheme, as well as Wielopolski, though both related to the King. It was not said upon whose head they designed to set the crown; but the persons, who value themselves upon prying into every thing, were positive that the Sapiaha's did not intend to let it go out of their own family. There was already something royal in the state they assumed; having always a numerous guard, and a retinue that filled the

the largest streets in the city. Even of the persons, who did not suppose them to be either ambitious or ungrateful enough to aim at the crown of Poland, there were few who did not believe that they intended to separate from it the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which they already governed with almost sovereign authority.

The King depended upon unravelling the mystery, by means of the papers which the Chancellor left behind him; and sent Prince Czartoriski to search them. The widow refused to admit him into her palace, and invoked the assistance of the laws and the grandees of the state. The Palatine of Sradia writ and spoke in her defence; the number of opponents increased daily; and the King, being stopped by the public clamour, got nothing but hatred by his attempt. If he had succeeded in getting possession of the papers, he would have discovered nothing, because the Chancellor, finding himself near his end, had burnt all that could betray the secret.

After all, whether the conspiracy was real, is a point about which the memoirs of that time differ greatly: and an historian is bound to relate precisely what he knows, instead of conjecturing what he knows not. However this be, as every particular order is considered in Poland as an instrument of tyranny, the King was accused of aiming at absolute power. Some indications of this passion had indeed escaped him; but if he was seriously bent upon it, is it credible that he would have called together the diet so often? He could not be ignorant, that when a nation is assembled, it is always superior to its chief. But he preferred the interests of the republic before his own authority; for there was no reign in which the nation was so frequently assembled, not only in the ordinary *Comitia*, which return every two years, but also upon extraordinary occasions, when the law does not require it. This was the case in the pre-

sent year, in which a diet was opened on the 18th of January.

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The principal subject of its deliberations was the separate peace which the Turks still continued to offer to Poland: "Reflect, said they, who were for it, to the King, upon your fruitless efforts against Kamienieck, upon your ruinous expeditions into Moldavia, upon the impossibility of raising fresh supplies, upon the seven years war which has exhausted Poland, in order to exalt the house of Austria. Alliances, after all, are binding only to a certain degree; and it would be madness to imitate the Saguntines who sacrificed themselves to their friendship for the Romans. The Emperor himself violates his engagements to the league, by furnishing it with fewer troops, since he has taken up arms against France: nor is it our fault, if he will make peace, neither when he conquers, nor when he is conquered. Let him therefore carry on the war with his own forces, or furnish us with the means of continuing it (a)".

The kingdom of Poland was actually unable to pay its troops. Innocent XI. was dead; and it was uncertain, whether his successor Alexander VIII. would follow his example in employing the revenues of the church to humble the Ottoman power.

The King, who felt the force of these reasons for making peace, was in a very perplexing situation; but the Emperor kept him steady to the league, by giving him great hopes, which might perhaps be fulfilled in the end. The French faction, which talked of nothing but peace, and was encreasing every moment, seemed likely to get it resolved on. This faction was secretly animated by three Frenchmen; the Marquis de Bethune, the Abbe de Gra-

(a) Zaluski, tom. ii. p. 1187,

vel, and Caillet de Teil, a Counsellor of the parliament. Y. 1690,

The house of deputies, being gained over by Leopold and John, was for war; and exclaimed violently against the three French Ministers, but particularly against Gravel. Though he had already been desired to leave the kingdom, he resolved to stay there. The republic sent him an order to depart, which he paid no regard to. The King signified to him, by the Grand-Treasurer, that if he did not go, he should be tried for his disobedience; but he eluded the menace by taking refuge in a religious house. The diet supposing him gone, resumed its deliberations, and consented at last to the continuation of the war (a). It seldom happens that the nation assembles, without giving birth to some new constitution. The *Beds of Justice* (b) in Poland have no relation to public affairs. It was ordered, that, in every diet, the King should, on certain days, assume the office of Judge, and try private causes, by the strict letter of the law. Such are the *Beds of Justice*, or, according to the Polish expression, the *comitial judgments* in that kingdom. Before the time of Stephen Battori, when fixed tribunals were established, the Kings of Poland travelled into every province to distribute justice to their subjects. Henry de Valois soon grew tired of this custom: *Upon my soul*, says he, *these Poles have already made me a Judge and a Counsellor: I suppose that they will soon be for having me plead at the bar.* He had forgot that the first Kings the world ever saw were Judges.

It is usual to end the diet with a *farewell-*barangue** to the King, which is always more or less filled with hyperbole. The great qualities which the

(a) Zaluski, tom. ii. p. 1162 and 1163.

(b) A *Bed of Justice* in France, is when the King comes to the parliament, and takes his seat upon the throne. *Richelieu*.

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King was really possessed of, saved the orator many a lie ; but he advanced several falsehoods with regard to the present tranquility of the republic, which he attributed the honour of to the King. Instead of tranquillity, the factions ran as high as ever ; and even before the diet broke up, the army entered into a confederacy, and declared to the Generals that it would not march, till more than twenty millions, that were in arrear for pay, were discharged. The republic thought herself happy, that the soldiers were so moderate in the fury of their revolt, as not to threaten military execution (*a*).

This confederacy, occasioned by want of money, which is a common evil in a state that has no commerce, put an end to the whole plan of the campaign. It was thought sufficient to keep the troops upon the frontier, in order to hinder the incursions of the Tartars, whose ravages, however, were not entirely prevented by this means. They advanced to the very gates of Lublin, in little Poland ; and had it not been for a spy, the King himself had been in danger of being taken prisoner (*b*). These repeated incursions were the sad effects of the present critical situation. When troops are ill paid, and ill clothed, they forget their valour and their duty. The officers, convinced of the justice of their complaints, were afraid to exert their authority, and made use of persuasion only. The Bishops too interposed, in quality of Senators ; and Olsowski, Bishop of Culm, chose for the subject of his discourse the discontent that prevailed in the nation against the Muscovites ; who, as members of the league, were obliged to act against the common enemy, when Poland could not ; and yet their swords continued in the scabbard. Olsowski therefore addressed the army, in the same terms, that Marius

(*a*) Zaluzki, tom. ii. p. 118.(*b*) Ibid. p. 1167.

did

did his foldiers when they wanted water: *There is water in the enemy's camp, and you are Romans.*

“ There is money among the Muscovites, and you are Poles”. But this fallacy of the Bishop's eloquence did not, nor was it likely that it should, produce any effect. Marius was encamped close to the enemy: but the Poles were at a great distance from the Muscovites, and neither marching against them; nor against the Turks.

What kept the Muscovites unactive, was the report of this separate peace which was upon the carpet in Poland; and made them afraid of being left as a prey to the Turks and Tartars. The young Czar Peter, who was at this time alone upon a throne which his elder brother did not deserve to share, knew that a Chiaoux (*a*) from the Grand-Seignior, and an Envoy from Tartary were at Warsaw; where one of the grandees of his court, was appointed to watch the motions of the republic.

From the time of its first origin, in 1683. the Christian league had never acted with so little vigour. The Poles, for want of money, did nothing: the Muscovites, out of policy, kept at home: the Venetians made some efforts in the Archipelago, but they were too feeble to be much dreaded: Morosini, whose presence at Venice was more necessary than ever, since his being elected Doge, no longer led the way to victory: and the empire was obliged to make head against Lewis XIV.

The Turks, being less pressed on all sides, and animated by France, to the great scandal of Rome and the league, took the field very early. They were commanded by *Mustapha Curogli*, son and grandson of a Grand-Visir, and lately advanced himself to that high office: he breathed nothing but

(*a*) An officer of the Porte, whose rank is equal to that of an Usher, or Exempt of the guards in France. Such are the Ambassadors which the Grand-Seignior sends to other Princes.

Y. 1690. war, and loudly condemned all proposals of peace. He begun his ministry with reforming the abuses which had been introduced by a bad administration of seven years, and with restoring order in the finances. At the opening of the campaign, religion and good morals equally employed his attention. The mosques of Constantinople and the pavilions of the camp all resounded with prayers: and a crowd of boys who followed the army, and were at once the occasion of infamous debauchery and unbounded expence, were sent away, and forbid to appear again, upon pain of death. All that now remained was to revive the courage of the troops, and the Visir undertook this office, by pointing out to them the road to victory with the sabre of his father Cuproglia (a).

The Duke of Lorrain, who of all the Emperor's Generals, since Montecuculi, had shewn the greatest talents, had lately ended his days. He had gained indeed great glory, but lived without dominions: he flattered himself with the hopes of recovering them, in 1676, at the head of sixty thousand men; and the motto upon his standards was, *Aut nunc, aut nunquam, Now or never*; but the latter part of the alternative was his fate. He was more fortunate in acting for the house of Austria, whose territories he defended, without recovering his own; a circumstance which he regretted even at his death, and expressed in the following letter to Leopold. "In
 " obedience to your Sacred Majesty's commands, I
 " left Inspruck to come to Vienna; but I am stop-
 " ped here by the will of a superior Master, to
 " whom I must give an account of a life which I
 " have entirely dedicated to your service. Remem-
 " ber that I leave behind me a wife to whom you
 " are nearly related, children who inherit nothing

(d) Cantemir, tom. ii. p. 182.

" from

“ from me but my sword, and subjects who groan Y. 1690.
 “ under oppression.” The Emperor was convinced in this very campaign, how difficult it was to supply the place of the General whose death he lamented.

The Visir Cuprogli, after gaining a complete victory over the Imperialists, raised the blockade of three places in upper Hungary, took four in lower Hungary, reduced Albania and Bulgaria, recovered all Servia, and even Belgrade itself, in spite of a garrison of six thousand men, who were all put to the sword; and while the torrent was rolling on, so as even to threaten Vienna, Tekeli, who was still supported by the Porte, beat General *Heusser*, and got himself declared Prince of Transylvania, after the death of Michael Abaffi.

The approach of winter gave time to the Princes Y. 1691.
 of the Christian league, to form new plans and recover their strength. The King of Poland was still hesitating between Leopold and Lewis XIV. His reputation in Europe was as great as theirs, but his power much less, and therefore he endeavoured to keep terms with them both. His inclinations were for France; but his interest again determined him to side with the house of Austria. France indeed did not fail to make him tempting offers; but the house of Austria, by being so near his dominions, was in a condition to fulfill the promises it gave, whenever it was disposed to keep its word. The King, at this very juncture, had a family-concern to settle with that court. He wanted to marry his son, Prince James; and there was no fit match for him in Poland, since that kingdom had lost its richest heiress. France indeed might have offered a Princess of the blood; but it was resolved to have the daughter of a Sovereign: and Leopold, who at that time disposed of the empire and all its Princes, proposed a daughter of the Elector Palatine. She

Y. 1697. was sister to that very Charles of Newburg, of whom Prince James had so much cause to complain, and whom he wanted to have met sword in hand; but Princes forget equally affronts and obligations, when it is their interest to do so. By this marriage, the house of Sobieski became allied to all the crowns of Europe, and Prince James was brother-in-law to the Emperor. This was the first instance of the Emperor's having dealt sincerely with the King of Poland; and even in this he consulted rather his own ends than those of his ally, whom he fixed more firmly than ever in his interest by this new connexion.

The Marquis de Bethune had done his utmost to make the design miscarry; and it was therefore stipulated that he should leave Poland. It was also agreed that Charles of Newburg should conduct his sister to the frontiers of the republic, by way of making some satisfaction to Prince James for what had passed at Berlin; and that the latter should resign his pretensions to the estates of the house of Radziwil (a).

The young couple had their first interview at Olenisc, where the Princess came in an Hungarian dress, and assumed the Polish habit. The Prince, when he took her hand, was presented also with the order of the Golden Fleece, which was brought by the Count de Holstein. From Olenisc, the nuptial procession advanced towards Warsaw, and was met at some distance from the city by the Cardinal Primate, accompanied by the great officers of the crown. The Grand-Marshal, to pay his court to his master's son, carried his staff erected before him: but upon the Primate's saying, *You forget then that this honour is due to the King only*; the staff was lowered (b). This mortifying circumstance, which made the Prince recollect, that in Poland the son of

(a) Zaluski, tom. ii. p. 1166. (b) Zaluski, Ibid. p. 1218.

a King is only a private subject, interrupted in some measure the joy of the solemnity; and yet it was only a prelude to all the vexations that followed. It is certain that the King was highly to blame in making this match, without communicating his design either to the Senate or the nobles; for the Princes of Poland are forbid to marry without the consent of the republic. The King on some occasions had a mind to act the Monarch; which, instead of facilitating his son's accession to the throne, removed him to a greater distance from it. But it would be anticipating events to relate here what happened in the sequel.

The French party was provoked at a marriage which strengthened the connexion between Vienna and Warsaw, and omitted no expedient to make it useless to the house of Austria. Leopold, when he signed the articles, gave a fresh promise to the King of Poland of a body of troops, and engaged to put him in possession of Moldavia and Walachia, provided that, in return, he would act with vigour against the Turks; a diversion which was always of great use to Leopold. The Marquis de Bethune was industrious in raising doubts, and these not ill founded, about the value of promises so often made and so often broke. He addressed memorials to the Palatines, and to all who had any influence in the government, in which he censured severely the politics of the house of Austria, in contriving to reap the whole benefit of the war; and pointed out the certain advantages that would follow from a separate peace with the Turks. He made use also of another argument, which he had more than once found to be very efficacious, and this was gold.

These insinuations, which begun to take effect with the republic, came to the knowledge of the Count de Thun, the Austrian Ambassador; and induced him to solicit warmly the dismissal of the
Marquis

Y. 1697. Marquis de Bethune. In a letter to the Palatine of Wilna, he said, that France wanted to make a King who should be at her devotion, and this even in the life-time of the reigning Prince; and that Bethune, without regarding the honour he had of being related to the King, was the contriver of this conspiracy against him and the republic. Bethune, provoked at this aspersion, and still more at some expressions that were injurious to Lewis XIV. challenged the Ambassador to fight him. The King, who was personally interested in the quarrel, sent to the Ambassador to demand what proof he could bring in support of so heavy a charge. The Ambassador answered that he was accountable only to his master: *But as for the challenge*, added he, *though the public character which I bear might well excuse me, yet I accept it, though at the risque of incurring the Emperor's displeasure.* The King, being disappointed of the information he sought, and scorning to harbour suspicions, interposed to prevent the duel; and the two Ministers gave a promise in writing not to attack each other, as long as they should continue in Poland (a).

In the midst of these squabbles, the Tartars made an irruption into the Palatinate of Russia, where they burnt fifty villages belonging to the King, but spared the possessions of private persons: a circumstance which gave occasion to say, that the irruption was owing to the intrigues of France, in order to force the King to a peace.

In the mean time, Thun informed the Emperor of what had passed between Bethune and himself; and his complaint was aggravated by another event. A courier, whom he had dispatched to Vienna, being plundered and tied to a tree in the Polish territories, this act of violence was attributed to the

(a) Id. *ibid.* p. 1220 and 1221.

French party, and Leopold demanded satisfaction for it: otherwise, he threatened to suppress the post, which was more advantageous to Poland than to the empire. Bethune's behaviour was still more provoking to him, than the plundering of the courier. After reviving the former complaints against him, of
 " his favouring the revolt of the Hungarians, and his
 " perpetual industry in sowing discord between the
 " two courts, he expressed his astonishment at hearing he was still in Poland, when he ought to
 " have quitted the kingdom in February last, by
 " virtue of the marriage articles. I thought proper (said the Emperor) to connive at this delay,
 " out of respect to the Queen, to whom he has
 " the honour of being related: but my patience is
 " at length exhausted; and if the man who has
 " been audacious enough to insult an Imperial Minister, does not immediately leave Poland, I will
 " recall my Ambassador." The Count de Konigsek, who writ the dispatch, added of his own head, that the Queen of Poland was mistaken, if she flattered herself with the hopes of receiving any advantage from the court of France, which had long ago been exasperated by the Christian league, and lately by the marriage of Prince James; that the only course for her and her family to take, was to join heartily with the court of Vienna; and that it was her interest thoroughly to convince the King of the utility of this measure.

The King, who was too far engaged with the Emperor to look back, was contriving how to pacify him by the removal of the French Ambassador. Lewis XIV. extricated him out of the difficulty, by appointing the Marquis de Bethune to be his Ambassador at the court of Sweden, where he died in a few months, without having rose so high as might have been expected from his birth, his alliance with the King of Poland, the employments

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Y. 1691. he had held, and the talents he possessed. During the short time of his residence at the court of Sweden, he had acquired such an ascendant in the cabinet, that the King forbid his Ministers to go to any entertainment that was given by any of the foreign Ambassadors; a prohibition intended for the French Minister chiefly, though extending to all the rest. The Hungarians, at the beginning of their revolt, had taken such a fancy to him, that they had some design of offering him their crown, if France had thought proper to undertake the support of such a revolution. To the Poles he was always singularly agreeable; but he had a sort of national pleasantry which sometimes created him enemies. As he was one day speaking of Prince James, whose aspect had a meanness in it, which he did not derive from the King, *He carries*, said he, *a bill of exclusion from the throne in his very face.* The King, who himself loved a jest, was not so much offended at this saying, as it might be expected he would; and it was with regret, that he sacrificed Bethune to the Emperor.

The Emperor being thus appeased, and the French faction humbled, the marriage-rejoycings were resumed with great splendor, when all was again disturbed by the disagreement that arose in the royal family. The Queen, who still ruled in her husband's heart, had a mind to make the Princess of Poland sensible of her power: the latter was not so tractable as the former expected: Prince James took part in the dissatisfaction of his young wife; and was, besides this, highly mortified at a thing which concerned his own person.

His brother, Prince Alexander, was now no longer a child, and begun to fix his eyes upon the splendor of the throne. The charms that accompany the first bloom of youth, an open countenance, an agreeable figure, a graceful air, and gentle manners, had

had gained him the heart of his mother; and she omitted no expedient to make him still more agreeable to the King. Even the nation was already prepossessed in his favour; and it is the nation that makes the King. It was a saying current in the kingdom, that the youngest was *the son of the King*, and the eldest, *the son of the Grand-Marshal*. Besides, as the letter *I* had been found in the collection of the Polish prophecies to point out King *John*; the letter *A* was now discovered to begin the name of his successor (*a*).

Prince Alexander was therefore considered as a rival by Prince James, whose jealousy rose to a higher pitch than ever, when the King left Warsaw on the 13th of June, and took with him this favourite son to present him to the army, and form him for military glory. And yet, the elder could not complain of being slighted by his august father. The King had invited him to accompany him with the Princess of Poland, who was to stay with the Queen in the Palatinate of Russia, till the expedition was ended. But Prince James, who was dissatisfied with every thing in his present fit of ill humour, answered that he would not expose his wife to the harsh treatment of the Queen; and that as

(*a*) When the throne was vacant, the Queen Dowager's party did not fail to make the most of the letter *A*, in favour of Prince Alexander. The Prince of Conti's faction was embarrassed with this same *A*, and had nothing to say, but that, if the French Prince was not an Alexander in name, he was however an Alexander in valour. Neither of these two got the crown, but *Augustus*, Elector of Saxony; and if the prophecy had gone no farther than the letter *A*, it would have had an air of truth. But it added a terrifying menace, *morietur brevi*, he shall die in a short time; now Augustus reigned thirty six years; which is as much as could naturally be expected for a King elected at the age of twenty seven. The Poles, notwithstanding this, still insist upon the truth of the prophecy, as they do upon the truth of all those that relate to their future Kings.

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Y. 1691. to himself, having no settled revenue, he could not bear the expence of the campaign. He thought proper to conceal the true reason: and the King, who might have laid his commands upon him, left him to his own inclinations, and departed without him.

The next day, the Prince was still more uneasy; and having advised with the Austrian Ambassador, gave notice to the Grand-Chancellor that he would leave the kingdom, if Prince Alexander continued his journey; nor will Poland, added he, disapprove of my retiring, when I shall inform the public in a manifesto, that the King intends the throne for a younger son, in prejudice of his elder. It is possible, that the Queen might even at that time have formed this project, as it appeared she afterwards did; but the King certainly never thought of it; and had he been at all prejudiced in favour of his younger sons, at an age when the dispositions of the mind do not yet unfold themselves, it is probable he would have leaned towards Prince Constantine, the youngest, who was his very picture. But Prince James's passion would suffer him to attend to nothing.

The King ordered him to be told, that he might set out, with a father's curse attending him, whenever he pleased; but that he must never more expect to see his Sovereign and his father. This menace had no effect upon the Prince, who answered, that he was going to retire to the Netherlands, of which Spain had offered him the government. The King was highly exasperated, and had thoughts of punishing him: his punishment was already begun; for the courtiers durst not visit him, and even his friends forsook him. The Jesuit Vota and the Venetian Resident, both of them eloquent and insinuating, endeavoured in a private conference to convince him of the weakness of his jealousy against
a brother

a brother, whose tender age entitled him to a few empty caresses; of the injustice of his suspicions with regard to the succession to the crown; and of the enormity and the danger of rebelling against his father and his King. They prevailed upon him to ask pardon, and told him that he would be very happy, if he could obtain it. The Prince therefore went to the army to throw himself at the King's feet. The father soon forgave him, and permitted him to share the laurels which he expected to gather this campaign. It was an affecting sight to see the hero between his two sons, one restored to favour, and already inured to arms: the other always beloved, and going to learn the way to conquest: and all three marching against the enemies of their country. The Queen and the Princess of Poland staid behind upon the frontiers, and concealed their mutual aversion (a).

It was resolved, in the council of war held by the Poles, to enter Walachia, as the siege of Kamienieck still appeared impracticable with their present forces; to make themselves masters by the way, of *Sorock*, a Turkish fortress upon the Niester; and to hasten the junction of the Cossacks. The thing that retarded them was, their having neither clothes nor money; but the King supplied them with both, at his own expence; left a body of troops to be a check upon the garrison of Kamienieck; passed the Niester in the end of August; and halted at *Snyatin*, a trading town upon the left bank of the Pruth. This was the place appointed for his receiving a reinforcement from Leopold; but Leopold had acquired a privilege of minding only his own interests, and was besides full of employment with the Turks and Lewis XIV.

(a) Zaluski, tom. i. p. 1222 and 1223.

The

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The King of Poland's still continuing faithful to his ally, after the breach of so many promises, must be accounted for by supposing, that he looked upon the Emperor's behaviour only as a political delay, in order to keep him steady to the league, and not as a direct intention to violate his engagements. He might believe, that the Emperor waited only for the expulsion of the Turks out of Hungary, to fulfil his promises. Upon any other footing, his constancy would be an inexplicable ænigma. There are indeed writers, so zealous for his glory, as to pretend, that, without regarding his own interests, he continued stedfast in the league, and made the necessary diversions, meerly to keep the faith of treaties, and to promote the common good of Christendom. But the designs of sovereigns are not dictated by such generous views; and besides, their personal virtues should be made coincident with the happiness of their subjects: whereas Poland suffered immensely by the length of this war.

The army, however, marched on with that resolution which the presence of a great General always inspires, and with more joy than their leader was capable of tasting. The discord which he saw encreasing between his two sons, disturbed him as much as the perfidious conduct of the Emperor. Prince Alexander, who was eager after knowledge, and pried curiously into every thing, was perpetually mixing with the troops, visiting the posts, caressing the officers, going into the tents of the soldiers, pitying their hardships, examining into their wants, and making them presents. Prince James treated this behaviour as an ambitious affectation of popularity, as an artifice to seduce the multitude, and as treason against his elder brother. They looked at each

each other with jealous eyes, burst out into offensive words, and sometimes forgot that they were brothers, even before their father, who seemed to foresee that their rivalship would one day occasion the crown's going out of his family. *It will be easier for me, said he, to get the better of the enemy I am going in quest of, than of my own sons.* Y. 1691.

As the army marched on, intelligence was brought that the Hospodar of Moldovia waited for them near Pererita, with twenty thousand Tartats. This would have been of small consequence; but it was added, that thirty thousand Turks were advancing through the Budziac; and this was a much greater number than was necessary to dispute the conquest of Moldavia and Walachia. The Tartars soon made their appearance, and the Poles followed them for some days; but famine attended their steps; and they were forced to cross the Pruth, and march towards the Turks in quest of subsistence. The Turks were in no hurry to meet them, their design being to continue inactive till the advanced season should force the Poles to return home, and not to mind a few places which they might possibly make themselves masters of. In effect, *Sorock* and *Nerzecum* were all the fruit of the campaign, and the Turks never drew their sabres. The vast quantity of snow, which fell uncommonly early, froze the soldiers, broke up the roads, embarrassed the artillery and the waggons, and fatigued both men and horses. When the Polish army arrived upon the frontiers of the kingdom, they looked as if they came from a defeat (a). This was the fourth time that the King failed in his attempts upon Moldavia and Walachia; and the Emperor Leopold wanted but little of being equally, or more unfortunate, in Hungary, than the King of Poland.

(a) Zalufki, tom. ii. p. 1236.

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Soliman III. was lately dead, after having reigned four years, and obtained victories which he did not deserve. He was succeeded by his brother, Achmet II. a Prince equally void of abilities. But Mustapha Cuprogli continued in the post of Visir, and was encamped at Salankemen upon the banks of the Danube. Prince Lewis of Baden, the Imperial General, marched to give him battle, not thinking him so strong, or so well encamped; but he was no sooner arrived, than he had nothing left him but to retreat. He was attacked by the Turks with so much courage and conduct, that his destruction seemed inevitable. The field of battle was already covered with expiring Christians; but the Fortune of Leopold decreed, that a shot should take off the Visir, when he had had but little enjoyment of his high station; and he died at a time when his glory was at the highest, and his life most necessary. The Aga of the Janizaries was capable of supplying his place; but another shot laid him dead also, and the infidels, struck with consternation, gave up the victory; which, however, was attended with no advantage to the Imperialists, but the taking of *Lippa*, an unhappy town, perpetually taken and retaken, and equally ill-treated by friends and foes. The very savages in their forests enjoy greater happiness.

The other powers of the league had still less success. The Venetians, being no longer commanded by Morosini, could scarce maintain their ground in the Archipelago. The Czar Peter's attention was taken up with civil commotions in his own dominions, and he thought rather of securing his own throne, than shaking that of Constantinople.

This campaign was the last that the King of Poland ever made. It was not his advanced age that made it necessary for him to retire; (for he was only

only sixty-one) but forty years spent in war, during which he had never spared his own person, ten in the great offices of the republic, eighteen upon a throne which required constant action; all these labours had wore out his body, and his mind felt the effects of it. He resigned the command of the army to the Grand-General Jablonowski, in order to apply himself wholly to the internal administration of the kingdom; and even this was above his strength. He was in that ambiguous situation, of being too far gone to govern himself, and not far enough to be wholly governed by others.

Y. 1691.

The protection of the Queen enabled two Jews to get possession of his confidence; one of them, the physician, *Jonas*, had the care of his body; the other, who was a farmer of the revenue, of his finances; and they both understood perfectly how to support each other, by assisting the Jews their brethren. The farmer, named *Bethsal*, took a lease of the King's estates, at a rent much exceeding their real value; and by this means, gratified the ruling passion of the King, who considered wealth as the surest expedient of securing the crown in his family. But the Jew, while he gave with one hand, knew well that he should receive much more with the other. He sold all his master's favours to the highest bidder; and farmed out the customs again at most exorbitant interest. The Queen was acquainted with this scandalous traffick; but it was long a secret to the King, because he was a King, and in a weak state of health.

Y. 1692

Two prints were handed about in Warsaw; one of which represented persons of different nations counting out money: the Jew *Bethsal*, drawn to the life, was examining whether the ducats were good; and his master, who, if he had not had a crown upon his head, might have been taken for

Y. 1692. a banker or scrivener, was putting some of them in a corner of his garment. He had long been accused of avarice: but to judge of the justice of the charge, a distinction must be made between a King who is master of all the public revenues, and a King, to whom the state assigns only a certain income for his subsistence. The former, since he may call for what sums he pleases, is inexcusable in being avaricious; but the latter is obliged to be frugal. The other print drew tears at the fate of heroes. A Prince, exhausted and meager, was represented sitting in the lap of a young woman, and sucking the breast of an old one. The number of crowns which the sick man had upon his head weighed him down, and contributed to his weakness as much as the disorder he laboured under. Most of his crowns were plain and without flowers, and seemed to be in as bad a state as he that wore them. The young woman, upon whose knees he sat, was meant for the Princess Royal, who endeavoured, by her complaisance, to gain a share in the government with the Queen.

The King bore up against all his afflictions, and endeavoured to conceal his state of decay. He came frequently to the Senate, but seldom staid till the breaking up of the assembly. The only amusement he had left, was that of hunting, though he could not sit long on horseback, but was soon obliged to get into a carriage, where he said that he felt himself less a man than usual; and reflected with grief upon the opinion which prevailed in the nation, that his mind was grown as weak as his body.

The whole body of the republic was not long without feeling the effects of the languid state of its head. No business was dispatched in the Chancery: confusion was introduced into the administration: the coin, which was already debased by the neigh-

neighbourhood of the Elector of Brandenburg, Y. 1692. grew still worse, and ruined the little trade that kept Poland alive. Contributions were ordered to be levied, but no money came in: the Grand-Treasurer declared that the treasury was exhausted: the army was not paid: there were scarce ten thousand men fit for service; even these were so many malcontents, who oppressed the poor peasants; and Jablonowski, with so small a force, could undertake nothing. At this juncture, a Tartarian Envoy came to make the King fresh offers of peace, from the Sultan Achmet, upon terms with which he ought to have been contented: viz. the restitution of all that Poland had lost, upon the sole condition of separating itself from the league. The King was indissolubly attached to that confederacy by his project upon Moldavia and Walachia, and waited for the recovery of his health; so that no resolution was taken, either to continue the war, or to make peace. Every one thought only of his own interest; and all that had power, employed it solely to raise themselves upon the ruins of the public.

End of the EIGHTH BOOK.

THE
HISTORY
OF
JOHN SOBIESKI
KING OF POLAND,

BOOK IX.

Y. 1693.

AS a remedy for so many evils, recourse was had to the assembling of diets; but the dissolution of these diets encreased the disorder. It was thought, however, that that which met in 1693 would have better success, when a Bishop re-kindled that fire in every breast, which seemed to be just extinguished.

It is a custom in Poland to spare the lands of the church and the nobility, in the appointment of winter quarters. Sapieha, Grand-General of Lithuania, not knowing how to provide otherwise for his army, thought that all customs and privileges ought to give way to the supreme law of the public good; and therefore assigned quarters to his troops upon these privileged lands, and demanded contribu-

Y. 1693.

contributions in proportion. The nobility submitted without any complaint; but Constantine Brzowski, Bishop of Wilna, a man who had a greater regard for the Bulls of Rome than the interest of his country, exclaimed loudly against this violation of the immunities of the church, and called Sapieha an atheist. He accused of meanness and prevarication some of his brethren, who submitted to the exigencies of the time; nor would he even suffer the soldiers to pass over his Episcopal domain. Though Poland is much more extensive than France, it has only seventeen Bishops, who have all coadjutors under them, and two or three Bishops *in partibus* (a), who take care of the dioceses, while the titular Bishops, by virtue of their senatorial capacity, are wholly employed in affairs of state. Their estates, like their dioceses, are of immense extent, and it cannot be but such great immunities must be a burden to the rest of the nation.

If the Bishop of Wilna had been contented with making his complaint, he would probably have been heard in the first diet, and some accommodation would have been found out; but he armed himself with the thunders of the church, which, at that time, were more dreaded in Poland than they are at present; and after three canonical admonitions, he let them loose upon the head of the criminal. The anathema was expressed in the strongest terms, and ran in this form:

Whereas Casimir Sapieha, Grand-General of Lithuania, renouncing his baptismal vow, to obey the

(a) A Bishop *in partibus infidelium*, or, as he is most commonly called, *in partibus*, is one who takes his title from a place which was anciently a Bishop's see, but is now in the possession of infidels, such as Athens, Corinth, Apamea, &c. By this means, having no diocese of his own, he is at leisure to perform the Episcopal functions for such as are too idle, too infirm, or too much engaged in politics, to do them in person.

Y. 1693. *instigation of the devil, has violated the privileges of the church; it is our duty to cut off this rotten member with the sword of excommunication, lest he should infect the body of the faithful. By virtue therefore of the power we have received from God, of loosing and unloosing in heaven and on earth, we do, in the name of the blessed Trinity, of St. Peter, and all the saints, eject him from the bosom of the church, deprive him of the participation of the sacraments, and separate him from the society of Christians: and we deliver up him, and all his adherents, to the power of Satan, and to eternal fire (a).*

The person thus delivered over to the devil was the head of the Lithuanian nobility, a Palatine, Senator, and Grand-General. The nobles, the Palatines, the Senators, and the Generals, all considered themselves as wounded through his sides. The persons excommunicated as his adherents were the officers of the army, and all whom he employed to execute his orders. The indignation was universal, and the Bishop was on the point of being anathematized by the republic. But the King, who wanted to resume part of the great power which he had conferred upon the Sapiehas, took the Bishop's part; and a King never declares for any cause whatsoever, without drawing after him, all who fear his resentment, or hope for his-favour. The Bishop, who was at first deserted by every one, now found himself powerfully supported, and especially by his own order.

The first step was the publication of apologies on each side, which are both the fore-runners and the causes of a warm contention to succeed. The defenders of the excommunication called to their assistance the decisions of three councils, and several Popes, in favour of the immunities of the church;

(a) Żaluzki, tom. ii. p. 1359.

nor did they forget the famous bull of Paul V. intitled, *in Cena Domini*, which excommunicates whoever presumes to meddle with any ecclesiastical possessions, without the consent of the see of Rome, and insults all the rights of sovereigns. They quoted also the decrees of several Kings of Poland, who had protected these immunities: among whom were Jagellon, Lewis, Casimir III. Boleslas, and Wenceslas, whose virtues could not fail to be highly extolled upon this occasion: and as the warmth of disputation generally overshoots its mark, the Bishop of Wilna and his adherents did not scruple to maintain, that the church of Poland was indebted, for all its possessions, to the liberality of the Bishops of Rome.

Sapieha's apologists answered, that the Popes could not possibly give away what did not belong to them; that the church in general derived its possessions from either Princes or people; that the church of Poland in particular had received her's, partly from her Kings, and partly from the republic; that wealth, given and protected by the state, ought to support its burdens; that Popes and councils, whose commissions respect only an inheritance in heaven, have no authority over worldly goods; that, if the republic had thought proper, upon certain occasions, to exempt the portion belonging to the church from the common burdens, yet it still retained a right, by virtue of its legislative authority, to revoke this privilege in times of apparent exigence; and in short, that Sapieha was authorized by the republic, to treat the lands of the church in the same manner with those of the nobility (*a*); from whence, it was concluded, that the excommunication was null and void.

(*a*) Zalufki, tom. ii. pages 1425, & seq.

This

Y. 1693.

This opinion was held by all the secular clergy, even of the diocese of Wilna, who refused to publish the sentence of excommunication, and exclude Sapiéha from their churches.

The Cardinal Primate inclined also the same way; and writ to Sapiéha not to be alarmed at this burst of thunder, which could only stun the ears, without at all hurting the soul, when it lighted upon the heads of innocent persons; and that in a short time every mark of it would be entirely effaced. He writ also to the Bishop of Wilna, giving him to understand, “ that he had been led astray by an
“ excess of zeal for the interests of the church; that
“ a prudent Prelate could not hold up the thunder-
“ bolt too long to view, before he hurled it; that
“ he had gone beyond his power, in consulting
“ himself only; that he ought to have asked the
“ consent of the whole body of Bishops, and much
“ more that of the republic, since an affront to
“ the person of a General is an affront to the state,
“ from which he derives his power; and lastly,
“ that the only way of retrieving his error, was
“ to acknowledge the invalidity of his sentence.”

The Bishop was in too great a heat to listen to moderate counsels, especially being animated by the court; and every new step that he took was a fresh mark of his rigour. He excommunicated all Regulars, and Seculars, all Canons, and Parish-Priests, who refused to read the anathema against the Grand-General, and laid all their churches under an interdict; that is to say, he forbade the clergy, upon pain of eternal damnation, to say mass, perform the service of the church, or administer any sacrament.

Sapiéha, in the mean time, had never felt so strong an inclination to frequent churches and sacraments, as since he was excommunicated; and both parties employed their proper weapons; the
Bishop,

Bishop, his spiritual sword; the General, military execution: in proportion as the Bishop laid a greater burden upon consciences, the General increased his exactions, upon the lands of the church, and particularly upon those of the Bishop, beyond all due bounds. Now it was that he really made a bad use of his power; for whoever was not of his party, was sure to have soldiers quartered upon him, and to be ruined by merciless extortioners.

The Primate, in order to attack the evil in its source, summoned the Bishop before him. The Bishop refused to appear; and the Primate, having decreed the excommunication to be null and void, passed a sentence of suspension upon the excommunicator; which in effect was adding fuel to the flame.

Santa-Croce, the Apostolic Nuncio, insisted upon it, that the see of Rome only had a right to try Bishops. The authority of Nuncios had long been established in Poland, and subsisted at this time in all its vigour. The multitude highly revered these Papal Ministers, who omitted no opportunity to extend their power, having usurped, in times of confusion, many prerogatives, besides the right which they claimed, of trying all ecclesiastical causes. These prerogatives they retained till the year 1728. The last century was not the time for churchmen to lose ground: *Santa-Croce's* object was to gain it, and he annulled the sentence.

The Primate pretended that this was an encroachment upon his jurisdiction, both as Primate of the kingdom, and Legate, by office, of the Holy See; and he writ to the Pope to engage him to recall, and punish his Nuncio.

Sapieha, in the midst of these contests, carried his head much higher than ever. The three other Generals of the republic, Jablonowski, Potoski, and Sluska, demanded satisfaction at Rome, for

7. 1693. the insult offered to their colleague; and their claim was supported by some, but disputed by others, in the Senate and Equestrian Order. There were some Senators, who, without having recourse to any ecclesiastical tribunal, were for imitating the conduct of the Venetians, when the Doge and the Senate were excommunicated, and the whole state laid under an interdict by Paul V. in 1606. The Senators forbade the publication of the sentence through the whole extent of their territories, alledging, that they were inspired by God to hang every one that should disobey their orders. It was too late indeed for the Polish Senate to hinder the publication of the sentence, but it was in their power to punish whoever should act in consequence of it. The expedient was rejected, and served only to increase the confusion. Thus were the Poles engaged in quarrels about an excommunication, while the Tartars were ravaging the frontiers of the kingdom (a).

The King, when he was in his vigour, would have prevented, or extinguished this flame; but being now governed by the advice of those who had the art to lay hold of his conscience, by seconding his inclinations to humble the family of Sapiaha, he helped to make it burn the fiercer. He ordered Sapiaha to come and give an account of his proceedings: the General answered, that he waited for the Pope's decision; and if Rome did not do him justice, he would appeal next to the republic.

The Pope, being in a great strait between the King and the republic, the Primate and the Nuncio, the excommunicating Bishop and the excommunicated General, was unwilling to disoblige any of the parties. He therefore neither recalled his

(a) Zaluski, tom. ii. pages 1229, and 1451.

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Nuncio, nor condemned the Primate, or the Bishop, nor absolved the Grand-General from the censure; but suspended the effect of the excommunication for a year, on account of the war, and the important part which the Grand-General of Lithuania had to act in the present juncture. This was behaving like a prince, not like a Pope; but the expedient, however judicious, was disrelished on all sides, and particularly by Sapieha, who, instead of a suspension of punishment, expected a speedy reparation.

Y. 1699

Such was the confused state of affairs, when the King, who lay sick at Zolkiew, issued out his universals. The substance of them is worth recording, as they furnished occasion for breaking the only spring in the machine of government, which could have restored order to the state, and because they shew the difference of stile between a King, whose will is subject to the law, and a King who knows no other law but his will.

“ John the Third, to the diet appointed to meet at Warsaw on the 22d of this instant December, greeting.

“ Whereas it hath pleased the Divine Providence, which raised us to the government of this free people, and in whose hands are health and sickness, to visit us with a fit of illness, as we were setting out upon our journey to assist at the diet; we receive this visitation with all due submission, hoping, however, that it will please God to mitigate the violence of our present pains, and to restore us to our country. We even intended to begin our journey, notwithstanding our weakness, if the united advice of our physicians, and the Senators here present, together with the danger our life was in, had not absolutely prevented us. We therefore make known to your dilections, by this authentic document,

“ what

7. 1693. " what is our present state, and how impossible it
 " is for us to be present at the opening of the
 " diet; and we conjure you, by your regard both
 " for your country and our own person, to grant
 " us such a delay as may be sufficient for the re-
 " covery of our health, engaging to you our royal
 " promise, to appear at the diet as soon as our
 " strength will permit, which we wish to recover
 " solely for your good. Being therefore desirous to
 " notify to you this our will, we commission the
 " Cardinal, Archbishop of Gnesna, Primate of the
 " kingdom, and of the great duchy of Lithuania,
 " to publish and promulgate these our present uni-
 " versals.

" Given at Zolkiew, this 14th day of Decem-
 " ber 1693, in the twentieth year of our reign."

It is obvious, from the tenor of this instrument, that it was posterior to another which fixed the opening of the diet at Warsaw, where the two estates of the realm were expecting the arrival of their King. It appears also, that these second universals, occasioned by the King's illness, were addressed to the Primate, in order to be communicated to the republic; a method, which, though unusual, would have been thought of no consequence in times of harmony and concord.

It is necessary to recollect, upon all occasions, that a single Deputy has it in his power to stop the proceedings of a diet; and all those from Lithuania, being devoted to Sapiha, breathed nothing but discord. The Primate, foreseeing the storm, excused himself from being present at the assembly, upon a pretence of indisposition; and to supply this deficiency, he writ a circular letter to the Senators and Deputies, notifying to them the universals which deferred the opening of the diet. He addressed them by the name of *brethren*, a title which he had hitherto refused to give them, especially

ally the Deputies; but his letter was not the better received on this account. The Deputies asserted, that the Primate, having no authority but in an interregnum, had nothing to do with the publication of universals; and that it would, in effect, be acknowledging a fourth order in the republic, " Besides, added they, as the King has already fixed the opening of the diet, it is not in his power to alter the time; nor can the day be changed, without the concurrence of all the orders of the state."

It was in vain for the servants of the crown to represent, that the King, being sick at Zolkiew, and unattended by the officers of his chancery, might well make a mistake in the form of the universals; that his commissioning the Primate to promulge them, implied a delegation of his own authority to that Prelate; that it was wrong, for a mere error in form, upon an extraordinary occasion, to disturb so good a Prince, and endanger the republic, whose safety depended upon the health of the King, and the good success of the diet; and lastly, that the King's proposal was not only just in itself, but had actually been put in practice in the reign of Uladistas VII. who put off the meeting of a diet, which ended very happily.

The Deputies from Lithuania were deaf to all these representations, and resolved not to hear the universals read. The Primate had shifted off the business of publishing them upon the Chancellor, who came to the church of St. John, attended by all the orders. There was no mass of the Holy Ghost, nor any of the ceremonies usual at the opening of diets. The Polish Deputies ranged themselves on one side, and the Lithuanians on the other. All that the Chancellor could do, was to procure a moment's silence, while he notified the King's sickness, authenticated by legal proof; but when

Y. 1693. when he attempted to read the universals, his voice was drowned by the confused noise of a hundred others. He therefore quitted the assembly, telling them, that they would find the instrument fixed up at the gate of the castle of Warsaw: *We will also fix up our protests at the same place*, said the Lithuanians. In short, no diet was held; and never was a diet more necessary (a).

The King could not help reflecting, that the Bishop of Wilna was the first author of all this disturbance, and repented that he had approved his rigid conduct. He represented to him by letter, in the stile of a friend rather than a master, that peace is of all things the most valuable; that it is the glory of the Episcopal character to conciliate, not to divide; and that he was bound in duty to remove the cause of contention, by expressing his sorrow to the General of Lithuania for having occasioned it. The Prelate was a man of unexceptionable morals, and an honest heart; his mind was but narrow, and considering, as he did, his bulls of excommunication as a sacred bulwark; he grew more and more persuaded that he was the instrument of heaven, and that it was better to obey God than the King. Being naturally of a contentious turn, he pestered the public with his conscience and his clamours, and declared himself ready to die a martyr for the immunities of the church; nor was there any way to reclaim a man, who considered himself as a second St. Thomas a Becket. Even persons of scrupulous piety blamed his obstinacy; but his own adherents, in the midst of this scene of confusion, extolled his firmness to the skies; and the calamities of the state increased every day.

Y. 1694. While the affairs of the kingdom were thus running to ruin, the King was more successful in ma-

(b) Zaluski, tom. ii. pages 1304, and 1305.

naging those of his own family. The Elector of Bavaria had lately lost his wife, and was appointed Governor of the Spanish Netherlands. The child that the Electress left him, was considered as presumptive heir to Charles II. The unhappy mother, who was daughter to the Emperor Leopold, lost her own life to preserve that of her son. The Elector, now a widower, was already a great match, but a much greater on account of the expectations he might found upon this son. These expectations were laid open in a plan, communicated to the Elector by the King of Poland, upon the subject of the succession to the crown of Spain. It contains the first origin of one of the most important affairs that ever involved Europe in war and desolation, and is conceived in these terms.

1. "As Charles II. King of Spain has no children, the Elector should think of the succession to that crown for his son.

2. "He has two rivals to cope with, the Emperor and the King of France; and being not strong enough to oppose them, he should call in the assistance of one of them against the other.

3. "The Emperor, who lays claim to the whole succession, will certainly give him no assistance; nor could he, if he were so disposed, either by sea or land. By land, France would interrupt his passage; and by sea, he has neither ships nor ports.

4. "The Elector must therefore connect himself with France, by making a treaty of partition with that crown, and give up some, that he may gain the rest.

5. "Neither the English, nor the Dutch, nor the whole league of Augsberg should deter the Elector from taking this step; for though France be surrounded with enemies, she is not yet sub-

H h

"died;

Y. 1664. “ dued; and besides, it is very uncertain how long
 “ the league of Augsberg will subsist,
 6. “ France is at present attacked on all sides,
 “ and therefore this is the proper time to treat
 “ with her; for she would expect more advantage-
 “ ous terms if a peace should be made. There is
 “ also another reason for hastening the treaty of
 “ partition. The child’s life is uncertain; and if
 “ he should die, the Elector has no farther claim;
 “ whereas it may be stipulated at present, that
 “ whatever shall be given up to the Elector by the
 “ treaty of partition, shall be irrevocably his, even
 “ in case of the child’s decease (a).”

This plan is visibly formed upon the supposition of two events, which were destined to be the occasion of much bloodshed; the death of Charles II. without issue, and that of the Electoral Prince; events which were very possible, because misfortunes happen to men much sooner than blessings. What yet remains undiscovered, is, how the King of Poland could be so much interested in the Elector of Bavaria’s fortune: a circumstance that is amply accounted for, by observing that he intended to give him his only daughter, Theresa Cunegunda Sobieska.

The Queen, who was always a Frenchwoman in her heart, had at least as large a share in this negotiation as the King. She saw that it was a means of fixing the Elector firmly in the interests of France; a connection, which he would probably have avoided, could he have seen into futurity. Be this as it will, the marriage was concluded; and when the Princess took leave of Poland, to go to her husband in the Netherlands, she was presented by her father with a farewell-poem, in the form of an epithalamium. The piece was very indifferent,

(a) Zaluski, tom. ii. p. 1367.

but this was more the fault of the age, than of the Royal bard ; for the æra of good poetry is not even yet arrived in Poland. Y. 1694.

This marriage was the last thing that gave the King any pleasure ; and yet it was very near being broke off. The Elector's Envoy at Warsaw required a fortune of five hundred thousand Imperials ; a sum, which many a merchant at London, or farmer of the revenue at Paris, can give his daughter, but was thought exorbitant by the King of Poland. The Queen removed the difficulty, by becoming bound, unknown to her husband, for part of the money ; but when the time of payment came, she found herself at a loss ; for, though the King admitted her into his heart and his cabinet, she was excluded from his purse. In this distress, she loaded ten Swedish ships with corn from Poland, and sent them to France, where bread began to be very dear ; and was thus indebted to trade for being able to fulfill her engagements (a).

The person, who suggested to her this expedient, was the famous *Melchior de Polignac*, Abbot of Bonport, lately arrived from France with the character of Ambassador extraordinary ; and who afterwards distinguished himself greatly in the same capacity, upon other occasions, as well as in the church, the college of Cardinals, and the republic of letters. It was not long before he was equally admired and dreaded in Poland. The graces of his person, the elegance of his wit, the politeness of his manners, the brightness of his genius, the charms of his eloquence, and the subtilty more than the depth of his politics, gave him such influence, that instead of a foreign Ambassador, one would have taken him for the first Minister of Poland. Before his arrival, the Germans were uppermost at court ; but

(a) *Zaluski*, tom. ii. p. 1407.

Y. 1694. France soon gained the ascendant. He made one at all cabinet-councils; and while the King was obliged to be taking care of his health, he was often in private with the Queen. The women and the courtiers diverted themselves with this intimacy, without reflecting that the Queen had renounced the foibles of a woman to adopt the passions of a man. This was the topic of Sapiéha's declamations, who still continued at enmity with the court, on account of the old grudge of Wilna.

The substance of the manifesto which he published at this juncture was, " that the business of the " kingdom was no longer settled either in the Senate " or the diets, but in the King's, or rather in the " Queen's, cabinet, which was become the grave " of the laws and liberty of Poland: that a scheme " was there concerted to oppress the first nobles of " the state, who might see, by his example, what " they had to fear for themselves: that the French " Ambassador had all the craft of Mazarin, and " all the inflexible cruelty of Richelieu; that he " gave the court a relish for the haughtiness of " his master and the despotism of his country, and " that it was time for all true Poles to watch over " the safety of the republic (a).

In times of disturbance, there is nothing which is not capable of giving an alarm. The King assembled the Senate, but there was no unanimity of sentiment; and the disputes ran so high, as to renew what happened more than once in the councils of state at Rome and Athens (b). Potoski, the great Huntsman of the crown, struck a Senator who was

(a) Zaluski, tom. ii. p. 1364.

(b) When Themistocles said to Euribyades, *strike, but hear me*, the latter had his hand lifted up over him. We may call the manners of those times rude, but they were tender of human blood; and the sword was never drawn but against an enemy.

standing

standing by the King's side; and no method was taken to avenge this insult upon the majesty of the King and the dignity of the Senate.

Provincial diets were assembled, but the members came to them sword in hand. The Bishop of Samogitia, who was one of those that espoused the Bishop of Wilna's cause, was taken by the throat; and blood was spilt between those that attacked him so roughly, and those that ran to his defence.

The confusion of the Dietines was no favourable omen that reason would preside in the subsequent diet; and accordingly, senseless fury prevailed. The first point entered upon, was how to reconcile Sapieha and the Bishop of Wilna. The Apostolic Nuncio had been already prevailed on to submit, and express his sorrow at having encroached upon the Primate's jurisdiction, in favour of the Bishop's severe proceedings. But the Bishop continued inflexible, and it seemed as if he took a pleasure in brandishing the torch of discord over the assembly of the nation. By this means, the first meeting was spent in mutual clamours. The succeeding night, the Castellan of Lencici's (a) son, having had a warm dispute at table about public affairs with an officer of the court, followed him thither, and found him in the Queen's apartments. From abusive words, he instantly proceeded to threats, and even a blow. The officer laid his hand upon his sword, and three others were immediately drawn against him; for the Castellan's son had brought with him two of the Primate's domestics. An officer of the guard stepped between, and was run through the body. The Queen hearing a noise, opened her door, and was presented with the sight of a stream of blood, and the officer falling to the ground. The Gladiators were all arrested, except the most

(a) A town of Poland, the metropolis of the Palatinate of the same name, situated upon the river Bzura.

Y. 1694. guilty of all, out of regard to the Castellan his father, who ought to have been punished for not teaching his son better manners; and though this violation of the Queen's apartment was considered as an act of High-Treason, it remained unpunished; because, in the present state of confusion, authority was unsupported by power (a).

The diet resumed its sittings, but it was only to vent the animosity that the members had in their hearts. The Poles and Lithuanians seemed no longer to have the same laws and the same King; nor was the discord confined to the masters, but spread among the servants. There is an abuse which the republic connives at, perhaps for political reasons, and in order to encourage a martial spirit among all degrees of men. While the diets are sitting, the servants of the great Lords, who are very numerous, and most of them Gentlemen, get together, form themselves into two armies, a Polish and a Lithuanian, under two Marshals, (distinguished by their exploits, such as they are) march into the fields with kettle-drums and trumpets, attack each other with sticks and stones, pursue the vanquished party, besiege them in the neighbouring houses, and afterwards return into the city like regular troops. This war, though carried on without fire-arms or swords, is generally attended with bloodshed, but with more than usual on the present occasion.

While the armies were engaged as usual, two Lithuanian officers, at the head of a hundred and fifty horse, fell unexpectedly upon the Poles with sabres and pistols, and killed and wounded many. The match being now unequal, the Poles retreated, and the night was spent in endeavouring to prevent a greater effusion of blood. The mediators hoped they had succeeded; but the next morning the

(a) Zaluskî, tom. ii. p. 1515.

bleeding

bleeding bodies were brought before the castle where the diet was assembled, and the sight roused afresh the fury of the Polish servants. The two Lithuanian officers, who were the authors of the carnage, were imprudent enough to appear at the gate of the castle. The Poles fell upon them, and it was with great difficulty that they were saved by the guards; but their servants were upon the point of being torn in pieces, and rushed into the castle where they were pursued to the chamber of Deputies. The Lithuanian Deputies were themselves insulted; and instantly left their seats, crying out, that since they could not be safe in the very sanctuary of the republic, they quitted the diet, and protested against all its proceedings: a step, which of course put an end to the session.

During the whole time that this frenzy lasted, a Lithuanian could not appear in the streets without danger: it was much safer to be a Turk or a Tartar. Prince Alexander was suspected of having raised this tumult, by distributing secret bribes: but whatever might be its origin, it could not be quieted without troops, and the interposition of the royal authority (a).

In the midst of these intestine broils, it was impossible for the Poles to carry the war abroad; and accordingly they staid at home, forgetting the views of their King, and their engagements with the league. In the mean time, the Imperialists besieged Belgrade, but were forced to raise the siege. The Turks did not pursue them; but the Tartars were ordered to go and ravage Hungary, in order to deprive them of the means of subsisting. The old proverb, *that a flying enemy should be supplied with a bridge of gold*, was found to be a true one upon this occasion. The German General, *Hofkirchen*,

(a) *Zaluski*, tom. ii. p. 1523.

Y. 1694. surrounded the Tartars that came to starve him, so as to leave them no way to escape. In this situation, they for the first time quitted their horses to fight on foot, and force their way sword in hand. The expedient was suggested to them by their Sultan Selim-Gerai, but it cost them very dear: however, the Tartars, at this time, shewed more spirit than the Poles.

Y. 1695. The republic seemed to be hastening with all expedition to her ruin. Her counsels were brought to no maturity; the Lithuanians being for one thing, and the Poles for another; and these two principal parties were subdivided into different branches, engaged in perpetual contests with each other. The Senate considered the Equestrian Order as no better than a factious crew; and the Equestrian Order listened to the Senate as an assembly of mere idle declaimers. The King was treated with no sort of respect; and his displeasure was so little dreaded, that the Grand-Marshal divorced his niece, to make room for another wife, and refused to pay back her fortune. There was no union any where except among the four Generals; but the two armies grew daily weaker, because no state can acquire strength but in times of domestic tranquillity.

If, in the midst of these civil convulsions, the Turks had appeared in arms, Poland must have submitted again to that yoke from which the King had delivered it. Jablonowski was justly commended, for leaving the squabbles of the capital, to go and repress the incursions of the Tartars; and though he could not hinder them from setting fire to the suburbs of Leopold, he at least preserved the town. The King was highly chagrined, that he could not, as usual, carry terror into the enemy's country, instead of suffering their ravages at home. He would have found an enemy worthy of him, in the Sultan.

tan Mustapha II. Achmet was lately dead, and his loss was as little regretted as that of his brother Soliman. Mustapha, their nephew, son to Mahomet IV. was destined to make the empire amends for the incapacity of his two uncles. He possessed a solid judgment, applied himself closely to business, was moderate in his pleasures, neither covetous nor profuse in his expences, an excellent horseman, skilled in the use of arms, a lover of glory, and endued with ardent courage. Such were his personal qualities; and he declared, upon ascending the throne, that he would not bear the name of Emperor in vain, and would always command his armies in person. He begun the campaign early in the year; and in order to know what opinion the army entertained of him and his Generals, he often disguised himself like a common soldier; an easy way of coming at truth, but the generality of Sovereigns like better to be flattered to their faces. The Sultan heard some complaints against his government, and endeavoured to correct his faults; he learnt also that the Visir had kept back the sums that were necessary to put the artillery in a good condition, while at the same time there was a large allowance for this article in his accounts. He ordered that Minister to be strangled, and his body to be exposed to view three days before the whole camp; a sight, which struck terror into all, who had not so good a claim as the Visir to be indulged in robbing the public. The Turks are a people of fierce manners, but they have a sincere regard for justice. Having given this striking lesson, the Sultan passed the Danube, took and demolished the towns of *Lippa* and *Titul*, and marched to give battle to General *Veterani*, who convinced him by experience, that the intrepidity of a commander is not sufficient to ensure victory, when his soldiers are disheartened. The Janizaries were broke, and

Y. 1695. and took to flight, with several Bakhaws at their head: the first that came in the Sultan's way was named *Sebahyn* or *Faulcon*: Go, says he, *thou art but a Crane that drawest other Cranes after thee. I'll set thee a different example.* The Sultan had a drawn scymetar in his hand: the runaways faced about, and returned to the charge: Veterani was wounded, the Imperialists were worsted and retreated (a). Under a great Prince, all the springs of government get strength together; and Mustapha was scarce seated on the throne, before he had thought of every thing. The Turkish marine was fallen to absolute ruin. The Venetians, pursuing their successes, had taken the isle of Chio, and from thence gave law to the sea. Their fleet was astonished as at a prodigy, to see a Turkish squadron of such strength, that they durst not stand a battle. The island was again reduced under the Ottoman yoke; and the Sultan, victorious by sea and land, returned to triumph in his capital (b).

The immutability of the Ottoman power is an object that may well occasion some surprize; for, from the battle of Vienna to the present time, it has lost nothing but a few conquered cities in Hungary. In order to overturn that Colossus, it must be attacked by a single Christian power of equal strength; but it is better perhaps to let it stand, since providence permits it; besides, it is sparing the blood of Christians as well as Infidels. When they are told of the danger they would be in, if all the Christian Princes should unite against them, they answer, that their Emperor is like a Lion, who never fears the barking of little dogs; and they appeal to the time of the Crusades.

When intelligence of the Sultan's success was brought to Warsaw, it raised the most dismal ap-

(a) Cantemir, tom. ii. p. 237.

(b) Ibid. p. 239.

prehenensions

prehenſions of his future attempts. He had in effect formed a deſign to chaſtiſe the republic in ſuch a manner as never to fear it any more, eſpecially now it was deprived of the protection of its hero, who grew daily more incapable of defending it.

It was impoſſible for the republic to ſubſiſt long in its preſent violent ſtate. The King, who was more concerned at it than at his own diſorder, was inceſſantly exhorting the grandees to peace. He reminded them of all that he had done for the welfare of Poland, of his labours and his victories, of the wealth he had conferred upon them, of the oath they had taken to promote the public good, and of the love they owed their country, which is the moſt ſacred of all obligations.

The Senate, being delivered from the clamours of the Equeſtrian Order, by the diſſolution of the diet, hoped to carry on its deliberations with more tranquillity; but the Lithuanian Senators, out of hatred to the Biſhop of Wilna, propoſed the excluſion of all Biſhops from the Senate. But this propoſal was a direct violation of the conſtitution, and too unjuſt to be maintained; they therefore deſiſted from it, and the Biſhops took their ſeats as uſual.

The firſt reſolution they agreed in, was to imitate the conduct of the Roman Senate in times of great danger. An order was iſſued to all the Palatinates to take care that the republic received no detriment, *ne quid detrimenti reſpublica capiat*. After this order, which was rather calculated to aſcertain the greatneſs of the danger than to prevent its arrival, they proceeded to propoſe different expedients.

Some were for aſſembling the Poſpolite (a) to oppoſe the enemy abroad, while the Senate ſhould endeavour to reſtore peace at home.

(a) The letters that are ſent round to aſſemble this body of troops, are called *Litteræ reſium*.

Others

Y. 1695.

Others voted for a diet on horseback, called *Comitia paludata*, which consists of the Senate and the body of Deputies assembled under arms in the open field. Its operations are much more decisive than those of an ordinary diet, called *Comitia togata*; because, in a division of opinions, the sabre determines the debate (*a*).

While the Senate was thus deliberating, without coming to any conclusion, the Equestrian Order were thinking of a *Rokosz*, a word of dreadful meaning, which denotes the utmost disorder imaginable. All the nobles, by virtue of the *Rokosz*, are obliged to take up arms in defence, as they say, of their country; but the confederacy is in fact always formed against the King and the Senate. They swear *in caput & animam*, by their lives and souls: an oath of bloody import.

The republic was terrified at her own situation, and continued in a state of suspense, without resolving on any thing. It was in vain to look up to the King; for he was no longer possessed of that vigour and prudence, which had so often preserved her from ruin. That she did not perish in this juncture, was wholly owing to her laws. A state, which is governed by their authority, may indeed feel convulsions; but it is like the trembling of the earth between chains of mountains, which hinder its frame from being dissolved.

But whatever became of the nation, the Senate resolved to shew its authority in a matter that could not but please the multitude. The Jew, Bethsal, made himself daily more odious: a hundred attempts were made to assassinate him; but his prudence always prevented the effects of the public hatred. He had in his pay a guard of thirty Polish nobles, who were interested to preserve the life of a man who kept them from want. He was, upon the

Y. 1695.

the whole, a sort of prime Minister rather than a farmer of the revenue. The Jews considered themselves as living under the protection of a second Mordecai in the reign of Ahasuerus ; but the Poles looked upon him as a public pest. Those, who had purchased of him the favours of the court, were the first to complain of, and accuse, him. He was condemned to death, notwithstanding the efforts of the King, who had but just interest enough to save his life ; which he dragged along in misery the rest of his days, and at last died insolvent. The physician Jonas narrowly escaped being sacrificed, on account of his connections with Bethsal ; but it was thought too hard to deprive the King of a physician in whom he placed great confidence.

It seemed as if fortune took a pleasure in trying his patience to the utmost ; for to the vexations he underwent at home, there were added others abroad. Brussels was bombarded by the French ; and his daughter, the Electress of Bavaria, who was big with child and separated from her husband, was then in the town. The Queen of Poland told Polignac, that the King of France acquired great honour by bombarding women ; and that, if he was so much bent upon burning towns, Amsterdam might satisfy him. The Abbot, with all his eloquence, was much at a loss for an excuse.

The time drew near, when the King of Poland was to end his reign, his life, and his sufferings. It was now four years since he had given up the command of the army ; he had lately even quitted the frontier, where his presence kept the enemy in awe, and fixed his residence at Warsaw, on account of the ruined state of his health. He laboured, at the same time, under the effects of his old wounds, the gout, the gravel, many symptoms of a dropsy, and a great difficulty of breathing ; and it was uncertain by which he would fall. He daily lost
some

Y. 1696. some portion of that ætherial fire which animates the human frame; nor could the furs, in which he lay wrapped upon a couch, restore to him either motion or spirits.

The Turks and Tartars had some knowledge of his condition; but they considered him as a Lion, to whom the other animals shew respect, even when he is asleep. They attempted nothing of importance, at a time when they might have done what they pleased: only a few Tartars made their incursions, which were restrained by the Grand-General Jablonowski.

A circumstance still more extraordinary is, that the King's illness contributed also to save the nation from its own madness. Being just upon the point of losing him, its attention was more taken up with the thoughts of a future leader, than with the divisions that had disturbed its peace for the three last years. They who carried their views beyond their own country, were divided between the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony, and the Prince of Conti: they, who were for chusing at home, mentioned Jablonowski or Koski: the Partizans of the present Royal Family, talked of Prince James, or Prince Alexander. The Queen was accused of designing to share her crown and her bed with the Grand-General Jablonowski, to the prejudice of her own issue; and in case she could not succeed, of procuring the crown for Prince Alexander, preferably to her elder son. In the latter case, as well as in the former, she would have gratified her affections and her ambition together; since Prince Alexander's youth, and the tender attachment he had for his mother, seemed to ensure her of governing long in his name.

Thus were they contending for the spoils of a King who was still alive, till the time came, when money, intrigue, or force should decide to whom they

they were to belong. There were certainly many unhappy persons in the kingdom during the time that the King's illness made him drop the reins of government; but he himself was perhaps the most unhappy of all.

He was convinced by experience of that melancholy truth which he had told his wife, before he mounted the throne, that he should be a mark for the malice of men to aim at, even of such as would have most reason to be his friends. In fact, as fast as he conferred favours, the number of ungrateful persons seemed to multiply. He had loaded the Sapiehas with power, wealth and honours; and the Sapiehas had opposed his measures upon many occasions, and were even suspected of having conspired to deprive him of the crown. He had made Wielopolski, Grand-Chancellor of the crown; and Wielopolski, though his brother-in-law, had entered into a suspicious correspondence with the Sapiehas. He had raised Radziowski to the summit of grandeur; and Radziowski, though his cousin-german, was at this time concerting measures for proclaiming the Prince of Conti, and excluding his benefactor's family. The Christian league still held together, and he was no longer its hero. After so many useless attempts upon Moldavia and Wallachia, he left Kamienieck in the hands of the Infidels. The time was just approaching, when the confederates were to reap the fruits of the league. Prince Eugene, who took the place of Prince Lewis of Baden, of the Duke of Lorraine, and what is still more, of the King of Poland, was preparing to put a glorious end to this long war; and the Turks, being at length irrecoverably beat in a decisive battle at Zenta, upon the Teyss, were going to yield up the Morea to the Venetians, Transylvania to the Emperor, Azoph to the Muscovites, and Kamienieck to the Poles. But the veil of futurity as yet
concealed

Y. 1696. concealed all these advantages ; and the King, in the few easy moments that his acute pains left him, had a prospect of nothing but misfortunes : his kingdom disturbed by factions within, and attacked by enemies without ; the crown, which he had gained by merit, and worn with glory, just going to become a prey to factions ; uncertain, whether it would continue in his family ; and that family, by separating into different interests, compleating the anxieties of his mind.

In this situation, he gave up every thing to fortune ; and, next to the consolations of religion, had recourse to letters and philosophy for mitigating the evils he felt. Polignac and Vota, who never quitted him and well knew his taste, were admirably qualified to serve him in this capacity. But the Abbot was as much superior to the Jesuit, as the manners of the world are more pleasing than the education of the schools and the cloister. The King often turned the conversation upon France, where he had formerly travelled ; and commended the politeness, the gaiety, and the bravery of the French nobles ; but blamed that flexibility of manners which receives the impressions of evil as well as good ; which treats vice with respect, provided it be not ridiculous ; and that too great pleasantry of temper, which makes them capable of laughing when their country has cause to weep. He could not excuse them for quitting old names that were made famous by their ancestors, to take new ones from their estates ; a source of confusion which leaves no mark of distinction between upstarts who buy, and the old family that sells. Polignac also in his turn censured the Polish Lords, but with the reserve that becomes a stranger, whose business it is to gain the affections of the nation he has to do with. The Queen, who was more than ever engaged in business, was charmed that the King had
found

found two men that he liked, to divert his leisure and mitigate his pains. The Cardinal of Arquien, who had acquired neither genius, nor knowledge, by being invested with the Roman Purple, served as a foil in the conversation by the thoughtless simplicity of his sayings, and the stories he told of his former military life.

In the mean time, the accounts that were given at Warsaw of the King's condition, were widely different from one another. The courtiers, who are never believed whether they represent things in a favourable or unfavourable light, asserted that his abilities were not at all impaired. They who had reasons to wish for a change, represented him as a mere empty shadow both of a King and a man. The real truth was, that his ideas of the great machine of government were not so clear as usual, but he still retained a strong sense of his personal and domestic misfortunes, nor was he insensible of those of the republic.

During this whole winter of 1696, weekly reports of his death were spread over Europe and Asia. At the approach of spring, the increasing warmth of the sun seemed to revive in him a few sparks of life, and he went to his fine gardens at Villanow to breath a purer air; but he was too far gone to enjoy it. The physicians prescribed the use of foreign baths; but a King of Poland cannot leave his dominions, without the consent of the republic. The Senate met on the second of June, and gave him leave to seek a cure wherever he thought proper; but a series of unexpected accidents prevented his making use of that permission. His Jewish physician gave him mercury, perhaps in too great a quantity: the King felt its violent effects, and cried out, *Is there no one that will revenge my death?* The Jew trembled at these words, not only upon his own account, but upon that of

Y. 1696: his brethren, well knowing how eagerly every pretence to worry them is laid hold of; for the prophecy must be fulfilled at all events.

The King, when he recovered a little from his pain, and saw his bed surrounded by Bishops, who might make a bad use of what he had said, blamed his own hastiness, and attributed his death to the violence of the disorder, and the necessary imperfection of the art of physic. He even affected to speak kindly of the Jews, and of the assistance they had frequently given him (a).

The Queen, who was uneasy both at the present and the future, thought that no time should be lost to prevail upon him to make his will. The Treasure he had amassed was laid up in the castles of Warsaw, Marienburg, and Zolkiew; and it was of great consequence to the Queen, that he should dispose of it. She wished also that he would recommend Prince Alexander to the republic to fill the vacant throne, without relinquishing her own desire of filling it with Jablonowski, if fortune should favour her scheme.

The person that she employed to negotiate the affair of the will, was a Bishop who was entirely at her devotion. Details of this sort may perhaps be unimportant in themselves; but nothing that relates to the last moments of great men, can deserve that title. The Prelate was greatly embarrassed with the word *Will*, as if it were impossible for a man of courage to face death, which only transmits him to a better life. He therefore armed himself with certain texts of Scripture (as he knew that the King had a taste for erudition) which seemed to give hopes of his recovery, as it was a means of making his subjects happy. The King replied to this argument, by quoting other texts, which seem to imply that God does not always consult the happiness

(a) Zaluzki; tom. iii. p. 5.

or misery of men, in disposing of the life of Kings: Y. 1696.
 But then, added the Bishop, we will pray so earnestly for your health—and I am now going to my diocese to give orders for public prayers—I should like the prayers better, says the King, if they were put up without orders. Take my advice, and stay at court; you will have time enough to grow weary of your residence at Ploczko. “That, replied the Bishop, is what I never am; because when I have discharged my pastoral functions, I spend the rest of my time very agreeably with St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom, Isocrates and Plato; but reflecting lately that all these great men are dead, I made my will.”—*Your will*, cried the King, bursting into a laugh, and repeating this line of Juvenal:

—*O medict, mediant pertundite venam.*

Physicians, open the vein in his forehead to restore him to his senses—He fancies that the living cannot settle their affairs without the consent of the dead.”

The Bishop now drew nearer to his point, and endeavoured to convince him that it would be for the benefit of his family, and perhaps of the whole Kingdom, to commit his last orders to writing. At this, the King grew serious, and said, “What mischief can I possibly prevent by this means? Do you not see that there is no such thing as integrity left; that a spirit of madness has seized the Polish nation; and can I flatter myself with the hopes of restoring order by my last will? The misery of Royalty is, that we are not obeyed, while we are alive; and can it be expected that we should be obeyed, after we are dead?”

To understand what he added with regard to his family, it must be observed, that in Poland the laws

Y. 1696. are more favourable to executors than to heirs. The former are always chosen among the great, and often abuse their power to keep the estate to themselves. For this reason the King added: "I commend him, who, in his life-time, does good to his relations and friends: but how can he be sure, that what he leaves at his death, will come to them? What is become of the testamentary regulations of the Kings my predecessors? In a nation where *gold* governs, it is *silver* that sits upon the bench: and you would still have me make a will! Let me hear no more of it (a)".

At this moment the Queen came in, and read the refusal in the Bishop's countenance. She immediately composed her own, and hoped to find a more favourable opportunity; but that opportunity never came.

On the 17th of June, being Trinity-Sunday, the King took a walk in his garden at Villanow. He even dined with some appetite, and shewed other symptoms of being better; but death was busy within him all the while. A few hours after, he was seized with a fit of an apoplexy, in the midst of the Royal Family, and fell motionless upon the floor. In about an hour, he recovered his senses; and regretting, as it were, being waked out of this sleep of death, in which he was insensible of the miseries of life, he said, in a language that was familiar to him, *stava bona*, I was well. Every face, but his own, was froze with terror. He bore his sufferings with the firmness of a Soldier, a Philosopher, and a Christian; and employed his last moments in endeavouring to convince his children of the necessity of their living in the closest union. He conjured the Queen to have no other interest in view but theirs, if she desired to preserve the crown in her family; recommending it to them all to fol-

(a) Zaluski, tom. iii. p. 7.

low the advice of Polignac, who had merited, he said, their confidence and his. He exhorted also the Senators, who were present, to preserve mutual concord, for the good of the republic; whose welfare would be an object of his wishes, even in the presence of the great source of all Power, before whom he should so soon appear; and he died, like Augustus, on the same day of the year that he was raised to the throne; in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign (a).

Were I to write his Elogium, I should transcribe the oration, which the *Starost of Odolanowski*, now *King Stanislas of Poland*, then but nineteen years old, made at his funeral before the house of Deputies; and by transcribing it, I should do honour both to the early eloquence of the young orator, and to the memory of the Prince whom he praised. The *Starost* shewed only the bright side of his hero's character; but an historian is bound also to point out his faults.

What happened, even before his ashes were cold; may serve to convince Kings that posterity will judge them without mercy. The Poles forgot that they had lost a hero, and remembered only that he had broke his word with the republic. He had engaged by his *Pacta Conventa*, to raise two forts, wherever it should be thought necessary, and they saw only one; to found an academy for the education of three hundred gentlemen, and he had not done it; to satisfy the Elector of Brandenburg for his

(a) Moreri, in his Dictionary, and Massuet, the author of the revolutions of Poland, make him to be seventy-two, when he died. This Chronological mistake is not indeed of such dangerous consequence as the many historical lies, which change white into black, and black into white. I take notice, however, of this trivial fault, with a view of teaching those who undertake to write history, that the first business of an historian is to doubt. If Moreri and Massuet had read *Zaluski*, tom. ii. p. 1169, and *Lengnich*, p. 269, they would have known *Sobieski's* age.

Y. 1656. claims upon the town of Elbing, and had neglected to do it; and it was feared that this omission would one day occasion a war that might be fatal to Poland. He had promised particularly to retake Kamienieck, and had miscarried in his attempts. It is indeed extremely difficult for human prudence to find its way through the labyrinth of events. Notwithstanding his many victories over the Turks, Sobieski could never wrest out of their hands that important fortress; and his successor recovered it at the peace of Carlowitz, in 1699, without striking a blow.

His memory was also reproached with the acquisitions he had made in Poland, though the law expressly forbids the King to encrease his possessions; with his fondness for the Queen, whom he had permitted to meddle with affairs of state, to the detriment of the public; with his endeavours to secure the crown to Prince James, without waiting for the suffrages of the nation; with the extortions of Bethsal the Jew; with the adulteration of the coin; with the useless wars he had been engaged in since the beginning of the Christian league, which had cost Poland at least two hundred thousand men, and more millions of money than would have sufficed to make the kingdom rich.

Instead of lamenting the King's death, the only thing thought of was disputing about his wealth.

The Queen claimed it as her right: Prince James designed to seize it by open force: the Grand Marshal and part of the Senate pretended that it belonged to the republic. After all, this mighty treasure, which occasioned so much noise, and was amassed at the head of a kingdom and an army, would have been thought but a moderate fortune for a Commissary-General of stores in the country where it was carried. It amounted to between five and six mil-

lions,

lions, which the Abbé de Polignac, in concert with the Queen, had the address to get conveyed into France, that Prince James might not make use of it to gain the crown, which Lewis XIV. wanted to place upon the head of the Prince of Conti; but public fame represented it as a much greater sum.

The King of Poland loved money, nor did he deny the charge; but they who imputed it to him as a crime, should also have owned, that he knew how to lay it out for the advantage of Poland. During the whole time that he commanded in the Ukraine, when he was only Grand-General, his money was of more service to him than his troops, against those prodigious armies of Tartars and Cossacks, which overran the territories of the republic; and it was a common thing with the Poles, to talk publickly of the *new year's-gifts of the Tartars*. We have seen, that in the great expedition of Vienna, he opened his treasures; and it was well known, that he used them to procure creatures in all the courts of Europe. In the field, his spies extolled his liberality, and no one was better served. His maxim was, never to lay out his money uselessly; for this reason it was, that so many worthless grandees accused him of avarice. It is true, that towards the end of his life, his frugality grew still more remarkable: he saw the unfavourable disposition of the Poles towards his children, and had a mind to console them for the loss of the crown, by leaving them wealth enough, if they should miss it: a fault which is very excusable, when we reflect that he was a father.

The misfortunes that befel his family are a lesson to the children of Kings, that, for want of mutual concord, they may lose all the advantages of their birth. Prince James, before he had lost all hope of succeeding his father, was pursued sword in hand in a provincial diet; and instead of a throne, met

Y. 1696. with a prison at Leipſick; from which he was at length released, in order to go and live in Sileſia, a ſubject to the Houſe of Auſtria. Prince Conſtantine, having made his eſcape out of the ſame priſon, went and married in Poland, like a private gentleman. His wife was a German Baroneſs, one of the maids of honour to the Princeſs of Newburg: a match to which he was prompted by love, and attempted to get rid of afterwards, when it was too late. Prince Alexander went to reſide at Rome, where the Pope reſuſed to ſee him, on account of the honours he claimed; nor did he receive them at laſt but upon his death-bed, and in the habit of a Capuchin: having taken the vows of that order in his laſt agony, as a means to enſure, as he imagined, his ſalvation. The Queen, their mother, ſpent alſo many years among the Princeſs of the church; but was at laſt tired of that ſituation, and came to die in her own country, in the caſtle of Blois, which Lewis XIV. gave her for her laſt aſylum.

The name of Sobieſki is extinct, but the family ſtill ſubſiſts in the female line, and his poſterity is well known in Europe. The preſent Elector of Bavaria, far more happy than the Emperor his father, in governing only his hereditary dominions; the young hero whom England diſowns, and whom France would be glad to place upon the throne of his anceſtors; and another Prince, whom the bare name of Turenne would ſufficiently endear to France; are all three great-grandſons of the famous Sobieſki, and all three are worthy of their great anceſtor.

Thoſe who hated, and thoſe who envied the King of Poland, gave him, even before his death, the name of *Veſpaſian*. If he had one of that Emperor's faults, the love of money, he was alſo poſſeſſed of his virtues. Like him, he was raiſed to the

the throne by his military services. The charms of his wit, the readiness with which he spoke several languages, his acquaintance with polite literature, the agreeableness of his conversation, the gentleness of his manners, his sincerity in friendship, his conjugal tenderness, and paternal affection; all these qualities, which would have made him an amiable man in private life, would not have been sufficient for his exalted station. Endued with great strength of body and activity of mind, deeply read in the laws of his country, acquainted with the interest of foreign nations, and versed in the theory of war, equally eloquent in the diet, and enterprising in the field, he convinced his countrymen, before he was raised to the throne, of his capacity to govern and defend them. He possessed, in an eminent degree, most of the virtues that become a royal station. He did justice to his enemies, as well as to his friends; and always behaved to the latter, in the same manner as when he wanted their assistance to gain the crown. The warmth of his temper made him soon take fire; but his heart was void of malice. His cruelty to the Turks, after a victory, must be attributed to a remnant of the crusading spirit, which upon these occasions, and these only, soured the natural humanity of his temper, which was not sufficiently matured by philosophy. He was often affronted in such a state as Poland, where liberty is always upon the watch against the hand that governs; and yet he never lifted up that hand but against those who offended their country. His zeal for religion was free from the acrimony of an intolerating spirit; Greeks, Protestants, Jews, and some remains of the Socinians, lived in peace under his government; and this was no small matter, at a time, when other Catholic powers were banishing or massacring their subjects, in order to convert them. The dignity of

Y. 1696. of a King did not obliterate from his mind the principles of a citizen, and he assembled the nation much oftener than any of his predecessors. He spent his reign in the Senate, in the midst of diets, and in the fatigues of war; he never thought that the Palace of a King should be appropriated to magnificence and luxury; but made himself thoroughly acquainted with men and things. In concerting the plan of his campaigns, he listened to every one, but was determined by himself alone; and knowing how necessary the presence of a King is, for the purposes of discipline, celerity, and even victory, he always headed his troops in person, till the badness of his health prevented him. His country always admired, and would perhaps have loved him, if a free people were not always jealous of their liberty; perhaps too, if he had been less fond of the Queen. He had the singular glory of humbling the Ottoman power, which for a long time had humbled the Princes of Christendom. All Europe sought his alliance; and Poland acquired an importance under his government, which it has but ill preserved. Charles XII. the Alexander of the north, lamented his death in these emphatical terms: *So great a King ought never to have died*; but history is more severe than Princes.

The truly great King of Poland will be he, who, leaving the Turks and Tartars in peace, and turning his attention towards a fertile soil, fine rivers, and the Baltic and Black Seas, shall introduce shipping, manufactures, commerce, wealth and inhabitants into this great kingdom; who shall abolish the Tribunitian power of the *liberum veto*, to govern the nation by a plurality of suffrages; who shall teach the nobles, that the peasants who supply them with food, and are descended from the Sarmatians their common ancestors, are men; and who, in imitation of a greater King of France than either

Clovis

Clovis or Charlemagne, shall extirpate that civil Y. 1695.
pest of servitude, which destroys emulation, industry, arts, sciences, honour, and prosperity. Then may every Pole join in saying :

Namque erit ille mihi semper Deus.

END of the NINTH and last Book.

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