144 g. f. g.

THE

MILITARY HISTORY

OF

CHARLES XII.

King of SWEDEN,

Written by the expreſs Order of his Majeſty,

By M. *GUSTAVUS ADLERFELD*,

CHAMBERLAIN to the KING.

To which is added,

An exact Account of the Battle of *Pultowa*, with a JOURNAL of the KING's Retreat to *Bender*.

Illuſtrated with Plans of the Battles and Sieges.

Tranſlated into ENGLISH.

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THE LIFE and HISTORY OF CHARLES XII. KING of *SWEDEN*.

THE Czar, on repeated advices of the King's march, was returned the tenth of *January* from *Moſcow* to *Minſk*, whence he had conveyed himſelf to *Grodno*, to conſult on the means of diſputing at leaſt the paſs of *Niemen*; tho' he had not been able to prevent us, in defiance of ſo many obſtacles, from penetrating ſo far into a country, which was ſo difficult to paſs through.

The King of *Sweden* knew not that the Czar was ſo near him. We had advice only that his infantry, which was forty thouſand ſtrong, was extended from the other ſide of *Niemen*, from *Kaven* to *Urſa*; and that his cavalry, conſiſting of thirty thouſand men, was diſtributed from *Tykozin* and *Grodno* to *Novogrodeck*. Prince *Menzikof*, who commanded all theſe troops, was quartered in a caſtle near the firſt of theſe towns.

As to the army of the Confederates of *Lublin*, commanded by *Siniawſki*, we knew it was at *Wlodowa* in the black *Ruſſia* on the *Bug*; ſo

that it could by no means assist the *Muscovites*.

The King having taken six hundred of his Horse-Guards, with a small detachment of *Hielm*'s dragoons, and being attended by the Prince of *Wurtenberg*, Count *Rheinschild*, and some other Generals, advanced in the evening to the bridge of *Grodno*, which is on the *Niemen*, to *reconnoitre* it; and found that it was defended by some works, secured by cannon and a detachment of *Russian* dragoons. He attacked them with such vigour, that they turned their backs on the first shock, and were pursued under the walls of *Grodno*[a].

The night having put a stop to his Majesty's undertakings, he passed it in the open field, thoroughly resolved to attack the enemy in the morning by the break of day.

The same day our Valoches encountered with a party of the enemy, consisting of seventy horse, and drove them fighting to the bridge of *Grodno*, which they expecting to pass, fell into the King's hands, and forty of them were cut to pieces; the remaining thirty, with the Lieutenant who commanded them, named *Venediger*, obtained quarter by his Majesty's orders.

In the night a great noise was heard in the town, which made us imagine, those within were attempting a flight. In reality, the Czar, who thrice in twenty-four hours had had his coach ready at the door of the cloyster where he lodged, to retire in case of an attack, thinking that the whole *Swedish* army was at hand, departed hastily in the morning at the break of day, with Prince *Menzikof* and his Court, and took

[a] The King himself killed two Officers, the one with a pistol, the other with a sword.

took the road to *Wilna*. The King of *Sweden* having ſucceſsfully paſſed the ice very early, entered the town, which the enemy had abandoned two hours before, and took poſſeſſion of it. After this expedition, his Majeſty ſent orders to the reſt of the army to haſten and join him.

The Czar being advertiſed by ſome of thoſe who fled, what a ſmall number of *Swedes* had given ſuch a panick to the town, and had driven him to depart with ſuch precipitation, and that the King of *Sweden* was there in perſon, ſent back preſently Brigadier *Muhlenfeld* with three thouſand horſe, to retake the town, and bring off that Prince. They arrived in the night, and inſtantly attacked the bridge with much fury; but the guard, which was awake, ſuſtained the redoubled efforts of the enemy with ſuch valour, that it gave time to the Picket to advance, and the reſt of the troops to draw together, to the repulſe of the enemy, who was at laſt diſperſed, put to flight, and purſued for ſome time.

We had but one man killed, and one wounded in this encounter; whereas the loſs of the enemy was conſiderable: beſides which, the Valoches who purſued them at the break of day, returned with many priſoners.

The Prince of *Wurtenberg* and Count *Rheinſchild* narrowly eſcaped being taken by the enemy, in the beginning of the action; their courage in the darkneſs of the night having carried them into the middle of the *Muſcovites*, from whence however they very ſucceſsfully diſengaged themſelves.

As to Brigadier *Muhlenfeld*, having been accuſed of ill conduct in this attack, he was put under arreſt at his return; but he had the happineſs to

ſave himſelf, as we ſhall afterwards relate. This ſame day ſeveral regiments arrived at *Grodno*. Tho' the enemy had ſo waſted this country that the army ſuffered extremely for want of proviſion and forage, the King, who was enflamed with the deſire of an engagement, reſolved to purſue them, till he could overtake and force them to fight.

The army then continued their march in ſeveral columns; that of the King, compoſed of a few regiments only, led the van, firſt turning towards *Wilna*, which they afterwards left eight leagues wide of them to go to *Minſk*. They were again obliged to change this rout for want of proviſion, that whole country having been ravaged and laid waſte; ſo they marched to *Smorgonia*, in the following rout.

The King decamped the thirtieth of *January* from *Grodno*, and proceeded four leagues to *Kulbaki*; the next day he marched to *Bronofze*, five leagues and a half, where he halted one day. Thence he encamped at *Libnitzy*, three leagues and a half, whence he advanced four leagues further to *Dubotniki*, where he halted again.

On the fourth of *February*, he decamped from *Zuborniki*, and came to *Olſianni*, five leagues; here he reſted two days. On the ſeventh he encamped at *Swidlani*, and the eighth at *Smorgonia*, which is a little town of *Lithuania*, in the Palatinate of *Wilna*, remarkable for teaching Bears to dance. Here his Majeſty fixed his head quarters, and ſtay'd ſome time.

The reſt of the Army paſt through *Koklowitz*, (two leagues), *Milkowizna* (four leagues), *Studzin* (three leagues), *Lebioda* (three leagues), *Biallaruda* (three leagues), and came to *Jacon*, which

which is half a league from a little town called *Sobotniki*; where ſome of the enemy ſurprized a detachment of the regiment of *Hielm*, of which they killed three, took two priſoners, and ſet fire to a chamber where ſeveral ſick were burnt. The army paſſed afterwards through *Trabi* (two leagues), *Binani* (four leagues), *Swidlani* (four leagues and a half) and at length, on the twenty-fourth, ſtopped at *Danuſchewo* (half a league), and half a league from *Smorgonia*.

Our Valoches, who marched in the front, kept always at the heels of the enemy, and gained in this rout ſeveral advantages; hindering them at the ſame time, as much as poſſible, from committing the moſt horrible havock, in burning and ſacking all the houſes, lands and villages, as they had done before.

A body of two hundred and fifty Valoches of our troops ſurprized on the eleventh near *Olſianni*, a *Ruſſian* Party of two hundred horſe, the greater part of whom they cut in pieces; they took two Captains with fifty dragoons priſoners, and one hundred and fifty horſes. On the twelfth, the Staroſt *Criſpin* arrived at *Smorgonia* with thirty companies of the *Lithuanian* army under *Wiſniowiſki*, after having given chace to the *Ruſſians*, ever ſince their departure from the frontiers of *Samogitia*, and taken on the road two parties detached by General *Ronne* to burn the country, the one conſiſting of twenty, the other of thirty horſe.

The Czar, after his retreat from *Grodno*, was retired to *Wilna*; in the neighbourhood of which all his court and army were aſſembled. This Prince had ſent orders to the Knez *Repnin* and to General *Baver*, who were in *Poleſia* and *Volhinia*, on the ſouthern borders

of *Lithuania*, to retire from *Minsk* towards *Polocsk*, in order to be ready to join those troops, which lying near *Riga* should likewise retire towards the same place; pulling down all the bridges behind them, which would certainly cut off all *Courland* and those bodies under Count *Lowenhaupt* and *Wisniowiski*, which had been in a manner inclosed; and cut off all retreat from the *Muscovite* camps about *Tykozin*, which being abandoned by them, were now possessed by the Heyduques of King *Stanislaus*.

During the retreat of the *Russians*, the Peasants and the lower Nobility of *Lithuania* made a considerable booty, on all sides, of the effects which the enemy left behind them; but this was a poor reparation for the damages they suffered, the Czar having given orders to sack the whole country. He now took the road of the *Dnieper*, with an intention to intrench himself on the banks of that river, between *Mohilow* and *Oursa*, whence he might have an assured retreat to *Mesislaw*, and above all to *Smolensko*.

The Cossacks and Calmucks executed the Czar's orders with all the barbarity imaginable, in such sort, that notwithstanding all the care which his Majesty took to the contrary, between *Wilna*, *Minsk* and *Berezina*, nothing but smoke and flames were to be seen on all sides.

The thirteenth, a detachment of *Russian* troops attempting to give fire to the little town of *Lebesciowa*, which is six leagues from *Smorgonia*, were prevented by our Valoches, who surprized them and cut them in pieces to the number of above three hundred men. They had gained a much greater advantage, if

they had waited the arrival of the reſt of their body and of the *Lithuanians*, who were but one league off at the time of the action. *Menzikof* and *Oginſki* were ſo cloſely followed by the Staroſt *Criſpin* who commanded that party, to which two hundred *Swediſh* dragoons under the command of Colonel *Trautfetter* were joined, that they were often on the very point of being ſurprized in their beds, which were not cold when they fell into the poſſeſſion of their purſuers.

All the *Swediſh* army with the artillery being arrived, on the fourteenth, in the neighbourhood of *Smorgonia*, the regiments were cantoned at large in the province, that they might refreſh themſelves after their fatiguing march, and with hopes to provide the more commodiouſly for their ſubſiſtence.

This Hope ſoon vaniſhed at the news which the Commanders ſent his Majeſty. Their complaints were not only of want of forage, but of bread and other victuals; and above all, of beer, which would adminiſter the chief refreſhment to the ſoldiers, who had almoſt periſhed with thirſt as well as fatigue.

True it is, that we received ſome ſupplies from *Pruſſia*, particularly from the town of *Konigſberg*, whence ſeveral merchants ran the hazard to bring us food and other refreſhments; for which they were largely paid: but this ſufficed not for an whole army, ſo that if we had not applied ourſelves with as much induſtry as we did ſome years before in *Lithuania*, to diſcover thoſe magazines which the Peaſants had hidden under ground, and which we did with great difficulty, we had all run the riſque of periſhing with hunger.

The Czar having quitted *Wilna* retreated towards the *Dnieper*, intending to poſt himſelf, at *Mobilow*. Lieutenant Colonel *Dalheim*, who with a detachment of cavalry had penetrated as far as *Minſk*, whence the *Ruſſians* on his appearance had fled full ſpeed, confirmed this report; adding, that the enemy gave out that they intended to draw a line along the other ſide of the *Dnieper*, (otherwiſe called the *Boriſthenes*) in order to diſpute the paſſage with us.

During this continual retreat of the enemy, ſome Gentlemen, with the Peaſants whom they had drawn together and armed, carried off from Prince *Menzikof* three waggons full of ſilver coin, which was conducting to *Konigſberg*, and was apparently the remainder of the laſt campaign, plundered from the poor *Poloneſe* through the whole Kingdom, to whom this *Ruſſian* Prince was a true blood-ſucker.

While theſe matters were in agitation, Brigadier *Muhlenfeld*, who had eſcaped out of priſon, came to his Majeſty at *Smorgonia*, and informed him exactly of the Czar's deſigns, of the ſtate of the *Ruſſian* army, and the rout they held. This information engaged his Majeſty to extend his army in the beginning of *March*, as far as the town of *Wilna*; which, on account of its obſtinate attachment to the *Ruſſian* party, was obliged to deliver in one week thirty thouſand pound of bread, thirty thouſand pound of meat, two hundred tons of beer, two hundred pots of brandy, with a large quantity of other victuals.

At this time the differences which had ſubſiſted between the Houſes of *Wiſniowiſki* and *Sapicha*, were entirely extinguiſhed by the arrival of

of King *Stanislaus* at *Lida*, on the twenty-eighth of *February*. This Prince, with his troops, took up his quarters at *Geranow*, where he did not feel so much of the misery of the country as the King of *Sweden* at *Smorgonia*; all this neighbourhood belonging to the *Muscovite* adherents, had come better off than their neighbours, and were now able to afford us some assistance, as well as the territory of *Minsk*.

King *Stanislaus* on the eleventh of *March* made himself a tour to *Wilna*, where the magistrates of this Capital of *Lithuania* came forth to present him their Keys, and to recognize him for their Sovereign; humbly asking his protection and pardon for all their past faults. At the same time General *Smigelski*, who was posted at *Zakrozin* with his troops, arrived at King *Stanislaus*'s quarters.

Whilst this Prince with his Column followed the King of *Sweden*'s army, the affairs of *Poland* had put on different faces, according as the different parties in the Palatinate gained or lost the ascendence. *Siniawski*, Palatine of *Belsk*, whom King *Augustus* had made Great General of the Crown, and who, since his abdication was always attached to the Czar, and had much contributed to the support of the last confederacy of *Lublin*, had great part of the army of the crown strongly attached to his person: This Lord, I say, notwithstanding all the pains taken by Mr. *de Bonac*, the *French* Ambassador, who was then at *Warsovia*, to reconcile him and engage him in the interests of the new King of *Poland*, stood firm, and would not even hear of this Prince, nor make him any submission, especially since he had left the frontiers of *Poland* to advance into *Lithuania* with the King of *Sweden*.

Siniawski

Siniawſki having at length aſſembled all his troops at *Wlodowa*, marched with them towards *Leopol*, in the Palatinate of *Ruſſia*, in order to execute the decrees of that city, concerning the payment of the Confederate Army. He wrote at the ſame time to the Primate of that party, that he was retired from *Poland* into *Sileſia*, with deſign to return and aſſemble a General Diet of the Confederate Eſtates, obſerving to him that he had already diſpatched circular letters requiring to know the ſentiments of the Senators and Nobility on that matter; that he had exhorted them to quit King *Staniſlaus*, and enter into the ſtrongeſt meaſures with the *Czar* to unite againſt the *Swediſh* forces, by which they might be in a ſtate to come to a new election.

This General publiſhed at the ſame time a manifeſto, forbidding any reſpect to the orders of the Palatine of *Kiovia*, whom he declared a rebel, together with all other the adherents of King *Staniſlaus*. By all theſe declarations, ſupported by a round ſum of money which the *Czar* ſent him, and with the Coſſacks of *Mazeppa*, who advanced from the *Ukraine* to join him, he extremely ſtrengthned his party, and weakned that of King *Staniſlaus*, whom he made to fear a general revolution, if he did not inſtantly return to *Poland* to conjure down the ſtorm.

King *Staniſlaus* after having amicably determined the differences which had ſo long raged between the houſes of *Wiſniowiſki* and *Sapieha*, [b] ſent the Palatine *Jablonowſki* and Mr. *Broniſz* Marſhal of the confederacy of *Warſovia*, to

[b] It was agreed that if Count *Sapieha* would reſign the poſt of Great General of *Lithuania*, that Prince *Wiſniowiſki*

to the King of *Sweden*, to represent to him the necessity under which he found himself of returning into *Poland*, to reduce the malecontents, and re-establish tranquility in the kingdom, by holding a General Diet of pacification, which the Senators of his party had requested leave to do. The King of *Sweden* having consented to this, as he did also to the raising the contibutions which the Palatinate of *Posnania* and *Kalis* were obliged to pay, King *Stanislaus* prepared to leave us, taking with him that body of the *Swedish* army under *Crassau*, which was appointed to attend him, to act against *Siniawski*, as we shall see hereafter.

We have already observed that the *Russians* on the side of *Riga* had withdrawn to *Polocsk* at his Majesty's entry into *Lithuania*. It is impossible to express what barbarities they committed in their retreat, from *Riga* to the Frontiers not having left one single house standing behind them; all was burnt, and lay in heaps of ruin and confusion. All the citizens of the unhappy town of *Dorpt* were led into slavery, they beheaded two of the Council, and pillaged all the houses, which were afterwards demolished together with the fortifications. They carried away likewise from *Narva* many of the richest merchants with their families, whom the *Czar* obliged to settle at *Moscow* to assist in promoting his commerce.

The rest of these wretches were banished into certain places assigned them to cultivate the land. They carried off from about *Mobilow*, upwards

wiski should succeed him, and Mr. *Sapieha* Starost of *Bobrinski*, nephew to the Great General should succeed Prince *Wisniowiski*, as Under-General. When this article was settled, these two Lords who had so long been at variance were reconciled, to the great pleasure of the King of *Sweden*.

upwards of one hundred waggons loaded with *Polish* infants of both sexes, to assist hereafter in peopling the vast desarts of *Muscovy*. This spread an universal terror over *Poland* and *Livonia*. At last General *Baver*, to give the finishing stroke to the miseries of this last province, entered it at his leaving the *Polish Livonia*, which he had in like manner sacked, and plundered of every thing, to form a great magazine at *Seiswegen*, posting himself along the *Duna*, of which he continued the master, Count *Lowenhaupt* not having forces sufficient to hinder or make head against him.

The King of *Sweden* resolved to quit his quarters of *Smorgonia*, in the Palatinate of *Wilna*, and go to *Minsk*, hoping to be the better able to support his army, which wanted all manner of necessaries. He decamped the fifteenth of *March*, and in two days arrived at *Radowskievice*, which is twelve leagues from *Smorgonia*, five from *Minsk*, and seven from the little town of *Plessenize*.

We were here again deceived in our expectations, the land being incultivated, produced nothing to refresh the army, and the subterranean magazines were very hard to discover; and even if we could have found them all, they would have been very insufficient for the supplying so many troops. The reader should know besides, that in *Lithuania*, there is generally speaking more wood than manurable lands. The forests which present themselves on this rout, are above one hundred leagues in length without any interruption, in which parts there are but a few small miserable villages all surrounded with trees; whence it may be easy to conceive what the troops suffered during that march, especially the cavalry,

cavalry, who found not even grafs for their horfes.

In thefe countries we met with an extraordinary quantity of honey, of which we made a Mead that was very delicious. Bees-wax is no where in fuch abundance, nor fo cheap as here. To conferve the trees which the Bees faften on, and defend them againft the Bears, who very dililgently fearch after them, to devour the honey, which they will climb to the very top for, the inhabitants place round the trees, and under the fwarms, certain pointed ftakes [c] which they fix in planks, and thus prevent thefe animals from approaching the trees. Here is abundance of game, and fowls, the former of which give agreeable fport to the huntfman.

The 31ft of *March* Count *Lowenhaupt* arrived at *Radowfkiewice*, to give his Majefty an account of the condition of his troops, which were in *Courland* and *Livonia*, and to receive the neceffary inftructions to join us. At the fame time the *Swedifh* Refident *Knipercrona*, who had been a good while in that character at the Court of *Ruffia*, came from *Stockholm* with propofitions on the part of the *Czar*, to fettle a Cartel with the King, and make an exchange of thofe prifoners already taken on both fides: but thefe propofitions were not relifhed by the King of *Sweden*, who never would confent to them. Prince *Mazarini* an *Italian*, who had followed his Majefty from *Rawitz*, at this time died of a high fever.

Our army extended its quarters towards *Boriffow* on the one fide, and as far as *Bohufeviza* on the other. A change his Majefty judged proper

[c] *Efpece de Fraife.*

proper to make, in order to procure more commodious ſubſiſtence for his troops.

King *Staniſlaus* was quartered at *Stoli:* There was at *Boriſſow* a body of 8000 *Ruſſians*, under the command of General *Goltz* to defend that paſs which is ſituated on the river *Berezina.*

General *Baver* continued to make great waſte in the province of *Livonia.* Having fixt his camp fifteen leagues from *Riga*, by which he obliged Count *Lowenhaupt* to return after he had received his laſt orders from his Majeſty, whilſt ſeveral *Swediſh* regiments advanced to be ready to ſupport his troops in caſe of an attack. The *Czar* made this motion to give an apprehenſion of his having a deſign on *Riga*, and to oblige the King of *Sweden* to take another rout; but this feint produced no effect, his *Swediſh* Majeſty never changing the plan which he had formed.

The *Czar* who had been ſome time at *Polocſk*, ordered his army, which was ſaid to be ſeventy thouſand ſtrong, to paſs the *Dnieper*, reſolving to go himſelf to *Peterſbourg*, to preſs the ſending out his fleet, which was to be very conſiderable, and whence he had great expectations: but falling ſick at the inſtant when he was preparing to ſet out, he cauſed himſelf to be conveyed to *Smolenſko*, leaving the direction of all the operations to the Generals *Scheremethof*, *Menzikof*, *Gallizin*, *Goltz*, *Allard*, *Repnin* and *Pflug.*

As theſe Generals were then at *Mohilow*, they held a council of war, in which it was debated, whether they ſhould make peace or riſque a battle. *Menzikof* inſiſted much on the former, but the foreign Generals oppoſed him ſtrongly, in ſpite of the panick terror which reigned in their army, and the great deſertion of

of their ſoldiers, and even the national troops who for the moſt part enliſted themſelves in the *Lithuanian* army; for this reaſon the *Czar* had ſo paſſionately deſired the Cartel, propoſed by *Kniper-crona*, to which his *Swediſh* Majeſty would not conſent.

In the beginning of *May* ſuch a prodigious quantity of ſnow fell in our quarters, and the cold was ſo very piercing, that we were for the moſt part obliged to keep to our houſes; but all on a ſudden, towards the middle of *May*, ſo ſudden a change happened, that we might be ſaid to be tranſported to a quite different climate. This occaſioned many violent diſeaſes to both men and horſes: many of the latter and a great number of dogs ran mad, and ſuch men as had the misfortune to be bit by them died a few days after, in moſt terrible torments.

Count *Lowenhaupt* being returned on the fifteenth of *May* to *Riga*, made all neceſſary preparations to join his Majeſty with his body of the army, in conformity to the orders he had received, in order to act with more vigour againſt the *Czar*, and to attack him in the very heart of his eſtates. We had the more reaſon to hope for good ſucceſs in this expedition, as this Prince was hated and made uneaſy by his ſubjects, on account of the novelties which he introduced into the Government.[d]

The *Czar* had obliged his ſubjects to dreſs themſelves in a manner entirely different from that which they had before uſed, to ſhave their beards; and beſides the bloody war which they were to ſupport, he likewiſe made them labour at the building of veſſels and other publick works,

[d] This was then the language every where, but the ſequel ſhewed they were miſtaken who thought ſo.

works, which they did much against their will: this caused heavy murmurs and a great discontent throughout his kingdom; nothing was heard of but revolts, and scarce was one quieted before a fresh sedition arose from another quarter.

Besides all these considerations, which encouraged his *Swedish* Majesty to enter *Russia*, the advices which they had some time since receiv'd from *Mazeppa* General of the Cossack *Russians*, were a powerful motive of that firm resolution which this Prince took to execute the project he had formed.

Mazeppa, who had for a long time had great reason to complain of the *Czar*, was then on the frontiers of *Volhinia*, with a body of twenty five thousand Cossacks, with which he pretended that he would join *Siniawski*, at the same time that he carried on a correspondence by Letters with King *Stanislaus*, the purport of which was to prevail on the King to enter the *Ukrain*, and deliver it from the *Muscovite* yoke under which it groaned. The fertility and abundance of this country, where the war might be continued with vigour, and pushed into the very bowels of the *Czar*'s dominions, where so many Malecontents waited only our arrival [e] to declare themselves, caused the King of *Sweden* to take a resolution of turning his victorious arms that way, as soon as he was joined by *Lowenhaupt*'s army. We left our Commissaries at *Wilna*, where they raised

[e] *The author's remark.* It was this that engaged his Majesty before his departure from *Radoskievice*, to set all the *Muscovite* prisoners at liberty, who were sent into their own country to publish the clemency of the King of *Sweden*. We detained only a few to shew us the roads, whom we treated in the best manner.

raiſed fifty one thouſand crowns of that city, twenty thouſand of the Dutchy of *Slucz*, and a proportionable ſum of the other Palatinates, to be contributed towards defraying the war againſt the *Czar*. The principal care was to get together all the proviſion that was poſſible for the ſubſiſtence of the army during the march we were going to make, and our Commiſſaries to that effect made ſome journeys to *Grodno*, *Samagitia* and *Podlachia*, to procure it from all parts.

As ſoon then as the regiments were provided for three months with every thing neceſſary for their ſubſiſtance, in a country laid intirely waſte, the army was put in motion the firſt of *June*, and marched towards *Loboiſk*.

His Majeſty had reviewed his troops before he ſet out, and was entirely taken up during his ſtay at *Radoſkiowice*, in teaching them a new ſort of exercise, going on this account from one regiment to another, to inſtruct and form them.

On *June* the ſixth the King of *Sweden* decamped, marching towards *Berezina*, where our van-guard arrived that ſame day. The regiments marched cloſer together by reaſon of the neighbourhood of the enemy. That evening King *Staniſlaus* took leave of his *Swediſh* Majeſty, being on his return into *Poland*, to bring the Confederates to reaſon by the aſſiſtance of the *Swediſh* and *Lithuanian* troops, to which the Crown Army was to be joined.

We marched three leagues that day to *Troſnitz*, where we paſſed the night and the next day. The artillery followed in our rear at the diſtance only of two leagues. On the eighth, the King continued his march through *Grodeck*

to *Minſk*, being in haſte to arrive at *Berezina*, whither the greater part of the army had marched the evening before. The ninth, we came to *Smigelwicze*, whence we paſt the next day by *Ibumain* to *Jurgewiza*. On the fifteenth we arrived at the river of *Berezina*, near the town of *Bereza-Saphieſka*.

The King at his arrival here, took with him his foot and ſome of the horſe, and attended by the Prince of *Wurtenberg*, advanced to reconnoitre the diſpoſitions of the enemy. His Majeſty perceived that the oppoſite bank of the river was much covered with hedges and buſhes, and defended by near two thouſand *Muſcovites*, beſides a great number of *Don* Coſſacks, who kept themſelves concealed.

The King preſently ordered his foot to advance and fire on them, in order to diſperſe them; but as the river is not wide in this part, the Coſſacks returned the fire ſo well, that the balls whiſtled round the King on all ſides.

The Prince of *Wurtenberg* fearing what might happen to his Majeſty's ſacred Perſon, who would not retire and remained thoroughly expoſed, took with him two officers, and advanced with them on horſeback ſome paces nearer the river, to divert at leaſt their aim from the King. The enemy at that inſtant fired three ſhot at theſe three perſons, two of them paſſed by without doing any miſchief, but the third ſhot the Prince through the left thigh. To prevent the enemy's rejoicing, he concealed his wound ſome time, telling it only to the two officers who were with him; he ſtill kept his ſeat, and went ſlowly to find the King, who was much alarmed at this accident, and caufed

caufed the Prince to be carried to a little *Greek* chappel which was hard by, where they ftopt the blood, till the arrival of a furgeon with the baggage.

The youth of the Prince, joined with his good habit of body, foon reftored him to a capacity of mounting his horfe; till which time he was carried in his bed by twenty four mufqueteers, who were relieved from time to time during the march, and to whom the King, who took an extraordinary care of the Prince, ordered a crown a day to be paid *per* man.

His Majefty, to give a diverfion to the enemy, had detached General *Sparr* with four regiments towards *Boriffow*, on the *Berezina*, where Lieutenant-General *Goltz* was pofted, as we have faid, with eight thoufand, or according to others twelve thoufand men, to difpute the paffage, being perfuaded that the King would attempt it there. But while *Sparr* was advancing on that quarter, his Majefty, who was arrived, as we have juft now mentioned, at *Bereza-Saphieska*, ordered Colonel *Gyllenkrok* the next day after his arrival, to pafs the river at the head of two hundred men. The Colonel had no fooner pofted himfelf on the other fide, than the *Ruffians* and Coffacks fled full fpeed towards *Mohilow*. The King then caufed two bridges to be thrown acrofs for the paffage of the army, which arrived a few days afterwards on the other fide of the river.

The King in the mean time led the van, and ufed the utmoft diligence to cut off Gen[illegible] *Goltz*. This Prince was followed only b[illegible] part of his *Drabans*, and likewife part of [illegible] regiment of Guards, of the two *Oftrogoth* regiments of horfe and foot, the regiments of horfe

of *Smoland*, and the horſe and dragoon-guards, with the foot of *Dahl-Carlia*, &c.

General *Golitz* being timely informed by thoſe who fled, of the King's march, retreated inſtantly from *Boriſſow* towards *Mohilow*. At the ſame time, Prince *Menzikof* who had left detachments of twelve, fifteen, and eighteen thouſand men, at certain diſtances, to ſtop us if poſſible, not thinking we could ſo ſoon paſs the *Bereza*, by reaſon of the continual bogs which were on the road, had no ſooner heard this news than he ordered General *Pflug*, who guarded the paſſage of *Odrucſko*, to retreat haſtily, after having demoliſhed all the bridges to hinder our purſuit.

Notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, the King advanced through a great wood full of moraſſes, and very difficult to paſs, and where we could march but a few leagues in a day, the bridges being all deſtroyed. We were obliged to paſs ten nights together in the open field, where we were even glad to find ſome place fit to encamp upon; at the end of which time we arrived near *Bialiemſia*, where his Majeſty hoped to ſurprize a body of twelve thouſand men, who were there poſted; but they very prudently retired on the firſt advice of our approach, having firſt cut down the woods, broke up the roads, and deſtroyed all the bridges and houſes behind them.

The reſt of the army followed in the ſame rout, paſſing through *Bialiemſia*, which ſtands eleven leagues from *Bereza*, where they ſurprized two *Jews* whom the Knez *Repnin* had ſent as ſpies, and who were preſently hanged. His Majeſty advanced from *Bialiemſia* towards *Holowſzin*, where he gave the enemy battle, an exact deſcription of which is contained in the following relation.

A

A perfect Relation of what happened at the battle of Holowſzin, *the fourth of* July, 1708, *between the troops of his* Swediſh *Majeſty, and thoſe of the* Czar *of* Muſcovy, *written by the Author of theſe Memoirs.*

That we may omit nothing conducive to a perfect underſtanding of the double encounter between the Infantry on each ſide, and the Cavalry on each ſide, which were fought diſtinctly one from the other; I will begin with the ſituation of the town of *Holowſzin*, which is in the middle of a wood, on the bank of the little river of *Babiecz*, which running through part of *Lithuania*, mixes with the *Drutſch*, with which it diſcharges itſelf into the *Dnieper*. This town is five leagues from *Mohilow*, and thirty five from *Minſk*. The River *Babiecz* is almoſt every where bordered by very marſhy meadows, which render its banks almoſt impracticable to be approached, ſo that the horſe could not act, at leaſt without the aſſiſtance of faſcines and bridges of communication.

His *Swediſh* Majeſty arrived near the town of *Holowſzin*, the thirtieth of *June*, where he found a ſtrong party of the enemy's dragoons; but as the front of his army was compoſed only of ſome companies of his foot guards, he was not able to repulſe them. The dragoons retreating ſlowly, (the river and three bridges, of which they poſſeſſed the two laſt, being between themſelves and us) fortified themſelves with a little entrenchment, extended equal with the extremities of theſe three bridges, which were ſeparated from each other by three arms of the river.

The ſame day arrived the reſt of the regiment of Foot-Guards, the King's *Drabans*, the regiments of Horſe and Dragoon-Guards, with that of *Dahl-Carlia*, and our artillery, who encamped on an elevated piece of ground near the town. The enemy poſted about two thouſand dragoons, on a hill directly oppoſite to us, and fired ſeveral harmleſs ſhots from their ſmall field-pieces. In the evening, they gave a ſignal by the diſcharge of a cannon, to ſound and beat a retreat in their camp.

The next day, being the firſt of *July*, the enemy's cannon began to play before day, and continued to do ſo till the evening; their ſhot was very ſmall, and did as little execution as the day before. We did nothing that day, waiting the arrival of the reſt of our troops. The regiments of Foot of *Sperling*, *(Oſtrogoths)* thoſe of Horſe of *Roſenſtierna*, *(Oſtrogoths)* and of *Dahldorff*, *(Smolanders)* arrived the ſame day.

The ſecond, the enemy began to work at a grand entrenchment lined with *chevaux de friſe*, which reached the length of a great wood, purſuing all along the courſe of the river, and extended a *Poliſh* league and a half, or a good *Swediſh* league, from their right wing to their left, being the whole extent of their entrenchment. Towards the evening, their horſe were relieved by a body of their foot, after having been poſted three days without forage, without drawing bit, and without ſtirring.

The ſame day the Generals *Allart* and *Repnin* arrived with eight thouſand Foot, and we learnt from ſome deſerters and priſoners that the enemy's army was commanded by Velt-Marſhal *Goltz*, and who had under his

his command the Generals *Allart*, *Repnin*, *Ronn*, *Renſil*, *Heinſki*, *Tiaembre*, *Gallowin*, *Von Sweden*, &c. &c. Nothing paſſed this day except the enemy's diſcharge of eight pounders, which did us no manner of hurt.

On the third of *July*, the enemy compleated their entrenchment, which they fortified with ſix different batteries, and thirty thouſand men, choſe out of their beſt troops, which were again reinforced by the arrival of *Alexander Menzikof*, Generaliſſimo, *Czeremetof* Velt-Marſhal, and the Prince of *Heſſe-Darmſtadt*.

The ſame day eight hundred of their Coſſacks and Calmucks threw themſelves over the river, and fell openly on our Valoches; but after having killed their Captain *Ucbanowitz*, and a Cornet, they were repulſed, and forced to return the ſame way they came. In this action ſeveral were killed, wounded, and taken priſoners on both ſides.

Towards the evening, Baron *Axel Sparr*, General of foot, arrived with his regiment of *Weſmanland* in our camp, and was followed by nine other regiments who marched a little behind, but near enough to be brought up in caſe of need.

In the beginning of the evening, Col. *Bunau* ordered the artillery to be drawn towards the village of *Starachella*, half a league from the camp, and placed twenty pieces of cannon and two patereros, on a riſing ground oppoſite to the enemy's entrenchments, and ſix other pieces of cannon below the river to the left, to diſturb the enemy's communication, and to hinder any ſuccours to be brought to their left wing from their right.

As Mr. *Bunau* could not make this motion with his artillery so secretly but that the enemy must perceive it, they gave a great alarm, and discharged a signal for every one to stand to his arms.

The fourth of *July*, being the last day of the week according to our stile, Mr. *Bunau* gave the enemy a salutation at half an hour after two in the morning with his twenty pieces of cannon and two patereros, which serenade[f] he continued till half an hour after five.

During this time the King, after having drawn up his troops, rushed into the river, wading up to his breast, holding by his right hand Colonel *Siegroth*, and by his left *Charles Albrecht Adlerfelt*, Captain of his guards. His Majesty was instantly followed by four regiments of foot, namely, the Guards, *Dahl-Carlers*, *Uplanders*, and *Westmanlanders*, commanded by their Colonels *Poss*, *Siegroth*, *Fritski*, and *Sparr*.

At the same time the *Drabans*, four squadrons of the Dragoon-guards under Velt-Marshal Count *Rheinschild*, three squadrons of the Horse-guards commanded by General *Creutz*, and two squadrons of *Smoland* conducted by *Dahldorff*, and which were principally destined for the attack, passed the river the first, under favour of our artillery; which at the same time forced the troops of the enemy, who attempted, at their right and left, to attack those who past, to return back and regain their retrenchment, in which Mr. *de Bunau* continued to make a terrible havock. The enemy found themselves disconcerted and at a stand, on which occasion the King said, "Matters go well, they are "conquered."[g]

Count

[f] *Aubade.*
[g] *Voilà qui va bien, ce sont des gens battus.*

Count *James Sperling* paſſed afterwards with his regiment of *Oſtrogoth* foot, as well as the reſt of the horſe; and as *Sperling* perceived two ſquadrons of the right wing of the enemy to aim at attacking the left flank of his regiment, he made them wheel half round to the left, and then gave them ſuch a home ſalute with a general diſcharge, that they abandoned their purpoſe with the utmoſt haſte. After this vigorous action, the regiment recovered their ground, and marched fiercely on without any farther interruption, as well as the reſt of the troops that followed, but which could not however come up to the charge, for the Defile was very difficult to paſs, and the foremoſt troops charged the enemy ſo vigorouſly, that they were obliged to precipitate their retreat.

His Majeſty being always on horſe-back, put himſelf about half an hour after four at the head of the Foot-Guards, the *Dahl-Carlois*, and the *Uplanders*; who advanced fiercely, with their arms ſhouldered, towards the right front of the enemy's left wing, commanded by General *Repnin*; during which, the *Weſtmanlanders* and the *Oſtrogoths* had orders to march more to the left, to cut off any ſuccour from the reſt of the enemy. Theſe, who had already ſuffered much from our artillery during two hours, and who ſaw themſelves void of any covering on their right, (their cavalry acting neither to the right or left) at the approach of our men in this opening, which was about two hundred paces, that they might not be attacked in the front, and likewiſe in the rear, reſolved to go forth from their entrenchment with their foot, which conſiſted of eighteen battalions on that ſide, before we came up to them.

They

They then attempted to paſs on the back of their entrenchment, defiling below us on two bridges, the one facing the other, and by the aſſiſtance of which they hoped to paſs over a very moraſſy ground. In this manner they ſeparated their infantry from their cavalry, which latter ſtood very quiet along their entrenchment, till our men coming up with them, attacked and put them to flight.

When the battle was in this ſituation, the King gave ſpurs to his horſe, and preſſed forward with his infantry to attack theirs; but notwithſtanding all the diligence of theſe regiments, who were animated to ſuch a degree that they ran towards the enemy, their foot gained a thick wood, which offered itſelf very favourably to their retreat. Into this they threw themſelves with great expedition, poſting themſelves very near the outſide; the trees, which ſtood very cloſe and were very buſhy, ſerved them for palliſado's of defence, and inſtead of an entrenchment.

Here the enemy began to fire on us, who ſtood all expoſed on the open field; and they ceaſed not to charge and diſcharge their pieces till half an hour paſt ſix, when they had no more powder or ball left. During all this time the King went from one battalion to another, always conveying himſelf where the fire was the briſkeſt; animating his troops with his hand, his ſword, and his voice; ordering them above all things, inſtead of firing, to uſe their pikes, their bayonets and their ſwords, till at laſt our brave muſqueteers, thoroughly reſolved to conquer or die, having forced their enemies to turn their backs and penetrated into the wood, remained intirely victorious by the general flight of the enemy; who, throwing down their arms,

abandoned the field of battle and the wood, leaving all to the mercy of the conquerors, who now beat a retreat, to cauſe our troops who purſued the enemy too hotly, to return and draw up in rank and file, according to his Majeſty's order.

The King was well ſerved by Major-General *Sparr*, and by all his brave officers and ſoldiers, who, in reality, performed wonders at this violent attack; where, notwithſtanding the rain, the fire of the enemy was very terrible.

His Majeſty had always by his ſide the Prince of *Wurtenberg*, General *Poniatowſki* and Colonel *Wangerſheim*, who never quitted the ſacred perſon of our Hero; tho' the Prince was hardly recovered of a wound he had received near the river *Berezina* almoſt three weeks before.

Let us take a ſhort ſurvey of the cavalry who had advanced a league beyond the attack of the Foot; and where his Majeſty came, after the whole was over. We had very credible informations, that his Excellency Count *Rheinſchild*, ſeeing the difficulty he found to make our regiments of horſe defile and advance through the river *Babiecz*, and that on the other ſide, his Majeſty was briſkly engaged with the enemy's foot, took inſtantly the King's Drabans and four ſquadrons of his own regiment of body-dragoons, who had paſſed the river firſt, and charged ſo ſtoutly with theſe *Swedes* the whole bodies of the enemies horſe and dragoons of the left wing, amounting to eleven thouſand men, forming one hundred and thirty ſquadrons, and commanded by *Goltz*, that he had no time to recollect himſelf, nor to ſend for ſuccour to that body of Foot which the Knez *Repnin*, as we have ſaid, commanded.

Our

Our victorious ſquadrons advanced with ſo much force and impetuoſity, that the Horſe-guards and the two ſquadrons of *Dahldorff* had all the difficulty in the world to follow in order, to ſupport them at all events: ſo that in this action the five firſt ſquadrons, and eſpecially the Drabans, who were all the time ſurrounded by the enemies, ſuffered and loſt much the moſt; and ſo did the regiment of guards among the infantry.

Amongſt thoſe of note who were killed on our ſide, we may reckon Major-General *Wrangle*, Captain-Lieutenant of the Drabans, and Quarter-Maſter *Wattrang*, of the ſame corps; Meſſieurs *Horn*, *Palpitzki*, *Palmback*, *Barkmann* and *Damm*; the Adjutant-General *Claes Hierta*, *John Ankerhielm* Captain of the guards, Count *Wachtmeiſter*, and others.

Amongſt the wounded, were Count *Poſs* Colonel of guards, his Major *Stiernhook*, and eight Captains, of which number was Baron *Gyllenſtierna*, to whom his Majeſty vouchſafed the honour of his horſe, whence he diſmounted in order to mount this officer, who was carried out of the battle to have the many wounds dreſſed which he received at the attack of the wood. The Lieutenant-Colonels *Ulfſparr* and *Wrangle*, the firſt of *Dahl-Carlia*, and the ſecond of *Weſmanlanders*; the Majors *Ornſtedt* and *Grieſbach* of the dragoon-guards, and *Dahl-Carlia*, were alſo wounded, with thirty-ſix Drabans and forty-five officers of the guards. We loſt in all but two hundred and fifty-five common ſoldiers, and had twelve hundred and nineteen wounded.

As

As to the *Russians*, we learnt from the prisoners that they had near three thousand officers and soldiers killed, among which were the Generals *Tschambre*, *Gallowin*, and *Von Sweden*; and that their right wing, which was entirely cut off from the left, had retreated at three in the afternoon under the command of *Scheremetof*, *Ronn* and *Rensel*, without firing a piece, and marched towards the town of *Schlowa* on the *Dnieper*, where their army reassembled in a body, in order to retire beyond *Mohilow*.

We took twelve pieces of brass-cannon, all their ammunition and baggage, two pair of kettle-drums, and some colours; most of which were taken by the regiment of guards, which acted wonders.

His Majesty, having ordered the enemy's cavalry to be pursued for some time, who sometimes turned about in their flight firing at an hundred paces or a greater distance, and afterwards flying with the utmost speed to save themselves, now recalled those that were in the pursuit, and encamped this and the following nights in the enemy's intrenchments; where we returned thanks to God for the victory which he had granted us.

Thus ended this day so glorious both to the arms and person of his Majesty, whose valour supported by the courage and bravery of his troops, gave the *Russians* to understand, with what ill judgment they had compared their forces to ours [h].

The

[h] The Prince of *Wurtenberg* had a particular rencounter at the beginning of the action. An Officer of the enemy's foot well mounted, having rode forth from his

The *Drabans*, to the number of one hundred and twenty men [i], performed the moſt extraordinary feats of valour in this battle, where ten or twelve joined together formed little ſquadrons, and with a terrible force which nothing was able to reſiſt, overthrew and trampled on whole ſquadrons of the enemy. They made ten ſubſequent attacks in this manner; they ſuffered the moſt from the Calmucks, who, always falling on their backs while they were engaged, did them much the moſt conſiderable damage.

Amongſt the wounded, the majority had three or four wounds; nay, ſome of them carried ten or eleven glorious marks of their bravery out of the battle. The enemy had thirty battalions in the field, eighteen of which only were engaged, which were routed, as we have ſaid, by our three regiments. Their left wing was compoſed of eleven thouſand dragoons, their right of ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred horſe; beſides which, they had four thouſand Calmucks: their whole number amounted to many more than thirty thouſand men.

The Czar arrived in his army two days after the action, and was ſo incenſed at the loſs of a battle where his troops were ſo ſuperior in number, that he fetched out all thoſe who were wounded in the back, and made them draw lots;

his ranks, cried out to the Prince, without knowing him, in the *French* tongue, *Venez ici, ſi vous êtes un brave homme, If you are a brave man, come hither.* He had ſcarce ended his defiance, when this brave Prince, who defired no more, giving ſpurs to his horſe, received a piſtol-ſhot which paſt by him, and in the ſame moment run his ſword up to the hilt into the officer's body, who fell dead from his horſe.

[i] They were one hundred and fifty when they left *Saxony*.

lots; thoſe who drew a black lot were immediately ſhot, which ſad fate happen'd to many of them.

As ſoon as we had buried our dead, and were joined by the reſt of the army, his Majeſty on the ſeventh of *July* decamped, facing towards *Mohilow* on the *Dnieper*, where he arrived the ninth, after having paſſed ſix leagues of very bad road, which gave the enemy time to place the *Dnieper* between them and us; who demoliſhing all the bridges behind them, marched towards *Smolenſko*.

The current report being, that his Majeſty intended to penetrate into *Ruſſia* on the ſide of *Smolenſko*, the Czar cauſed his armies to ravage all that part of the country, that we might be unable to follow them. All our troops being now arrived by diverſe routs, were ſo poſted, that the moſt diſtant were not above a league from *Mohilow*; under which town his Majeſty encamped with moſt of his regiments.

The King on his arrival at *Mohilow*, immediately ordered two bridges to be built for the paſſage of the *Dnieper*; the readineſs with which they were finiſhed, gave room to believe that we ſhould purſue the enemy. But as the troops were extremely faint and fatigued, not only by their violent marches, but alſo for want of food, and above all by that continual rain which had fallen every day during ſix weeks, and had been followed by very cold nights; and as we found ſome ſubſiſtence in *Mohilow* and the neighbouring places, his Majeſty reſolved to reſt here ſome weeks for the refreſhing his troops (amongſt which there were many ſick) and likewiſe to give the wounded time for their cure.

Nothing

Nothing remarkable paſſed during our ſtay at *Mohilow*, unleſs the diſturbances which were frequently given us by the Calmucks; who, ſometimes ſwam acroſs the river, and carried off our horſes out of their paſtures.

We found at *Mohilow* ſeveral notes ſcattered abroad, by which great recompence was promiſed to ſuch *Swedes* as would deſert. Theſe promiſes however made no impreſſion on our troops, who deſpiſed ſuch devices. We had here an opportunity of renewing an epiſtolary correſpondence with our friends, which had been interrupted for ſome time; and here his Majeſty gave orders that a great part of the records of the Chancery ſhould be ſent to *Stockholm*.

As to King *Staniſlaus*, he had bent his courſe towards *Grodno* by very ſlow marches, not more than two or three leagues a day, deſigning to reach the camp of the *Lithuanian* army near *Brieſowa*. At *Grodno* ſeveral deputies of the Palatinates came to offer him their ſubmiſſion.

This Prince proceeded to *Pruſſia*, and on the fifth of *July* arrived at *Elbing*, and the eighth at *Marienbourg*, where the Queen of *Poland* his ſpouſe came to meet him. The town of *Dantzick* ſent four Deputies to him with their compliments. He reſolved to wait for the conjunction of the *Swediſh* regiments to act againſt *Siniawſki*, who with his body of troops, after having encamped ſome weeks at *Niſko*, had marched to *Lublin*, and *Breſzia-Cujawſki*, to join thoſe *Lithuanian* malecontents who were under the command of *Poczici*.

On the other hand Count *Lowenhaupt* prepared to join his Majeſty with his body of the army, aſſembled in *Livonia* and *Courland*,

Courland, and bring with him provision and ammunition for us for three months; but this General marched very slowly, on account of the great number of loaded waggons which he brought with him, and as he was always harassed in his march by General *Baver*. His Majesty therefore perceiving, that all was consumed in this country, and that his people could not wait the arrival of Count *Lowenhaupt* without perishing with hunger, after having gathered together all the remaining provisions for the regiments, resolved to pass the *Dnieper* to meet this General, to whom he sent orders to endeavour the same conjunction.

On the fifth of *August* his Majesty passed the river over a bridge, followed by the regiment of guards and some other foot regiments, and leaving the road to *Horki* or *Gorki* to the left, encamped at half a league from *Mohilow*.

The Calmucks, who were concealed in the woods, only observed our motions this first day, and endeavoured here and there to carry off a little pillage. The two following days the rest of the army continued to pass the *Dnieper*, and then broke down the bridge.

The eighth, the army marched to *Oneskewitz*, (three quarters of a league) situated on this side of a little river called *Resta*. On the ninth we celebrated a day of solemn fast and prayer.

The tenth we proceeded some leagues towards *Stolki*, where our advanced guards were posted within a league and a half of the enemy. Here we halted four days, during which the Calmucks often attempted to harass us; but they did little more harm, than the carrying off a few horses and servants.

The ſeventeenth, his Majeſty decamped from *Stolki*, and came to *Viſoki*, (two leagues) on the little river *Pronia*. The enemy continued ſtill to abandon all thoſe towns which might have made ſome reſiſtance, burning, deſtroying, and ſacking all; ſo that we found on all ſides nothing but the moſt ſad ruins, and the country a moſt horrible deſart. This occaſioned great ſcarcity among the ſoldiers, who were compelled to make uſe of all manner of means for their ſubſiſtence; cutting the corn themſelves when they found any, afterwards thraſhing, grinding it in hand-mills, baking and eating it directly, which required a good deal of time and labour.

This evening his Majeſty was adviſed, that a large body of *Ruſſian* dragoons was but a league's diſtance, that General *Goltz* with the reſt of the cavalry was poſted three leagues beyond, and that General *Iſland* was marched towards the *Ukrain* with ſeven regiments, whilſt the Czar himſelf was poſted with his infantry at *Miciſlaw*, whence he afterwards returned towards *Soſſa*.

The next day being the eighteenth, the Valoches returned with twelve priſoners and a Major, named *Du Caille*, who had commanded a party of an hundred and ſixty *Muſcovite* dragoons, the greater part of which were cut to pieces. We learnt from the Major, and the Orders in writing which were found upon him, that the enemy intended to throw a bridge over the *Soſſa*, near the town of *Czerikowa*, in order to paſs the river.

The nineteenth, the army advanced only two leagues to *Drakowka*, and the next day encamped at *Labonowa*, a league and a half; whence they proceeded one league on the twenty-firſt

to

to *Czerikowa*, and encamped at a little distance from the town. Near this town, which was situated on this side of the *Sossa*, General *Ronn* was just arrived with fifteen thousand *Russians* in order to pass the river there, over which he had thrown three floating bridges; when our Valoches, having come up with his Rear-guard consisting of eight squadrons, attacked them with so much valour, that they were pushed into a defile, where the *Russians* standing their ground, gave our Valoches so warm a reception, that they were on the point of being dispersed; when our van-guard advanced to their succour, and put the enemy to flight, with great slaughter.

General *Ronn* left behind him at this pass, a great number both of men and horses, which, by reason of the fatigues which they had undergone in all their marches, were not in a condition to follow him. The greatest part of his baggage was likewise lost, and the Peasants of the neighbouring countries had five hundred of his waggons to their share; the Valoches took eighteen, with a quantity of tents, a number of horses and camels. Some coaches full of the wives of *German* Officers fell likewise into their hands, but after having plundered the coaches, they let the Ladies go.

General *Goltz* marched some leagues higher to pass the *Sossa*, and so join the Czar; who, as we have said, was posted at *Mirishaw*.

The next day being the twenty-second of *August*, some hundreds of *Russian* dragoons having had the boldness to pass one of their floating bridges, and post themselves on our side of the river; his Majesty ordered fifty men of his regiment of guards, who were the nearest at hand, to march immediately, who obliged them to re-

turn the ſame way with great ſpeed, leaving ſome of their men behind them. This detachment of fifty men likewiſe loſt ſome, and had others wounded.

It was believed, his Majeſty would have paſs'd the *Soſſa* here; but having left *Czerikowa* on his right, he turned towards *Miciſlaw*, and advanced a league and a half to *Sori*. The next day the army marched to *Kulloblin*, (two leagues).

On this rout we ſurprized a detachment of *Goltz*'s army, which we never ceaſed purſuing; and killed thirty men and took ſeven priſoners.

The ſame day a column of our army, compoſed of a regiment of Artillery, two regiments of horſe of *Scania*, and a regiment of foot of *Sudermanland*, met on their way a brigade of the enemy conſiſting of eight thouſand men. Colonel *Ornſtedt* had no ſooner perceived the enemy than he advanced inſtantly with two ſquadrons of his regiment of *South-Scania*, and attacked the Rear of that brigade with ſo much valour, that after having killed about fifty men, he drove the reſt home to the main body of their troops.

The enemy being then poſted near a defile, which they fortified with ſome field-pieces, they made a feint of intending to hazard a battle; but as ſoon as our Colonel, who was abſolutely obliged to paſs through the defile, and who had put his men in a poſture of attack, advanced to that purpoſe; and that Colonel *Bunau* began, by playing his cannon on the defile; they loſt their courage, and retreated in haſte to *Slabatko*, two leagues from thence.

The

The King having halted one day at *Kullob-lin*, decamped and marched to *Pattrinowka* (two leagues); where *Goltz* would have paſſed the *Soſſa*, but was hindered by our cloſe purſuit. The King halted one day, and then came to *Malatiza*, (two leagues).

The Czar, after having quitted *Miciſlaw*, kept even pace with us along the other ſide of the *Soſſa*, which he paſſed and repaſſed at many places to obſerve our motions. At length, on the ſame day whereon we arrived at *Parvinowka*, this Prince encamped at *Dobro*, on the little river of *Bialana* one league from *Melezier*, where he intrenched himſelf to attend the conjunction of his forces.

The near approach of the two armies occaſioned a very ſmart battle, which happened ſome days after our arrival at *Malatiza*. Major-General *Roos* was encamped with his column conſiſting of the regiment of horſe of *Oſtrogoths*, and the regiments of foot of *Weſtrogoths*, *Nerika*, *Weſterbothn*, and *Jonkioping*, about half a league from the Head-quarters on the river of *Nappa*, or *Czarnapata*, in a place ſecured by very large bogs, through which his Majeſty had determined to paſs to attack the Czar; who being informed of the ſeparation of this column from the reſt of the army, reſolved to ſurprize them. For this purpoſe, he cauſed a kind of ponton to be made with little trees interwoven in the form of mats, in order to throw over the bogs, into which they likewiſe caſt a quantity of faſcines; and he ordered the Knez *Gallizin*, with the Generals *Rohn* and *Pflug*, to march at the head of ten battalions and three regiments of dragoons, (all of his beſt troops) to attack *Roos*.

This detachment found great difficulty in passing the morass, and the river; but having at length accomplished it under the favour of a thick fog, which hindered us from perceiving their approach, they surprized our regiments at six in the morning in their camp, where they attacked us with all possible fury.

The Regiment of foot of *Jonkioping*, commanded by *Buchwald*, was first ranged in order of battle, and sustained at first among the tents the redoubled attacks of the enemy with so much valour, that they gave time to the *Westrogoths* to advance to their assistance. The two other regiments coming at the same time had their share in the business, as well as the regiment of horse; the battle became very bloody and obstinate, and lasted two hours, with a dreadful slaughter on both sides.

The King having heard the fire, gave immediate orders to several regiments to march to the assistance of *Roos*; to whom he hastened himself, followed by the Prince of *Wurtenberg* and several other Generals, to partake in the action, which yet continued very brisk. The regiment of *Dahl-Carlers* arriving the first, made so furious a discharge on the *Russian* foot, that they gave ground, and made a retreating fight, forming themselves into a long hollow square towards the morass, in order to repass it.

At which instant Prince *Wurtenberg* having proposed to his Majesty to attack the enemy's flank, the King gave him orders to take the regiment of dragoons of *Hielm*, for that purpose. These having wheeled a little, dismounted and attacked the enemy with such terrible fury (the regiment of *Dahl-Carlers* under *Siegroth*, pur-

purſuing at the ſame time their firſt blow) that the *Muſcovite* foot endeavoured to ſave themſelves croſs the moraſs, whither their cavalry had ſhewn them the way. They quitted the field of battle with ſuch precipitation, as differed very little from a flight or general rout; and returned into their camp, leaving great numbers in the moraſs, where they ſunk, and were killed by the but-ends of muſkets and fuzees as ſoon as the fog was cleared up. The buſineſs being at an end, our regiments returned quietly into their camp.

We loſt many brave officers on this occaſion, Mr. *Roſenſtierna*, Colonel of *Oſtrogoth* horſe, was killed at the firſt attack, with many other officers. Count *Jaſper Sperling*, and Colonel *Buchwald* were dangerouſly wounded. Colonel *Arfwidſon*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Ulfſparr*, were ſlightly hurt. We had at moſt two hundred and ſixty-one ſoldiers killed, and ſeven hundred and fifty wounded.

The enemy by their own confeſſion had ſix hundred men killed, without reckoning the wounded, which were more than a thouſand. Amongſt their officers of note who fell on the ſpot, were Prince *Dolgoruki*, Colonel *Campen*, Major *Wogekowſki*, and ſome others.

The *Ruſſians* however loudly proclaimed, that they had got the advantage; and to impoſe on the publick, the Czar honoured the Knez *Repnin* with the Order of St. *Andrew*.

The King of *Sweden* gave an hundred crowns to a ſingle ſoldier, who caſt himſelf into the bog and killed a *Ruſſian* officer that had taken a pair of *Swediſh* colours; and afterwards advanced him on the firſt opportunity.

On the third of *September*, having first buried the dead, the King decamped; and as soon as he had passed *Nappa*, or *Czarnapata*, he encamped at a quarter of a league from thence, at a place called *Walowniki*.

The same day Count *Rheinschild* Velt-Marshal, accompanied with many Generals, went to *reconnoitre* the Czar's camp; but he found that Prince had quitted *Dobro* two days before, and was retired towards *Smolensko*, having left behind him some thousand Cossacks who had orders to attend us with a flying camp.

On the fourth, we came to *Bezvodice* (two leagues), and the next day to *Ivony* (two leagues and a half), always following the Czar's rout, in order to oblige him at last to stand his ground; so that we encamped those two days on the same spot where the *Russians* had encamped the evening before. At *Ivony* we halted till the eighth, on which the army advanced (a league and a half), to *Raikowa*.

We shall see the continuation of this march in the following Letter, written by the Author to the Duke of . . . . . ; and we will add at the bottom of the page, some remarks taken out of the Journal, to supply and explain the text of this Letter.

MY LORD,

" I had the honour to write to your Serene " Highness, the tenth of *November*, by a courier, " which the Field-master *Mazeppa* sent to his " Majesty the King of *Poland*. That Letter was " very short[k]; but I had at that time no oppor- " tunity

[k] This Letter was lost.

" tunity to write a longer. I embrace the present
" occasion with pleasure, since I am now able
" to send your Serene Highness a faithful re-
" cital of what hath happened to us: for we
" have hitherto been able to give no account of
" ourselves, whilst our enemies, as some letters
" which we have intercepted inform us, have not
" been backward in publishing reports very
" much to our disadvantage.

" To continue this Journal, I shall go back to
" the month of *September*, and shall begin by
" entertaining your Serene Highness with the
" particulars of a rencounter, which his Ma-
" jesty had with a large detachment of the e-
" nemy the tenth of this month. Your Serene
" Highness is to be informed, that the army
" marched that day in several columns; for we
" had no open plains to pass over. When
" we were advanced a league, we came to a
" bridge near a mill, which the enemy who had
" set fire to it, had not had time to burn
" entirely.

" The column which the King led, having
" past the bridge, perceived the enemy's troops
" on the left. This was General *Baver*'s bri-
" gade, which had attended and observed us
" during our march [1], which gave the King a
" desire of chacing them. That column which
" was placed to the left of the army, ought to
" have been near at hand; but was so far
" behind, that it could give us no assistance.
" The King therefore putting himself at the
" head of the *Ostrogoth* horse, which was of
" his own column, hastened to the enemy,
" who had hid seventy squadrons behind some
" little

[1] General *Baver* had with him more than ten thousand dragoons.

" little woods. The King soon overthrew those
" he attacked, but found himself invironed by
" a greater number, without reckoning Cossacks
" and Calmucks [m].

" The battle became obstinate, and the King's
" person was never exposed to such danger as
" now. Whilst the squadron which the King
" led was surrounded on all sides, and had no-
" thing left but to break through sword in
" hand, his Majesty's horse was unluckily kil-
" led under him. By divine providence, which
" was careful to preserve his Majesty, Adju-
" tant-General *Thuro Hard*, who fought by his
" side, was killed at that instant; so that the
" King instantly took his horse, and continued
" the battle till the arrival of a greater num-
" ber of his troops, who soon decided the af-
" fair, breaking the enemy and forcing them
" to give back. Many were killed on both
" sides [n]; and Adjutant *Rasenstierna*, whom the
" King had sent at the beginning to bring up
" the horse, as he was returning at the head
" of a squadron, was wounded, and died a few
" hours afterwards.

" His Highness the Prince of *Wurtenberg*
" was that day in great danger of being ta-
" ken prisoner, he had headed a squadron
" and led them to the charge; but when
" they came to the attack, this Prince hurried
" into the midst of the enemy, whom he
" now saw himself obliged to follow for some
" time

[m] These were some thousand Cossacks and Calmucks of General *Ronn*'s Brigade, which was composed of six thousand dragoons and foot, and marched on our right.

[n] We had about fifty men killed, with the two Adjutants whom we have mentioned; but the enemy lost many more.

" time as one of their own party. By good
" luck, the ſmoke and duſt prevented his being
" known, and when the troops returned to
" the charge, the Prince diſengaged himſelf at
" the price of the commanding officer's life,
" into whom he plunged his ſword up to the
" hilt; and then giving ſpurs to his horſe, re-
" joined the *Swedes*, the enemy having ſent
" ſeveral ſhot after him to no effect.

" Colonel *Dahldorff* diſtinguiſhed himſelf
" very eminently in this rencounter. After
" our horſe had purſued the enemy for ſome
" time, the King commanded them to ſtop
" at a moraſs, which ſeparated the two par-
" ties. We were then advanced a league be-
" yond the foot, and the baggage; but his
" Majeſty reſolved to return and encamp near
" the villages of *Atokki* and *Raikowa*.

" We were but half a league's diſtance from
" the frontiers of *Muſcovy*; but the enemy not
" ſparing their own country, laid all the
" towns and villages in aſhes, deſtroying e-
" very thing for a circumference of ten or
" twelve miles: ſo that nothing but fire was
" ſeen any where, and the air was ſo darken-
" ed with the ſmoke, that we could hardly
" ſee the ſun.

" On the eleventh his Majeſty decamped
" with the army, and proceeded a league on
" that ſide, where the battle had been fought
" the day before; but paſt not the frontiers,
" coaſting along their ſide only, and ſat down
" near a town called *Starichi*, where we ſtay-
" ed ſome days, as well to give our army a
" little

* He diſengaged the King by overthrowing thoſe ſquadrons of the enemy which ſurrounded his Majeſty.

" little repose, as to procure them some bread, " of which the scarcity encreased considerably. " As the Peasants have a custom among them " of keeping all their corn under ground, we " applied ourselves to seeking it out, grinding " it, and making it into bread; the Cossacks " at the same time giving daily molestation " to our guards and foragers.

" The Czar with the gross of the *Muscovite* " army, which consisted of horse, was retired " some leagues off; but Velt-Marshal *Sche-* " *remethof* had gained *Smolensko* with the ma- " jor part of the foot, in his way to which " place he cut down a wood, in order to shut " out the King from passing through that " Country.

" The King, who hitherto had flattered " himself that he should be able to bring the " Czar to a pitch'd battle, saw by this play " that he should never accomplish it, and " that he should suffer too much by advanc- " ing any farther; he resolved therefore to " penetrate by another rout, *viz.* by the " Dutchy of *Severia*, tho' that was very diffi- " cult, leading through forests almost impas- " sable.

" As it was necessary to get before the " enemy, his Majesty detached Major-General " *Lagercrona* with four thousand five hundred " horse and foot, and six pieces of cannon, " with orders to advance in the front towards " the town of *Kruischow*, and to repair the " roads for facilitating the march of the army, " and also to throw bridges over the river " *Sosse*.

" Mr. *Lagercrona* marched out of the camp " of *Starisla* in the night between the fourteenth

" and

" and fifteenth of *September*, and the King
" followed in the morning with all the army,
" which marched in ſeveral columns. We
" gained four leagues that day, and arrived at
" the village of *Biſtriza*, paſſing through *Mi-*
" *likowa*, whence we had before come. From
" hence the King continued his march on the
" ſixteenth to *Wolofniki*, (three leagues) and ſo
" on the ſeventeenth to *Horbatka* through the
" town of *Malacziza* (three leagues) where we
" reſted the eighteenth.

" From *Horbatka* we marched on the nine-
" teenth (one league) to *Kruiſchof*, where Mr.
" *Lagercrona* had laid two bridges; he was
" now ordered to go on farther, and croſs
" the ſhorteſt of the foreſts on that rout
" which divided *Severia* from *Lithuania*, to
" poſſeſs himſelf of the road, and ſecure the
" paſſage over the river *Ipooz* (*Obiecz* in the
" map) whence he was to gain the town of
" *Poczoppo*, which covers the country on *Smo-*
" *lenſko* ſide, through which the enemy muſt
" paſs into *Severia*.

" The King paſſed the *Soſſa* at *Kruiſchof*,
" the very day of his arrival, on which we
" proceeded three leagues farther to *Lobza*.
" After our paſſage of the *Soſſa*, we entered
" forthwith into a wood of above twenty leagues
" extent, and where Mr. *Lagercrona* was miſ-
" led by the Peaſants: for having ſwerved too
" much to the right, he entirely declined from
" the rout which was preſcribed him, and fell
" into that which was ordained to Count *Low-*
" *enhaupt*, to whom the King ſent orders to
" paſs the *Soſſa* at *Propoiſk*.

" The King, who marched on the twentieth
" from *Lobza* to the village of *Buda* (one
" league

" league and a half) immediately conceived
" that *Lagercrona* had missed his way, because
" he heard no more news of him; so being
" arrived on the twenty first from *Buda* at *Kort-*
" *kovice* (four leagues) he left his baggage behind,
" and advanced with the regiment of Guards,
" the *Dahl-Carlers*, and the Rear-guard of *La-*
" *gercrona*'s party, being three hundred horse
" commanded by a Major, who by accident
" had taken the right road.

" His Majesty on the twenty second and
" twenty third proceeded (eight leagues) and
" entred into *Severia*, passing the little river of
" *Biesez* at a ford, there being no bridge. In
" the first village called *Niwna*, his Majesty
" reposed himself, and was joined by the Count
" and the *Drabans*; but the baggage followed
" slowly, being escorted by the regiment of
" *Upland* and other troops.

" The King staid not long at *Niwna*; and
" having sent the Major before with the
" three hundred horse of *Lagercrona*'s detach-
" ment, to render himself master of the pass
" of the *Ipooz*; he followed very early on the
" twenty fourth, and encamped near the river
" *Ipooz*, in the village of *Drakowa*, two leagues
" from *Niwna*. On the twenty fifth, the bridge
" over the *Ipooz* being finished, he continued
" his march a league farther to *Kossinice*, where
" we came forth from the great wood, and
" began to discover a better country.

" The King waited here fifteen days for his
" army, who arrived by degrees, having suffered
" a little in the forest. [p]

" The

[p] The army wanted all manner of refreshments in this march; they had often neither bread nor beer, nor wine,

" The Czar ſurprized to ſee his enemy
" turn back, flattered himſelf at firſt that
" they were returned into *Lithuania*; but being
" advertiſed of his paſſing the *Soſſa* at *Kruiſ-*
" *chow*, he was too much convinced that the
" King of *Sweden* intended for *Severia*. As
" it was his intereſt to prevent him, he inſtantly
" diſpatched Major-General *Iſland* at the head
" of four thouſand horſe, with orders to march
" day and night till he had got before the
" *Swedes*, and to throw ſome troops into the
" towns of *Severia*, which are fortified after
" the manner of that country with ramparts
" overcaſt with wood, and a moat.

" This *Muſcovite* General was followed pre-
" ſently by Lieutenant-General *Ronn*, at the
" head of ſix regiments of dragoons; and theſe
" two commanders marched above thirty leagues
" in three days. Velt-Marſhal *Scheremethof*, hav-
" ing with him *Goltz*, *Allart*, *Renzel*, and other
" Generals, followed *Iſland* and *Ronn*, with
" that body of foot which had encamped under
" *Smolenſko*, all marching as faſt as poſſible.

" General

wine, nor brandy. At *Kruiſchof*, they found a good quantity of ſalt, with a little brandy; but this ſufficed not for an whole army: beſides the march thro' theſe woods, of which there was hardly an end, and where they met a ſucceſſion (with very little interruption) of bogs and difficult paſſages, was extremely fatiguing. Nevertheleſs, the hopes we conceived of ſeeing the *Ukrain*, and above all the admirable example of his Majeſty, his goodneſs, his patience, his unwearied labours, animated the troops to ſuch a degree, that they would ſuffer any thing to follow him. At our coming out of the wood, and firſt entrance into *Severia*, we diſcovered a fine country full of beautiful and large villages, but they were all deſerted, the inhabitants having fled on all ſides at our approach: We only found forage for our horſes, and that in a great quantity.

" General *Baver*, who was with the Czar's " army, was detached with ſix thouſand horſe, " who were to follow cloſe at the heels of the " King. He fell in near the town of *Kruiſchof* " with our rear-guard, under the command of " Major-General *Cruus*, which he ordered " Major-General *Michos* with two thouſand " dragoons to attack. *Michos* was ſo ſmartly " received by Lieutenant-Colonel *Grothuſen*, " who made head againſt him with ſome few " ſquadrons only; that he loſt three hundred " men on the ſpot, after which, retreating with " precipitation, he had no ſtomach to a ſecond " attack.

" The Czar who had kept his beſt troops " with him, knowing that General *Lowenhaupt* " had not yet joined the King's army, and that " this General was in full march to paſs the " *Dnieper*, reſolved to go and attack him, and " to cut off his march towards *Soſſa*, which " *Lowenhaupt* had orders to paſs at *Propoiſk*, " or elſewhere if he found it more convenient.[q]

" With this deſign the Czar went to meet " *Lowenhaupt*, who paſſed the *Dnieper* on the " twenty ſecond and twenty third of *September*, " drawing according to his orders directly to- " wards the *Soſſa*, though he doubted not but " that the enemy would attack him.

" On the twenty ſixth the van-guard of the " enemy appeared; and the twenty ſeventh and " twenty eighth paſſed in little ſkirmiſhes, " wherein the enemy was always beaten. On " the twenty ninth, Count *Lowenhaupt* having " gained

[q] *Lowenhaupt* departed from *Riga* about the middle of *Aug.* at the head of eleven thouſand men, and arrived the twenty fourth at *Polocz-ko*, having with him above ſeven hundred waggons laden with proviſions and ammunition.

" gained ſome ground of them, notwithſtanding
" the heavy baggage, and quantity of waggons
" loaded with proviſions for three months,
" which he drew after him; was at no greater
" diſtance than two leagues from *Propoiſk*;
" when the groſs of the enemy's army preſented
" itſelf before him, and againſt which he made
" head, as your Serene Highneſs will ſee by
" the following Relation which I have the ho-
" nour to ſend you."

A true Relation of the bloody battle fought near Lieſna *in the Palatinate of* Miciſlaw, *two leagues from* Propoiſk, *between the troops of his* Swediſh *Majeſty, commanded by Count* Adam-Lewis Lowenhaupt; *and the* Ruſſian *army commanded by his* Czariſh *Majeſty and his principal Generals, on the twenty ninth of* September 1708.

After Count *Lowenhaupt* had received orders to paſs with his army through *Propoiſk* and *Staroduh*, in order to go and join his Majeſty, he paſſed the *Dnieper* the twenty firſt and twenty third of *September* near *Sklow*; over a bridge of boats, though the Czar who lay with his army near *Horki*, *Drebben* and *Romanow*, ten leagues from *Sklow*, might have eaſily diſputed the paſſage.

The firſt day this general purſued his march without any moleſtation from the enemy; but on the next ſome of their troops appeared, and on the twenty fifth about two thouſand dragoons approached to attack our rear-guard, which conſiſted of three hundred horſe, and as many foot; but as ſoon as our rear-guard faced

about to receive them, they durſt not attack us, but retired in haſte.

On the twenty ſixth the army arrived near *Bieliza*, which is a very difficult and dangerous paſs. Here the enemy appeared in great numbers. General *Lowenhaupt* gave orders to place the baggage in the front, where it proceeded with a number of troops to guard it, and he followed himſelf at the head of the regiments. The ſame order was obſerved on the twenty ſeventh.

As we were now informed that all the enemy's cavalry was at hand, the Count *de Lowenhaupt* preſently ranged his own on two lines, and placed his foot in the rear in a valley where they were hid from the enemy: when the battle was begun, theſe were to enter at ſome openings which the horſe leave between the ſquadrons. This diſpoſition diſconcerted the enemy, who were ranged in order of battle, and did not expect this motion. General *Lowenhaupt*, who inſtantly perceived the order in which they ſtood, went to the right, and Major-General *Stackelberg* to the left, and marched at the ſame time with the two lines to attack the enemy, who turned their backs and ran away full ſpeed. We followed them half a league without being able to overtake them; but Lieutenant-Colonel *Zoge*, who was in our front with ſome ſquadrons, and who briſkly purſued their rear-guard, had the good fortune to overtake ſome of the hindmoſt, of whom he killed many, and brought off eight priſoners.

We learnt from the priſoners that the horſe we had purſued was commanded by *Menzikof* and *Pflug*, who led the van; and that the Czar followed with the whole army. This made

Lowenhaupt

Lowenhaupt resolve to pursue his way, which he did, with a thousand difficulties, on account of the continual defiles, and the deep and almost unpassable morasses, which very much retarded his march, and occasioned the General to give orders to his troops to lie this night on their arms in the open field, to be ready on any accident.

The enemy hastened their march to that degree, that on the twenty eighth in the morning they began a fresh attack on our rear-guard, which received them so briskly, not only by the fire of their small arms, but likewise from their cannon, (having placed two pieces behind a defile, through which their march lay), that they could make no impression, and were at last obliged to let us follow our march; and though the enemy afterwards tried at different places, especially on a bridge which our men had laid over a little river, to attack us with all their force, they were nevertheless every where repulsed with great valour, though they had already received their cannon, and tho' the Czar was come up with all the foot.

After we had placed the baggage in a safe situation, the horse marched first, and then the foot, drawing towards *Liesna*, where we arrived at four in the evening, and encamped here on a narrow spot of ground. The General immediately ordered the troops which formed the van-guard, to set about repairing the bridges over the morass, which was near our camp, and to repair the roads through a wood, where the enemy had thrown down a great quantity of trees, that he might open and render the rout to *Propoisk* more commodious for the next day.

As we were apprised, while we were taking these measures, that some of the enemy's troops had already posted themselves at *Propoisk*, and that some other detachments were passing by us, General *Lowenhaupt* thought proper, on the twenty ninth at break of day, to detach Quarter-Master-General *Brask* with seven hundred horse and foot drawn out of different regiments, together with the regiment of foot of *Abo-Lehn*, and the dragoons of *Carelia* and *Schreiterfelt*. These troops had orders to advance in the front, and were followed by half the baggage, and that detachment which was to guard it. Next marched the regiment of horse of *Abo-Lehn*, the dragoons of Colonel *Skog*, and Colonel *Leyon* with the battalion of *Nyland*, who were followed by the other half of the baggage. The rest of the army remained on the borders of the wood, to watch the motions of the enemy, and prevent their attacking the baggage.

The enemy had found means to defile and draw up all their forces in order of battle in the wood, which, not being very thick, afforded room enough for their troops. They came out upon us all at once, without our expecting them, and began their attack about eleven o'clock.

Our General after visiting the ground, and viewing the situation of the field of battle, drew up his foot facing the wood, and being himself dismounted at the head of his own regiment of foot, and the battalions of *Helsingois* and *Abo-Lehn*, he led them on, ordering the other regiments to second him; as likewise all the troops which were on this side the pass near the baggage to join him. When they were at about musquet-shot distance from

from the enemy, the General mounted and rode towards the horſe, who at the ſame time with the foot attacked the enemy with ſuch fury and ſucceſs, that they were forthwith compelled to give ground, and were at laſt driven out of the wood where we took four pieces of cannon.

So happy a beginning extremely animated the troops, and made them hope for a ſpeedy defeat of the enemy. But as they were infinitely our ſuperiours in number, and were every moment bringing up freſh troops againſt us, it happened by miſtake, and through the fault of an officer, that the *Swedes*, who were already maſters of the wood, inſtead of being ſeconded according to the General's orders, were led back during his abſence over the plain towards thoſe other regiments who were advancing to ſupport them. This not only occaſioned ſome confuſion, but gave the enemy, who were reinforced by freſh troops, an opportunity to repoſſeſs themſelves of the wood, and to point their cannon.

Count *Lowenhaupt*, in deſpair at this miſtake, had now no other courſe left him but to advance his artillery, which ſtruck ſuch a terror into the *Ruſſians*, that they retired, and did not dare to make uſe of their advantage. Colonel *Wrangle* was afterwards ordered to attack the enemy's freſh body with all the regiments of foot that were preſent, in order to drive them out of the wood. On our attempt to penetrate into the wood, the *Muſcovites* came forth on the plain, forming themſelves into four lines of foot, which were ranged behind one another. We attacked them with ſuch fury, that having ſtaggered the firſt line, we drove them back on the ſecond, which puſhed back the others:

being thus driven into the wood, where they met with a ſupport of freſh troops; and having advantage of the trees and the buſhes, it was impoſſible for our foot, notwithſtanding all the efforts they made, to puſh them farther.

Whilſt our foot were performing wonders, our horſe overthrew the enemy's ſquadrons as often as they advanced to the charge, and often puſhed them as far as the wood, where they were always ſupported by their foot, without whoſe aſſiſtance they would have come very ill off.

This battle laſted from noon till night, in which the enemy was always driven back into the woods with great loſs as often as they came forth, notwithſtanding the freſh troops which they brought up againſt us, and which were continually relieved. There were three principal actions, the foot returning every time ranged in four lines, and the horſe which formed the two wings in five or ſix, whilſt we had only a ſingle line to oppoſe them with, the reſt of our troops having as is already ſaid gone forward with the baggage. This line moreover was not long enough to prevent the enemy's flanking it, which did not fail to happen during the three actions, in which ſix thouſand *Swedes* ſuſtained from the beginning a moſt dreadful fire, from an army five times at leaſt their ſuperiours in number, reckoning only the *Muſcovites*.

In the firſt action, when the enemy's foot attempted to follow the *Swediſh* regiments which were drawn back, as we have ſaid, out of the wood into the plain, without the knowledge of the General and contrary to his orders, our horſe fell on them ſword in hand, and routed them in ſuch a manner, that quitting their ranks they

they fled with precipitation into the wood. The enemy's horſe being advanced behind to ſupport the foot, had the ſame fate, and were driven back with like force a great way among the trees, without giving them time to recover their order, till they were at laſt ſupported by their foot.

In the ſecond action, the *Swediſh* foot, as we have ſeen, not only overthrew the four lines of foot on the plain, but purſued them a great way within the wood; where the enemy bringing up freſh troops, and making uſe of their cannon, obliged our regiments to retreat, which they did however in good order. Our horſe at the ſame time repulſed thoſe of the enemy with equal ſucceſs; though ſome of our ſquadrons being advanced too far into the wood, ſuffered a little from the enemy's foot.

At the third general ſhock, the enemy made their laſt and greateſt efforts, leading on freſh troops juſt arrived to attack our ſix thouſand *Swedes*, who quite ſpent with fatigue, and being ſo much their inferiours in number, could not hinder them from making themſelves maſters of the paſs towards *Propoiſk*; but when our regiments which had marched in the front, and were already advanced a league and a half, having received orders to turn back to our aſſiſtance, had returned and joined us; we attacked the enemy all together with ſo much valour, that they were put to flight, and loſt on this occaſion ſeventeen Standards, and two pair of Kettle-Drums, which we took in the rout. At the ſame time our cannons, which were charged with muſquet-balls made ſuch terrible havock, eſpecially on a regiment which was cloathed in green, and advanced beyond the

others, that the ground was covered over with dead bodies, very few escaping.

After this battle, the General having drawn up his army, stood on the field till very late at night, to see if the enemy had any farther design of attacking him; but they were too much dismayed by the last action, seeing that all their efforts which had cost them so many lives had been fruitless; for they were forced to abandon the field of battle: they began therefore to retreat, first with the left wing of their army, and afterwards with all their foot, penetrating farther into the wood where they kindled several fires.

This retreat of the enemy caused a resolution in General *Lowenhaupt*, who thought not proper to attack them again on this spot, to continue his march; hoping to find on his rout a more advantageous ground in case that the enemy had a desire to follow him, and to give him battle a second time. So after having stood some hours in order of battle, he caused Vespers to be said quietly, and then gave orders to the regiments to defile one after another into the road. This was all executed in good order; nor did the enemy, who was drawn up in battalia hard by, and saw all that was done, dare to molest us in the least degree.

As several waggons had run foul of each other, during the darkness of the night, by which they stopt up the way, and hindred the march of one part of the artillery which had served in the battle and could not come on, the General ordered the cannons to be sunk in the bogs, that the march might not be retarded. Near *Propoisk* our regiments joined the greatest part of the baggage which was sent before;

but

but as the enemy had reduced this little town to aſhes, and as we could not find any wood to build a bridge, and the enemy's troops began to appear facing us, the General took a reſolution to turn on one ſide; and reflecting on the difficulty of dragging along with him a vaſt quantity of baggage, with which he was to paſs three rivers, and woods of twenty leagues in length, where the enemy might always ſtop him by every moment harraſſing and retarding his march, he ordered the beſt part of the baggage, and ſuch as could conveniently be carried on, to be preſerved, and the reſt with all the waggons to be deſtroyed. This was executed directly, and the General having diſtributed the baggage horſes among the foot, continued his journey.

It was impoſſible on this occaſion to hinder ſeveral of the ſoldiers and ſervants from intoxicating themſelves with wine, brandy, and other liquors, which occaſioned them to lie behind, and for the moſt part fall into the hands of the Coſſacks; and I believe, one might ſafely ſay, that theſe were almoſt the only priſoners made by the enemy during the whole march.

Before we had quitted *Propoiſk*, an alarm was ſpread of the enemy's approach. The General inſtantly ordered ſome regiments to face about, which ranged themſelves in order of battle near the town on a little plain; but when he ſaw that they were only the Coſſacks, he ordered his men to defile through the wood, all along the ſide of the river, with hopes to find an eaſy place to paſs the *Soſſa*, which he did near the village of *Glewſna*, four leagues from *Propoiſk*, where five hundred horſe ſwam over eaſily the ſame night.

The

The next day being the firſt of *October*, the reſt of the troops ſwam over likewiſe; and now the whole army having paſſed the river, the General purſued his march very commodiouſly through thoſe great woods, and paſſed the rivers of *Bieſez* and *Ipocs* without any oppoſition; and being at laſt arrived in the great plains of *Severia*, he reſted his troops.

As ſoon as General *Lowenhaupt* decamped on the tenth, to join his Majeſty, General *Von Worden* attacked us with four thouſand horſe; but was ſo well received that he retired in confuſion, after having loſt upwards of four hundred men, who were killed on the ſpot. After this rencounter, the General arrived the ſame evening at *Turkowa*, where he found a *Swediſh* party arrived there before him, and on the thirteenth he joined the King at *Rukowa*, which was the Head-Quarters.

The loſs of the enemy in the above-mentioned battle was conſiderable. *Schultz*, the *Muſcovite* Adjutant-General, who was taken priſoner ſome time afterwards, confeſs'd, that it amounted to upwards of ſix thouſand men, who were killed on the ſpot; without reckoning the wounded, which were a much greater number. *Menzikoff*'s brigade, conſiſting of ſix regiments, was almoſt entirely deſtroyed; as were the regiments of the Czar's guards of *Preobraſinſki* and *Semenoſſki*, which ſuffered terribly. Amongſt the perſons of note, the Prince of *Heſſe-Darmſtadt*, General *Baver*, and a great number of officers were wounded, and the firſt died of his wounds. We had near three thouſand men killed, with many officers of diſtinction.

Count

Count *Lowenhaupt* performed on this occasion, whatever was in the power of valour or conduct, exposing himself in all places where the fire was most violent. He received two wounds, which did not however prevent him from staying in the battle till it was over.

It is certainly a truth, that our troops never fought with more bravery and firmness, notwithstanding the extraordinary inequality of numbers, than on this day; six thousand men having sustained the whole efforts of more than thirty thousand, without staggering or losing one foot of ground, from noon till night: and tho' the field of battle was marshy, and also very close and streight; and that during the fight itself, the wind drove both hail and snow into the eyes of our soldiers, they defended themselves, notwithstanding all these disadvantages, like lions till the night: so that we must have obtained a compleat victory, if we had had more room to act in, and if the General could have departed from the King's orders, and instead of following his Majesty, as his instructions were, through woods and grievous defiles, where it was easy for the enemy to cut us off and harass us every minute, could have waited for them and attacked them with all his forces on an advantagious ground in an open field. All those, who were present at this bloody battle, thought they could never sufficiently admire how gloriously our troops delivered themselves out of such difficult straits [r].

" I

[r] Other Historians relate this action more in favour of the Czar, who is said to have gotten a complete victory, and to have possessed himself of a vast quantity of the *Swedish* waggons; and that *Lowenhaupt*, who is agreed

" I ſhall only add, *My Lord*, to this relation, " that Prince *Menzikof* being ordered to fol- " low Count *Lowenhaupt* and enter *Severia* " on that ſide, paſſed the *Soſſa* near *Hommel*, " and entered the country through *Czernikow*. " As to the Czar, he returned to *Smolenſko* " with the reſt of his army, and the wounded, " which were a great many.

" I have told your Serene Highneſs, that " his Majeſty ſpent fifteen days at *Koſſinice*. " This village is ſituated at the entry of a " great wood, twelve leagues from *Starodub*, " and ſeven from *Potſchopo*. Notwithſtanding " our utmoſt diligence, the enemy, if they did " not get before us, at leaſt entered along " with us into the country. The firſt ſtep " which *Iſland* took, was to poſſeſs himſelf in- " ſtantly of *Starodub*[f] and *Potſchopo*, to ob- " ſerve the future march of the *Swedes*, and " burn all the villages through which they were " to paſs.

" We

greed to have made a fine retreat, brought no more than the fourth part of his men to the King. An account, I think, not ſo probable as that given by our Author: for if this army had been ſo nearly deſtroyed, it muſt have been an unpardonable fault either in the Czar or his Generals, to have ſuffered thoſe few ſhattered remains to have joined the King in an orderly retreat.

[f] *Iſland* had placed the Coſſack *Skoropatſki* at *Starodub*, in quality of Commandant, with two thouſand dragoons and ſome thouſand Coſſacks, who made continual excurſions to haraſs us. *Mazeppa* had, in truth, given orders that the firſt who preſented themſelves before the gates of this town, ſhould be let in, ſuppoſing that the *Swedes* would be there before the *Ruſſians*; but it fell out otherwiſe, by the fault of *Lagercrona*; the inhabitants therefore let *Skoropatſki* enter, which was very prejudicial to us.

" We were ſome days at *Koſſinice* before we " had any news of Major-General *Lagercrona*, " who, inſtead of going out of the wood near " *Potſchopo*, went out two leagues from *Sta-* " *rodub*; ſo that the enemy had time to take " all their meaſures of precaution, before his " arrival [t]: when he afterwards took his rout " to join the King, he received orders to return " towards *Starodub*, in order to watch the mo- " tions of the *Muſcovites* who were fortifying " themſelves more and more, and to endea- " vour to prevent them from burning the vil- " lages. Colonel *Hamilton* was detached to " join *Lagercrona* with a thouſand horſe, that " he might be in the better condition to put a " ſtop to the deſolation which the enemy " were making.

" The King decamped from *Koſſinice* the " eleventh of *October*, and taking the road to " the *Ukrain*, he advanced the firſt day three " leagues to *Bialaborſt*, where he remained till " the twelfth. The army marched in different " columns, all led by Major-Generals. From " *Bialaborſt* we went the thirteenth to *Ru-* " *chowa* (three leagues), where Count *Lowen-* " *haupt* with his troops joined the King. The " march was continued on the fourteenth from " *Ruchowa* to *Skolkow* (two leagues), where " the King commanded Colonel *Albedyhl* with " twelve ſquadrons to cover his march to the " right, where *Menzikof* was, and to hinder " the

[t] *Lagercrona* did not act with prudence on this important occaſion, in applying to traytors and drunken fellows, who conducted him very ill through the great wood, which prevented our being maſters of the principal towns in *Severia*.

" the enemy from burning the country through
" which he was to pafs [u].

" On the fixteenth of *October*, we marched
" from *Skolkow* two leagues to *Czerenkowa*.
" On the eighteenth the King paffed by the
" town of *Starodub* to the right; the reft of
" the army paffing at the fame time on the
" left fide of it. We made three leagues to
" *Kartuczina*. The enemy which was in *Sta-*
" *rodub* came out that day, and did fome mif-
" chief to our baggage.

" From *Kartuczina* we went on the nine-
" teenth to *Panorofka*, where we refted fome
" days. Here Mr. *Lagercrona* returned with
" his party.

" Velt-Marfhal *Scheremethof* in the mean
" time having entered the country with his
" foot, and having under him the Generals
" *Goltz*, *Allart*, *Renzel* and others, kept up
" even with the King's army on the left, with-
" out daring to attack us; fo that nothing re-
" markable paffed, unlefs that General *Ifland*
" having with four regiments of dragoons
" taken poffeffion of a pafs near that column,
" which was led by General *Creutz*, this
" General ordered Colonel *Hamilton*, who
" had now joined him with his detachment,
" to attack *Ifland*. *Hamilton* forced the pafs,
" killed many of his men, and put the reft to
" flight.

" The enemy feeing the rout which the
" King of *Sweden* had taken, failed not
" to throw fome troops into *Novogorod Sewi-*
" *erfki*,

[u] This delicious country was a meer defart. In the villages, which are very large, there was not one living foul, nor any kind of provifions. All were fhut up within the towns.

" *erski*, the capital of the Province, and fortified
" like the other places; so that General *Creutz*,
" whom the King ordered to make himself
" master of it, came too late, the enemy hav-
" ing been before-hand with him. He was
" then ordered, with General *Cruus*, to attend
" the motions of *Scheremethof*; who, fearing an
" attack, cast bridges over the river *Dezna*, and
" made his army pass over.

" The enemy left off burning, that they
" might not incense the Cossacks; and so much
" the rather as the *Swedes* did no such thing, and
" as they saw that all the dreadful waste they
" had committed could not stop the King of
" *Sweden*'s march through a country which a-
" bounded with many good things, and espe-
" cially forage; which the King's Cavalry, ut-
" terly fatigued with the terrible march they
" had made, did not lose the advantage of, tho'
" they were in motion.

" The King of *Sweden*'s rout towards the
" *Ukrain* was very agreeable to *Mazeppa* [w],
" Great General of the Cossacks; who being
" very ill satisfied with the Czar's government,
" had formed a design to shake off the yoke,
" and throw himself into the protection of the
" King of *Sweden*. But as great circumspec-
" tion was necessary, he had trusted this de-
" sign only to two or three principal men of
" the country, of whose fidelity he was per-
" suaded; and to conceal his game the better,
" he had sent his nephew *Woniarowski* to
" Prince

[w] Mr. *Stenflycht*, Lieutenant-General of the *French* armies, at present Commandant of *Hambourgh*, married a relation of *Mazeppa*, namely the daughter of Felt-Herr *Orlik*, who hath been a long time at *Constantinople*.

" Prince *Menzikof*, at the time when he ap-
" proached *Czernikow* after the battle with
" *Lowenhaupt*, to assure the Czar of his sub-
" mission and fidelity, and to excuse his not
" coming himself, on the account of a distem-
" per, which he used as a pretence.

" *Mazeppa* very dexterously employed a *Li-*
" *vonian*, a subject of the King of *Sweden*,
" who having been made a prisoner at the be-
" ginning of the war, had been transported
" into this country, where he had since lived
" with his family. This man was sent secretly,
" accompanied by one of his relations, with
" necessary instructions to insinuate *Mazeppa*'s
" intentions to the King. These arrived when
" his Majesty was at *Panarofka*, and were pre-
" sently dispatched according to their wishes.

" But whether *Menzikof* had any intelli-
" gence of *Mazeppa*'s design, or whether he
" only doubted it, *Woniarowski*, soon per-
" ceived that he had no good inclination,
" either to him or to his uncle; and being
" warned at the same time to keep on his
" guard, he resolved to set out without taking
" leave. At his return *Mazeppa* pretended to
" be very much displeased at the young man's
" conduct, and complained thereof to a *Mus-*
" *covite* Colonel, who was always about him
" by the Czar's orders, to watch his actions;
" desiring him to go and make his excuse to
" Prince *Menzikof*, and to endeavour to re-
" move all those suspicions which he might
" have conceived against him.

" The Colonel, deceived by these pretences,
" went to wait on *Menzikof*; and *Mazeppa*,
" charmed at the removal of his over-looker,
" left a garrison in *Baturin*, which was his re-
" sidence,

" fidence; with orders to the Commandant, to
" defend the place to the laſt extremity; and
" went himſelf over the *Dezna*, in the com-
" pany of four or five thouſand men, being the
" principal perſons of the country.

" The King of *Sweden*, who advanced towards
" the ſame river, marched the twenty-ſecond
" from *Panarofka* (four leagues), to *Mazovo-*
" *huta*; from whence on the twenty-third of
" *October*, he proceeded three leagues farther,
" to *Larinofka*; and, on the twenty-fifth,
" came to *Horki* (two leagues), paſſing near
" the town of *Novogrod Sewieeſki*, where Ge-
" neral *Ronn* commanded.

" As to *Mazeppa*, after having paſſed the
" *Dezna*, he drew directly towards the *Swediſh*
" quarters, the troops which he had with him
" believing that he intended to attack them;
" but when he was within a little diſtance he
" diſcloſed his deſign, which none of them
" oppoſed. He afterwards advanced to a vil-
" lage, where were the Colonels *Hielm* and
" *Gyllenſtierna*, with their regiments of dragoons,
" who were a little alarmed.

" *Mazeppa* having ſent one to the *Swedes* to
" notify his arrival, Colonel *Hielm* was pre-
" vailed on with great difficulty to believe the
" meſſenger, imagining it a ſnare laid for him.
" He ordered his troops to mount their horſes,
" and as he had in his regiment an *Italian* Cap-
" tain, named *De Saxe*, who had ſome time ſerved
" the *Muſcovites*, and who perſonally knew *Ma-*
" *zeppa*, he ſent him to him, with ſome dragoons,
" to enquire into the bottom of the affair. The
" Captain returned, and reported that *Mazeppa*
" was there in perſon, whom *Hielm* then re-
" ceived with all ſuitable honours. The Coſ-

" ſack-General remained there the next day, " being the twenty-eighth; on which he ob- " liged his Chiefs to confirm their confedera- " cy by a ſolemn oath. Colonel *Hielm* ſent " immediate advice of this matter to the " King, who was but three leagues off; and " who gave forthwith orders to prepare quar- " ters for *Mazeppa* half a league from *Horki*, " where he arrived the ſame evening.

" The next day was fixed for *Mazeppa*'s au- " dience. He arrived at the court, accompani- " ed with the Chiefs of the Country, *viz.* the " Quarter-Maſter-General, the Chief Judge, " the Chancellor, the two Aid-de-Camp Ge- " nerals, and ſeveral Colonels. His train con- " ſiſted of a thouſand perſons, and before " him was carried the two enſigns of his dignity, " namely, an Horſe's tail and a General's trun- " cheon.

" *Mazeppa* being come into the King's pre- " ſence, harangued him in *Latin.* His diſ- " courſe was ſhort, but well pointed. He be- " ſeeched his Majeſty to protect the Coſſacks, " and gave God thanks that he had been pleaſ- " ed to deliver them from that ſlavery, with " which they had been for ſome time threatned " by the Czar. He afterwards kiſs'd the " King's hand; and as he was troubled with " the gout, he was permitted to ſit down, " while the King remained ſtanding, and rea- " ſoned with him.

" *Mazeppa* is a man of ſixty-four years of " age, of a middle ſtature and thin, with a " ſtern look, and wearing his Muſtaches after " the *Poliſh* manner; he is nevertheleſs of a " very pleaſant temper, and delights much in " making jeſts. He ſpeaks very properly,

" and

" and there is much good ſenſe in all he " ſays; he hath ſtudied formerly, and ſpeaks " the *Latin* Tongue very well. His character " approaches very near to that of the late Grand " Treaſurer *Sapicha*, whom your Serene High- " neſs hath ſeen in *Saxony*.

" The King was much pleaſed with his con- " verſation, which he ſuffered him to continue " till noon, ſometimes on more ſerious matters, " in preſence of his Excellency Count *Piper*, " and the two Secretaries of State; ſometimes " in the company of the principal Officers and " Coſſack-Miniſters, who had the permiſſion " to come into the King's preſence, and to " kiſs his hand. When the hour of dinner " was come, the King ſat down at table, and " with him *Mazeppa* and his Officers of the " firſt rank. Beſides the King's table, there " were two great tables prepared for the Coſ- " ſack-Miniſters, who were likewiſe invited by " Count *Piper* and *Rheinſchild*.

" After dinner the King returned to his " chamber, whither *Mazeppa* had the horſe's- " tail brought, which he ſhewed to the King, " and laid at his Majeſty's feet, as a token of " his ſubmiſſion: he then retired, and when he " mounted his horſe his trumpets ſounded, " which brought all his people together to at- " tend him, who all gave great demonſtration " of reſpect to his perſon.

" *Mazeppa* now received advice, that a *Muſ- " covite* party had been commanded to ſurprize " him; and that the ſame party had carried " off ſome waggons belonging to his troops " near the *Dezna*. The King ordered Colonel " *Dahldorff* the ſame evening, with ſix hun- " dred horſe and three hundred Coſſacks, to

" repair to *Blonia* on the *Dezna*, five leagues
" from his Majesty's quarters, to watch the
" motions of the enemy, and cover the right
" of the army.

" The rest remained at *Horki* from the
" twenty-fifth of *October*, to the last of this
" month. Velt - Marshal *Scheremethof* was
" posted with his troops along the *Dezna*,
" with design to prevent the King of *Sweden*'s
" passage.

" On the thirty-first of *October* the King
" decamped from *Horki* with his column, and
" went a league and a half to *Ignotofka* ; and
" having resolved to throw bridges over the
" river at one league from thence, at the vil-
" lage of *Mezin*, however great the difficulty
" was, with which he was to struggle to get at
" this place, he would not decline his purpose.
" He went attended by the Prince of *Wurten-*
" *berg* and Major-General *Axel Sparre*, and
" followed by his regiment of foot-guards
" and by the *Dabl-Carlers* foot, to order the
" passage.

" The column under *Sparre* having soo
" joined them, they fell presently to wor
" on the bridges ; but the frost coming upo
" them, so filled the river with cakes of ic
" that nothing was to be done that day. A
" this gave the enemy time, and the King im
" gined they would not fail to come and di
" pute the passage with him, his Majesty pl
" ced twenty-eight pieces of cannon on for
" rising ground bordering on his side of t
" river, and which commanded the count
" on the other side.

" I

" We ſoon diſcovered the enemy, who did " not however, for fear of our cannon, ap- " proach while it was day-light; but as night " came on, they took the advantage of ſome " buſhes, with which the banks on their ſide " were furniſhed: ſo that on the firſt of *No-* " *vember* in the morning, we perceived they " had raiſed a battery on the left of our Ar- " tillery. The enemy's fire was very weak, " the groſs of their troops keeping always at " a diſtance, our cannon being very ſucceſsfully " diſcharged on them as often as they ven- " tured to approach.

" The ſecond was the day, deſtin'd by the " King for the paſſage; but as the batteries of " the enemy hindered us from attempting " the river where its banks were moſt eaſy to " be climbed up on the other ſide, and where " it was our firſt buſineſs to poſt ſome of our " men; we were obliged to ſeek after another " place, which by its difficulty rendered this " perhaps the moſt extraordinary paſſage that " ever was.

" You muſt know, my Lord, that the " hill, on which the cannons were placed, " was very ſteep, and the ſpace between " the hill and the river very narrow on that " ſide; the King nevertheleſs ordered the " troops to deſcend here, not only thoſe who " were to paſs, but thoſe who were to build " the floats; for boats we had none.

" The officers and ſoldiers having ſlid down " the hill on their hinder parts, made ſome " floats or pontons at the foot of it. There " then paſſed over ſome men who faſtened the " cords or cables to the other ſide, which was " to ſerve them for paſſing and repaſſing; this

" being done, we began by carrying over fif-
" teen or twenty ſoldiers on each float: ſo that
" towards the evening ſix hundred men, name-
" ly, two hundred *Weſmanlanders* and four
" hundred *Finnois* had paſſed, with Major-
" General *Stakelberg* at their head, who had
" under him Lieutenant-Colonel *Sacken von*
" *Oeſel*, and Major *Starenflycht*.

" The enemy had hitherto undertaken no-
" thing, they had only made a few motions;
" but at night, they approached with ſix or
" ſeven battalions, commanded by Lieutenant-
" General *Allart*. This General divided his
" troops, and made one party advance to the
" right, and the other to the left, to aſſail the
" *Swedes* on both ſides; to whom he marched
" up with a long march, the better to avoid
" the fire of the cannon, which was diſcharged
" with great ſucceſs.

" *Stakelberg*, who had taken poſſeſſion of
" the buſhes, was ordered to advance to the
" left with the *Finnois*, to attack the enemy's
" battery. By this means there was ſome diſ-
" tance of ground between him and the *Weſ-*
" *manlanders*. The enemy in the mean time
" being got within ſhot, and the night grow-
" ing ſo dark that they could no longer diſ-
" tinguiſh each other, the *Swedes* kept them-
" ſelves as cloſe as poſſible.

" The enemy then began firſt to diſcover
" themſelves by a volley of their ſmall arms
" without however being able to ſee any of us
" and the Grenadiers being poſted oppoſite the
" vacant ſpace between the two parties under
" *Stakelberg*, threw their granades, all which fell
" into the river without doing any miſchief.

" O

" On the other hand Major *Starenflycht*, " who commanded the *Wesmanlanders*, and " who had the first engagement with the *Muscovites*, discerned the enemy plainly by the " light of their own fire. He returned their " fire therefore with much vigour, and much " more success. In the interval other troops " continued to pass over, while Major-General " *Stakelberg* returned to support them. The " firing lasted three hours with hardly any " discontinuance; so that the powder failing in the end, each soldier having fired upwards of thirty times, his Majesty ordered " the rest of the troops to pass over. In the " mean while, the *Swedes* repulsed the enemy " sword-in-hand, for they had no more powder, and hindered them from cutting off " their return to the river, where the *Muscovites* endeavoured to lay hold on the ropes to " which the floats were fastened.

" The great obstinacy with which the *Swedes* " maintained their post, at last repelled the enemy; who, superior as they were in number, retreated in confusion, fearing that they " might be pursued; which however they were " not, unless by our cannon, which fired very " briskly on their retreat.

" The *Muscovites* had six hundred men " killed, and more than a thousand wounded, " according to their own confession; and we " had but thirty killed, and seventy or thereabouts wounded. Two of the King's Adjutant-Generals were amongst the wounded, " namely *Ogilvi* and *Duwald*, who past and repast with his Majesty's orders; the former " died two days afterwards.

" We being now maſters of the paſſage, the " King employed the next day in finiſhing two " bridges. General *Roos*, who was a league " lower down, had orders to make one to paſs " with his column; and the whole army paſſed " the river at theſe two places.

" Whilſt we were buſy in paſſing the *Dezna*, " the Czar was come poſt from *Smolenſko* to " join his army, imagining that the King of " *Sweden* deſigned to ſuccour the town of " *Baturin*: for which *Mazeppa* feared the " more, as it was in a very bad ſtate of defence, " tho' he had left a very reaſonable number of " troops there. The fortifications of this " place were in a very tattered ſtate, and were " built in the ordinary mamer of that country, " where the ſtrongeſt place could at beſt paſs " but for what the *French* call a *Bicoque*. " *Mazeppa* would have repaired it ſome years " ago, but was always hindered by the crea- " tures of the Czar, who deſired that *Mazeppa* " ſhould not have any ſtrong place in his poſſeſ- " ſion. Theſe therefore diſſuaded him from it, " alledging for their reaſon, that he had no oc- " caſion to lay out his money this way; for his " Czariſh Majeſty was ſtrong enough to defend " him from all the inſults of his enemies.

" The Czar deſirous to be revenged on " *Mazeppa*, againſt whom he had publiſhed a " dreadful Manifeſto, gave orders for the im- " mediate attack of his Capital before the " *Swedes* could come to his aſſiſtance. To which " purpoſe, *Menzikof*, who was not far from " it, ſuddenly inveſted it with ſome thou- " ſand men, and gave an aſſault on the third " of *November*; his troops took it ſword-in- " hand without much loſs, and after an inhu-

" man

" man maſſacre, without ſparing ſex or age,
" they carried away the women who remained
" alive, with all the cannon which amounted
" to forty pieces, without reckoning the mor-
" tars; and then reduced the town to aſhes,
" together with the mills which were on the
" *Sem*, after having firſt plundered every thing
" in the moſt barbarous manner. Part of the
" gariſon ſaved themſelves over the river *Sem*,
" and had the good luck to eſcape; but the
" Commandant was taken and treated very
" cruelly. He was a native of *Pruſſia*, and his
" name was *Konigſeck*.

" The King of *Sweden* having paſſed the
" *Dezna*, continued his march towards the river
" *Sem*, and advanced the ſixth of *November*
" to *Czieplofka*, (a league and a half). On
" the ſeventh, his Majeſty continued his march
" (two leagues) to *Lucknowa*; and from thence
" repaired on the eighth to *Otiuſa*, (two leagues
" and a half.) In this village the Peaſants,
" who had fled away, as the other inhabitants
" of the country did, ſeeing his Majeſty's ap-
" proach came forth and preſented him a large
" loaf with ſalt, as a token of their confidence.

" The King halted here till the reſt of the
" army had paſt the *Dezna*. He afterwards
" followed his rout, and paſſed the *Sem* the
" twelfth, near the town of *Baturin*; where
" they ſaw with horror the dreadful deſtruc-
" tion that had been committed, the very air
" being infected with the ſtench of dead bo-
" dies, ſome of which were half burnt. His
" Majeſty advanced two leagues and a half
" to *Horodiſka*, where he ſtopt ſome days.

" Here

" Here *Mazeppa*'s people brought an Adjutant-General of Prince *Menzikof*, whom they had taken at *Przilukí*. His name was *Schultz*, and he was a native of *Prussia*. He was dispatched from the Czar with letters to King *Augustus*, to desire that Prince to return into *Poland*, seeing he had no more to fear from the King of *Sweden*, who was now reduced to the last extremity. Several letters were found upon him directed to the Chancery, all full of vulgar invectives and *Muscovite* rodomontades [x], to persuade the publick of many things to our disadvantage, at which the King laughed much when he read them.

" As soon as the Czar was joined by *Menzikof*, he retired on the frontiers of his dominions to *Glukow* on the river *Leszinan*, between the rivers of *Dezna* and *Sem*, where he waited for several new regiments from *Muscovy*, which amounted on their arrival to twenty thousand men. He had with him some thousand Cossacks, who preserved their fidelity; and as he was very desirous of gaining over the rest, he thought proper to begin by deposing *Mazeppa*, which was performed with great ceremony in the town of *Baturin*, as soon as it was taken. They prepared

[x] They had chiefly the battle of *Liesna* in view, and made a pompous description of their pretended victory, which they said they had gained. We leave to the judgment of all those who were present at that terrible fight, on which side the glory of that day was, and whether six thousand men who sustained the shock of thirty thousand, and drove them off the field, ought not to be esteemed the conquerors: for as to the baggage, all the world can find hands to pillage it, when there is no danger near; and this was the utmost which the *Muscovites* gained: a loss however, from which in reality we suffered no great inconvenience in the end.

" prepared for this purpose a scaffold, on which
" his effigies dreſt in the blue ſtring of the
" Order of St. *Andrew* [y], was firſt ſtript of
" that Order, then thrown down, and after-
" wards hanged by the common hangman.

" As the Czar had confined the election of
" another Great General at *Glukow* to the num-
" ber of ſeven; they elected into this dignity
" a Colonel of *Starodub*, named *Ivan Iliewitz*
" *Skoropatzki*, whom his Czariſh Majeſty had
" propoſed to the Coſſacks of his party. The
" Colonels are the Commanders of Territories
" or Provinces, and there are ſome who com-
" mand upwards of ten thouſand men.

" The ſeaſon being too far advanced to put
" off any longer the conſideration of winter-
" quarters for the army, where they might
" repoſe themſelves after the moſt toilſome
" march that any army had ever undertaken;
" it was endeavoured to canton them in ſuch a
" manner that they might refreſh themſelves
" well, and be free from any inſult: a precau-
" tion very neceſſary, ſince his Majeſty would
" not remove too far from the frontiers of
" *Muſcovy*.

" On this ſide the river *Sem* begins the vaſt
" country of the *Ukrain*, which extends to the
" *Crim Tartary* on the one ſide, opening every
" where the largeſt and moſt delightful plains,
" which in ſome parts abound ſo plentifully
" with towns and villages, that for many
" leagues together we are never out of ſight
" of them [z].

" As

[y] *Mazeppa* quitted this Order, when he went to meet the King of *Sweden*.

[z] The King remained at *Horodiſka* from the twelfth to the ſixteenth, to attend the

" As the King had caused an exact account
" to be taken of the situation of this whole
" country,

the arrival of the rest of the troops, which filled the army, the regiments defiled over the *Sem* and entered into the *Ukrain*. This country which is situated between *Poland*, *Tartary* and *Russia*, takes its name from its situation, the word *Ukrain* signifying Frontier.

The *Ukrain* properly called, without reckoning the Provinces of *Pocutia* and *Podolia*, comprehends according to common computation above seventy *German* leagues in length, and more than thirty in breadth. It consists properly of two Palatinates, namely that of *Bracklaw* and that of *Kiovo*. The *Boristhenes* or the *Dnieper* runs quite through it, and divides it into two equal parts.

The inhabitants are generally called Cossacks: They pretend to have been always a free people, subject to neither *Poland* nor *Russia*, having always stoutly maintained their privileges and prerogatives: This was the principal reason why *Mazeppa* embraced the King of *Sweden*'s party against the Czar, who contrary to the Conventions between the Cossacks and *Russia*, when they formerly put themselves under his protection, loaded them with imposts, and overcharged them with quarters for a number of whole *Ukrain* from the beginning of his reign, and especially during the war.

As the Cossacks found themselves in no condition to support their freedom against their powerful neighbours, they put themselves at first under the protection of *Poland*, to which they paid a certain annual tribute; but a quarrel arising between them and their Protectress, on the subject of certain fortresses, they committed themselves in 1645, to the protection of the Czar, to whom as a mark of their submission they paid annually certain contributions, obliging themselves likewise to serve on horseback in time of war, when they were ordered. They afterwards performed good services, especially against the *Turks* and *Tartars*. In the Palatinate of *Bracklaw*, the *Poles* yet have most of their towns, and the Cossacks are masters only of the country, which is deserted in many places; but in that of *Kiovia*, the *Russians* are their masters, and possess since 1687 the town of *Kiovia*, which they have fortified strongly enough, and where there is a University and Metropolitan Church, with a *Greek* Bishop. They have moreo-

ver

" country, particularly all along the frontiers, " his Majesty thought proper to gain yet more " marches;

ver garisons at *Pultowa*, *Kudac*, and in other places; the Cossacks possess all the rest.

There are different sorts or nations of Cossacks, some inhabit the towns and the villages, and maintain themselves by agriculture. Others live only in tents on the borders of the *Boristhenes*, where they seek their food by hunting and fishing; and some keep themselves in the numerous isles of this great river, where they live on robbery, and cruise as far as the *Black Sea*. Amongst these there is a kind which they call the *Zaporovian* Cossacks; these are the most savage sort, they elect among themselves their General, or *Hettman*, without any other ceremony than calling him by his name, and throwing their bonnets up into the air.

As to the *Don* Cossacks or those of *Tanais*, they resemble the *Zaporovians* in their Manners. The gross of the Cossacks, who inhabit the towns of the *Ukrain*, are more polite; and there are very honest and brave men among them. They are all of the *Greek* Communion, and elect their Great General, or *Hettman*, with great pomp in their churches immediately after the death of the deceased. This *Hettman* hath under him a great number of Colonels, who command from one thousand to ten thousand men; and when the Great General or *Hettman* takes the field, he can easily assemble an army of ten thousand men, comprising all the Cossacks in general. Wherever he goes the tail of a horse is carried before him, which is set up before his quarters or tent, and is the ensign of his dignity. As soon as this is taken up, all the troops mount their horses and follow it, it being a signal that the Chief of their military republick is present.

The *Zaporovian* Cossacks serve for money him who will give them the most. His Majesty had a good number in his service; they came to offer themselves with their *Hettman*, and were well paid, as we shall see a little lower.

The *Ukrain* is a very delicious and fertile country, and abounds so with corn, that the inhabitants cannot put up or keep it all, and are obliged to distil a good part into strong waters; of which they are great lovers, and have always a large provision. Their pastures are so rich and so fruitful, that they make a great quantity of hay, which they gather toge-

" marches; and casting his eyes on the town of " *Romnei* or *Rumni*, and the neighbouring " parts,

together into great ricks in the open country, and serves to nourish a great number of *Haras*, or Horses, which are found in this country.

This abundance of all things arises first from the admirable goodness of the soil, and secondly from its being very thinly peopled; for the inhabitants are always accustomed to a wandering and vagabond life, whence they obtained the name of Cossacks, signifying a man who is continually a travelling. They have in reality begun very lately to build houses, to establish families, and to form towns, lordships and villages; great spaces of their land are as yet desolate and uncultivated, where it is nevertheless possible to make the finest settlements in the world.

Their pastures breed horses extremely vigorous and lasting, who, till they are six or seven years old run wild over the country, as well in winter as summer. At that age they catch them, and begin to dress and break them to the bridle and saddle, to which they submit at first with great impatience. Their wethers, ewes and oxen are very large and fat, and by reason of their plenty very cheap. We bought at our entrance into the *Ukrain* an ox of some hundred weight for five crowns, and a wether for four-pence or five-pence: the rump is their fattest part, which is about the breadth of one's hand. They make no wine of their own growth, but import it either from *Tartary* or *Hungary*; and the latter is very scarce. Their ordinary drink is beer, honey and strong waters, all three very good.

Their houses are made of wood, and very low: so are their walls. Their towns are all provided with palli-sadoes and moats.

It was into this delicious country that the army entered full of confidence and joy, flattering themselves to be at last able to recover of all their fatigues, and to spend the winter in good quarters; which would have been effectually the case, had we not been obliged to approach one another, and to keep our selves close together to prevent any insults from the enemy, who now surrounded us on all sides; nor could our utmost care preserve some regiments, whose quarters were at too great a distance, from suffering a little; being not able to bring them timely succours. Not to mention that the enemy by their continual excursions kept off our provisions as much as possible.

" parts, he ſent Mr. *Gyllenkrok* to ſecure that
" place, which is ſituated on the river *Sula*,
" near the frontiers of *Ruſſia*, having a rampart
" and a ditch, and to make a diſpoſition for the
" winter quarters.

" *Gyllenkrok* advanced to *Horodiſka*, accom-
" panied by ſome troops and a Colonel of *Ma-*
" *zeppa*'s with a party of Coſſacks.

" The Czar had already publiſhed his pro-
" clamations in ſeveral towns which bordered on
" the frontiers. Theſe proclamations were full
" of calumnies, which the *Muſcovite* court ſpread
" amongſt the Coſſacks, to make them believe
" that the King of *Sweden*, whom they painted
" as a tyrant and an unjuſt invader, was come
" to exerciſe all manner of cruelties. It was
" afterwards ſet forth, that as the Czar had
" given them a new Great General in the room
" of *Mazeppa*, againſt whom there were the
" moſt bitter invectives; he exhorted them to
" recognize him as their Chief, and to keep
" themſelves ſtedfaſt againſt the common enemy
" of their country. This Manifeſto was with-
" out date, or name, or place where it was
" made, but moſt horribly violent.

" *Gyllenkrok* at his arrival at *Romnei*, found
" theſe proclamations publiſhed; this cauſed
" him to put one of the Burgomaſters under
" arreſt; he was accuſed of having been with
" the *Ruſſians*, to demand ſuccours of them.
" The King decamped the ſixteenth from *Ho-*
" *rodiſka*, and followed *Gyllenkrok* with his
" column, proceeding three leagues to *Hollinka*,
" on

poſſible. Theſe evils hindred us from enjoying to our utmoſt wiſh, the fruitfulneſs of this fine country, where victuals towards the laſt grew extremely ſcarce and prodigiouſly dear.

" on the river *Ziſz*. Before he decamped thence;
" he ſent Adjutant-General *Linroth* to the
" Generals *Creutz* and *Cruus*, who led the laſt
" columns of the army, and had not yet paſ-
" ſed the *Sem*, with orders to paſs it with the
" utmoſt expedition. *Linroth* happily joined
" *Cruus*; but as he was going with the ſame
" orders to General *Creutz*, who was but half
" a league diſtant from the other, a party of
" the Coſſacks that were our enemies, who had
" ſlipt between the two columns, ſurprized him
" on the road; and as he had but three or four
" perſons with him, he was neceſſarily obliged
" to yield to a multitude, who after they had
" treated him very barbarouſly, left him dead
" on the ſpot; one of the company was found
" ready to expire the next day, being ſcarce
" able to give an account of the unhappy fate
" of his companions. This *Linroth* is the laſt
" of ſix Adjutant-Generals, which the King
" made at his going into *Saxony*, five of them
" were killed, and Mr. *Canifer* the ſixth, was
" made a priſoner in *Muſcovy*.

" The King continued his march on the ſe-
" venteenth from *Hollinka* to *Demitroſſka* (two
" leagues) and thence the eighteenth to *Romnei*
" (five leagues) where we are at preſent, being
" four leagues from the frontiers of *Muſ-*
" *covy*. [a]

" *Mazeppa* had already repreſented to the
" King the neceſſity of ſecuring the town of
" *Hadiacz*,

[a] The reaſon why the King took up his quarters at *Romnei* was that *Mazeppa* feared at firſt to ſee too many at *Hadiacz*, whither it had been reſolved to march; but he put his Majeſty at the ſame time on uſing precautions to be before-hand with the *Ruſſians*, deſiring him to cauſe ſome regiments to march thither, which his Majeſty agreed to.

" *Hadiacz*, his residence, being six leagues from 1708.
" *Romnei*, and the rather as he was informed that
" the new *Hettmann* was on his march at the
" head of *Muscovite* troops, to render himself
" master of it.

" His Majesty being arrived at *Romnei*, de-
" tached the same night Colonel *Dahldorff* with
" the regiment of *Smoland* horse, the dragoons
" of *Schreiterfelt*, and the regiment of foot
" of *Westerbothn*, commanded by *Lager-*
" *crona*, and ordered him to follow *Mazeppa*,
" who arrived the next day some hours before
" the enemy, and took possession of the town,
" which as well as the others hath a rampart and
" a ditch. *Mazeppa* having given the necessary
" orders, and left some thousand Cossacks near
" *Dahldorff*, returned the same way, to be near-
" er the King at *Romnei*.

" The army in the mean time advanced, and
" was distributed into quarters through the se-
" veral towns and villages in a circle of ten or
" twelve leagues [b]; two or three regiments
" were quartered together, according to the
" extent of each village, which are very large
" in that country.

" The enemy seeing with uneasiness the *Swedes*
" so near their winter quarters and their fron-
" tiers, [c] sent out large detachments to oppose
" them. This proceeding gave our Colonels and
" Generals an opportunity of signalizing them-
" selves. On the twenty first of *November*,

[b] The army was distributed from *Prziluki*, *Romnei*, and *Hadiacz* quite to *Lochvica*.

[c] The Czar had posted his troops along the frontiers; and was himself gone from *Gluckow*, where he had been some time, to *Libidin* near *Hadiacz*. *Wolkonski* was posted at *Mirogrod*, and he had a strong garrison at *Nyzin* on the side of *Desna*.

1708. " Colonel *Duker* beat General *Ronn*, and drove " him off from a *Swedish* quarter which he de- " sired to attack.

" Again Colonel *Taub*, in the night between " the twenty seventh and twenty eighth, de- " feated a party of Cossacks and *Muscovites*, " and took near nine hundred horses from them. " Those who were not burnt or killed, escaped " in their shirts. Another time *Duker*, on the " first of *December*, surprized in the night a " party of the enemy in the *Muscovite* country, " and put all to fire and sword. Lastly, Ge- " neral *Cruus* beat a detachment of five thou- " sand Cossacks and *Muscovites*, some leagues " from hence, and took from them more than " a thousand horses.

" We thank God, the enemy have been " hitherto beat whenever we have met with " them.

I am, with profund respect,

My Lord,

Romnei, Dec. 5,
1708. *Your Serene Highness's, &c.*

GUSTAVUS ADLERFELT.

To illustrate the latter circumstances of this Letter, let us return to our Journal.

On the twentieth, the Colonels *Duker* and *Taub*, who had been detached to render themselves masters of *Smielajeb*, which was appointed for their

their quarters, arrived there, and posted themselves in the suburbs, the magistrates refusing to let them enter the town without an express order from *Mazeppa*, at the same time that they admitted General *Ronn* with three or four thousand *Muscovite* dragoons on the other side: The King being advertised thereof, hastened thither with the utmost speed, giving orders at his setting out to the columns of *Sparr* and *Roos* to march, which they instantly did. In the mean time General *Ronn* endeavoured to barricade himself as well as he was able. 1708.

On the twenty first the Columns of *Sparr* and *Roos*, arrived at *Smielajab* with two battalions of guards, who were ordered to follow them; they appeared before the place just after a battle, wherein General *Ronn* having made a sally, was beat back into the town with the loss of four hundred men. This fight lasted not long, but was very brisk; two *Swedish* squadrons suffered a little at the beginning of the action. On the same day some Cossacks of the enemy's party took several waggon-loads of baggage, and massacred some of our sick who had lost their road, while they followed the Columns of *Roos* and *Sparr*.

On the twenty second *Mazeppa* returned from *Hadiacz* to the head quarters. The Cossack Colonel *Apostol* departed that day from *Mirogrod* with Colonel *Labieniki*, and some Cossacks, under certain pretences, and fled towards the *Russians*. He was displeased at *Mazeppa*'s obliging him to bring his wife and family to *Romnei* to follow the army, as all the other Cossack ladies did.

We had advice this day that the Czar who was posted at *Libidin*, had caused a great body

1708. of troops to advance within a league of *Hadiacz*, into the little town of *Wieprek*, ſituated on the river of the ſame name, by whom that place was put into a poſture of defence. He had beſides at *Libidin* near twenty thouſand men for the attack of *Hadiacz*, which, as he knew the garriſon to be very weak in compariſon of the troops that were to attack it, he hoped to carry at the firſt onſet.

On the twenty third, Major-General *Meyerfeld* and Colonel *Albedyhl* arrived with their regiments, and poſted themſelves within the ſuburbs of *Romnei*. The ſame night General *Ronn* retreated from *Smielajah* on the preparations which our troops were making for the aſſault. General *Duker* purſued him, killed and took ſeveral of his party priſoners.

The twenty fourth, his Majeſty ſent *Gyllenkla* to *Smielajah*, with orders to burn it.

The twenty ſixth, *Meyerfeld* and *Albedyhl* marched towards their quarters. The *Dahl-Carlers* rendered themſelves at their poſt, and took poſſeſſion of the ſuburbs.

In the night between the twenty ſeventh and twenty eighth, Colonel *Taub* who was returned to *Romnei* with *Duker*, ſallied out and ſurprized a large body of *Muſcovites* and Coſſacks, moſt of whom were put to the ſword, ſome were burnt, and others ſaved themſelves in their ſhirts. *Taub* took above nine hundred horſes.

The firſt of *December*, Colonel *Duker* made an excurſion with ſix hundred horſe, paſt the frontiers, ſurprized a *Muſcovite* party, and penetrating further into the enemy's country, put all to fire and ſword, and returned with the loſs of three men only.

The

The fifth, General *Gruus* and Colonel *Taub* defeated a party of five thousand Cossacks and *Russians*, whom they had fallen in with in the night at *Krovireca*, some leagues from *Rommei*, put most of them to the sword, pushed the rest into the river *Sula*, and took above one thousand horses. 1708.

The tenth, Lieutenant-Colonel *Funk* was detached with five hundred horse to chastise the Peasants, who were got together in divers places, and bring them to reason. He killed above a thousand Cossacks in the little town of *Terey*, which he burnt, as he did *Dribalow*; he reduced likewise many villages to ashes which belonged to those Cossacks who sided with the enemy, and put all whom he found to the sword, in order to strike a terror into the rest.

It was hoped that the King's Manifesto dated in the end of *November* O. S. written in the *Latin* language, and dispersed among all the Cossacks, would convince them of the uprightness of his Majesty's intentions, who came but to deliver them from the yoke under which they groaned; but notwithstanding the strongest assurances which were given them of protecting and re-establishing them in their rights, and to do them no manner of mischief provided they would remain quietly at home; all this seemed to make no great impression on the body of the nation, whom the Czar by his Proclamations, and the new Great General, had found the means of gaining; so that we were at continual blows with the inhabitants, which extremely troubled old *Mazeppa*, especialy when he was informed of the yielding up of *Bialacerkiow*, where his loss was very considerable.

1708. The King having perceived by the preparations of the Czar at *Libidin*, what he intended at *Hadiacz*, decamped the seventeenth from *Rommei*, with the regiment of Foot Guards, the *Uplanders* and *Dahl-Carlers*, Foot, and the regiment of Dragoons of *Duker*, to seek the enemy, and offer him battle.

His Majesty advanced two leagues that day to *Lipowa Dalina*, where we surprized a party of a hundred *Muscovite* dragoons, who were posted to watch the road between *Rommei* and *Hadiacz*; thirty were cut to pieces by the Valoches, and the rest, namely, a Major, a Lieutenant, and seventy dragoons were taken prisoners. The Prince of *Wurtenberg* narrowly escaped being killed by a dragoon of the enemy's, who got behind him and aimed to cut his head off; the Prince at the very instant when he was going to make the blow, looked behind him and avoided it.

The eighteenth, his Majesty continued his march and arrived at *Hadiacz* (three leagues:) the garrison consisted of the regiment of *Smoland*, and that of the Gentry of *Livonia*, both horse; the dragoons of *Schreiterfeld*, and the foot of *Westerbothn*. Within an hour of the King's arrival, the enemy were on the point of giving the assault, and every thing was ready for that purpose, when they received the news by some dragoons who had escaped from the surprize of *Lipowa Dalina*, of the approach of some troops which were coming to the succour of that place: this obliged them to set fire to the suburbs of *Hadiacz* and a magazine of forage which was there, and to retreat thence with precipitation.

The Czar, who was but at half a league's distance from this place, and who was marching

ing with considerable forces to support the assault, turned about likewise on this news, and hastily regained the rout of *Libidin*. 1708.

This first night was extremely cold, and the frost continued thenceforth with most extraordinary rigour during the whole winter; and as there is but one gate to the town, at which so many waggons, *&c.* could enter but slowly, the one after the other, the place moreover being scarce able to hold so many men and horses, a great number were obliged to remain in the open air without the city gate, and this for several days and nights following, while they were placing what had already entered.

Many died of the excessive rigour of the cold, and a great number lost the use of their limbs, as their feet and hands; so that the town was filled with sick persons, and all the houses resembled hospitals, which afforded a horrible spectacle. The King himself was not free from the terrible effects of this rigorous season, being affected with a swelling in his nose, which he presently cured by rubbing it with snow, the only method to prevent any numbness.

But if our troops suffered so much from the excessive rigour of the winter, those of the Czar, which were continually in motion, suffered no less. We heard from all parts, that sickness raged in all their garrisons and quarters; and as they were obliged to be always on their guard, on account of his Majesty's continual marches, which left them not one moment in safety; this perpetual agitation, together with the severe cold, carried off abundance of their people: they had however the advantage of replacing their dead, by recruits which arrived incessantly from *Russia*, and the Czarewitz him-

1708. ſelf was advancing with ſeventeen thouſand freſh recruits to reinforce their army.

The ſame day five regiments entered *Romnei*, where the *Drabans*, the Court and the Chancery were; namely, *Sparr's*, *Buchwald's*, and *Cronman's* foot, *Cruus's* horſe, and *Taub's* dragoons, to replace the troops which his Majeſty had taken with him.

Major-General *Meyerfeld* had had a very ſmart action in his march from *Lochvica*, to join the King, with *Wolkonſki* who commanded the garriſon of *Mirogorod*, who ſallied out with ſeveral of his troops, which were beaten and repulſed with loſs. *Meyerfeld* in this march had the misfortune to break his leg by the fall of his horſe, but it was afterwards very well cured.

As the King was not pleaſed at the neighbourhood of the enemy, and as he burnt with impatience to attack them, he reſolved to ſeek and purſue them till they would ſtand their ground. Having therefore left all his baggage and ſick at *Hadiacz*, with ſome regiments to guard them, and having ſent for the Court and *Drabans* from *Romnei*, he decamped the twenty-ſixth with part of the army, and marched directly to *Wieprek*, where *Ronn* was poſted with a conſiderable body of troops, who, as ſoon as he had advice of the King's approach, left three battalions in the town, and marched immediately on the ſide of *Kamien*; our Vanguard and Valoches being cloſe at the heels of his Rear-guard, fell on the *Ruſſian* Coſſacks and Calmucks, who covered his precipitate retreat.

Ronn continued his march with much diligence, and paſſing near *Kamien*, which is ſituated on the ſame river with *Hadiacz*, three leagues

leagues from *Wieprek*, he threw a Colonel with a party of dragoons into that place, and purſued his rout towards *Libidin*. During this march our troops ſuffered extremely by the cold, of which ſeveral men and horſes periſhed, and many loſt their hands and feet. 1708.

The twenty-ſeventh the King paſſed by *Wieprek* in purſuit of *Ronn*, leaving the regiment of horſe of *South-Scania*, under *Ornſtedt*, and the foot regiment of *Oſtrogoths*, under *James Sperling*, behind him to watch this paultry town; to theſe were afterwards joined the dragoons of *Meyerfeld* and *Albedybl*. On the other hand, Count *Jaſper Sperling*, with his regiment of *Weſtrogoths*, advanced towards *Kamien*, and poſted himſelf at half a league's diſtance, where he diſlodged an advanced guard of the enemy.

The King proceeded ſome leagues to a village named *Pleſzinicz*, when the cold was ſo piercing, that it became abſolutely impoſſible to continue the march. This obliged his Majeſty to keep his Chriſtmas there with the regiments which he had with him, and which ſuffered much from the cold in theſe quarters.

Count *James Sperling*, by the King's order, ſummoned the Commandant of *Wieprek* to ſurrender the place; but he refuſing, *Sperling* acquainted his Majeſty, who changing his quarters, turned towards *Czinkow*, where he placed *Rank* in his front with his regiment of foot.

Czinkow is a little town fortified in that country manner, with paliſadoes, and a little bulwark lined with a moat. A great number of Peaſants had thrown themſelves into it, pretending to remain neuters, and admit neither *Swedes* nor *Ruſſians*. While *Rank* was marching, Colonel *Taub*, who had been detached with

five

1708. five hundred horse from the side of *Kamien*, arrived and burnt the suburbs.

The King followed *Rank*, and passed again by *Wieprek*; he now left there the regiment of foot of *Upland*, with four pieces of cannon; and after having passed by the side of a great wood, he arrived in the evening at *Czinkow*. He found the gates shut, and the inhabitants with a great number of Peasants on the ramparts, they were all drunk with strong waters, made a great noise, and appeared much elated. Adjutant-General *Gyllenkla* set fire to some houses in the suburbs.

The thirty-first, *Gyllenkla* received orders to summon the town, declaring to those who were in the town that he would give them but an hour to surrender themselves; they demanded a longer time which was refused them. The King at the same time having drawn up a battalion of *Calmar*, advanced to the gates, and sat down on the *Chevaux de frise*, till the capitulation was signed. It was soon concluded, and before the hour was expired, the populace being intimidated, surrendered at discretion and opened the gates, which the battalion of *Calmar* instantly took possession of.

The King posted himself in the suburbs with the regiment of *Dahl-Carlers* under *Sicgroth*, that of *Wesmanland* under *Roos*, and that of *Calmar* under *Rank*, all foot, with the Artillery and the *Ostrogoth* horse under *Hamilton*; together with the dragoons of *Duker* and *Schreiterfelt*. The rest of the army remained till farther orders in *Hadiacz*, and the places thereabouts. Count *Piper* with a part of the Court and *Drabans*, took up his quarters near *Erasnaluka*. The chief of the Court baggage remained

remained at *Hadiacz*. *Sparr*, *Cruus*, and *Creutz* poſſeſſed themſelves of the reſt of the neighbourhood, 1709.

The King ſpent New-year's day, 1709, at *Czinkow*, during ſo rigorous a cold that nothing equal to it had been known in the memory of man. His Majeſty having formed a deſign to attack *Wieprek*, ſent Major-General *Stakelberg* thither, to take upon him the direction. *Siegroth* was ordered to follow, to *reconnoitre* the place, and make an exact report thereof to his Majeſty. At his return, which was two days afterwards, the King decamped from *Czinkow*, eſcorted by the Artillery and *Schreiterfelt*'s dragoons.

His Majeſty arrived the ſixth at *Wieprek*, where they had already raiſed four batteries of five pieces of cannon each; and when the Commandant was again ſummoned to ſurrender, he anſwered from the mouths of his cannon, to which thoſe on our batteries replied. The ſame evening the King made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for an aſſault early the next day, ordering three attacks, of which one was to be conducted by *James Sperling*, and the other two by *Fritſki* and *Albedyhl*.

The ſeventh in the morning the attack was begun by the diſcharge of the cannon, while the troops were drawn up to mount the aſſault, which they did with all poſſible force and vigour; but as the enemy had thrown a quantity of water on the ramparts which was frozen on all ſides, and the garriſon taking advantage of the difficulty which our men met with in ſcaling the ramparts, which were ſo ſlippery they could hardly ſtand, defended themſelves in the moſt deſperate manner, his Majeſty without

1709. out delay gave orders to his troops to retreat.

We loſt many brave men at this attack. The two young Counts of *Sperling*, equally illuſtrious by their birth, their rank and their merit; Colonel *Fritſki*; the Lieutenant-Colonels *Morner*, and *Lilliegreen*; Count *E. Gyllenſtolpe*, a man much eſteemed; and many other officers of merit, were killed. Count *Rheinſchild* received a blow from a grenade, which made a contuſion. General *Stakelberg* was wounded, and the ſleeve of the Prince of *Wurtenberg*'s coat was ſhot through with a ball. The King having ſounded the Commandant again by *Siegroth* and *Wrangle*, he demanded ſome hours for conſideration, and ſurrendred the ſame night at diſcretion. The officers were made priſoners of war; but kept their baggage, as the Colonel did his ſword. We found here ſome pieces of cannon that had been burſt.

The gariſon marched out the next day, it conſiſted of eleven hundred men, beſides the Peaſants, which had born arms. They were eſcorted to *Czinkow*, by *Silfwerhielm*, where they had full liberty to enter into the town; but the greater part died of the cold.

During theſe tranſactions, two officers of the King's army, whoſe names were *Lood* and *Ox*, arrived in our camp. They had been taken priſoners by the Czar, and were by him ſent to his Majeſty, to ſollicit the exchange of *Schultz*, Adjutant to *Menzikof*, of whom we have ſpoken before with one named *Caudaroff* in their room. The King refuſed this exchange, and in the former's place ſent back a Lieutenant-Colonel who was taken at *Wieprek*, and

inſtead

instead of *Caudureff* a Captain taken at the same place. 1709.

The eleventh, the little *Bicoque* of *Wieprek* was burnt, and his Majesty set out for *Czinkow*, being escorted by the regiment of Artillery, the horse of *Cruus*, and *Taub*'s dragoons. At the same time General *Sparr* received orders to go with six regiments of foot to *Lutenka*, which is some leagues distant from *Czinkow*, on the river *Lutuka*, to be there in readiness, and to give rest to the troops.

Our quarters were so well disposed, that the enemy could not easily surprize us. *Creutz* was posted at *Lochowitz*, or *Lochwica*, which is on the side of the *Ukrain*; and all the rest were drawn close together towards the frontiers, where we stood well on our guard. *Hadiacz* was in the centre, and the baggage remained always quiet with a body of troops which the King had at first left there, and to which several other regiments had since joined themselves by his Majesty's orders. As to the enemy, they had troops in *Ogtirki*, *Kutilva*, *Opuczna*, *Pultawa*, *Horogni*, *Sorotzin*, &c. without reckoning the main body which was at *Libidin*, and on the frontiers in their own country.

The thirteenth Count *Piper* came to his Majesty to *Hadiacz*.

The fourteenth, the Lieutenant-Colonels *Ulfsparr*, *Apelgreen* and *Stiernhielm*, were made Colonels; the first had the *Ostrogoths* of *James Sperling*, who was killed; the second the *Westrogoths*, of *Jasper Sperling*; and the third, another regiment.

The nineteenth, Colonel *Duker* was detached at six in the evening, with two thousand horse towards *Horogni*, where lay five regiments of the

1709. the enemy, under the command of Brigadier *Carrupel.* He arrived the next day, and having instantly attacked them, utterly routed them; killed three hundred men, took two pair of kettle-drums; and some colours; and carried off more than a thousand horses, with some part of their baggage, which he brought happily to the Head-quarters, with the loss only of about twenty men.

The twenty-second, Lieutenant-Colonel *Wrangle*, who commanded in chief the dragoons of *Scania*, otherwise called the Priest's dragoons, was killed with a shot from a fauconet, as he was going to *reconnoitre* the town of *Sorotzin*, which was near his quarters, and where the enemy had a garrison. Prince *Wurtemberg* asked this regiment of the King, who gave it him soon after.

In the night between the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth, the King taking with him *Hamilton*'s regiment of horse, and *Duker*'s and *Taub*'s dragoons, making together about two thousand, and followed by the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, Count *Rheinschild*, and other officers of note, marched through the great wood to *Opuczno* on the *Worskla*; where were six regiments of *Muscovite* dragoons, under the command of General *Schaumburg*, with six hundred horse-grenadiers, and near two thousand Cossacks. They presently made an orderly retreat at our approach along the town of *Opuczno*, or *Obutzin*; but our regiments having attacked them with vigour, overthrew them almost at the first shock, and pursued them a whole league close at their heels.

The

The enemy had four hundred men killed on the ſpot, and fifty taken priſoners; and we took two pair of kettle-drums, and five ſtandards. *Menzikof* with General *Ronn* arrived juſt before the fight, with an intention to advance with theſe regiments towards our quarters, and to ſurprize the dragoons of *Scania* and *Horn*'s horſe, both in quarters at *Kovalufka*; but they had only time to run away with the reſt. The Valoches made a conſiderable booty in the town of *Opuczno*, where they plundered all the baggage of theſe regiments. 1709.

Immediately after this fight, wherein we had only two killed and ſeventeen wounded, his Majeſty ſent his Adjutant-General *Duwaldt* to *Czinkow*, with orders for all to march, the baggage as well as the regiments; *Rank* and *Roos* were to come with their foot to *Opuczno*, and the Artillery with the reſt to *Caſmin*.

On the twenty-ninth the King advanced to *Kutilva*, hoping to meet another column and ſix *Muſcovite* regiments, which were there poſted; and he flattered himſelf that thoſe who fled from *Opuczno*, might poſſibly have taken the ſame road. They did indeed repair thither, but had at the ſame time ſpread ſo general a terror, that they had altogether ran away through *Kraſnakui* to *Ogtirki*; ſo that at his Majeſty's arrival they were all decamped.

The King in the mean while had left a Captain, with fifty horſe and ſome wounded ſoldiers at *Opuczno*, to guard the wounded and trophies taken in the laſt fight. The *Ruſſians* being advertized of this, made a detachment of dragoons defile that way, who ſurprized the Captain, and having killed him and all his people, carried off the trophies and priſoners;

1709. ſoners; ſo that when Major-General *Rank* arrived, he found nothing but dead bodies.

The Court, the *Drabans* and the regiments decamped the thirtieth from *Czinkow*, where we left only one party of Coſſacks behind, to obſerve what paſſed in the neighbourhood. The next day, the Court and *Drabans* came and joined the King at *Kutilva* or *Kutelau*, where his Majeſty ſtopped ſome days. In the mean time the enemy retired to *Kalcutai*, and thence to *Ogtirki*.

The fifth of *February*, *Klint* arrived at the army.

The ſixth, a large party of Calmucks attacked the guard near *Caſmin*, and killed ſome men; after which, as ſoon as the picquet advanced, they ran away full ſpeed.

The eighth, his Majeſty gave the troops orders to hold themſelves in readineſs for a march the next day. The cold ſtill continuing to be very piercing [d].

The

[d] In one of theſe marches two thouſand men fell down dead with the cold, before his eyes. The troopers had no boots; the foot were without ſhoes, and almoſt without clothes. They were reduced to warm themſelves with the ſkins of beaſts as well as they could, they often wanted even bread; they were obliged to ſink almoſt all their cannon in moraſſes and rivers, for want of horſes to draw them. This army, once ſo flouriſhing, was diminiſhed to twenty-four thouſand men, and theſe ready to die with hunger. In this condition one officer only complained, to whom ſaid the King, *I ſuppoſe you are uneaſy at being ſo far from your wife; but, if you are a true ſoldier, I will carry you ſo far, that you ſhall ſcarce be able to hear from* Sweden *once in three years.* A ſoldier had the boldneſs with ſome murmurs to preſent a morſel of black and muſty bread to the King, in the preſence of the whole army, the only nouriſhment which they then had, and of

The King who was impatient to ſtrike a blow of more importance, and to oblige the enemy at laſt to ſtand their ground by giving them no repoſe, decamped on the ninth from *Kutilva*, and took the road of *Ogtirki*. As he paſſed through the village of *Kukri* (two leagues), he met Colonel *Tſchamerdin* with a detachment of the enemy's dragoons, who retreated with the utmoſt expedition; but were purſued by the Valoches and five ſquadrons quite under the walls of *Ogtirki*. We killed a good number, and took ſome priſoners. 1709.

The enemy, fearing they ſhould be beſieged in *Ogtirki*, preſently ſet fire to the ſuburbs, and marched their horſe to *Kraſnakut* (three leagues), where eight regiments of dragoons were poſted, ſome in the town, and ſome without the gates; and ten other regiments at half a league's diſtance, in the little town of *Horodniza*.

The King halted at *Kukri*. The artillery which from *Czinkow* had marched with the other troops to *Caſmin*, took the road of *Kukri*, where they arrived the next day, having firſt burnt *Caſmin*, *Kuſmin* or *Kamien*, for it is the ſame place under different names.

At *Kukri*, the Prince of *Wurtenberg* received his commiſſion of Colonel, from the King's own hand. His Majeſty likewiſe ordered a ſum of money to be paid him towards his equipage; and he bought that of *Wrangle*, his predeceſſor.

of which they had not a ſufficient ſupply. The King received the bread without emotion, eat it quite up; and then anſwered the ſoldier coldly, *It is not good, but it may be eaten.*

1709. The tenth, Lieutenant-Colonel *Funk* was detached with ſome hundred horſe to *reconnoitre Ogtirki*. He reported that their gariſon conſiſted of three regiments of foot, and that all their horſe had marched towards *Kraſnakut*.

On the eleventh, his Majeſty detached Major-General *Hamilton* with four regiments towards *Oleſna*, to burn the town. He carried it on his arrival ſword in hand, and put moſt of the gariſon to the ſword, taking the reſt priſoners, with the Waivode of the place, and then ſet fire to it.

The King advanced on the road to *Kraſnakut* the ſame morning early, followed by his *Drabans*, the regiments of horſe of *Cruus* and *Smoland*, ſeveral regiments of dragoons, and the foot-guards, *Dahl-Carlers*, and the regiment of *Skaraborg*, with the artillery. At the half way, the enemy had an advanced guard of thirty horſe, ſix of whom the Valoches killed, and took the reſt.

The King purſued his march towards *Kraſnakut*, whence the enemy at his approach retired on the other ſide of the town, and drew up in order of battle near a mill and a cloyſter. The Valoches having begun the ſkirmiſh, the King advanced with the cavalry to ſupport them, and paſſing through the town he found ſome ſquadrons of the enemy who ran away full ſpeed, after having given one volley.

As ſoon as the King had paſſed the town, and found himſelf in ſight of the enemy, he drew up his troops on two lines, with which he advanced towards them, who were retired a good diſtance from the town. The enemy then, not daring to face him, began to ſet themſelves

themſelves on a gallop towards *Horodniza*, which is half a league from *Kraſnakut*. As they ſoon ran into confuſion, the hindmoſt were defeated, and ſeveral of them killed; not only on the road to *Horodniza*, but within the gates, ſuburbs and ſtreets of the city, where theſe wretches who by reaſon of the croud could not ſave themſelves faſt enough, were cut to pieces; ſo that the ſtreets were all covered with dead bodies. 1709.

The *Ruſſians* loſt on this occaſion upwards of a thouſand men, with ſome trophies; on our ſide, no more than twelve of the guards, and an hundred and twenty horſe and dragoons were either killed or wounded. General *Ronn*, who had been poſted near this town with ten other regiments, retired the ſame night ſix leagues farther to *Bialorod*, which is ſituated within *Ruſſia* itſelf, *Kraſnakut* being in the *Ruſſian Ukrain*.

His Majeſty on the twelfth advanced half a league to *Morafka*, giving orders to burn *Kraſnakut* and *Horodniza*, and to carry away all the inhabitants with the women and children.

The thirteenth, the army proceeded two leagues to *Colomak*, having firſt burnt *Morafka*: terrible ſhowers of rain mixt with thunder and lightning fell on that day. *Colomak* being ſituated on the frontiers of *Tartary*, old *Mazeppa*, who was on this expedition with the Coſſacks, would pay his court to the King, being near him, on horſeback, to congratulate him on the progreſs of his arms; ſaying to him in *Latin*, that we had but eight leagues to *Aſia*. His Majeſty, who was perfectly acquainted with the map, anſwered ſmiling, *Sed non conveniunt*

1709. *Geographi*; *but Geographers do not agree*: which anſwer made the good old man bluſh.

About the fourteenth, the winter, which had for ſome days abated of its rigour, became all at once ſupportable; the weather being now ſoft and ſerene enough, after one of the moſt violent ſeaſons ever felt in that climate: but at the ſame time the waters began to ſwell in ſo extraordinary a manner, that thoſe rivers which we had before eaſily paſſed, being all frozen, preſented us now the proſpect of a whole country overflowed.

This change obliged his Majeſty to return into the *Ukrain*, there to wait for a better ſeaſon and one more commodious for the operations of the war, in a country ſo full of rivers. Orders were given to General *Cruus*, to advance before with ſome regiments, the King following himſelf the next day with the reſt of the army. We proceeded three leagues to *Kublintka*; at our departure from whence, the King commanded the burning of *Colomak*.

This march was very laborious for the foot, who were always in water, the plain through which they paſſed in ſeveral places reſembling a large lake, the rivers had ſo violently overflowed the country. The artillery eſpecially, underwent great fatigues in this rout, and ſo did the baggage; which cauſed his Majeſty to order a great number of uſeleſs waggons to be burnt; that is to ſay, thoſe which the troops uſed for the carriage of their proviſions.

This was a fatal day to the regiment of *German* dragoons under Colonel *Albedyhl*, who was quartered at *Raſchow*, or *Raſchouſka*, ſome leagues from *Lutinka*, where Major-General *Sparr*

Sparr was posted. The enemy, under the command of *Scheremethof*, began their attack on an hundred and twenty dragoons, who had been ordered to have an eye on the horse; and having surrounded them on all sides, put them to the sword after they had made all possible resistance. *Scheremethof* advanced next with twelve regiments towards *Raschow*, where *Albedyhl*'s regiment, after a valiant defence, were in part cut to pieces, and the rest made prisoners, with the Colonel himself; three hundred horse only, with the Major, broke through sword in hand, and having made their way through several squadrons, came to *Sparr* at *Lutinka*. 1709.

The enemy laid their hands on all the horses of this regiment, and of part of another, together with their baggage. It was feared, that *Scheremethof*, after this action, would push his point, and go to *Hadiacz*, with a view of rendring himself master of the baggage; but he attempted no more, and returned to his quarters.

The King hastened the seventeenth from *Rublinska*, where the regiment of guards was obliged to pass the first night in the open field, not being able to cross the waters, which were every day increasing. This disappointment occasioned orders from his Majesty to that regiment, to go two leagues round in search of a bridge, while the Artillery, the *Dahl-Carlers*, and the regiments of *Smoland* and *Cruus*, passed near *Kalentajo*, which was burnt.

His Majesty, with the *Drabans* and the rest of the troops, passed the water near *Rublinska* the eighteenth, after having first set fire to that town, which is the last in the *Russian Ukrain*. They advanced a short league to a river,

1709. where his Majesty halted till they laid over a bridge. The regiment of guards found the bridge over which they were to pass in a very ruinous condition; they presently refitted it, and having passed over, returned to join his Majesty.

The nineteenth, the King returned to *Opuczno* with the *Drabans*, having proceeded only half a league on that day. The march was very tiresome to the regiments, who were to cross all these waters, that had rendered the ground unfirm, and the passes and defiles extremely deep and difficult. As soon as his Majesty was returned, the enemy who had followed us a good while, posted themselves opposite to us on the other side of the river *Worskla*.

The twentieth, Major-General *Hamilton* returned with his detachment, and General *Cruus* set out from *Opuczno*, for *Budiczin*. The King remained some time at *Opuczno*, where *Renk* and *Roos* were in garison, and put part of the regiments which he had taken with him in his last expedition into quarters, on the side of *Pultowa*, namely the guards, *Cruus*'s, *Hamilton*'s, the *Ostrogoths*, the *Smolanders* and the regiment of *Skaraborg*; he then fixed his Head-quarters at *Budiczin*, whither he repaired a little afterwards.

Major-General *Creutz* marched from *Lochwice*, or *Lochowitz*, with his column, to draw nearer the King. The *Russians*, commanded by *Scheremethof* failed not to harrass him during this march, and attacked his Rear-guard, who received them so briskly that they afterwards suffered him to continue his march very quietly; he had however great difficulty

to paſs the waters, and was obliged to burn ſeveral waggons loaded with baggage, of which he had the charge. 1709.

At the ſame time his Majeſty having ſent orders to *Hadiacz*, to bring up the heavy baggage; the gariſon marched out, having firſt deſtroyed all the works of defence, and paſſing through *Lutinka* and *Burki*, arrived the twenty-ſeventh at *Opuczno*, without any diſturbance from the enemy.

All the *Swediſh* army was now aſſembled between the two rivers of *Pziol* and *Worſkla*, and extended itſelf from *Lutinka* to *Opuczno*, being the ſpace of twelve *Poliſh* leagues; where they waited a more favourable ſeaſon for action, and till the graſs began to grow in the fields. The King employed this time, without any relaxation, in viſiting and reviewing his regiments. On the firſt of *March*, *Klint* departed, and the third, his Majeſty quitted *Opuczno*, and advanced a league to *Budiczin*, where he had fixed his quarters.

The enemy's horſe made ſome motions, and drew nearer on the ſide of *Worſkla*, throwing ſome troops into *Kutilva*. *Fittinghof*, a Captain in *Taub*'s regiment, who had been detached towards *Worſkla*, was attacked by a party of the enemy; which he received ſo well, that he put them to flight, killed ſeveral, and made others priſoners.

Scheremethof, on another quarter, was advanced nearer to *Pziol*, in the neighbourhood of *Kraſnapole*, with all the foot, having placed a gariſon in *Hadiacz* as ſoon as it was quitted by the *Swedes*; ſo that we were now ſurrounded on all ſides by the enemy, a circumſtance which made our proviſions dear. One of their par-

1709. ties on the tenth ſhewed a deſire of attacking Colonel *Hielm*; but he kept ſo well on his guard, that they durſt not execute their purpoſe.

The twelfth, all our Coſſack ladies arrived at the Head-quarters; and the next day the Prince of *Wurtenberg* ſet out for his regiment, which was at *Kowalufka*, five leagues from the Head-quarters.

The King's approach having given umbrage to the *Zaporovian* Coſſacks, of whom we have ſpoken above; they writ to *Mazeppa*, to acquaint him that they had ſided with the Czar's army, and that they wiſhed to know the deſigns of the King of *Sweden*, who had come ſo far to trouble them.

Mazeppa had already writ to theſe people, at the time that he declared for the King of *Sweden*; but the Expreſs who was charged with the letter had been taken by the *Ruſſians*: He now anſwered all the heads of their letter, and informed them of the juſtice of the King of *Sweden*'s deſigns, who, being a formidable conqueror, came to deliver them from the yoke and ſlavery which the Czar was preparing for them. He animated them at the ſame time, to follow his example, and to lift themſelves under the banners of a Prince who was their protector, and whom heaven had fixed on as the perſon who was to render them free and happy; and laſtly, that this letter might make the greater impreſſion on their minds, he ſent one of his Colonels and Judges, a great Orator, who was charged to expound the whole to them at large.

The

The *Zaporovians* being wrought on by these means, sent immediate Deputies to *Mazeppa*, to declare to him that they would take the same side with himself. The Deputies brought at the same time a letter from their *Hettman* to the King. They had audience of his Majesty the nineteenth, and having obtained an answer the next day, they departed well satisfied, and instantly began their hostilities against the *Muscovites*. 1709.

The *Russians* being informed of the proceedings of the *Zaporovians*, detached Colonel *Cambel* towards the town of *Torodginska* with three thousand dragoons, to attack the *Zaporovians*, who were to pass that way in order to join us. The *Russian* dragoons were divided into several parties, to scour the country, and hinder the *Zaporovians* from passing; but these to the number of eight thousand men attacked Colonel *Cambel* in the town, killed a great many of his party, and took one hundred and fifteen prisoners: so that of the three *Muscovite* regiments scarce four hundred with their Colonel were saved.

The *Zaporovians* continued their march, having at their head their *Hettman*, named *Ottoman Kokzovy*, who advanced towards the King's quarters, followed by some hundreds of the Chiefs of his country. He was received by *Mazeppa*, half a league from *Budiczin*; the next day he had an audience of the King, whom he addressed in *Latin*; testifying to him the joy which the *Zaporovian* nation felt at his Majesty's arrival, that they besought his protection, giving God thanks that he suffered them at length to enjoy that liberty,

1709. berty, at which they had ſo eagerly aſpired; he afterwards kiſſed the King's hand, and was treated at court with the principal officers who ſat at two tables.

The next day the *Zaporovians*, being aſſembled in a *Greek* Church at *Budiczin*, took an oath of fealty to *Mazeppa*. The *Piſars* were the firſt after the *Hettman* who ſwore; they afterwards made all together the ſign of the croſs, and kiſſed the Goſpel and the Crucifix. The ſame day they had an audience of leave of his Majeſty, and the next day departed from *Budiczin*, to continue their hoſtilities againſt the *Ruſſians*.

The thirty-firſt Mr. *Sandul*, Colonel of the Valoches, departed for *Bender*, to treat with the Seraſkier *Turk*, touching the recruits of the Valoches. The ſame day the *Ruſſians* took in *Czinkow*, a Lieutenant with ſixteen dragoons, of Prince *Wurtenberg*'s regiment, who had been detached to gather up victuals. Theſe accidents, which happened to us from time to time, were unavoidable; for being obliged to fetch our forage and proviſions a great way off, the regiments could not avoid ſometimes the loſs of little detachments, which were ſent out to raiſe contributions. The Prince of *Wurtenberg*, who was the moſt expoſed, deſired his Majeſty's permiſſion to approach nearer to the head-quarters, which having obtained, he came and encamped with his regiment at *Burky*.

We learnt that day, that the Czar had detached General *Goltz* with nineteen or twenty thouſand men beyond the *Dnieper*, to go and join *Siniawſki* in *Poland*, who oppoſed King *Staniſlaus*, and cauſed there great trouble and confuſion.

confusion. We learnt further, that there were 1709.
five thousand men in *Pultowa*; that *Roun* was at the head of the troops beyond the *Worskla*, designed to cover the frontiers of *Russia*, and that *Scheremethof* commanded the rest of the army, consisting chiefly of foot, and was posted about *Hadiacz* and *Krasnapole*, along the river of *Pziol*. As to the Czar, we knew he was at eighteen leagues distance from his army at *Woronitz*, where he was building ships.

The third of *April*, his Majesty attended by *Mazeppa*, Count *Rheinschild*, and some other officers of distinction, came with a detachment of horse under *Pultowa*, to *reconnoitre* the place, of which the King resolved to make himself master, on *Mazeppa*'s advice, that on our penetrating into *Russia*, we might have a place in our possession through which the succours might pass which were expected from *Poland* to join his Majesty.

Pultowa is situated on the river *Worskla*, which falls sixteen leagues lower into the *Boristhenes*. This town belonged to the Cossacks, but the *Russians* were then masters of it. Many of the inhabitants had retired hither with their effects at the approach of the *Swedes*; so that it was full of riches, corn, and all sorts of provisions.

There was in the town a garrison of five thousand men, under the command of Major-General *Allart*, who had under him a Colonel named *Kellen*. This General had taken care to re-establish the fortifications, and to add some new works, so that it might well pass for a pretty good fortress in that country. His Majesty after having *reconnoitred* the ground about it, which the *Worskla*, winding itself into several

1709. ral branches, renders ſomewhat marſhy, returned to *Budiczin*, where he arrived the next day in the evening.

On the thirteenth, an action happened at *Jokolki*, near the *Worſkla*: General *Ronn* having attacked General *Stakelberg* at the head of ſeveral regiments, was repulſed with loſs, after a very obſtinate fight, in which Colonel *Gyllenſtierna* was wounded.

The eighteenth, a Lieutenant of the artillery deſerted from *Pultowa* to *Budiczin*. All that day a great quantity of ſnow fell, which being ſoon melted by the ſun, rendered the roads very bad. The army now remained quiet in their quarters.

The twenty-firſt, three Captains of our Valoches, with a good number of their men, went over from us to the enemy.

The twenty-fourth, his Majeſty made an excurſion to General *Creutz*'s quarters, where there was an alarm on ſome motions made by Marſhal *Scheremethof*'s troops, by which it was apprehended that he deſigned to attack General *Creutz*; but this came to nothing, and the King returned the ſame evening. This day Major-General *Axel Sparr*, was ordered to march with his diviſion to the King's quarters.

The twenty-fifth, ſome regiments of *Sparr*'s column came from *Lutenka* to *Budiczin*. They were the next day followed by the other regiments of foot of his diviſion, which including the garriſon of *Hadiacz*, made up eight regiments. *Sparr* began his march with theſe regiments, that of the artillery, and all the baggage of the army, towards *Pultowa*, to inveſt that place. General *Scheremethof* at the head of

twelve

twelve thouſand men obſerved his march; but ſeeing their fine order and the precautions which *Sparr* had taken, he did not dare to attack him, and he arrived ſafely before the town, without the loſs of a ſingle man. 1709.

The twenty-eighth, the regiment of *Dahl-Carlers* decamped and marched to *Pultowa*; and the next day his Majeſty followed himſelf with the *Drabans*, ſome regiments of horſe, and the regiments of foot of *Wermland*, *Weſterbothn* and *Calmar*, which encamped at a good diſtance from the town; ſo that almoſt all our foot were arrived, excepting two regiments which remained at *Budiczin*, with the dragoons of *Taub* and *Duker*, under the command of Major-General *Roos*, to keep that poſt through which the enemy was abſolutely to paſs, if he would attempt to relieve *Pultowa*.

The firſt of *May*, *Klint* returned, and the ſame day the trenches were opened before *Pultowa*; and we had advice that the enemy were drawing troops together near *Opuczno*.

The ſecond, third, fourth, fifth and ſixth, the trenches were carried on, but with a very few men, in order to husband our forces, which his Majeſty thought not proper to expoſe before this place, of which we hoped to be quickly the maſters, without much loſs.

The ſixth, Major-General *Roos* ſeeing the enemy's forces encreaſe on the other ſide of *Opuczno*, made an entrenchment all along the *Worſkla*, flanked with ſome works, to diſpute the paſſage of this river: the enemy made a briſk fire on our workmen, of which ſeveral were killed.

The ſeventh, Major-General *Roos* brought up ſome cannon to play on the oppoſite bank, detaching

1709. detaching at the same time Major *Lood* with two hundred and fifty men to maintain the post.

The eighth, the enemy past the river over a bridge which they built below *Opuczno*, with foot and horse to the number of twelve thousand men, who attacked our little entrenchment, and forced it by their great superiority of troops, making Major *Lood*, with some other officers, and about seventy foot-soldiers prisoners; the rest having saved themselves after a brave defence of several hours together.

Major-General *Roos*, being informed of the motions of the enemy, before the attack began, drew the regiments of dragoons to the quarters of *Budiczin*; to these were likewise joined two battalions of guards, the regiments of horse of *Scania* and *Horn*, and the dragoons of Prince *Wurtenberg* and *Meyerfeld*, who hastened thither from their quarters. His Majesty came up himself with Count *Rheinschild* and many other Generals, and arrived just at the time when the enemies retired towards the bridge to pass it, and when Colonel *Duker* sallying out of the town to pursue them, attacked their rear-guard so furiously, that they were repulsed towards the river, where more than two hundred men perished. The gross of their troops having afterwards readily repast the bridge, destroyed it, and retired a full gallop to *Kutalva*, leaving behind them all their materials and tools which were to be used at the siege of *Opuczno*, with the two cannons which they had just taken in the entrenchment; but they carried off a pair of Colours in the beginning of the attack.

The ninth, all the regiments returned to *Budiczin*, after having stood all night under arms.

arms, to ſee if the enemy would return to the charge. As to the garriſon of *Opuczno*, after having ſet fire to the town, they followed the reſt of the troops. 1709.

The eleventh, all the troops decamped from *Budiczin*, and proceeded two leagues to *Czuki* near *Pultowa*.

The twelfth, we approached the moat by way of Sappe, and made a lodgment, whilſt the enemy was intrenching themſelves behind the rampart. *Charles Poſs* conducted this attack with the grenadiers of the guards, who behaved very well.

The fourteenth, Velt-Marſhal *Rheinſchild* departed hence for the command of his regiment of horſe about *Czuki*, where we had the advantage of forage; for which reaſon the Coſſacks kept themſelves here and ſcoured the country, there being near ſix thouſand *Zaporovians*.

The ſixteenth, the enemy made many ſham attacks before day both above and below the town, with ſeveral diſcharges of ſmall ſhot, while twelve hundred men commanded by Brigadier *Gallowin*, with faſcines made a bridge over the moraſs, where the Peaſants who were perfectly acquainted with the ground had led them: they all entered the town unperceived. The King thinking they would attempt a battle, haſtened to his regiment of guards, and ordered a great number of troops to advance; but as ſoon as the ſuccours were entered the town, *Menzikof*, who commanded theſe ſham attacks, retired inſtantly, being content with his ſucceſs in having conveyed in thoſe troops, and likewiſe aſſured a communication with the

town

1709. town by a redoubt mounted with cannon, which he had raiſed near the bridge.

The ſame day two *Tartar* Couriers arrived in the camp. *Mazeppa* ſent them to the King, with propoſitions from the Han of the *Tartars*, who deſigned to join us. Towards the evening the reſt of the regiment of guards arrived in the camp, and were poſted on the ſide of the Cloyſter.

The ſeventeenth, his Majeſty gave orders to raiſe a little redoubt on the foot of the mountain, on which *Pultowa* is ſituated, and near the river, at the ſame place through which the ſuccours had entered into the town. The enemy who were poſted on an oppoſite piece of riſing ground, laboured at an entrenchment to incommode us, and the next day cauſed two battalions to defile down the hill on the bank of the river, oppoſite our redoubt. Theſe troops gave a volley of ſmall arms on our guard poſted there, which returning it in the ſame manner, obliged them to return back behind their entrenchment.

While theſe things were doing on this ſide, the enemy made a ſally with eight hundred men, commanded by Brigadier *Gallowin*; but they were ſo ſtoutly received by Major-General *Roos* and the Prince of *Wurtenberg*, that half of them were killed or wounded; the Brigadier was made priſoner, and the reſt with difficulty enough ſaved themſelves towards the town.

The nineteenth, as the enemy made great motions on the other ſide of the *Worſkla*, where Prince *Menzikof* drew together a body of troops, which appeared deſirous of attempting to paſs the river and attack us, his Majeſty mounted inſtantly on horſeback, and cauſed all the regi-

ments

ments of foot to defile on the ſide of the Cloyſter, and draw up in order of battle on two lines. The enemy had beſides puſhed their works that night with great vigour, which gave us further reaſon to think we ſhould come to blows with them; for which reaſon Velt-Marſhal *Rheinſchild* drew nearer with the horſe, to be ready to receive the King's orders; but the enemy ſeeing the diſpoſition of our troops, which were ready to receive them, durſt not paſs, and contented themſelves with keeping us all that day under arms. 1709.

The twenty-firſt, the regiments of foot of *Roos*, *Rank*, *Ulfſpar* and *Weſterbothn*, came up with the camp. Major-General *Creutz* arrived likewiſe from his old poſt, where he had been with his regiment of horſe-guards, and poſted himſelf at a ſhort quarter of a league diſtance. The ſame day the enemy diſcharged more than ſixty cannon from their entrenchments.

The twenty-ſecond Brigadier *Gallowin* attempted to eſcape by endeavouring to corrupt the centinel, who refuſed his bribe, and publickly declared his offer; for which the King gave him ſixty crowns to reward his fidelity.

The twenty-third, twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth and twenty-ſixth, nothing remarkable paſt, and the ſiege went ſlowly on; we endeavoured to ſpring ſome mines, but they were diſcovered. We loſt in theſe days, a Major, an Engineer, a Captain and a Lieutenant, who were killed in the approaches: the worſt was, that our wounded men ſeldom recovered, on account of the ſudden gangrene which attended their wounds, occaſioned by the terrible heat.

The twenty-ſeventh, *Scheremethof* came from *Oltwa* on the *Pziol*, where he had hitherto re-

 mained,

1709. mained to join *Menzikof*, by paſſing the *Poluzar* and the *Worſkla*. The enemy now began to entrench themſelves very carefully on the other ſide and to fortify their camp, after having filled up the moraſſes and the breaches of the *Worſkla* with ſome millions of faſcines, over which they carried on their works, which they armed with cannon and mortars: their lines extended along the river, and on the other ſide round their camp.

The ſame day, the Governour of *Pultowa* ſallied on our workmen in the trenches, and drove them home to the regiment of *Dahl-Carlia*, where a Lieutenant of this regiment was killed, with ſome ſoldiers and *Zaporovians*; but as ſoon as this regiment advanced to ſupport the workmen, the enemy retreated in haſte, with the loſs of ſome men, killed and wounded. The *Zaporovians*, who had hitherto done good ſervice in the trenches, returned thither no more with a good heart.

On the twenty-ninth the enemy drew their line downward hence to the river; to which we oppoſed another line on our ſide along the *Worſkla*, reaching from the town of *Pultowa* under the hill beyond the Cloyſter, very near the bank, flanked with works on each extremity; in the middle were two redoubts near a little rivulet, which winding between *Pultowa* and the Cloyſter, falls into the *Worſkla*; ſeveral of our regiments of foot incamped behind to watch the motions of the enemy.

The thirty-firſt, a party of the enemy's Valoches and Calmucks attacked our Valoches near *Czuki*; but were ſo well received, that after many of them were killed the reſt ran away full ſpeed: our Valoches made ten priſoners in this

this rencounter, amongst which were two of our deserters. The next day a festival was celebrated in the enemy's camp, on which account they made a great discharge from their ordnance. 1709.

The first, second, and third of *June*, were past in looking on each other, and on the fourth, a large detachment of the besieged going forth to forage on the side of the river, his Majesty gave orders to march the guard, who drove them back; but the besieged soon returning with more troops, attacked our guard with all imaginable fury, who defended themselves in like manner without giving one step of ground; the fire, after enduring a good while, ceased on the enemy's part, who beat a retreat, when they saw *Swedish* succours arriving: the besieged re-entered their town with the loss of several hundred men killed and wounded. This day they began new works near the river, more to the left, to cover their bridge of communication. The same day the Czar arrived in their camp with a good number of troops; and their deserters assured us, that they had thirty regiments of foot, as many of dragoons, and upwards of fifty thousand Cossacks and Calmucks.

The sixth, a party of the enemy, consisting of some hundred horse, without reckoning Cossacks or Calmucks, approached on the side of *Czuki*, to *reconnoitre* the camp of Velt-Marshal *Rheinschild*, who being advertised of the visit, sent out some horse to chase them, and these returned with several prisoners. The same day a Valoche, who had been taken prisoner by the *Russians*, escaped, and brought us word, that the Czar had resolved to attack his Majesty's army in three different

1709. places; however, he executed nothing at this time. A large body of the enemy's Coſſacks attacked a great number of Peaſants of our party, who were entrenched in a wood near *Cobilak*, half way between the *Boriſthenes* and *Pultowa*, but were ſo well received, that they were obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs. *Mazeppa* gave a large reward to theſe Peaſants.

From the ſeventh to the thirteenth nothing remarkable paſt, except that the enemy continued to puſh on their works, and that we put our lines in a very good condition.

The thirteenth, the Czar drew a new line, and the next day threw four bombs into the town, in which were only contained letters for the Governour.

The fifteenth, the enemy attempted to paſs the river with many troops, and attacked the column under General *Cruus*, which by their ſuperiority in number they had the good luck to diſlodge, they plundered his baggage, and burnt what they could not carry away; at the ſame time they delivered more than a thouſand *Muſcovites*, with their Colonel, who were priſoners under the guard of *Cruus*'s regiment; but before their retreat, the *Swedes* killed one hundred and ſeventy of their detachment which was commanded by General *Heinſoben*. The ſame day there was an alarm at Count *Rheinſchild*'s quarters at *Czuki*, as well as at *Pultowa*, where the Governour raiſed new works towards the river and the bridge of communication, near which we ſaw many *Muſcovite* troops, who did not however undertake any thing.

The ſixteenth at midnight, the enemy threw four bombs with letters into the town. The Governor then gave a ſignal, that he had received

received them. At the ſame time the enemy paſt the river in the night with ſeveral troops near the village of *Pietrofka*, on Marſhal *Rheinſchild*'s ſide; and before day-break they had raiſed a parapet of ſeven baſtions, upon which they preſently poſted themſelves and diſplayed their colours, carrying on their entrenchment the whole day. 1709.

Count *Rheinſchild* after having ordered General *Creutz*'s diviſion, which was the neareſt, to approach, with two regiments of foot, drew out his troops in order of battle, and waited the King's orders. The Prince of *Wurtenberg* very narrowly eſcaped being taken priſoner on this occaſion; for being at too great a diſtance to *reconnoitre* the enemy, he had been ſurrounded and taken priſoner, if ſome officers and dragoons had not haſtened to his aſſiſtance, and delivered him from the purſuit of the enemy. The *Ruſſians* made a feint to paſs the bridge of communication, a quarter of a league lower under *Pultowa*: the King having approached them to *reconnoitre* their motions, had the miſfortune to receive a ſhot which pierced through the boot of his left leg, entering in a little above the toe, and going out at the heel. He took at firſt no notice of this wound, and continued ſome time to give orders to his men with the utmoſt tranquility, in contempt of the ſharpeſt pains, till the blood running in great abundance, declared his wound: he nevertheleſs expreſt no emotion, and returned [f] an hour after ſlowly

[f] In the MSS is written on the margin in the *Swediſh* language, 'the King 'was wounded in the foot, 'and returned ſoon on horſe-'back to the field.' So it is not true that he was ſo many hours together without having it dreſt.

1709. to the camp, where they were obliged to cut off his boot, his leg being extremely ſwelled.[g]

Count *Piper* and the Generals were much frighted at this wound. The King obſerving this ſolemn ſilence, aſked *Neumann* his Surgeon the reaſon of all their conſternation; who anſwered his Majeſty plainly, that the wound was very dangerous, for that ſome few marks of a gangrene already appeared: at which this Prince, far from betraying any ſymptoms of fear, replied; *There is nothing in that, cut it away, cut it away.* And cauſing him to make very deep inciſions, which he beheld with more tranquility than the ſpectators, he ſupported this horrible operation with a conſtancy of mind very extraordinary. There was only this violent method to ſave the King's foot, which muſt otherwiſe have been cut off. The expertneſs of the Surgeon having prevented the gangrene, the King ſoon found himſelf able to bear a litter, though the cure went but ſlowly on, both on account of the exceſſive heat, and an intermitting fever which much incommoded his Majeſty.

About noon, the enemy made a ſally with twelve hundred men or thereabouts, and attacked us with great fury in our approaches; but the regiment of guards who then were in the trenches being drawn up, ſoon obliged them to return. Towards the evening the reſt of the *Muſcovite* army paſſed the river, and entered into their new camp. His Majeſty having ordered Count *Rheinſchild* to raiſe ſome works, we began to go about them, whilſt ſeveral

[g] The bone of his heel was broke, and the opinion of all the Surgeons but one was to cut it off.

veral regiments advanced to reinforce the Count. At the ſame time the garriſon of *Pultowa* continued to extend their lines on the ſide of the communication with the enemy, even to the foot of the hill. 1709.

On the eighteenth the enemy carried on their new works near *Pietroffki*, directly oppoſite to the line which we had drawn againſt them. That day their gabions were ſet on fire, which occaſioned great confuſion: in the mean time they puſhed on their approaches vigorouſly, under favour of a dreadful and continual fire both from their ſmall arms and cannon. They ranged their horſe along the river, on the other ſide, and made a feint to paſs, to hinder which, his Majeſty ordered our guard near the river to be reinforced, where a Major-General mounted every day. This day the ſoldiers enquired news of the King, and appeared very much diſturbed.

The nineteenth, the enemy brought up more troops in their new entrenchment of *Pietroffki*, on Velt-Marſhal *Rheinſchild*'s ſide, where they raiſed ſeventeen redoubts along the river. The Velt-Marſhal who had with him nothing but horſe, having preſently ſent back the two regiments of foot, quitted *Czuki*, and approached within a quarter of a league of *Pultowa*. Few of the enemy's troops were in their works on the other ſide the river oppoſite to *Pultowa*; and every thing was eaſy.

The twentieth, we had an alarm in Count *Rheinſchild*'s quarters, ſeveral ſquadrons amounting to about ſix thouſand horſe, beſides Coſſacks, advanced in order of battle, and made a ſhow of attacking us. The Count putting himſelf immediately at the head of his horſe, rode a trot to meet

1709. them; and having overthrown them ſword-in-hand, broke, diſperſed, and routed them, purſuing them a whole league cloſe at their heels, and without giving them time to recover themſelves.

The enemy's loſs was conſiderable in this rencounter, eſpecially in their flight, and we reckoned above five hundred dead on the ſpot, and in the road. We took an officer of note, with ſome ſoldiers, who told us, that *Menzikof* and *Schereметhof* were in their new camp, with ten thouſand foot and thirty regiments of dragoons; that *Volkonſki* had conducted this regiment, and that General *Baver* was preſent, but entirely fuddled: we found likewiſe the Czar's picture, which that General had loſt in his flight. This day we ſaw a great duſt in the enemy's camp on the other ſide of the river, by which we knew they were in motion, and they had beſides very few men in their works on that ſide.

The twenty-firſt, the enemy had abandoned their works and their lines oppoſite to us. Major-General *Sparr*, who mounted the guard the next day near the river, detached ſome troops to ruin and burn their works, which was executed. News was brought to the King, that the enemy had drawn all their forces to *Pietroſſky*, and had left no troops on the other ſide of the *Worſkla*. His Majeſty was not very well this day, which gave us an apprehenſion of ſome freſh inflammation; but towards the evening he grew better. We underſtood from ſome deſerters, that the Czar had yeſterday told General *Baver*, in the preſence of ſeveral people, that the King of *Sweden* was wounded

wounded in his foot; that it was believed in the enemy's camp, that we ſhould be attacked in a few days by all the Czar's forces, and that there were ſeven hundred *Saxons* in the City of *Moſcow*, who had deſerted from the *Swediſh* army of *Lubeker*, which were now ſent to *Cremelin*, to defend it in caſe of an attack, the inhabitants of that Capital being under deadly fears. 1709.

The twenty-ſecond news arrived in the night that the enemy was in full march to give us battle, for which his Majeſty gave orders very early to the whole army to prepare. The Velt-Marſhal, after having remained ſome time with the King, went forth and put himſelf at the head of the cavalry, which were ranged in order of battle, whilſt the infantry came up, and formed a line of a quarter of a league in length, having the horſe for their wings.

All the baggage was left together in the rear of the army, with ſome regiments and *Zaporovians* to cover it. Some troops had orders to remain in our trenches and redoubts near the river, to defend them. As for the King he was carried in his bed on a litter by two horſes, with ſome *Drabans* and ſquadrons who marched by his ſide to guard him.

The army thus ranged in order of battle, ſtood ſome hours together in expectation of the enemy; his Majeſty having at firſt ordered them to carry him to the head of his foot, where they took down his litter, a circumſtance which extremely animated his troops.

Mazeppa came to the King now, and reported to him, that ſome *Tartar* Deputies were arrived at *Cobitak* with a *Turkiſh* eſcort. Soon

after

1709. after Secretary *Klinkoſtrom* [h] arrived, with Colonel *Sandul*, and the *Tartar* Deputies, which were the Captain of the Guards of the *Han* of the *Tartars*, the Voyer-General, and ſome Murſes, all officers. Theſe being conducted into the King's preſence, made their obeyſance, while Colonel *Sandul* preſented to Count *Piper* an anſwer of the Seraſkier Baſhaw of *Bender*, touching the *Valochian* recruits, and *Klinkoſtrom* gave him a letter from the *Han* of the *Tartars*.

This letter of the *Han* purported in ſubſtance, That the *Tartars* were ready to mount their horſes againſt the *Ruſſians*, when they were informed that his Majeſty had made peace with the Czar, after having three times demanded it; that the *Ruſſians* who had ſpread this news, had added, that the King had demanded the Czar's ſiſter in marriage; that the Miniſters of that Prince had moreover offered large ſums of money to the *Han* of the *Tartars*, to hinder him from entring into the intereſts of the King of *Sweden*, and to perſuade him to embrace the Czar's party; but that the *Han* through the extreme veneration which he bore towards the King of *Sweden*, had refuſed their offers,

[h] Mr. *Klinkoſtrom* was ſent from *Stockholm*, by the QueenDowager, to bring the King the news of the death of her Serene Royal Highneſs the Dutcheſs of *Holſtein*, his ſiſter. He was charged, as he paſſed by a little corner of *Poland*, with a letter from King *Staniſlaus*; and having continued his journey through *Hungary* and *Wallachia*, arrived at *Bender*; whence he ſet out with Colonel *Sandul* and the *Tartarian* Deputies with a letter from the *Han* to the King. As his Majeſty extremely loved his ſiſter the Dutcheſs of *Holſtein*, Count *Piper* forbad *Klinkoſtrom* to tell his Majeſty of her death, whilſt he remained ill of his wound. Nothing was therefore preſented to him at preſent, but the letters from King *Staniſlaus*, and that from the *Han*.

offers, being thoroughly resolved to run all hazards with his Majesty. 1709.

The King, in the mean time perceiving that the enemy did not come, nor had any desire to attack him, ordered his army to separate; his Majesty with the foot marched towards the Cloyster, of which we have before spoken, which is on an hill opposite to the town, from whence it is only divided by a valley. Here the foot posted themselves, whilst the Velt-Marshal with the horse, marched on the other side of the town, where the King had hitherto been. As to the baggage, it remained where it was, because it was not known whether the enemy would attack us the next day.

The twenty-third nothing remarkable passed, except that towards the evening a body of Cossacks and Calmucks proceeded towards his Majesty's camp to *reconnoitre* us; our advanced guards fired at them. Towards night a deserter from the enemy brought us an account, that the Czar was drawing all his forces on this side the river, and that General *Heinschen* only remained on the other with some regiments, and was posted below the town opposite to the Velt-Marshal. The enemy carried on their intrenchments without ceasing.

On the twenty-fourth we were advised, that the enemy drew nearer, always intrenching themselves as they advanced.

The twenty-fifth *Gyllenkrok* was ordered to remain on the other side of the town, where the trenches were, to conduct and continue the attack. He had with him the *Zaporovians*, who worked not willingly in the trenches; so that *Gyllenkrok* had much difficulty to bring

1709. them to it. They complained, that they only were always commanded to work, and not the *Swedes*, and ſaid, that they were not our ſlaves.

The twenty-ſixth the enemy made great motions, approaching ſtill nearer and intrenching themſelves [i].

[i] Here ends the Author's Journal, who had the miſfortune to be killed by a cannon-ſhot at the battle of *Pultowa*, on the ſide of the King's litter.

ADDITIONS

ADDITIONS

TO THE

HISTORY

OF

CHARLES XII.

KING of

SWEDEN.

NUMBER I.

An Exposition of the unjust Proceedings of King AUGUSTUS, *with respect to the Estates of* Poland, *which gave occasion to the Grand Confederacy entered into against him.*

FREDERIC AUGUSTUS, Elector of *Saxony*, was no sooner raised to the royal dignity, than he introduced his *Saxon* troops into *Poland*, to make himself master of those who were of an opposite faction. As these observed that their country was began to be harassed by the march of those troops, and by furnishing them with winter quarters at the same time as it was on the point of being exposed to a civil war, by the efforts which this Prince made to reduce the Dutchy of *Lithuania*, and by the haughtiness with which 1699.

1699. which he carried himſelf, they took a firm reſolution to oppoſe thoſe violent meaſures, and to ſtop their current.

The Pope, who foreſaw to what extremity the affairs of *Poland* would be reduced, if the minds of the people continued exaſperated in this manner, ſent a Nuncio, called *Paulucci*, to offer his mediation, which both ſides accepted. In conſequence of this, a treaty was concluded at *Lowiecz*, in preſence of the Primate and ſome other Senators, between King *Auguſtus* and the oppoſite party then named *Rolloſcz*. This treaty contained a great number of articles, and is printed in the *Poliſh* Tongue. Amongſt others, there was one, by which it was agreed to call a General Diet, to ſettle a good underſtanding and quiet in the Kingdom. This Diet was called ſoon afterwards, namely in 1699, and publiſhed under this title, *Comitia Generalia Pacificationis Regni: A General Aſſembly for the Pacification of the Kingdom.* At this Diet the whole Republick ſeeing the miſery into which the Kingdom would be plunged, if they did not ſtick cloſe to their laws, declined coming to any reſolution, becauſe the *Saxons* had no longer pretence to remain in *Poland*; ſince *Auguſtus* had been unanimouſly recognized by the treaty of *Lowiecſz*, and a peace was concluded with the *Turks*; ſo that we had no more to do with any foreign powers.

The Republick could no longer bear to ſee theſe foreign troops, which were not in her ſervice, to ravage and deſtroy her territories; nor would ſhe, who had been accuſtomed to the enjoyment of perfect liberty, ſubmit to the reproaches of having held a council under the

power

power of a foreign force: ſo that after a thouſand arguments on the foundation of our laws, King *Auguſtus* ſeeing at laſt that if he did not yield to the demands of the Republick, he ſhould be obliged to diſcover thoſe deſigns of ſovereignty, which he had formed immediately on his acceſſion to the throne, gave univerſal aſſurance, that one part of his troops were already on the frontiers, in their way out of the country, and that he would without delay give orders to the reſt to evacuate the kingdom, reſerving only twelve hundred men for his guard, agreeable to the *Pacta-Conventa*. 1699.

The Republick, charmed at this condeſcenſion with which King *Auguſtus* only intended to amuſe her, aſſured this Prince by an expreſs law of every thing he deſired for his ſupport.

His Majeſty obliged himſelf on his part not to trouble the publick repoſe any more with theſe troops; but on the contrary, if they were not gone in ſix weeks, or if any ſhould perſiſt in ſtaying longer, that every one might be permitted to fall on them, and treat them as enemies of the country, purſuing them in any manner with impunity, without incurring his Majeſty's diſpleaſure, or becoming guilty of the crime *læſæ majeſtatis*; but that ſuch treatment of them ſhould be deemed a lawful action, and authoriſed by the laws.

After this ſolemn agreement, the Diet was continued, and many laws tending to procure and confirm the publick welfare were concluded. The Diet at length ended ſucceſsfully, and all the world began to look on our nation as one of the happieſt on earth, which had a King who delighted in doing good, and was at peace with all his neighbours. But

1699. But affairs remained not long in this situation: for ſcarce were theſe fine hopes conceived when a change happened all at once, which no one had any reaſon to ſuſpect. The maſk which had been ſo agreeably put on to impoſe on the Republick, ſoon fell off, at the news of the taking of *Dunamunde* by *Flemming*, and that only half of the *Saxon* army was departed, tho' it had promiſed never to re-enter into *Poland*.

The Republick, which was now ſeparated; was offended at theſe proceedings, and in the reſolution which ſhe had taken to oppoſe the deſigns of the Court, ſhe found no other means than to beſeech the King to convene a Diet inſtantly; but the King, far from granting their requeſt, held only a *Senatus Conſilium*, at which the Primate and upwards of thirty ſenators aſſiſted; none of which, except four *Saxon* Partiſans, would intermeddle with, or hearken to the war begun with the King of *Sweden*.

However, the King purſued his enterprize with obſtinacy, attempting to beſiege *Riga*, and continually throwing oil into the civil fire which he had kindled in *Lithuania*; and which he laboured by a thouſand practices to ſpread through the reſt of the kingdom.

Poland, ſeeing herſelf by theſe means reduced to the brink of ruin, began to ſtir; and particularly the Palatinates of *Poſnania* and *Kaliſcz*, who ſent their Deputies from the Dietine of *Skroda* to intreat the King, *that he would forbear violating the* Pacta-Conventa, *and the laws made againſt his troops*; *that he would deſiſt from the war with* Sweden, *begun without the knowledge of the Republick*; *that he would endeavour to extinguiſh the fire kindled in* Lithuania;

nia; *and lastly, that he would call a General Diet, to consider of the public affairs.* 1699.

On these representations the King called a General Diet, where the Republick began to make their complaints, by representing that the good understanding and interview twice repeated with the Czar of *Muscovy* against the laws of the country, gave sufficient assurances of that fatal yoke which was preparing for them; that, as all this was done without her interfering, she was resolved to enter into no deliberation on any point whatever, before she had obtained a redress of all the grievances which were the subjects of her complaints. It was answered on the part of the King, that this could not at present be done, and that his Majesty must first bring the enterprise he had undertaken to an honourable issue; that he would however call a General Diet in a little time, and would then endeavour to satisfy the Republick on all her pretensions. The time of the Diet being come, the Estates assembled; and demanded satisfaction of the King, for the laws which had been violated with impunity. His Majesty, instead of rendering them justice, proposed only that they would consent to the single enterprise against *Sweden*, without giving any forcible or just reasons which might induce them to agree to so extraordinary a demand.

The Republick now perceiving that the face of affairs was not changed, and that she was in the same situation as before, separated again without having concluded any thing, either for the good of the country or the satisfaction of King *Augustus*; who, seeing that it was impossible to engage the Republick to give her consent to such enterprises as would be extreme-

1699. ly pernicious to her, began to change the ordinary course of affairs; and instead of assembling Diets, he had now recourse to particular councils, which were held at *Thorn* and *Marienbourg*.

On this occasion all the Palatinates of the kingdom protested, and began, by often repeated deputations, to sollicit the King, that he would not introduce an unheard of novelty into *Poland*, to which they could never give their consent.

This Prince, finding that this method would not succeed, called a General Diet at *Lublin*; and as the Palatinates of *Posnania* and *Kalisz* desired likewise to send their Deputies thither, they held a Dietine at the usual place at *Skroda*; most of the members whereof interesting themselves in the publick welfare, would not consent to the war with the *Swedes*. The *Saxon* Partizans, who were there, protested maliciously against all that passed in this assembly: so that they were obliged to separate without coming to any conclusion.

The members of this Dietine were scarce retired, when new Universalia appeared, published by the *Saxon* Partizans of these two Palatinates, to convene another Dietine; whither a great number of the Nobility repaired, notwithstanding the want of the usual formalities in publishing the said Universalia.

The *Saxon* Partisans, fearing lest their irregular conduct would be censured, thought proper to absent themselves; nor did one of them go to the assembly, which, being desirous to improve the precious moment that offered, laboured with extraordinary care and zeal for the tranquillity of the Kingdom, and sent twelve messengers, all persons of the first distinction,

to

to the Diet of *Lublin*; who, at their arrival, 1699.
soon perceived by the clamours of the *Saxon* Partisans, that they would not admit them, but would sooner cut their throats than suffer them to have a free voice; and indeed, tho' they did not take away their lives, they drove them insolently out of the assembly; as if they had been the greatest criminals, or most infamous of men.

These gentlemen, so shamefully driven away, failed not, at their return, to publish a strong Manifesto, particularising all their grievances, against this enormous and unheard of proceeding; of which they likewise complained bitterly in a Dietine summoned at *Skroda*, but which was broke up by a *Saxon* Partisan. The Nobility were enraged at this usage; and hence began their Confederacy at *Warsaw*, which afterwards increased to such an height. The Cardinal's Manifesto, and the instruments of the Confederacy itself forgot none of those acts of injustice, committed by *Augustus*, against the Estates of *Poland*, of which they gave a very circumstantial detail.

N°. II.

An Extract from the Apology of Field-Marshal FLEMMING *for the first invasion of* Livonia *by the* Saxons, *translated from the* High-Dutch [k].

After the project, concerning *Livonia*, had been laid at *Warsaw*, Mr. *Patkul* and Major-General *Carlowitz* repaired to *Muscovy*; at

[k] This piece of Marshal *Flemming*'s belongs to Vol. I. pag. 12.

1699. which time I concerted with Mr. *Paikul* the manner of regulating that body of troops, which was then at *Polanga* in *Lithuania*, in order to facilitate the execution of the projected design, while I followed the King to conclude the alliance with the King of *Denmark*, which was already negotiating. The death of the late King of *Denmark* retarded this business; for none of the intelligence, which was expected from that quarter, arrived. Upon this change I offered to go myself into *Denmark*, but the King thought proper to send Count *Bottmar*, with whom, by his Majesty's order, I conferred on that affair, and gave him all kind of instructions. Count *Reventlau* arrived at this time at *Dresden*. To remove all umbrage from Mr. *Welling*, who was in that city, I concluded an alliance with the Count; which was done in eight days, or rather eight nights. We had not time to transcribe a fair copy of the articles, Count *Reventlau* being obliged to set out for *Vienna*; since he had no other pretence for remaining at *Dresden*, than to pay his respects to his Majesty. I was pleased at this opportunity of gaining time, to reflect a little at my leisure on the points of the alliance, and to find out (as I did) somewhat to insert in the secret articles more to the advantage of the King of *Poland*.

His Majesty was not ignorant in what manner his troops were paid, and that they were in general on a very indifferent foot, through the new regulation made under *Lowenhaupt*'s direction [1], who had stripped them of their horses, provisions, and every thing necessary for an expedition.

[1] I believe this is a mistake of the Author's, for Count *Löwenhaupt* was in the service of *Charles* XII.

pedition. As this could not be publickly re- 1699.
medied without giving umbrage, it was necessary underhand to remount the troops and put them in a good condition; for this a great deal of money was wanted, which his Majesty will remember I strongly besought him to provide. I treated of myself, and without the King's knowledge, with Count *Reventlau* on this head, who consented, at my instances, to procure me an advance on the revenues of the Post-office, which his Majesty afterwards approved.

Some time after this I received advice from Mr. *Paikul*, of Mr. *Paikul*'s return, and that there was an appearance of undertaking the affair with success. I resolved to write to Mr. *Paikul*, to make a beginning; but I was dissuaded from it, because Mr. *Paikul* was little known among the troops which he was to command, and had not yet had time to beget any confidence in them; besides which, it was alledged, that the ill state of the troops might prevent the success of the enterprize. Lastly, they gave me hopes of being speedily dispatched, which caused me to acquiesce, without neglecting any thing in the mean time, which might contribute to the happy issue of the affair. I afterwards received a letter from Mr. *Paikul*, touching the arrival of Mr. *Patkul*; and by which he desired me, as I might be detained longer in *Saxony*, to send him orders to begin the business, after first giving an account thereof to the King. Upon which I sent my brother to *Paikul*, with the orders he desired.

Carlowitz and *Patkul* were now arrived in *Lithuania*, and communicated the design to the Colonels, who offered to execute it; on which

1699. account they assembled their troops, and marched towards *Riga*, whence they afterwards returned into their quarters, on a false alarm brought them out of the town. The cold had rendered many of our men incapable of service; but our march had given such an alarm to the governour of *Riga*, that he put himself on his guard on all sides, as we shall see hereafter.

Carlowitz and *Patkul* went to *Leipzick*, to give an account of their negotiations, having with them the treaty concluded with the Czar. *Patkul* observed, that he despaired of success in the enterprize, since they had not begun at the time appointed, *&c. &c.*

I told *Patkul* there was but this alternative, either to abandon the affair, or to pursue it vigorously; to this his Majesty agreed, but thought it had gone too far to be retracted. *Patkul* was of opinion, that we should undertake it anew, when opportunity offer'd, of which I informed the King, as *Patkul* did not dare appear at Court on *Welling*'s account.

I gave his Majesty little hopes, who, after having considered the plan of *Riga*, seemed willing to content himself with the taking of *Cobrun*, after which we might make a bridge of boats, and put ourselves in a condition of gaining by an open war what we could not carry by surprize.

It was necessary to secure the Elector of *Branderbourg*, on which account a treaty was concluded, stipulating the march of the *Saxon* troops through his country.

I now set out for *Lithuania*, having sent before the Quarter-master of my own regiment, with money and bills on *Dantzick*; and ordered the

the reſt of the *Daniſh* ſupply, to be ſent me without delay. 1699.

I could then have heartily wiſhed to have executed the deſign on *Riga*; but I found it not practicable, as well by reaſon of the precautions which had been taken to put this place in a good condition, as the general diſcontent of our troops, eſpecially the officers, who, though very brave fellows, proteſted againſt this enterprize, which they looked on as the invention of *Patkul* or *Paikul*, in the latter of whom they acknowledged they had very little confidence.

Hence I took an opportunity of conferring with *Carlowitz*, *Patkul* and *Paikul*. They were all three ardently diſpoſed to purſue the deſign on *Riga*; but I inſiſted on the execution's being impoſſible. *Patkul* and *Paikul* agreed with my opinion: *Carlowitz* was at firſt ſtrenuous for the attempt, but at length ſubmitted to us.

It was concluded to ſurprize the advanced guard, and attack *Cobrun*, as I had adviſed. They were for employing no more than five hundred men, but I commanded a thouſand, and my regiment of dragoons.

The report which was made to us by thoſe who had *reconnoitred* the fort, changed theſe three gentlemens opinions, and they would have deſiſted from the attack, and have contented themſelves with barely entering into the country; but I remained ſtedfaſt in my reſolution, and employed all manner of means to animate the officers and ſoldiers. It is not neceſſary to ſhew how I ſeconded Mr. *Patkul*, in thoſe wholeſome orders which were given through the country to gain the affection of the people, or how we beat the regiment of horſe of the nobility of the country.

1699. I had a conference with Mr. *Paikul* about *Duxamund*, and we judged: First, That it was a place of the greatest importance. Secondly, That it must be absolutely attacked in the winter, or never thought of. Thirdly, We gave attention to what we heard; namely, that one of the courtines had been utterly thrown down to build caserns; since which, they had not had time to rebuild it, and that this part was now defended only by a single palisade. Fourthly, That the garrison was very small, and little able to support an attack. Fifthly and lastly, We knew that we could take advantage of the low flanks to scale the place; all which reasons determined us to attack it, and Mr. *Paikul* shewed great impatience to enter upon what he thought infallible.

At last, being determined on the attack, I commanded a body of a little more than six thousand men, the rest having perished where they had been, without fighting. The attack was to be made by two thousand, and, in this case, one thousand were to be used as a body of reserve[m]. I had yet foot enough to make the bridge and defend the fort, and was superior to them in horse. His Majesty hath already received an account from me of the execution of the attack on *Duxamund*.

N°. III.

1700. *Vol.* I. *pag.* 23. add; The Manifesto published by King *Augustus* on this occasion, was intituled, *Justæ Vindiciæ & summa Armorum Justitia, ex parte sacræ Regiæ Majestatis Poloniarum.*

[m] The original by ill pointing is here, as in many other places, absolute nonsense.

niarum, juxta obligationem Pactorum conventorum, præstitumque Reipublicæ Juramentum, contra Serenissimum Regem & Coronam Sueciæ, ratione ruptæ toties Pacis perpetuæ, violatorum pactorum Olivensium, nec non novissimæ exagitationis & offensionis Serenissimi Regis Daniæ & Norwegiæ, perpetui fœderati Regni Poloniæ, ac Copiarum Regiarum aggressionis manifestantur: Anno vindicatæ salutis æternæ 1700. *Hagæ Comitis apud Henricum van Bulderen, Bibliopolam.* 1700.

N°. IV.

Vol. I. *pag.* 23. add; Mr. *Lilieroth* the *Swedish* Ambassador at the *Hague*, exposed all those reasons in a Memorial presented on the ninth of *July*. The same Ambassador some time afterwards printed two pieces, which he distributed as well among the States-General and foreign Ministers, as his friends. One of these pieces was an answer to something published by General *Flemming*, when he invaded *Livonia* with the *Saxon* troops. The other was an answer to a Manifesto of the King of *Poland* himself, and was intituled, *Veritas a Calumniis vindicata*, &c. both which being very well written, convinced the whole world of the justice of his *Swedish* Majesty's arms.

N°. V.

Vol. I. *pag.* 39. add; The treaty of peace is to be found in *Lamberti*, *Tom.* I. *pag.* 52. *Edit.* 1704.

N°.

1701.

N°. VI.

Vol. I. *pag.* 41. add; Count *Dahlberg*, of whom there had been a more ſpecial complaint, was already fully juſtified from a reproach which had ſo little foundation, by a long letter written to the King his maſter, the eighth of *March* this year.

N°. VII.

Vol. I. *pag.* 77.] *Gratulatio ad Urbem RIGAM, cum a diuturna obſidione, quam per ſeſquialterum annum fortiſſime toleraverat, liberata eſſet, per invictiſſimum Principem,* CAROLUM XII. *Suecorum, Gothorumque Regem, qui, trajecto Dunâ, Hoſtes inſtructam aciem in adverſâ ripâ opponentes, multiſque inſuper operibus munitos, fudit, & ad alterum milliarium perſecutus, opulentis Caſtris, & aliquot Caſtellis firmiſſimis, eaque omnia quintâ horâ, poſtquam e Rigenſi ripâ ſolverat, mira celeritate confecit, die Martis, quæ fuit* IX *Julii,* ANNI MDCCI [a].

INclita cui clarum peperit conſtantia nomen,
Sarmaticas toties frangere docta minas,
Riga, triumphales viridanti fronde Penates
Sparge: dedit victam jam quoque Saxo manum.
Qui bellatricem furiis ſtimulatus in Arcton,
Livonum dira cæde replevit agrum;
Jam ſolvit Gothico dilata piacula Marti
Perfidus, ultori victima grata Deo.

Sunt

[a] This Piece belongs to pag. 77. of Vol. I.

Sunt justi superi! quam primùm læserat Urbem, 1701.
Et prædam dextræ voverat iste suæ,
Illius ad muros pœnam luit: illius ante
Ora cruentatam sanguine placat humum.
Justa capis tandem duræ solatia sortis,
Riga, repentino subruta pene dolo!
Vidisti immani pulsari verbere turres,
Ignivomisque quati tecta superba globis.
Quocunque aspiceres, hic sævus oberrat Jazyx,
Mistaque Germano barbara turma duce.
Lata suburbanis lucent incendia campis,
Orbaque vastatis frugibus arva rigent.
Duna frequens quondam deserta luget arena,
Atque trahit famulam compede nexus aquam.
Non ignava tamen tanta sub mole fatiscis,
Auxilii quamvis spes tibi lenta foret:
Firma sed audacem depellis fortiter hostem:
Cedit, & indomitas pulsus adorat opes.
Nec tantum hic miles vallum defendit & Arcem:
Ardua sed belli munia civis obit.
Accinctus gladio vigilatas ducere noctes
Ardet, & insomnes in statione vices.
Sic te luctantem cum frigore, cumque ruinâ,
Altera continuo bruma sub hoste videt.
Parce queri: magno nec eras a Rege relicta,
Festinam quamvis non celeraret opem.
Illius auspiciis sat erat pugnasse: petitos
Successus, absens quamlibet, ille dabat.
Atque rei tutela tuæ, DAHLBERGIUS Heros,
Se negat incolumi te potuisse capi.
Belliger interea diverso fulminat orbe
CAROLUS; hyberno victor ovatque freto.
Mox vocat ardentem, majorique incitat æstu,
Uberior Mosco palma legenda jugo.
Quotquot ibi pugnans invicto straverat ense,
Tot simul a muris arcuit ille tuis.

Atque

1700. Atque tibi vicit, cum ſævum perderet hoſtem:
Plagaque tunc ſocios perculit una duos.
Eſſe puta tanti duros ſufferre labores,
Ut niteant fidei pignora plura tuæ:
Et celebret Rigam totum vaga fama per orbem,
Quæ fovet in molli maſcula corda ſinu.
Grande moræ precium, laudem cepiſſe perennem,
Et flexiſſe acres in ſua vota Deos.
Poſt adferta manu bellacis mœnia Narvæ,
Poſt quoque Sirmatico fixa tropæa ſolo:
Plaude, tuus vindex, lauro decoratus opima,
Præſto eſt, adventu te recreatque ſuo.
Lecta ſimul pubes, gelido quæ nata Boote,
Durum vicino robur ab axe trahit.
Prælia quæ poſcit, concuſſiſque infremit haſtis:
Et, modo quam vincat, flagitat ore manum.
Nec mora, fulmineo ruit impetu: clauſtra revellit:
Non aqua, non moles continet alta viros.
Immemor in ferrum rapitur: medioſque per ignes
Adverſos ſtricto demetit enſe globos.
Saxo cadit: denſo ſternuntur funere campi:
Decolor inviſo ſanguine gurges erat.
Pars fugit, obliquum torquetque ad mœnia lumen,
Quæ jam rapta ſuis faucibus eſſe dolet.
In ſpeculis Urbs omnis erat, lætata videre,
Qui modo terruerant, terga dediſſe fugæ.
Dulcia dumque capit ſummis ſpectacula muris,
Vindictâ poterat non meliore frui.
Salve, Urbs clara: tuis redeat Pax aurea ripis,
Exuvias victo quæ tot ab hoſte geris.
Cum Narva æternos Regis partire triumphos:
Non decus immenſum vindicet una ſibi.

Illa

Illa ut præteritum clausit feliciter ævum; 1701.
Auspicium secli sic eris ipsa novi.

Clades Saxonum, quos in Poloniâ cædibus ac rapinis grassantes, eductum se promiserat Rex Poloniæ: insidiatus tamen Reipublicæ Libertati, contra jusjurandum, tam diu retinuerat, donec a Suecis, quorum provinciam simul invaserant, ad Dunam cæsi, fugatique sunt, Anno MDCCI. *die* ix *Julii* *.

PRomisit jurans abituras Saxo cohortes,
Lechiadum claras queis modo carpsit opes.
Dum cessat, nectitque dolos, qua calidus arte
Ludere pollicitam posset, ut ante, fidem:
Interea terram miles prædatur inultam:
Diraque finitimos pestis inundat agros.
Sarmata stat dubius, quæ tandem vota sequatur:
Intus agit cœcos spesque metusque viros.
Hic honor, & fulvus cupides Jovis incitat imber:
Illic libertas luget avita jugum.
Vectus ab Arctoa, sed tandem CAROLUS orâ,
Invisam docuit præcipitare moram.
Concidit Gothico devotas ense cohortes;
Et levat infesta rura paterna lue.
Remque simul magnam præstat Regi, atque Polonis:
Illum promissis liberat, hosce metu.

N°.

* This Piece belongs to the same Volume and Page, as the preceding.

1701.

N°. VIII.

Vol. I. *pag.* 82.] *In MITOAM, Suecis obtrectare solitam, sed ab iisdem postmodo, caso ad Dunam exercitu Regis Poloniæ, captam, Anno* MDCCI°.

PONe modum nugis, Mitoa, nec invida morde,
Si sapis, assiduo fortia corda probro.
Parce lacessitam dictis accendere gentem:
Turpia neu jacta Saxonis arma tui.
CAROLUS ultor adest, stolidæ convitia linguæ
Qui premat, & læsam vindicet ense fidem.
Non illum moles, non præceps agere fossa,
Non interjecti territat unda vadi:
Densa, nec opposita, quæ tendunt, agmina, ripâ,
Telave brumali grandine plura vetant.
Vadit in adversum firmatis gressibus hostem,
Majori in mediis ignibus igne calens.
Saxo latrociniis, quam justis aptior armis,
Obstupet, audacis signa pavetque Gothi.
Quique minabatur Livis clademque necemque,
Barbariâ nixus, perfide Mosce, tuâ;
Projicit arma fugax, inhonestaque vulnera tergo
Excipit, & fractæ præmia pacis habet.
Hæc populis narra: toto dic Saxonas orbe
Perfidiæ pœnam rite dedisse suæ.
Narvensi lauro palmam super adde recentem:
Si placet, illa tui tunc cane furta Ducis.

Inveniunt

° These Verses belong to page 82. of Vol. I.

Inveniunt jam dicta fidem : plausuque feretur, 1702.
Hunc simili sociùm clade luisse scelus.
Hæc si vera neges : namque hæc, puto, vera negabis :
Prospice de summis arva propinqua jugis.
Cum cernes totis disjecta cadavera campis.
Truncaque cæsorum membra jacere virûm :
Cum simul aspicies fusas errare catervas,
Et latebras pavidæ quærere ubique fugæ :
Captivosque greges duci, direptaque castra.
Victrices Suionum quæ subiere manus :
Num credes, Mitoa, tibi ? Num denique capta,
Incipies posthac discere vera loqui ?

N°. IX.

Vol. I. *pag.* 118.] *Epigramme sur le Roi de Suède* [p].

A La table des Dieux Mercure louoit fort
Le jeune Monarque du Nort,
En parlant des Héros, qui regnent sur la Terre,
Mars sur-tout vantoit les Lauriers,
Qu'il a remportés à la Guerre ;
Mais Jupiter fut des premiers
A faire remarquer sa Bonté, sa Clémence,
Sa Pieté, sa Tempérance,
Si rare parmi les Guerriers.
Minerve aplaudissoit sans cesse
A sa Prudence, à sa Sagesse.
Ce Roi-là, dit Momus, ne sera pas un sot,
Enfin chacun des Dieux, discourant à sa gloire,
Le

[p] This Epigram belongs to page 118. of Vol. I.

1702. Le plaçoit par avance au Temple de Mémoire;
Mais Venus, & Bacchus n'en dirent pas un mot.

Le 14 de *Février*, 1702.

Marie Aurore, Comtesse de *Konigsmark*.

N°. X.

Vol. I. *page* 112. A Writing had been already presented to the Diet of *Warsaw*, &c This is in *Lamberti*, *Tom.* I. *pag.* 25 and 26.

N°. XI.

Vol. I. *pag.* 131. This Prince in the meanwhile gave an answer to the Ambassadors, at the end of the conferences on the propositions which they had made. See this Answer in *Lamberti*, *Tom.* II. *pag.* 163.

N°. XII.

Vol. I. *pag.* 158. A medal was struck in *Sweden*, on this happy event. See *Lamberti*, *Tom.* II. *pag.* 172.

N°. XIII.

Vol. I. *pag.* 180. This Letter is in *Lamberti* *Vol.* II. *pag.* 178. The King of *Sweden* answered this Letter of the Cardinal in a few

word

words. The other Letters which regard this affair, are inserted in *Lamberti, Vol.* II. *pag.* 176, & *seq.* 1702.

N°. XIV.

The following List respects *pag.* 157. of *Vol.* I. where mention is made of the battle of *Clissaw.*

Fell in the Swedish *Army.*

The Duke of *Holstein.* The Lieutenant-Colonels *Ridderschantz*, and *Verpilie.* The Captains of horse *Alefeld, Tornerfeld, Jagerskiold, Gretdorff* and *Tressenberg.* The Captains *Rheinschild, Duwald, Oliveblad, Snoloki,* and *Syderna.* The Quarter-masters *Salan* and *Ehtenmark.* The Lieutenants *Fritz, Linroth, Hegerflycht, Andors,* and *Hollfasb.* The Ensigns *Skragg* and *Pflug.* Two Corporals of the *Drabans, Aminof* and the Count *Lars Flemming.*

Wounded in the Swedish *Army.*

Major-General *Poss.* Major-General *Horn.* Major-General *Sperling. Gunterfeld* the equerry, who lost both his hands by the discharge of a cannon. The Captains *Cronberg* and *Polus.* The Ensigns *Tigerhielm,* and *Padd.* The Counts *Flemming* and *Apelgréen. Harth,* Corporal of the *Drabans.* There were in

1702. in all three hundred killed, and eight hundred wounded.

Killed and wounded in the Saxons *Army.*

Of the Horſe. Lieutenant-General *Flemming*, wounded. Major-General *Maritz*, killed; with two Lieutenant-Colonels, five Captains of horſe, five Lieutenants and three Cornets, the Aid-de-Camp, thirteen non-commiſſion'd Officers, and one hundred and three Troopers. There were wounded one Colonel, two Lieutenant-Colonels, two Majors, five Captains of horſe, four Lieutenants, ſix Cornets, twenty-two non-commiſſion'd Officers, and an hundred and nine Troopers.

Of Dragoons. Colonel *Gerſdorff*, one Major, ſeven Captains, three Lieutenants, three Enſigns, fifteen non-commiſſion'd Officers, and three hundred and fifty-five Dragoons, were killed. Colonel *Ruland*, two Majors, five Captains, three Lieutenants, two Enſigns, one non-commiſſion'd Officer, and an hundred and ſixteen Dragoons, were wounded.

Of the Infantry, we counted a thouſand killed and wounded; beſides a great number of priſoners.

N°. XV.

Vol. I. *pag.* 126.] *Ad Tumulum Fortiſſimorum Equitum Gothicorum, qui ductu* HUMMERHIELMII, *prope* DORSINIAM *in Lithuania, Hoſtium fraudibus circumventi, occubuerunt:*

erunt: quorum corpora cum e duobus tumulis ad viam, Tropæi instar, congestis, erui paulo post jussisset, Rex Sueciæ, ut decentius sepelirentur, eodem die Magna pars oppiduli fortuito incendio conflagravit. Anno MDCCII. *die* xxxi *Martii* [q]. 1702.

VIdit ut immersos tenui Mars forte sepulchro,
Sarmatico nuper qui cecidere dolo,
Indignatus erat tam fortia corda Gothorum
Inferri tumulis sic sine honore suis.
Eruta mox condi spacioso jussit in agro,
Mollis ubi verno flore parentet humus.
Caraque supremis celebrat dum funera donis,
Concepit meritas Dorsina sponte faces.
Dorsina nempe sibi funestæ conscia cladis,
Hac voluit flammâ triste piare Scelus.

Dorsinicia incendio excepta, perpetuum Regiæ clementiæ monumentum.

QUam miranda fuit Gothici Clementia Regis,
Dorsina testari tempus in omne potest.
Illa quod adjuvit fœdam temeraria cladem,
Centeni nuper quâ cecidere viri:

In tenues meruit redigi damnata favillas,
Ut daret inferias manibus usta piis.
Cum cœpit subito tamen exardescere casu,
Stramineasque vorat lucida flamma casas;

[q] This Piece with the following belong to page 126. of Vol. I.

1702. Rex vetat[r] ultorem graſſari longius ignem,
Cumque faces poſſet ſubdere, ſubdit aquam.

N°. XVI.

Vol. I. *pag.* 139.] *Ad Eminentiſſimum Cardinalem & Primatem Poloniæ, Principem* RADZIECOUSCIUM [s].

ILLE, Cupidineos qui temnit belliger arcus,
Verſat & indomito pectore Martis opus.
Quem litui, ſonituſque juvant: cui ſola voluptas,
Hoſtiles ſtricto dum rorat enſe globos.
Cimbrica vicino quem cernens litore Tethys,
Abdidit humenti ſe tremefacta ſinu:
Quem non Moſci acies, nec movit Saxonis ardor,
Tela nec averſis quæ jacit Hunnus equis.
Unius adſpectu jam fit tractabilis Agni [t];
Protinus &, poſita caſſide, mitis agit.
Illa Tuæ parta eſt, *Radicouſci*, laurea voci,
Excutis Arctoo quâ prope tela Jovi.
Tu demes Getico pacatus fulmina Regi,
Si vis armatum vincere, inermis eris.

Perge

[r] Theſe orders came apparently too late, ſince the hiſtory reports, *that they ſet fire to the town near the church, which was deſtroyed to the very foundation.*

[s] This Piece and the three following belong to page 139. of Vol. I.

[t] Alluding to the Arms of the Cardinal.

Perge Tuæ genti ſine cæde parare triumphum; 1702.
Utque ſacro coëat fœdere, ſterne viam.
Sic, quæ Sarmaticis incumbunt triſtia terris,
Aut Tu, vel nemo, ſiſtere bella potes.

Ad verba Cardinalis, cum in illius honorem propinaſſet,

Qui eſt le grand guide à la gloire.

VAdit in adverſum dum CAROLUS impiger hoſtem,
Juſtaque magnanimos reptat in arma Getas,
Accenditque ſuo Mavortia pectora ductu,
Ut fuſo toties hoſte trophæa gerant:
Ipſe ſibi laudem peperit, famamque perennem,
Atque ſuis magnum pandit honoris iter.
Te duce, ſi poterit partos moderare triumphos,
Illius en decoris pars erit aqua Tibi.
Magne Poeta, canas Dotes in Principe Magno,
Quas per Te celebres jam mea Muſa ſilet;
Nam cujus famam totus non limitat Orbis,
Hoc circumſcribi Carmine poſſe negat.
Gloria, virtutes in Juventute ſtupendæ,
Totque reportatæ Laurus ab hoſte ſuo.
Exſuperant ſtylum, ſatiuſque ſilentia poſcunt,
Cum nequeat tanto Principe digna loqui.
Tu cantes ergo, quem Ego nunc taciturnus adoro,
Inque ſui partem Muneris Agnus abit.

1702. Non illum litui, fremitus, sævæque delectat
Bellonæ fragor, Pax nisi sola placet.
Hanc amat, hanc ambit, vobis commendat eandem,
Utpote non Aries, Agnus at Ingenio.
Hinc non sit mirum, nam si cui cornua desunt,
Efficiatur huic mitis & ipse Leo.
Hoc ergo votum scribit Pacificus Agnus:
Tu quoque junge tuam, Magne Poeta, manum.

Agnus Poloniæ Primatialis ad Invictum Scandinaviæ Leonem.

SI sine me, generose Leo, mansuescere nescis,
Agnus nec sine Te sistere bella potest,
Mutuus inter Nos animus fera prælia solvat.
Hic labor, hic meus est, gloria tota Tibi.

N°. XVII.

Vol. I. *pag.* 218.] CAROLUS XII. *Saxonum ad Pultoviam Victor*[v].

CONtinuant solitos Tibi, CAROLE, fata triumphos,
Cum tanto rursum vulnere Saxo cadit.

Difficiles

[v] This piece belongs to page 218. of Vol. I.

Difficiles nemorum fruſtra pavidoſque re-
ceſſus, 1703.
Aut vario rapidas vortice quærit aquas ;
Ut fugiat pœnas dextræ, quam nulla mo-
rantur
Flumina, nec retinet Martis & Artis opus.
Miratur natura ſuos vaneſcere vires,
Atqui uni CAROLO cuncta patêre
ſtupet.
Ille, per oppoſitas tumidis cum fluctibus
undas,
Æterni intrepidus pandit honoris iter.
Sive ſuper ſtructos, celeri conamine pontes
Ædificet famæ templa beata ſuæ ;
Sive moras rumpens, primus penetrare pro-
fundum
Torrentis doceat calce natantis equi ;
Sive per obſcuræ ſuſpecta ſilentia ſylvæ
Inſidias ſpernens, nox metuenda, tuas :
Opprimat hoſtiles feſſo jam milite turmas,
Ardoriſque ſui præmia digna legat.
Quo fas humana eſt aſcendere, CAROLE,
laudi,
Hunc Tua jam virtus tangere viſa gradum.
Attonito mundus ſpectat tua prælia vultu,
Sed ſuperat majus nomina tanta decus :
Cum minor armatas tibi gloria cædere
gentes,
Totaque non domita fundere caſtra manu ;
Hoſtis quam miſeræ proſtrati parcere vitæ,
Victorique animo ponere noſſe modum.
Deſine belligeros jam, Saxo, laceſſere Gottos,
Et monitus terno vulnere bella fuge,
Fas animum attollit : firmat fiducia cauſæ ;
Degener haud intrat pectora juſta metus,

1703. Cui fidei infectum languet rubigine ferrum,
Non acuet tota doctus ab arte labor.

N°. XVIII.

Vol. I. *pag.* 262.] *In* TORUNIAM *captam, die* iv *Octobris* 1703[x].

SI luis alterius notum, Torunia, crimen,
Hospitis exitium pene secuta tui,
Non odio factum est: admissos mœnibus hostes
Una fuit Gothico lædere cura Duci.
Qui quoque, cum pulcri fumarent igne penates,
Visus erat fatis ingemuisse tuis.
Parcere non licuit tectis, cum perderet hostem:
Ille tua primum clade domandus erat.
Quassa sed impletis quis propugnacula fossis
Increpet? hæc tanti causa fuere mali.
Quid gravius ferres, si muris nuda fuisses;
Congesta præceps nec foret agger humo?
Quod te lædat abest: nec habet, qua collocet arce
Saxo peregrinas insidiosus opes.

N°.

[x] This Piece belongs to pag. 262. of Vol. I.

1703.

N°. XIX.

Vol. I. *pag.* 271.] *In Naufragium Saxonum cum in Sueciam trajicerent*, MDCCIII[y].

GEns acie toties quæ decertavit iniquâ,
In ſolida quoties arma movebat humo:
Scandit Hyperboreas poſtquam captiva triremes,
Clade ſimul liquidas nobilitavit aquas.
Perſequitur fortuna viros: queis terra pepercit,
Devotos pœnæ tradidit unda ſuæ.
Abnuit Hippotades placido traducere ponto,
Pectora ventoſis mobiliora notis.
Evocat egelidum Boream, Eurumque minacem,
Ut vexent medio carbaſa tenſa ſalo.
Oebaliæ fugere faces: nimboſus Orion
Æquoreas turbat nube repente vias.
Ipſa Thetis metuens gremium inceſtare pudicum,
Longius inviſum ferre recuſat onus.
Corpora jactantur ſcopulis illiſa marinis,
In terris nunquam ſiſtere ſueta gradum.
Tiphy, malam mercem puppi tranſmittis adunca:
Si neſcis, dirum vector hic omen habet.
Non ſatis eſt ſontes animas merſiſſe profundo:
Immeritos ſecum ſors trahit illa viros.

Tantum

[y] This piece belongs to page 271. of Vol. I.

1703. Tantum crimen erat ſocia vexiſſe carinâ,
Perdere quos tellus, æther, & unda volunt!
Hæc tria nam juſtum poterant explere furorem
Solus, quem fugiunt, ignis inultus erat.

N°. XX.

Vol. I. *pag.* 212.] Prince *Maximilian Emanuel* of *Wurtenberg* arrived the twenty-firſt of *March*, at *Okniow*, the Head-quarters, with Baron *Voit*, Privy-Counſellor of *Anſpach*, and Mr. *Oſiander* the Prelate. He departed from *Stutgard* in the month of *January*, with his eldeſt brother, whom he left at *Berlin*, and proceeded by the way of *Dantzick*, *Marienburg* and *Thorn*, to *Warſaw*; where he demanded leave to pay his reſpects to the King. He had an audience the moment after his arrival at *Okniow*, and having preſented to his Majeſty a letter from the Ducheſs his mother; the King, after ſome compliments, aſked him, ſeeing him ſo young (for he was but fourteen) if he could well reſolve on making a campaign with him? The young Prince declared in the affirmative, with a briſkneſs which much pleaſed the King, who preſently ſettled him a court, and appointed him quarters near his own, and admitted him daily to his table. The King anſwered the Ducheſs's letter in a ſtyle very favourable to the Prince, whom he equipped with ſervants and money to ſupport his dignity.

This

This young Prince began presently to insinuate himself much into the King's favour, whom he attended in all his excursions; and as some fears were entertained for him, because he was always in the King's train without a governour, he desired leave to carry his own with him; the King answered, he would himself take upon him the charge of his governour. As to the Prelate *Osiander*, the King gave him at his departure, which was in a few days, the character of Ecclesiastical Counsellor of *Sweden*. 1703.

N°. XXI.

Vol. I. *pag.* 213.] The King at his return from *Warsaw*, whither he had gone to see the Trophies, and order a bridge to be thrown over the *Vistula*, had a dangerous fall on the road, being mounted on the same horse, in falling from which he was so dangerously hurt, near *Cracow*. His sword fell out of his scabbard, and passed under his arm, without doing him the least mischief.

Baron *Voit* being obliged to return to *Anspach*, on the death of the Margrave his master, desired the King to bestow his place on another officer; which the King gave to *Gustavus Adlerfelt*, a gentleman of his court.

N°. XXII.

Vol. I. *pag.* 219.] The Prince of *Wurtenberg* was present at the affair of *Pultowsk*, but did

1703. did not arrive till our troops had entred pell-mell with the *Saxons*. This young Prince purſuing one of the enemy's dragoons into the town, the dragoon deſpiſing him, turned about and cried out in *High-Dutch* with a diſdainful air, *How dare you, little boy, pretend already to attack a man?* which the Prince anſwered, by running his ſword up to the hilt in his body. He ſignalized himſelf very much on that day, being twice ſhot through the coat as well as his boots.

N°. XXIII.

Vol. I. *pag.* 226.] The twelfth of *May*, new ſtyle, the King was on his march towards *Thorn*, going to viſit a regiment with the Prince of *Wurtenberg*; the latter, during the darkneſs of the night, rode before the King, and as they were on the gallop, his horſe threw him into a ditch, which he could not diſcern. The King, who did not perceive either the Prince's fall or the ditch, tumbled himſelf with his horſe on the Prince's back, and that with ſuch violence that he deprived him both of his ſpeech and his breath, and would have periſhed if the King had not preſently relieved him, and helped him to recover himſelf and remount his horſe. They had four long leagues to the Head-quarters, where they arrived at midnight, the Prince not having yet recovered his ſpeech. His Majeſty expreſs'd an extraordinary concern at this accident; but the Prince, after having taken a medicine which made him ſweat,

ſweat, grew ſo well that ſome days afterwards he was able to mount his horſe. 1703.

N°. XXIV.

Vol. I. *pag.* 229.] The cannon-ball which took off General *Liewen*'s leg before *Thorn*, paſſed over the heads of the Princes of *Saxe-Gotha* and *Wurtenberg*, who were laid on the graſs juſt by.

The enemy every morning and evening made three diſcharges on the King's quarters [z]. It happened one evening as his Majeſty came out of his tent, where he had been at ſupper with the two Princes, a bullet fell between them, and rolled home to the tent; but becoming wet, it loſt all its force, and was capable of doing no miſchief.

They attempted to perſuade the King of *Sweden* to raiſe ſome breaſtworks before his tent [a], as a ſecurity; and one day when he was abſent they ſet up an heap of hay before it, as was done before thoſe of the other Princes, and all along the *Drabans* quarters; but at his return he made them remove it. Every time that the King went out of the village of *Mokre*, where his quarters were, the enemy aimed ſome cannon-ſhot at the ſtreet through which he paſſed; but happily they did no other miſchief, than that of throwing ſome ſand and duſt in his eyes.

The tenth of *July*, new ſtyle, the King, attended by the Prince of *Wurtenberg* and Major-Ge-

[z] This concerns what paſſed at the ſiege of *Thorn*, which is ſpoken of in pag. 227, 228, of Vol. I.

[a] This, and the following Articles, reſpect the ſiege of *Thorn*.

1703. General *Meyerfeld*, made a tour at ten in the evening towards the posts of the enemy, to *reconnoitre* them; ordering each of them to follow, at twenty paces distance one from another; which occasioned the Prince of *Wurtenberg* through the darkness of the night to miss his way, and fall, as he thought, on the advanced guard of the *Saxons*, which he apprehended by seeing one retire behind a thicket. Upon which having demanded the *quivive* with his pistol in his hand, and receiving no answer, returned without firing to look for his Majesty, whom he could not find, but met only with Mr. *Meyerfeld*; with whom he returned to the camp, whither the King came a moment after him. The Prince having told his adventure, his Majesty asked him, why he did not fire? to whom he answered, that he was not sure whether they were *Swedes* or *Saxons*; at which the King laughed, and it was believed his Majesty had done this himself to try the Prince.

The King was all the nights in the trenches during the bombarding of *Thorn*, and the Prince of *Wurtenberg* always by his side. They remained there till the break of day, and then retired into their tents for some hours repose. After dinner, his Majesty visited the regiments and the work-men; and this he continued during the whole siege.

We carried away from *Thorn* seventy pieces of cannon, and two mortars.

The King was lodged at *Topolno*, in a convent.

The seventeenth of *December*, which is a market-day at *Braunsberg*, a little town of *Prussia*,

Prussia, the Jesuits who have a college there had the honour to entertain his Majesty at dinner. 1703.

The nineteenth as we passed by the village of *Bleswitz*, an house was set on fire by the negligence of a valet, who fired at some birds which were perched on the top of a barn covered with snow, which did not however hinder it from taking fire. The Chancery, with the other adjacent quarters, were in great danger.

N°. XXV.

Vol. I. *pag.* 277.] *Heilsberg* is the capital of the bishoprick of *Worm*, the bishop of which was retired to *Konigsberg*. He is a senator born, as the other bishops, and receives two thirds of the revenues of the country, the Chapter receiving no more than one third: They form together the sovereign power of this fine principality, on which two towns depend. The town of *Heilsberg* is well built, in the *Dutch* or *Prussian* fashion, and hath a fine castle surrounded by a wall, where the King and the two Princes were lodged. The inhabitants speak *High-Dutch*, but they are fonder of the *Polish* language. This place is rendred famous by the Cardinal *Stanislas Hosius*, who was of it, and a great enemy of *Luther*. His picture chanced to be in the hall, where his Majesty caused divine service to be performed.

The King, according to his usual custom, caused prayers to be read twice a day, during the

1703. the whole time that he remained here, in the morning at ſeven, and in the afternoon at four; and he never failed aſſiſting on his knees. In the morning he employed himſelf in the Chancery, and after dinner he rode on horſeback and exerciſed his *Drabans*, and ſometimes viſited the neareſt regiments, eſpecially towards the ſpring when the reviews began.

N°. XXVI.

Vol. I. *pag.* 293.] At *Pietrowin*, when King *Auguſtus* was purſued by *Rheinſchild*'s army, this Prince's quarters took fire, where many noblemen and officers were burnt. The Marſhal, one Chamberlain, two Gentlemen of the Chamber, the Phyſician, the Court Barber, ſeveral pages, valets, and twenty other perſons periſhed in the flames.

The King uſed to exerciſe his *Drabans*, dividing them into two bodies. He commonly commanded one party, and ſome of the Generals the other. The day of Prince *Alexander Sobieſki*'s[b] departure from *Heilſberg*, his Majeſty having made them perform all their evolutions; and having through haſte and forgetfulneſs left his charger in his piſtol, he fired it into the breaſt of Mr. *Hard*, who preſſed him with his ſquadron, of which he died in a few days. It is impoſſible to expreſs either his Majeſty's grief, who had a great eſteem

[b] See pag. 296. of Vol. I.

esteem for Mr. *Hard*, or that brave officer's re- 1704.
signation to the divine will.

Some time after the King taking off the Prince of *Wurtenberg*'s peruke, told him, that his hair became him much better; on which account that Prince afterwards wore his own hair, in imitation of his Majesty.

N°. XXVII.

Vol. II. *pag.* 42.] *Ad invictissimum Suecorum Regem* CAROLUM XII. *de capta* Leopoli, *Anno* MDCCIV, *die* xxvii *Augusti* [d].

INclyta Sarmatici tutela Leopolis agri,
Hactenus incassum mille petita procis:
Quam conjurato Dacus non terruit Istro,
Densa nec indomitis turma Mœotis equis:
Quamque fatigarunt non sæva Boristhenis arma,
Cum quateret patrium mota procella solum.
Quam non innumeræ, Bysantia signa, phalanges
Longinqua poterant perdomuisse morâ:
Nunc illibatum Tibi, CAROLE, cedit honorem,
Non prece, sed ferro ducta virago tuo.

[d] See the attack and taking of this place in the 42d, and following pages of Vol. II.

1704. Quam male ſuſtinuit jam primum luminis ictum,
Quæ timuit rigidas nullius ante minas!
Strata tuis pedibus, captivo vincula collo
Plorat, & ereptas virginitatis opes.
Hinc tibi ſervavit laurum fortuna recentem,
Invia virtuti ne foret ora tuæ.
Indulgenſque Tibi, quod non imitabile cuiquam,
Adfuit inceptis obſtupefacta novis.
Non te turrigeris adjectus mœnibus agger,
Non arx prærupto nubibus æqua jugo:
Non plena armato moles cuſtode moratur,
Telave, quæ ſpiſſâ grandine plura volant.
Primus in adverſum per denſa pericula vallum
Tendis, & infeſtos proruis enſe viros.
Vix tamen in capto ſtatuis fulgentia muro
Arma, ſimul finem ſenſerat ira ſuum.
Non dolor ulterius ferro graſſatur & igne:
Quâ vincis, victos protegis ipſe, manu.
Cum neſcis vinci, de Te tamen ipſe triumphum
Ducis: & hac proprium colligis arte decus.
Pulchrum eſt ignoto poſuiſſe ſub axe trophæum,
Majorum nemo quà tulit ante pedem:
Et cepiſſe arces unâ velocius horâ,
Quas nequiit longus comminuiſſe labor:
Miles at illius venit in conſortia laudis;
Decerpitque ſibi, quod negat eſſe Tuum:
Cum Tua victrices clementia temperat iras,
Linquitur hæc titulis integra palma Tuis.

1704.

N°. XXIX.

We forgot to mention the affair of *Dantzick*, and Count *Piper*'s answer to the Magistrates; for which see *Lamberti Vol.* III. *pag.* 646.

N°. XXX.

Vol. II. *pag.* 129e.] Whilst his Majesty remained at *Ravitz*, the *Swedish* Fleet was getting ready to sail from *Carlscrone*, to make an attempt on *Cronslot*. The following is the list of the ships:

Vessels.	Guns.	Men.
Wesmanland	50	200
Holland	40	190
Wachtmeister	35	160
Gothenburg	35	160
Wréed	35	160
Norcoping	35	160
Revel	35	130

[e] This little Scrip which was found among the Author's papers, should be placed at the 129th pag. of Vol. II.

1704.

Vessels.	Guns.	Men.
Stralsund	35	150
The *Falcon*	20	85
Eleonora	20	85
Saurensive	20	85
The *Dauphin*	20	85
The *Postilion*	20	85
The *Kuschensell*	20	85
Goya Brigantine	15	50
Bomb-Ketches.		
Castor	15	50
The *Thunder*		20
The *Vesuvius*		20
One Vessel for the sick		30
One Vessel to carry provisions		320
One Advice-boat		30

There were in all 462 Guns, 2340 Sailors, without reckoning the Soldiers.

This

1704.

This ſquadron commanded by Admiral *Ankerſtierna*, and the Vice-admirals *Sparr* and *Prou*, having ſet ſail from *Revel*, where they landed ſome recruits, arrived the ſixth of *June* before *Cronſlot*. Here the Admiral and Vice-admiral *de Prou* having ranged their ſhips in line of battle, Baron *Sparr* under the favour of the ſmoke from the guns ſailed with his ſquadron to a point of the iſland *Retuſari*, where a *Ruſſian* Colonel was poſted with his troops.

While our ſhips made a continual fire and threw balls and bombs on the enemy's fleet and batteries, *Sparr* diſimbarked his troops on forty flat boats, which attempted to land in the iſland under cover of the cannon from his ſhips; but they could not ſucceed, the boats running aground at too great a diſtance from the ſhore: ſo that after ſome loſs, ſeveral being killed, and thirty-ſeven ſoldiers taken priſoners, with the two Captains *Roſe* and *Fock*, and two non-commiſſion'd officers, they gave the ſignal of retreat, leaving behind them five flat boats which the enemy took poſſeſſion of.

Admiral *Ankerſtierna* being deſirous of making a ſecond trial, and having learnt that the enemy was conſiderably reinforced, ſent Colonel *Nierodt* to Lieutenant-General *Maidel*, to deſire of him a reinforcement of ſome troops; to which *Maidel* would not conſent: for as he had but five thouſand men, he

1704. he was not willing to weaken himself. When *Nierodt* returned with this answer, the Admiral persisted no less in his design of attempting an attack; the officers, soldiers, and sailors all expressing an extraordinary desire to come to blows with the enemy.

The fifteenth of *July* was chosen for the attack. In the morning we began with making a very violent fire on the enemy, and at four in the afternoon the Admiral ordered the attack in the following manner. Captain *Unger* of *Sternberg*, with one hundred grenadiers, was to open it; he was supported by Major *Aderkas* and Captain *Mentzer*; Colonel *Nierodt* led the main battle, having Colonel *Schlippenbach* on his right, and on his left Major *Hertzog*.

This disposition was well made, but the event did not answer the hopes which had been conceived of success; the shalloops falling presently on a shallow bottom covered with sharp rocks, which shattered some of those boats and overset others. The Vanguard however, commanded by *Aderkas* and *Mentzer*, threw themselves couragiously into the water, which at first was no higher than their knees; but soon came up to their necks, and cost several their lives who attempted to swim. These two difficulties being surmounted, another greater presented itself. The *Russians* who lay on their bellies before their batteries which were charged with

with cartridges, made ſo dreadful a diſcharge from their ſmall arms; which was ſeconded from their ordnance; that the *Swedes* who were landed could not ſuſtain the fire, but retreated in confuſion towards their ſhalloops. The enemy purſued them, and killed ſeveral of thoſe in the water with their fuſees; at the ſame time attacking the ſhallops, and took many of our ſoldiers, till the fire from our ſhips at laſt forced them to retreat. 1704.

This fight, which laſted but an hour, coſt us twelve officers, amongſt whom were the Captains *Unger* and *Gilbert*; nor do we yet know whether they are dead or living. We had nine other officers wounded, the Admiral himſelf being hurt. We had four hundred ſoldiers killed, and one hundred and ſeventy wounded. Our loſs had been more conſiderable, if the *Ruſſians*, who purſued the *Swedes* with twenty *Lodiens*, had ſucceeded in that enterprize. The Engineer Captain *Lavalle*, who had been late the night before to *reconnoitre* the iſland and the fort, had much diſſuaded this attack; proteſting, that if the affair, which appeared to him impoſſible, ſhould not ſucceed, it ſhould in no wiſe be laid to his account.

In the month of *September*, a little before the coronation of King *Staniſlaus*, General *Schlippenback*, Envoy extraordinary from the King of *Pruſſia*, who had followed the army from *Ravitz*, had an audience of the King of

1704. of *Sweden* at *Blonia.* Some days afterwards the Privy - Counsellor *Printz* arrived here from *Berlin*, but he quickly returned. Orders were given, if possible, to delay the coronation.

In speaking of the battle of *Fraustadt*, we have given *Rheinschild* the quality of Velt-Marshal and Count; but he was then only Baron and General. He was not made Count till the grand promotion, which we mentioned just after the battle, when the King was at *Jaristovice*, on the point of entring into *Saxony*.

NUMBER

1708.

NUMBER XXXI.

An Abridgement of the Campaign which the Swedish *Army made in* Finland, Anno 1708, *under the command of Major-General Baron* Lybecker. [a]

AS soon as the Major-General had received his orders from the Senate of *Sweden*, concerning the invasion which he was to make on *Ingria*, as well to draw the enemy from that side, as to hinder them if possible, from disturbing his Majesty's march to the *Ukrain*, all our forces in *Finland* to the number of twelve thousand men, as well foot as horse, were put in motion, and departed the tenth of *August* N. S. from the town of *Wiburg*.

The next day it unluckily began to rain, which continuing fifteen days without ceasing, made the roads almost unpassable, and consequently the march extremely difficult and laborious. At last, after they had surmounted all obstacles, and were arrived at a place named *Keltis*, situated two leagues from the *Neva*, the army which had pitched their camp, learnt from their parties which had been sent to *reconnoitre* the enemy, that they were posted on the other side the *Neva* with five thousand men, to oppose our passage over the river, to which purpose they had raised a small battery of four field-pieces. Upon this advice, Mr. *Lybecker* detached immediately Colonel *Henry Hastfer* with two thousand men, having with him pontons for the passage, with orders to attack and dis-

[a] This relation belongs to the second Volume.

1708. lodge the enemy. As ſoon as Mr. *Haſtfer* had arrived at the river, which in this part is very rapid, he embarked ſixteen hundred foot under the command of the Lieutenant-Colonels *Stiernstrable*, *Kruſenſtierna*, and *Clas Skog*, who notwithſtanding the continual fire from the two *Ruſſian* galleys, and from the batteries on the oppoſite ſide, croſſed the river, and attacked the enemy with ſo much bravery, that after a bloody and obſtinate fight which laſted an hour, they put them to flight, with a dreadful ſlaughter.

This action being over, and the army being drawn down to the river, they continued to paſs for thirteen days together. They then marched in ſeveral columns from *Tuſma* to *Ingris*. The Major-General having received advice that the enemy had ſome magazines near *Duderdorff*, about three leagues from *Ingris*, filled with ſoldiers clothes and proviſions, he put himſelf at the head of three thouſand horſe, and ſet out in the morning to ſurprize and ſeize on thoſe magazines: but as this country is full of defiles and of difficult paſſes, the horſe were very much put to it to ſurmount them, and were thereby retarded in their march. Being at laſt arrived near a great defile named *Karhula*, where the enemy had three hundred dragoons, the *Swediſh* van-guard, conſiſting only of forty dragoons, attacked them ſo fiercely on a gallop with ſword in hand, that they did not give them time for a ſingle diſcharge, and purſued them cloſe at their heels, killing ſome of them, and taking twenty priſoners.

The General after this rencounter, finding his men extremely fatigued, made them halt to give them a little breath, their horſes being ſo fatigued

fatigued that they could go no farther; but having heard a moment afterwards that the enemy had set fire to those magazines, from whence they were only at one league's distance, he ordered his troops to return to their camp. The army marching in excellent order, passed near *Petersbourg* and *Cronstadt*, and came to a place called *Heiligbusch*, where they pitched their camp. Here the General on his first arrival, which was the thirteenth of *September*, called a grand council of war, to consider what was to be done in so advanced a season, and when the army was so fatigued by continual and laborious marches: it was at length resolved, to send Major *Schlippenbach* with a Brigantine from our fleet at *Reval*, to know of the Lieutenant-General of that name, if the army could by any means be subsisted during the winter in the province of *Esthonia*. 1708.

Till the answer was brought back, the army having passed half a league from *Kapuria*, encamped at a place called *Weska*. The General detached two thousand horse to take *Kapuria*, where Brigadier *Friser* was advantageously posted with some thousand men, having before him a large trench armed with *chevaux de frise*, a parapet, and some field-pieces. As soon as our horse were in sight of the enemy, they dismounted and attacked them in the instant with such force, that notwithstanding the enemy's fire, and their advantageous situation, they were overthrown after half an hour's fight, and forced to fly in disorder. They did not think proper to pursue them, and after they had taken at this place the enemy's chancery, the detachment returned and joined the army. Amongst

1708. their papers was found the plan of an operation against the *Swedes*, which consisted in marching against them upwards of twenty thousand men drawn from different garrisons, and which were already in motion to cut off our retreat.

As the season was already very far advanced, and the cold began to grow very rigorous, it was resolved to march the army towards the sea, to embark the troops on board our fleet, which was to transport them into *Finland*. The General had preferred this resolution to any other, because the passage into *Esthonia* on *Narva* side, appeared to him at first more difficult than it really was. However, the army being repaired to the sea-side the tenth of *October*, near a place called *Kolkaupa*, where our fleet lay at anchor, began the embarkation, which lasted fifteen days, during which, without any necessity, and from the effect of a panick terror which had no solid foundation, the General ordered all the horses to be killed, which amounted to five thousand, and which were massacred accordingly, to facilitate our retreat. The rear-guard composed of four hundred *Saxon* foot, and commanded by Major *Seulenburg*, being on the point to be embarked as the others had been, was attacked by the enemy, against whom they defended themselves with wonderful bravery for several hours, but were at length for the most part slain, and the rest made prisoners. The fleet sailed with the army to *Biorokoo*, four leagues from *Wiburg*, where they landed in *Finland*. This was the unhappy issue of an enterprize, which had at first appeared so advantageous, and which had certainly produced the greatest consequences, if it had been conducted with more vigour and prudence.

prudence. It had now no other effect than the loſs of numbers of the inhabitants of that country, who having declared too ſoon for their antient maſters, were all carried into ſlavery. 1707.

A Relation of the battle of Pultowa, *with ſome reflections on the two preceding campaigns.*

WHEN the late *Charles* XII. was in *Saxony*, he would have been very glad to have made a peace with the Czar, if that Prince had been then inclined to conclude ſuch a one, as in a conjuncture ſo glorious for *Sweden*, might have been the leaſt reaſonable.

It is true that the Czar did offer one; but the condition *ſine quâ non*, was not reliſhed by the King, his enemy abſolutely reſolving to keep the port of *Peterſbourg* on the *Baltick* ſea, which could not be yielded to him without entirely overturning the whole ſyſtem of our politicks.

Beſides this, the Czar was too deeply engaged with the Emperor, *England* and *Holland*, who continually fomented this war, in order to give a diverſion to the courage of the young *Swediſh* conqueror, whoſe friendſhip for *France* was much apprehended by them. Several letters were intercepted about this time, adviſing the Czar, to expoſe and ranſack his provinces and eſtates, ſooner than give up the leaſt article of his pretenſions.

Charles XII. who ſaw himſelf at the head of the fineſt and moſt warlike army that perhaps ever was, elated with his great ſucceſſes, and in no humour to have conditions preſcribed him, departed from *Saxony*, to impoſe reaſonable ones

1707. on his formidable enemy, and such as might for the future secure the repose of the North, but especially to shut up the *Russians* within their antient bounds.

It is however certain, that his Majesty left *Germany* with regret, where he wished to remain to be the mediator between *France* and the Allies; but the destiny of this brave Prince was written in Heaven, and he was drawn against his will into a chain of difficulties and misfortunes, which almost inevitably attended him, and against which he had occasion for all his courage to support him, as we shall see hereafter in this Relation.

As soon as the King came into *Poland*, the *Russians* gave ground to him, always retreating backwards, burning, plundering and ransacking all that they met with on their way, without ever coming to a decisive battle. Our army having in this manner passed through *Poland*, sometimes coasting along the borders of *Prussia*, the King put them into winter-quarters in the Grand-Dutchy of *Lithuania*, where he chose the little town of *Radeschowitz* near *Wilna* for his head-quarters.

The time being come for opening the campaign, it was uncertain what rout they should take to pursue the enemy; for there were two which might bring them to him. The first was that of *Polotsko*, whence it was easy to turn to the side of *Novogorod*, and there to join the armies under Count *Lowenhaupt* and General *Lybecker*; but after having deliberated on this affair in the council of war, it was found impossible to subsist these three *Swedish* armies in that province. The Czar moreover had not abandoned his resolution, of burning and destroying all

all the country through which we were to paſs, a project which he could eaſily execute in that part of his dominions. We might have eaſily turned towards *Livonia*; but that poor country as well as *Eſthonia* and *Ingria*, had ſuffered ſo much, that they had not wherewithal to ſubſiſt the leaſt army, the adjacent parts being yet in a condition leſs capable of furniſhing us with ſuccours, either for our foot or horſe. It was not leſs inconvenient to march to the city of *Moſcow*, paſſing through the Dutchy of *Twer*, by reaſon of the continual woods which are in this Dutchy and that of *Novogorod*, through which there are only two roads, which beſides the great number of defiles and moraſſes, might have been eaſily rendered impaſſable by the enemy, the firſt leading directly to the town of *Twer* [b], and the ſecond through that of *Tiſſina*. 1708.

All theſe difficulties appeared unſurmountable, it was therefore reſolved to think no more of this rout, eſpecially as we flattered ourſelves that General *Lybecker* had ſufficient forces to invade the provinces of *Novogorod* and *Pleſkow*, the Czar being obliged to employ the chief part of his army to oppoſe that of his Majeſty.

After this rout was rejected, it was deliberated whether we ſhould take that of *Smolenſko*. Here were the ſame difficulties with regard to the wood, which is of a conſiderable length and full of moraſſes, through which the army muſt

[b] This is the road which is at preſent called, *The great Perſpective*; for the Czar *Peter* had cut a way thro' it, which begins at *Stara Ruſſa*, and goes as far as *Twer*; there are no villages on the way, and we meet only with ſome miſerable huts diſperſed at certain diſtances, which ſerve the travellers for lodging in caſe of neceſſity.

1708. defile ſeveral days together. This wood begins at *Smolenſko*, and extends to the town of *Moſako*, which is but a very little way from *Moſcow*. The greateſt difficulty was, that after we had, notwithſtanding all obſtacles, penetrated through the wood, the Czar had deſtroyed the country to that degree, that our army would have found neither proviſions, forage, nor winter-quarters. And beſides all the other reaſons which induced the King equally to reject theſe two routs, there remained another great obſtacle to ſurmount, which was particular to the former rout, namely, that the towns of *Pleſkow* and *Novogorod* muſt have been both taken before we advanced further; and if we had taken the latter, we were indiſpenſably obliged to make ourſelves maſters of *Smolenſko*, which ſiege might have much delayed our march.

All this engaged the King to propoſe another expedient, which was to take the rout of *Mobilow* and *Kritzowa*, and thence through the woods of *Severia* to *Starodub*, a ſmall town of this latter province. The Czar, on the recommendation of *Mazeppa*, *Hettman* or General in chief of the Coſſacks, had truſted the government of the province and that of the town of *Starodub*, to a Colonel whoſe name was *Skoropajki*, who had a regiment of ſome thouſand Coſſacks; but which, as well as their Colonel, depended on the orders of the *Hettman*. The King was the rather induced to take this road, by the new alliance which he had concluded privately with *Mazeppa*, who having had little reaſon to be pleaſed with the Czar, had long ardently wiſhed to ſhake off his yoke, and throw himſelf under the protection of the King of *Sweden*, whoſe great reputation had made a

ſtrong

strong impression on him. King *Stanislaus* and the Crown of *Poland* were comprised in this alliance. The articles which *Mazeppa* presented to the King of *Sweden*, to obtain his friendship and protection, were the following. 1708.

" First, That he would engage to receive his " *Swedish* Majesty into the province of *Severia*, " and to deliver up to him all the fortresses, " *viz. Starodub*, *Novogrodk* or *Novogorod*, *Ser-* " *viersky*, *Blin*, *Bransk* and others, which had " formerly belonged to the Great Dutchy of " *Lithuania*, and which served at present as " frontier fortresses of that Dutchy. This " province was now governed in chief by the " Great-General *Mazeppa*, who had settled " here, by the Czar's order, Colonel *Skoropatski*, " whose regiment, as they say in the *Ukrain*, " depended on *Mazeppa*.

" Secondly, That his Majesty might take up " his winter-quarters in this province, till *Ma-* " *zeppa* had drawn together all the army of " the Cossacks, and brought the Cossacks of " *Bialogrod* into the alliance, with those like- " wise of the river *Don*, who were all dissatisfied " with the tyrannical government of the *Rus-* " *sians*; for the Czar was by little and little " stripping them of all their privileges.

" Thirdly, That *Mazeppa* should endeavour " to bring the *Chan* of the Calmucks, named " *Ajuka*, into the same design.

" Fourthly, That as soon as *Mazeppa* " had acquitted himself of what was con- " tained in these three articles, his Majesty " would put himself in motion, and march " directly to *Moscow* [c], whilst *Mazeppa* on

[c] All the country between *Severia* and the town of *Moscow*, is very flat and extremely fruitful. The fields are

1708. " on his ſide ſhould join him with all his troops, " and thoſe of the Coſſacks of *Bialogorod* and " *Don*, with the Malecontent Calmucks. That " as to what concerned the ſubſiſtance of the " *Swediſh* army, *Mazeppa* obliged himſelf to " draw proviſions from the *Ukrain*, and the " provinces of *Bialogorod*, which are ſome of " the moſt fertile in the whole world. That " by taking of theſe meaſures, they would " oblige the Czar to retreat northward of the " town of *Moſcow*, and the river *Volga*, where " the country is not near ſo fruitful as that on " the ſouth, and in no wiſe ſufficient to ſubſiſt " an army ſo large as his: this together with " the fears of the *Ruſſians* that they might be " obliged to make head againſt us in the open " field, though they were three times our ſu- " periours in number, would put the *Swediſh* " army in a condition to give laws every where, " whilſt the Czar muſt be infallibly loſt, and his " army wanting ſubſiſtance, and a great part of it " diſcontented, would be obliged, according to " all appearances, to diſband themſelves, or ſub- " mit to the conqueror."

Whilſt theſe well-concerted projects gave, humanly ſpeaking, all imaginable hopes of ſucceſs, King *Staniſlaus*, having with him a body of the *Swediſh* army, commanded by Major-General *Craſſau*, neglected nothing on his part to gain over the reſt of the *Poles*, who under the title

are covered with corn for men, and excellent paſture for horſes. The graſs grows here in ſuch abundance that they cannot mow it all at once, and is at the ſame time ſo high, that it reaches to the horſes bellies; ſo that it was impoſſible for the Czar entirely to deſtroy this fine country on this rout, where we were certain of always finding ſomething to ſubſiſt the *Swediſh* army, as well horſe as foot.

title of confederates, ſtood out yet againſt him in divers provinces. It was reſolved that as ſoon as that King ſhould have reduced theſe malecontents to a ſubmiſſion, orders ſhould be given to the *Poliſh* troops, to enter *Ruſſia* by two different ways, that the Crown army ſhould penetrate on the ſide of *Kiow*, and that of *Lithuania* ſhould attack *Smolenſko*. Laſtly, we flattered ourſelves, that Major-General *Lybecker*'s invaſion of *Ingria* at the head of 12000 men, would complete the Czar's diſtreſs, and demoliſh him without any reſource, that General being to make himſelf maſter of that province, to burn *Peterſbourg*, and afterwards invade the provinces of *Novogorod* and *Pleſkow*, that his army might in caſe of neceſſity be reinforced by detachments drawn from the garriſons of *Riga* and *Revel*; which would have been very eaſy without expoſing theſe, if *Lybecker* had had more prudence and good fortune in his expedition. 1708.

The alliance concluded between *Mazeppa* and the *Poles* was founded on the following articles.

" Firſt, That *Mazeppa* ſhould punctually " execute all that hath been mentioned above, " and to which he was bound; namely, to de- " liver the province of *Severia* to the King of " *Sweden*, with all its fortreſſes, *&c.*

" Secondly, That he ſhould promiſe to be " ready to march with the whole army of Coſ- " ſacks, on the King's firſt orders.

" Thirdly, That he ſhould attempt to bring " the Coſſacks of *Bialogrod*, as well as thoſe of " *Don*, with *Ajuka*, *Chan* of the Calmucks, " into the ſame alliance.

" Fourthly, That he ſhould reſtore all the " *Ukrain* to the *Poles*, which together with " *Severia*, and the provinces of *Kiow*, *Zſcher-*

" *nikow*

1708. "*nikow* and *Smolenſko*, were to return under "the *Poliſh* government. As a recompence "for which, they promiſed *Mazeppa* the title "of Prince, with the ſame conditions under "which the Duke of *Courland* poſſeſſed his "country, with the palatinates of *Witepſky* and "*Poloſſko*.

"A day was then appointed, before which "*Mazeppa* was to impart all theſe conditions "to his Colonels, and to engage them to a "voluntary conſent, by repreſenting to them "the undoubted advantages which they would "receive by recovering their former liberty, "of which the *Ruſſians* had only left them the "ſhadow."

Such were the conditions of this treaty, which was conducted ſo artfully, and kept ſo ſecret, that no one had the leaſt knowledge of it, except the King of *Sweden*, King *Staniſlaus*, *Mazeppa*, Count *Piper*, a certain *Poliſh* Senator whoſe name I have forgot, and the Arch-biſhop of *Servia* or *Bulgaria*, who was baniſhed his country for what reaſon I know not. This laſt conducted the whole affair, and went continually during the negotiation between the *Swediſh* army and that of *Mazeppa*, being the leſs liable to ſuſpicion, as he was a *Greek* by his religion and baniſhed, moreover dreſt in the habit of a Mendicant, begging charity from town to town.

All theſe projects were ſo well concerted, and ſo dexterouſly conducted, that every reaſonable man who had examined them, muſt have foretold, humanly ſpeaking, a ſucceſsful iſſue for *Sweden*; and that the Czar, muſt before the end of the year have been neceſſitated to accept ſuch conditions of peace as the King of *Sweden* would have impoſed on him.

But

But as the ways of the Almighty are unknown to us, he often permits the wiſeſt and moſt prudent counſels to be confounded, and produce a quite different iſſue from what we flatter ourſelves with, as indeed it fell out in the event of this march to the *Ukrain*, which was in the end fatal to *Sweden*. 1708.

When *Charles* XII. undertook this expedition, he had an army of about twenty regiments under his command; *Sweden* never ſaw ſo conſiderable a force, nor, as I imagine, could that force have been conducted with more prudence, good counſel and wiſdom, than it was in the cloſet of *Charles* XII. at the beginning of this negotiation, and of the year 1708. Never kingdom had at the head of her armies, a more brave and active Prince, or indeed a better ſoldier than *Charles* XII. and never King had a more warlike army, troops better diſciplined or more faithful, than thoſe were at that time. Notwithſtanding which we miſcarried, and it ſeemed as if Heaven was at once willing to humble *Sweden*, and puniſh it by the fatal campaign in 1709, and at the ſame time to raiſe *Charles* XII. above all the Monarchs and all the Heroes which had preceded him [d], by giving him an opportunity of demonſtrating in the face of the whole earth, that admirable conſtancy and firmneſs of temper, which ſhone forth in his adverſity, and ſet off thoſe other infinite great qualities which this Prince poſſeſſed. [e]

It

[d] See the *Polybius* of the Chevalier *Follard*, Vol. V. Ed. *Amſterdam* 1729. p. 132. in which a compariſon is made between *Charles* XII. and *Alexander the Great*.

[e] *Follard, ibid* p. 406. where mention is made of *Charles the Bold*, Duke of *Burgundy*, &c.

1708. It is ſurprizing to reflect on the occurrences of thoſe times. In reality, we had ſcarce left *Saxony*, when all the elements declar'd againſt us. During the ſummer in 1708, it rained continually, and in the beginning of 1709 we had a winter ſo ſevere and extraordinary, that the memory of man had known nothing like it. Add to all this, that the *Swediſh* Generals, who commanded ſeparate bodies of the army, committed divers miſtakes, and were almoſt unſucceſsful every where, by which the main body of the army which his Majeſty commanded in chief ſuffered very much. Nevertheleſs, his Majeſty never appeared greater, or more magnanimous than at this time. He ſaw his army mouldering every day by fatigue and continual labour, by ſkirmiſhes and battles, tho' they always got the better; and notwithſtanding that hunger, miſery and cold, deſtroyed them daily in great numbers, it was impoſſible for him to recruit them, by reaſon of his diſtance from *Sweden*. In contempt of all theſe misfortunes, his Majeſty continued to puſh the enemy, who was at leaſt four times as ſtrong, obliging them to ſecure themſelves behind rivers and moraſſes, or to entrench themſelves up to their teeth; whilſt our own troops, amounting in the whole to no more than twenty thouſand men, including the ſick and wounded, were divided into ſeveral little bodies for their better ſubſiſtence, and never permitted to entrench themſelves.

In

In 1708, when *Charles* XII. quitted his winter-quarters to take the field, his army was compoſed of the following regiments. 1708.

His *Swediſh* Majeſty's army.

- The *Drabans*,
- The Horſe-Guards,
- The Regiment of the Nobility,
- The *Oſtrogoths*,
- The Regiment of *Nyland*,
- The Regiment of *Smoland*,
- The Regiment of *North-Scania*,
- The Regiment of *South-Scania*,
- The Tremannings of *Cruſe*,

} Horſe.

- The Dragoon-Guards,
- *Buchwald*'s,
- The Prince of *Wurtenberg*'s,
- *Meyerfeld*'s,
- *Duker*'s,
- *Taub*'s,
- *Hielm*'s,
- *Gyllenſtyerna*'s,
- *Albedyhl*'s,

} Dragoons.

- The Regiment of Guards
- —— Of *Upland*,
- —— Of *Weſtmanland*,
- —— Of *Sudermanland*,
- —— Of *Dalcarlia*,
- —— Of *Weſterbothn*,

} Foot.

His

1708.

His *Swedish* Majesty's army.	The Regment of Guards ——Of *Wermland*, ——Of *Scataborg*, ——Of *Ostrogothia*, ——Of *Calmar*, ——Of *Croneberg*, ——Of *Jonkioping*.	Foot.

Besides these regiments, his Majesty had likewise a suitable train of artillery, with a part of the regiment of artillery, some hundreds of Einspanners, who always guarded the King's baggage and that of the Chancery, with some companies of Valoches, with Mr. *Kanifer*, Aid de Camp General, and Colonel *Sandul*, at their head.

His Majesty had left in *Poland* to support King *Stanislaus*, Major-General *Crassau*, at the head of the following regiments.

Crassau's army.	*Crassau*'s, *Muller*'s, *Marschall*'s *Zulich*'s,	Dragoons.
	The Regiment of *Horn*, or of *Stetin*, *Eckeblad*'s Regiment at *Elbing*,	Foot.

In *Pomerania* and the Dutchy of *Bremen*, there were the following regiments, several of which had orders to join *Crassau*, in case of necessity.

In

1708.

In *Pomerania*, *Bremen*, and *Deux-Ponts*.	The Regiment of *Pomerania* commanded by *Wolfrath*. ——Of *Bremen* by *Horn*. The two Regiments of the Nobility of *Pomerania* and *Bremen*.	All four Horse.
	The second Regiment of *Stetin*, commanded by *Stuart*. The Regiment of *Stralsund*, by *Schultz*. ——Of *Wismar*, by *Ridderhielm*. The Regiment of *Palmquist*. ——Of *Breitholtz*, foreigners. One battalion in the Dutchy of *Deux-Ponts*. At *Stade*, the Battalions of *Gyllenstierna* and of *Welling*.	Foot.

His *Swedish* Majesty had given orders to the following regiments to remain in *Sweden*.

In *Sweden*.	The *Westrogoths*, That of Count *Aschenberg*, The *Tremannings* of Count *Leyenhufwud*, ——Of *Gyllenstyerna*, The *Femmannings* of *Hierta*.	Dragoons.

1708.

	The Regiment of *Babus.* *Ramswerd*'s, afterwards *Cruse*'s. Two hundred dragoons in *Jemptland.*	Dragoons.
In *Sweden.*	Two hundred foot, of the Regiment of Guards, under *Hamilton*, in garison at *Stockholm.* The Regiment of *Vonder-Noth.* ——of *Jemptland.* ——of *Biorroborg-Lehn.* One Batalion of *Wormland.* The Regiment of *Westgiotadahl.* ——of *Elfsbourg.* ——of *Gothebourg*, commanded by *Kobler.* ——of *Zinclair.* ——of *Malmo.* The Blue-Guards, or the Regiment of *Landscrona.*	Foot.

Some time before the King opened his campaign in 1708, he ordered Major-General *Lybecker* to pass the *Niewa*, and penetrate into *Ingria* with his army at a certain fixed time. His army was composed of the following regiments.

Army

1708.

Army of *Finland.*	*Tisenhausen.* *Abolehns-Fordubbling*[f]. *Niland's.* *Wiborg's.*	Horse.
	Hartfehr.	Dragoons.
	The Regiment of *Tavasthus*, commanded by *Hartfehr.* One Battalion of the Regiment of *Narva* in the Garison at *Kexholm.* *Osterbothn - Fordubbling.* *Biorneborg's.* *Abolehn's.* *Nyland's.* *Tavasthus.* *Wiborg-Lehn's.* *Savolax.* This last Regiment was composed of *Saxon* prisoners, which King *Augustus* had left with the King of *Sweden* at the Peace of *Alt-Ranstadt.* They were commanded in chief by Mr. *Schommer.* The other principal Officers were *Stralborn*, *Boye*, *Zeulenberg*; &c.	Foot.

[f] *Fordubbling* was a second Regiment, furnished by the same Province.

1708. As to the paſſage of the *Niewa* by *Lybecker*, as I was not preſent at it I ſhall paſs it by. For the ſame reaſon I ſhall not mention the uſeleſs and fatal expedition that general made into *Ingria*: I call it fatal, not ſo much on account of his loſs, which was only of his horſes, which were killed very unneceſſarily to haſten a retreat, in which the enemy made ſome hundred priſoners; but I call it chiefly fatal, becauſe the *Ruſſians* after the retreat had the liberty to withdraw their troops out of *Ingria*, and to reinforce the army which they brought againſt Count *Lowenhaupt*, which by this means became ſo much his ſuperiour, that they attacked the Count with advantage and ſucceſs at the bloody battle of *Lieſna*. In effect, *Lowenhaupt*'s loſs on this occaſion drew after it the defeat of our army, and brought our Kingdom to the brink of deſtruction, as we ſhall afterwards ſee.

But, before we go farther, I ſhall here put down the liſt of thoſe regiments which compoſed *Lowenhaupt*'s army; and I ſhall afterwards mention the orders that the King ſent him on the rout, which he was to hold with his troops in order to join his Majeſty.

Lowenhaupt's army.	The Regiment of the Nobility at *Riga*. ——of *Abolehn*. ——of *Carelia*.	Horſe.
	The *Finland* Dragoons of *Jogen*. The Regiment of *Wennerſtedt*.	Dragoons.

Lowen-

1708.

	The Regiment of *Schlippenbach.*	Dragoons.
	——of *Schreiterfeld.*	
	The Squadron of *Skog.*	
Lowenhaupt's army.	The Regiment of *Helsingland.*	Foot.
	——of Count *Lowenhaupt.*	
	——of *Banner.*	
	The Battalion of *Bergou* of *Stal.*	
	——of *Biorneborg*, commanded by Major-General *Stakelberg.*	
	A Battalion of *Abolehn*, by the Count *de la Gardie.*	
	One Battalion of *Osterbothn.*	
	One Battalion of *Nyland.*	

The following troops were left in *Livonia.*

The *Livonian* army.	The Regiment of the Nobility of *Esthonia.*		Horse.
	Broms.		Dragoons.
	At *Revel.*	1 Battalion of *Mellyn.*	Foot.
		——of *Lowen.*	
		——Two of *Wyke.*	
		——One of *Palen.*	

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The *Livonian* army.	At *Pernau*.	The Battalion of *Schengel*. —of *Carl Adam* of *Stakelberg*.	Foot.
	At *Riga* and *Dunamund*.	*Clott*. *Hillebord*. The Battalion of *Wiborg*. —of *Savolax*. —of *Osterbothn*. —of *Nieroth*. *Mengden*. *Becker*. The Battalion of *Osel*, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel *Saff*.	Foot.

This was the formidable force of *Sweden* in 1708. When his Majesty had appointed *Mazeppa* a day to acquaint his Colonels with his alliance with *Sweden* and *Poland*; he informed him likewise of the day in which he had resolved to pass the *Dnieper*, or *Boristhenes*, and at the same time sent orders to Count *Lowenhaupt* to put himself in motion at a certain day, and

and bring up his army to join him, with provi- 1708.
ſions for ſome months.

It is not known whether thoſe orders did not lie too long in the Chancery before they were ſent, or whether the Courier did not loiter too much on the road; or indeed whether the Count, who was otherwiſe a very prudent and experienced General, being intirely ignorant of the alliance concluded with the Felt-herr *Mazeppa* did not believe that it was more neceſſary to amaſs proviſions and other things needful for puſhing the war on with ſucceſs in ſo deſolated a country according to his Majeſty's orders, than to haſten his march; which, if he had begun on the day fixed by his Majeſty, he could not have compleated his orders relating to the proviſions, which he executed with extraordinary care and application. Whatever was the occaſion of it, the fatal delay of *Lowenhaupt*'s march beyond the day fixed, was the real cauſe of the misfortunes which afterwards befel the King of *Sweden*.

After the King had quitted his winter-quarters, forced the paſſage of *Bereniža*, and beat the *Ruſſians* at the battle of *Holocožin*, he drew directly to the *Dnieper*, where he expected to be preſently joined by the Count *de Lowenhaupt*; but, as the time fixed with *Mazeppa* was expired, and the King continued near the *Dnieper* in continual expectation of *Lowenhaupt*'s coming up, *Mazeppa* ſent to acquaint his Majeſty that he had declared to his Colonels the alliance which he had concluded with a view of ſhaking off the *Ruſſian* yoke, and begged him not to delay his march, left ſome of his Colonels ſhould change their minds, and diſcover all that had paſſed to the Czar.

1708. His Majesty was now reduced to an uncertainty, not knowing what means to follow. On the one hand he saw plainly, that if he waited for *Lowenhaupt*, all that great and fine scheme which he had so carefully concerted with *Mazeppa*, could not produce the hoped for success; and on the other, he felt too sensibly the extreme necessity he was in of this conjunction, without which *Lowenhaupt*'s army would be in danger of being lost. At last, he chose rather to expose that army, than to lose the advantages which he hoped to draw from the alliance concluded with the Cossacks; for he was persuaded, that if he neglected so favourable an opportunity as this to weaken the great power of the *Russians*, he should never find such another.

The King believed moreover, that if Count *Lowenhaupt* should be attacked by the *Russians*, he had a sufficient number of troops to repulse them; pretty well knowing of what force the Czar's army was, which was to act against him. As his Majesty was not yet informed of the fruitless expedition of *Lybecker*, he could not foresee the reinforcement which the enemy could now draw from *Ingria*, to render their army so much superiour in number to the Count's.

I shall not stay here to give the particulars of that General's march, of the attack on him by the *Russians*, the glorious defence of his army at the battle of *Liesna*, where six thousand *Swedes* sustained the efforts of thirty thousand *Russians*, a whole day without giving an inch of ground; nor shall I say any thing of the prudent conduct of this General, after the action, in bringing off the rest of the army safe to the

the King; all which is very well set forth in the Memoirs of *Gustavus Adlerfelt*. I shall content myself with following the King's army in the laborious march which they had undertaken towards the *Ukrain*. 1708.

After that Prince had passed the *Dnieper* near *Mohilow*, he made a feint of intending to draw towards *Smolensko*, in order to engage the Czar to draw all his troops on that side, and by that means to give *Mazeppa* room to act with more liberty and success in the provinces of *Severia* and the *Ukrain*, under favour of the *Swedes*. His Majesty still believed that he should at last oblige the enemy to stand their ground by pursuing them without cessation; but all in vain, their first maxim being always to retreat, and burn, and destroy all the places through which we were to follow them.

It is proper to mention, that the country on the other side the *Dnieper* is called the Palatinate of *Mizieslaw*, which belongs to *Poland* and *Lithuania*, and that this Province, if I may be allowed the expression, is all covered with morasses. As the continual rains in 1708, had rendered all the roads almost impassable, even those which were at other times the best, it may be imagined what the army must suffer in a country so full of morasses as this; especially as the Czar made his advantage of them, retreating always through them, passing from one to another to cover his retreat, burning all the towns and villages, and intirely destroying the whole country.

Notwithstanding all these obstacles the King pursued the Czar so briskly, that no day passed without some battle or skirmish between the two armies, as may be seen in the history of this

1708. this Prince; but as his Majesty found himself under a necessity of instantly joining *Mazeppa*, after having followed the enemy for some time beyond *Mobilow* on the side of *Smolensko*, he made a counter-march, and passing the river of *Sossa* near the town of *Krizowa*, the army entered the great woods of *Severia* which lie between *Krizowa* and the town of *Starodub*.

It is impossible to express what the army suffered on this rout, and posterity will have a difficulty to believe it. Most of the regiments had consumed the bread which they had taken with them from their winter-quarters, and as soon as the King had passed the *Boristhenes* they had no opportunity to get any more, all that country having been entirely sacked and destroyed. All that they had to sustain life was some cattle which we had carried with us when we took the field; but these poor animals for want of pasture, and by the terrible marches which they had made, were so lean and weak that they were with difficulty kept alive. The flesh however of these cattle distributed with great oeconomy without bread and without salt prevented the army from dying with hunger on this dreadful rout, where the troops were almost always in the water passing over those long morasses, and where their misery was increased by not finding tolerable water to quench their thirst.

Before his Majesty began his rout on that side, he had ordered Major-General *Lagercrona* to go before with some thousand men, and to make himself master of the Fortresses of *Severia*, which are *Starodub*, *Blin*, *Novogrod*, *Sewierski*, &c. which, according to the convention

tion with *Mazeppa*, were to be delivered to the King's troops by Colonel *Skoropatſki* as ſoon as they appeared before them; but unhappily *Lagercrona* ſuffered himſelf to be miſ-led by a traytor, who conducted him out of his way croſs the great wood; ſo that he did not enter into *Severia* till ſome days beyond the time appointed, and two days only before his Majeſty entered it himſelf with the reſt of the army. 1708.

This delay was a misfortune ſo much the more fatal to our arms, that *Skoropatſki*, who otherwiſe, as I very well knew, was perfectly a good *Swede* in his heart, and was ſo to his death, having heard in the mean time of the battle with Count *Lowenhaupt*, entirely changed his mind; not only on conſidering as he did the conſequences which he preſently foreſaw from the battle of *Lieſna*, but alſo weighing the accounts which he had received of the unhappy expedition of *Lybecker*, and principally relying on what he poſitively knew of the miſerable condition of his Majeſty's army, which being deſtitute of every thing, viſibly mouldered away by hunger, fatigue, and long marches which they were obliged every day to make. On all theſe reaſons apprehending that the *Swediſh* affairs were in an ill ſituation, and not being willing to expoſe himſelf to the Czar's vengeance, of which he ſtood in fear, he thought the ſureſt and moſt advantageous ſtep which he could take would be to diſcover to the Czar the alliance which *Mazeppa* and his Colonels had entered into with *Sweden*; fearing, no doubt, leſt ſome other ſhould prevent him, and then he ſhould have no favour to expect at the Czar's hands. He therefore acquainted him with all

that

1708. that had been done to his prejudice; and having at the ſame time ordered all the gates of *Starodub* and the other towns to be ſhut; which according to the convention were to be delivered to Major-General *Lagercrona*; he admitted the *Ruſſian* troops into all theſe places, which Major-General *Iſland* brought thither with all expedition.

The King now entred into *Severia*, and ſaw himſelf outſtripped by the enemy, which gave him the greater uneaſineſs as his army were abſolutely like to want ſubſiſtence, the Peaſants and other inhabitants being retired into the towns with all their cattle, and the country left a perfect deſart. Nor was it poſſible for his Majeſty to return by the way he came, not being ſtrong enough for that, tho' his army was reinforced by the remains of that of *Lowenhaupt*. On the other hand, his deſign of marching from *Severia* directly to *Moſcow* could not be executed, it being too dangerous to leave ſo many fortreſſes of this province in poſſeſſion of the enemy behind him. No other reſource then remained, but to march into the *Ukrain*.

If *Mazeppa* had at that time had more ſteadineſs, the King's march would have perhaps been more ſucceſsful. But he now began to waver, at firſt believing that he might regain the Czar's favour, and therefore left the King of *Sweden* ſome time in *Severia*, without appearing reſolved to admit him into the *Ukrain*; whilſt the Czar, who was irritated at this Hettman, ſent a part of his army with great expedition into the *Ukrain*, to ſurprize *Mazeppa* at *Baturin*, the place of his reſidence. He happily

pily escaped the misfortune of being taken, but could not avoid the entire ruin of that town, which was carried by storm, plundered and burnt. This loss was the more considerable, as there was in that place a great magazine of all sorts of ammunition, of powder, cannons, as well of brass, as iron; but above all a great quantity of provisions, which, in this country, as well as in *Russia*, are very scarce and dear. 1708.

This was extremely regretted, as we may easily believe, by an army half-starved like ours; and *Mazeppa* had sufficient reason to repent of his delays: but the greatest loss in reality was the destruction of the magazine of powder, lead, cannon and musket-balls, which was carried off and destroyed by the enemy at the sacking of *Baturin*. The great necessity we had of this, is easily to be imagined; for what goodness could be in our powder which we had brought with us from *Saxony*, and had been often wet and dried again; on which account only it is astonishing that we gained so many battles, tho' to say the truth, our troops used their swords more than their fire-arms.

Mazeppa, after the ruin of *Baturin*, at last retired to the King's army, bringing with him some thousand Cossacks, which were all that he could bring over to his party, and threw himself, tho' a little too late, into his Majesty's protection. The King now resolved to pass the *Desna*, and advance into the *Ukrain*. I will not enter here into a particular account of that passage, or the defeat of the *Russians*, who endeavoured to oppose it; I will only say it was an action worthy of great admiration, as may be

1708. be seen in the Memoirs of *Gustavus Adlerfelt* [8].

When the King had entered the *Ukrain* with his army, he presently put them into winter-quarters, and took up his own at *Romné*, a little town. We were scarce distributed amongst the cities and towns of this delicious country, but the army forgot all they had suffered by hunger, thirst, and all kind of misery, in a march of six months, or thereabouts. We found in abundance all sorts of provisions, as bread, beer, strong-waters, wines of *Crimea* and *Wallachia*, mead, honey in great quantities, cattle, with forage, both hay and corn for horses and beasts of burthen.

Our troops refreshed themselves considerably in the short interval of their winter-quarters; so that the sick, the wounded, and those who were half starved and worn out with fatigue, became visibly restored, and the horses regained their strength and vigour.

We did not long enjoy these advantages. Some days before *Christmas* 1708, so rigorous and hard a frost began, that the memory of man

[8] See *Follard's* Comments on *Polyb.* Tom. 4. pag. 51. *Amsterdam* Edit. *Charles* XII. King of *Sweden*, one of the greatest Captains of our age, was beyond expression excellent in passing rivers. He never passed, but on floats; which were made with such art, that the soldiers were ranged in order of battle thereon, ten deep, and even with cannon. These floats were composed of several beds of Timber laid longways, and likewise across very close together, and well fastened to each other. That which he made in 1718, to pass the Lake of *Swin-Sund* at *Frederick-hall*, may pass for the most perfect; the planks were squared on four or five beds and surrounded with a border; two twenty-four pounders and five hundred men were thereon.

man could produce nothing equal to it; and this was the more insupportable, as in the *Ukrain* the country is all flat, and the plains so very even, that the whole resembles a vast sea. 1708.

The Czar, who always waited on us, took the opportunity of this dreadful winter to harrass and disquiet us without ceasing. He often said, he would venture ten *Russians* for one *Swede*, as the war was in his own country, where he could always find what recruits he wanted, an advantage which the King of *Sweden* had not. He put himself therefore in motion in the very severest part of the winter, making a shew of attacking those regiments which were the farthest posted from the head-quarters. This engaged the King to give orders to the whole army to hold themselves in readiness to march to their assistance.

This terrible march, which cannot be equalled in history, was undertaken in *Christmas* holidays, when the winter raged with the greatest rigour and severity. The *Swedes* loss was very considerable, but the *Russians* by their own confession lost three times as many. Many died of cold, but a greater number lost the use of their limbs, as feet, hands, arms, *&c.* several of which were obliged to be cut off.

The King however did not content himself with having repulsed the *Russians*, but pushed and attacked them in their own quarters, and had, amongst others, a very sharp engagement with them at a place called *Krasnakut*, where the *Russians* were beaten and pursued close at their heels for some leagues together. His Majesty afterwards made himself master of a little town called *Wieprick*, where the garrison after three assaults surrendered at discretion. All these

1709. these actions being known, I shall not stop to give a particular account of them, nor of the small fights, rencounters and skirmishes which we had almost every day with the enemy, with whom we were continually engaged, notwithstanding the excessive rigour of the winter; so that doubtless there never was a more severe and dreadful campaign than this. I shall only observe, that in all these fights, notwithstanding the ordinary superiority of the enemy, we had almost continually the advantage, and put them to flight; the King being always present in person, or hastening immediately to the place of action, unless it happened in a quarter too distant from his Majesty.

At the approach of the spring the King assembled his army between the rivers of *Psoll* and *Worskla*, both which empty themselves into the *Dnieper* or *Boristhenes*. At the same time he invested *Pultowa* with a party of his foot, whilst the horse were ordered to encamp several regiments together for the conveniency of forage at some leagues distance from *Pultowa*. It was the King's maxim rarely to encamp his army together. The *Russians* on the contrary, tho' five times stronger than we were, had never the courage to divide their camps; but held themselves always together, forming but one body of an army, and taking care to be well entrenched.

The reason which induced his Majesty to encamp his troops commonly in several small bodies, at a little distance from each other, was to keep his camps clean and free from contagious distempers, which generally attend armies that are long shut up in one camp. And to preserve all these different bodies, who were defended

fended by no entrenchment from the insults of the enemy, he held them always in play; by sometimes greater, sometimes less violent attacks, never giving them time to recollect themselves, but keeping them in continual apprehension of new efforts on our part. This maxim was of such admirable use in this war, that though we often suffered some losses in the frequent battles which were fought, the amount came not near to those of the enemy, who were obliged to keep themselves continually on their guard, and being shut up as hath been said in the same camp, suffered extremely by distempers and stenches, by which they actually lost great numbers. 1709.

When the King invested *Pultowa*, he might have instantly made himself master of this ill-fortified place, but this was not his Majesty's intention: for he could have drawn very little advantage from the possession of it, if it had been delivered up to him. His true design in besieging this town, was only to amuse the enemy, and to conceal from them the weakness of his own army: for as it was impossible for him to penetrate further into *Russia* with so small a force, so neither would he return back. He waited therefore before this place for the succours which King *Stanislaus* was to bring him at the head of the crown army, and for Major-General *Crassau*, with the body of the army under his command; he flattered himself so much the more with the speedy arrival of these reinforcements, because he had heard no news of them for some months, and therefore believed them on their march; but he afterwards found himself very much deceived in his guess. Those however who have any knowledge of the affairs of *Poland*, will

1709. not condemn the King for having had some reliance on those succours: for as *Poland* from the time he quitted it was delivered from the *Russians*, he imagined King *Stanislaus* had had sufficient leisure to reduce the confederates, and re-unite them to his party. They are not, perhaps, absolutely in the wrong, who throw all the blame on General *Crassau*, who by his stubborn conduct continually opposed King *Stanislaus*, the Palatine of *Kiovia*, and all the *Polish* nation; and who by that means rendered all the good instructions of *Stanislaus* useless: for my part, I submit the decision of these matters to the judgment of every impartial man, who knows but ever so little of the affairs of those times.

Instead of an army which we expected would come to our assistance, Secretary *Klinkostrom* arrived with Colonel *Sandul*, some weeks before the fatal battle. The former brought dispatches to the King on the part of *Crassau*, with an account that King *Stanislaus*, and that General, were both in the higher *Poland*, with a mutual misunderstanding between them. *Sandul*, whom the King had sent into *Walachia*, returned with an assurance of the little hopes which we had to expect any thing from the *Turks*, who expressed no inclination to break with the Czar in our favour. In this extremity, his Majesty had no other resource than to give battle to the *Russians*: for if he had the happiness to succeed, he might then with glory and safety take the rout to *Kiovia*, pass the *Boristhenes* in the neighbourhood, and cross a fruitful country, proper for the refreshment of his troops, and thence might pass towards *Volhinia* into the heart of *Poland*; on the other hand, if he should be

be so unfortunate to fail, he should however lose no more than he certainly must in his retreat from the *Ukrain*, without fighting with the enemy, who would then with forces so superiour to ours, fall continually upon us, harrass us, and oblige us to make a retreating fight with disadvantage. Moreover, if the King would have retreated without giving the enemy battle, he could not have taken his rout through *Kiovia*; but he would have been forced to have past the shortest way over the *Boristhenes* at *Perevolczno*, at the same place where his Majesty passed after the defeat at *Pultowa*. This would have had all the air of a shameful flight, and have entirely discouraged his army, which would have been then obliged to throw themselves into the Desert, and make their retreat by the same rout, through which his Majesty afterwards saved himself on the side of *Walachia*. Add to all these inconveniencies, those which the army must have suffered in that dreadful Desert, where for want of subsistence, they would likely have disbanded themselves, especially when they had an enemy at their heels, whose courage would be considerably elevated by a retreat so nearly resembling a general rout. The safest way therefore was to prepare for the battle, and to draw the enemy to it, whatever price it cost. 1709.

His Majesty carried the siege on slowly, the better to husband his troops, and continued his approaches on the side of the river *Worskla*. I have above remarked, that if his Majesty had been desirous of being presently master of the place, he might easily have accomplished it, and he would then have opened his trenches on the other side. As to the enemy, they were

1709. posted with all their army opposite to the river and continually endeavoured to pass over troops and throw them into *Pultowa*, but were alway beaten and repulsed, unless when Brigadier *Gallowin*, the brother-in-law to *Menzikof*, had th happiness to enter there by a stratagem; bu he was made prisoner some days afterwards in sally which he commanded.

The Czar now sent *Renn* with seven thousan dragoons, to encamp at a little distance fron the main body of the army; to surprize whom the King detached Major-General *Cruus* wit his regiment of horse, that of *South-Scania* part of the *Ostrogoths* and *Gyllenstierna*'s dra goons, to which some thousands of Cossac foot called *Zaporovians* were joined, commande by their General, *Kossoby*.

This expedition might have succeeded ver happily, had it not failed through the fault o General *Cruus* himself, who marched too slowly i the night, that he might not separate himsel from the Cossack foot; nay, he might have re trieved this, for he came up with *Renn*'s camp b break of day, when there was at the same tim so thick a mist, that one could not see at twent paces distance, without mentioning that *Ren* had sent away a great many of his dragoons fo forage: but instead of attacking them, and push ing the foragers home to their camp, when h might have entred with them, and have defeat ed this whole body of seven thousand dragoons who expected no attack, and were all sunk i sleep, he threw away his time in drawing u his horse on one line, by which means, he gav time to the *Russians* to mount their horses, an come out of their camp, marching in differen columns, who falling with fury on this singl

line

line of *Swedes*, easily broke through and rode away, without our being able to follow them. Those *Swedish* squadrons, who were separately engaged with an entire column, were absolutely broke to pieces. 1709.

Renn had the good fortune by these means, and by the fault of *Cruus*, to escape a great danger; and if he had had courage enough, when he saw his enemy disconcerted, to pursue his point, he must have entirely defeated this detachment, being double their number; but he attempted nothing of this kind. The ill success of this expedition was a misfortune which we ever afterwards very severely felt, and we were soon sensible of our mistake.

When the *Russians* saw they were in no condition to pass the *Worskla* opposite to *Pultowa*, and to throw in a reinforcement on that side, they decamped in the night, and after making a great many false attacks in the morning at different places, they made a feint of attempting to pass their whole army over the *Worskla*, to the side where our troops were. But before I mention the passage of their army, I shall speak of the detachments which the King had dispersed on the *Worskla*, from *Pultowa* to *Perevoloczno*, a little place where this river empties itself into the *Boristhenes*.

The first was posted a little below *Pultowa*; the second at *Starazanscara*, where Major-General *Meyerfeld* lay encamped with his regiment; the third at a place called *Belitz*, where Lieutenant-Colonel *Thomas Funck* commanded a body of dragoons; and on the *Boristhenes*, at the mouth of the *Worskla*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Silwerhielm* was stationed with five hundred horse.

1709. The ſame day that the *Ruſſians* paſſed th *Worſkla*, they made, as I have ſaid, ſevera ſham attacks, but eſpecially at two places; th one above the town where they paſſed, and th other below it. The King then divided h army into two bodies, and gave the comman of the greater to the Velt-Marſhal *Rheinſchil* who was to oppoſe the *Ruſſians* in their attemp to paſs above the town; and his Majeſty pu ting himſelf at the head of the other bod marched directly up to thoſe that made a ſhe of intending to paſs below *Pultowa*. Whil his Majeſty, who was always indefatigable, w *reconnoitring* them on horſe-back, a miſerab Coſſack poſted on the other ſide of the rive which at that part is not very large, fired h fuſee at him; the bullet penetrated through h boot, and broke the bone of his foot. The poor wretches have long guns by them calle *Tourk*, carrying five hundred paces, wit which they did us a great deal of miſchie but never more than by this accident, whic compleated all our misfortunes.

Count *Rheinſchild*, finding the enemy ha already paſſed the river, and began to entrenc themſelves, reſolved to attack them inſtantly, b fore they had time to fortify themſelves better but having few foot with him, he diſmounte his dragoons, and ſo marched to the enemy, h foot and diſmounted dragoons being interline with the horſe. Juſt as he was on the point of b ginning the action, he received the fatal news the King's wound, which immediately ſuſpende his meaſures, and obliged him to rejoin t King with all his troops, not knowing wh was the true ſtate of his condition. This retre of the Count's, gave the *Ruſſians* an opportuni

to perfect their works, and aggravated the ill situation of our affairs; for it was this very entrenchment which the King caused to be attack'd on the day of that bloody battle which ensued. 1709.

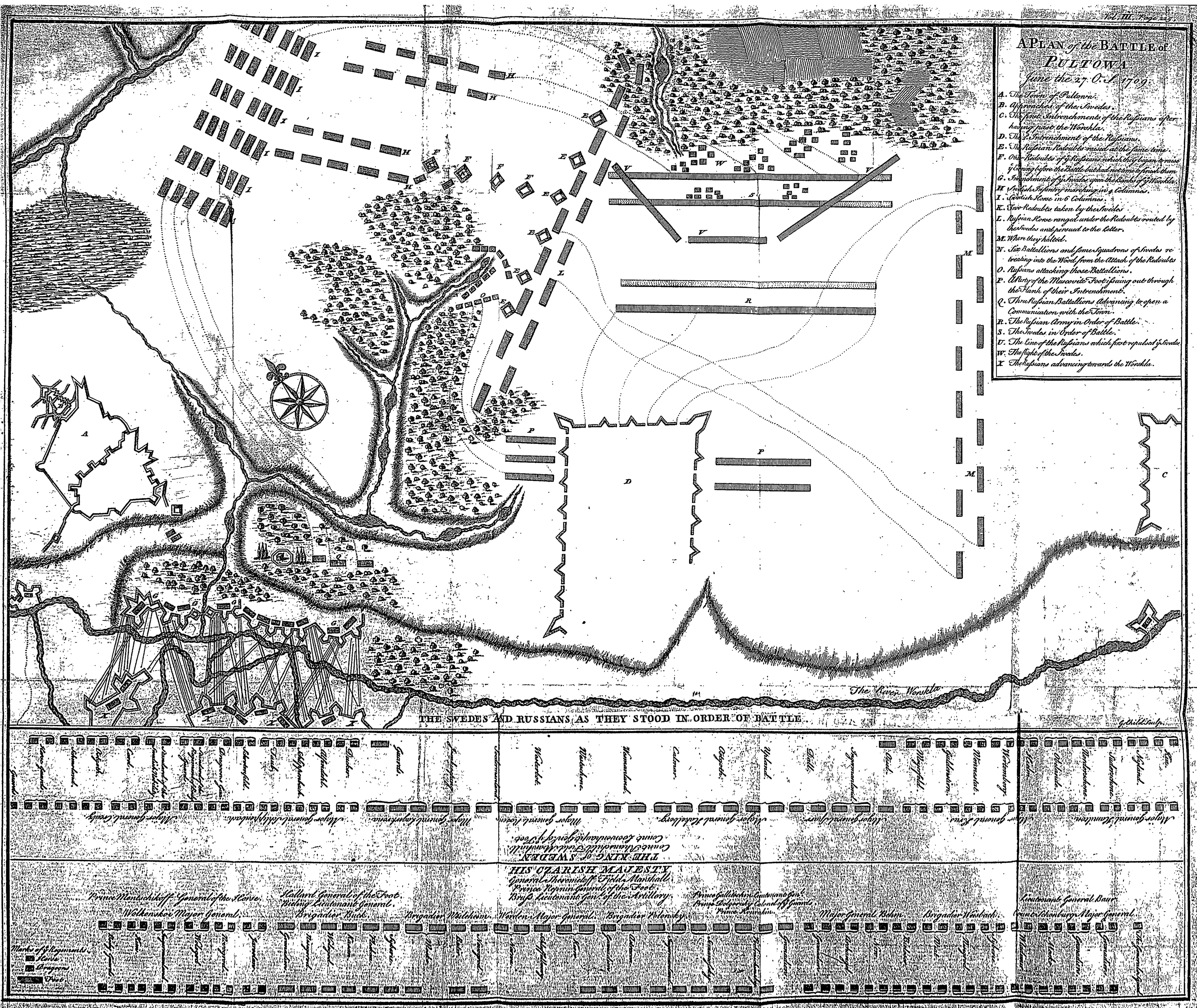
The enemy's army consisted of eighty thousand regular troops, twenty thousand Cossacks, and as many Calmucks. Ours amounted to no more than twenty thousand men, including the wounded and the sick, of which latter we had a great number who had lost their limbs with the extremity of the cold, and were by that means incapacitated for service.

I have above observed, that when his Majesty left *Saxony*, his army was composed of twenty-eight regiments, none of which had been recruited during two subsequent campaigns, in which they had maintained the sharpest and most terrible war which is perhaps to be read of in history. When Count *Lowenhaupt* joined us, all his foot were distributed amongst our regiments, and as to the three regiments of horse of *Abolehn*, *Carelia*, and of the nobility of *Riga*, with the three regiments of dragoons of *Wennerstedt*, *Schlippenbach*, and *Schreiterfeld*, they remained on their own establishment: so that those six regiments joined to the twenty-eight which came from *Saxony*, brought his Majesty's army in the *Ukrain* to thirty-four regiments.

It may not be amiss here, to enter into a short discussion on this head, in order to confound the malicious relations of our enemies. If we reckon every regiment in general to have been from five hundred to six hundred strong, which is the utmost, it will reduce the whole number to about twenty thousand men. It is indeed true that some regiments of foot, and particu-

1709. larly the Guards, were rendered perfectly complete by *Lowenhaupt*'s foot; but on the other hand several regiments, of both horse and foot, did not consist of more than two hundred men, which is very easy to believe, and indeed to prove, when we consider the great numbers of engagements we had had with the enemy, in which, though we were for the most part successful, we must nevertheless have lost a great many men. The distempers caused by fatigues and want of provisions in those terrible marches which we were obliged to make, caused likewise a dreadful havock among our troops, without saying any thing of the winter, which of itself destroyed great numbers.

We may then conclude, according to this calculation, that the whole army could not amount to more than I have said, including the sick, *&c.* I could, if it was necessary, and if I was not unwilling to dwell on so sorrowful a narrative, compute the strength of each regiment in particular, as they stood a few days before the battle, and that without any fear of mistake, as I was then a Major, and saw every day the lists of the whole army; but I will dismiss this article, with remarking what little truth there is to be given to the reports which our enemies then spread: for if we give ourselves the trouble to look into the Gazettes and Mercuries of those times, and above all the accounts set forth by the *Russians*, which were all full of rodomontadoes, it would be impossible that a single *Swede* could have remained even before the battle of *Pultowa*, though our army had consisted of a hundred thousand men. Whence we must conclude, that we ought absolutely to reject all the stories which the *Muscovites*


A Plan of the Battle of Pultowa
June the 27 O.S. 1709.
A. The Town of Pultowa.
B. Approaches of the Swedes.
C. The first Intrenchments of the Russians after having raised the Worskla.
D. The 2d Intrenchment of the Russians.
E. The Russian Redoubts raised at the same time.
F. Other Redoubts of the Russians which they began to raise a Fortnight before the Battle but had not time to finish them.
G. Intrenchment of the Swedes upon the Banks of the Worskla.
H. Swedish Infantry marching in 4 Columns.
I. Swedish Horse in 6 Columns.
K. Two Redoubts taken by the Swedes.
L. Russian Horse ranged under the Redoubts routed by the Swedes and pursued to the Letter.
M. Where they halted.
N. Six Battallions and some Squadrons of Swedes retreating into the Wood from the Attack of the Redoubts.
O. Russians attacking those Battallions.
P. A Party of the Muscovite Foot issuing out through the Flank of their Intrenchment.
Q. Three Russian Battallions advancing to open a Communication with the Town.
R. The Russian Army in Order of Battle.
S. The Swedes in Order of Battle.
U. The Line of the Russians which first repulsed the Swedes.
W. The Flight of the Swedes.
X. The Russians advancing towards the Worskla.
The River Worskla
THE SWEDES AND RUSSIANS AS THEY STOOD IN ORDER OF BATTLE.
HIS CZARISH MAJESTY
General Sheremetoff Field Marshall.
Prince Repnin General of the Foot.
Brigg Lieutenant General of the Artillery.
Prince Menschikoff General of the Horse.
Hallard General of the Foot.
Bieling Lieutenant General.
Brigadier Buck.
Brigadier Weldheim.
Brigadier Polomby.
Major General Bohm.
Brigadier Neubach.
Lieutenant General Baur.
Prince Schonburg Major General.
THE KING OF SWEDEN
Count Lewenhaupt Lieutenant General.
Count Lewenhaupt Major General.
Major General Lewenhaupt.
Major General Stackelberg.
Major General Rehnskold.
Major General Ehrenstrom.
Major General Schlippenbach.
Major General Schlippenbach.
Marks of the Regiments.
Horse.
Dragoons.
Foot.

covites ſpread abroad to our diſadvantage, during the whole war, eſpecially with regard to the circumſtances of the battle of *Pultowa.* 1709.

This battle was fought on the twenty-eighth of *June*, O. S. and which is ſomething remarkable, on the ſame ſpot where formerly *Ediga*, one of *Tamerlane*'s Generals, had totally routed the army of *Withſold*, Great Duke of *Lithuania*, *Anno* 1399[h].

When this battle begun, the *Ruſſians* had not only perfected their grand entrenchment, but had raiſed a great number of redoubts, at the head thereof; under cover of which, they intended to carry on their approaches home to the beſieged town. Between theſe redoubts, which were well furniſhed with men, and the entrenchment, the Czar had encamped all his horſe, while his foot lay covered behind the lines, which were guarded by a numerous artillery.

As ſoon as the King ſaw their deſign, he drew all his army into one camp near *Pultowa*, having the town on one ſide, and the *Ruſſian* entrenchment on the other, and a little village called *Sakie*, which hath a better title to give name to this famous battle than *Pultowa*, by which it is commonly called. His Majeſty left the detachments which were poſted along the *Worſkla*, to the *Boriſthenes*, in the ſituation wherein I have above deſcribed them.

During the little time that the whole army kept together, the enemy made two attempts with their horſe to fall on our camp; but retreated haſtily each time behind their redoubts, as ſoon as they ſaw our Picket mounted to attack them. Our troops always ſuffered much in

[h] See *Cromer*'s Chronicle of *Poland*, in the Life of *Uladiſlaus Jagellon.*

1709. in their foraging, by the *Ruſſians*, who never failed to harraſs them on thoſe occaſions, tho' they always drove them back with great vigour behind their redoubts. Eight days before the action, the King being impatient to put an end to theſe ſkirmiſhes by a general and deciſive battle, brought all the army out of their camp, and ranged them in a line of battle, making a feint of attacking the enemy; but it was poſtponed that day, for I know not what reaſon.

Some have ſaid, that the enemy intended to attack us that day; but finding our army drawn up in ſuch fine order to receive them, they withdrew behind their entrenchments. At laſt, on the twenty-eighth of *June* O. S. this great battle was fought, which will be always memorable, by the extraordinary inequality between the armies, and which notwithſtanding all poſſible diſadvantage on our ſide, would nevertheleſs have ſucceeded happily, if the King had not been wounded, and if ſome of our Generals had better performed their duty.

His Majeſty drew up the army early in battalia, amounting at the utmoſt to no more than ten or twelve thouſand men. We left ſome of our regiments behind to block up *Pultowa*, ſeveral others were placed for a guard over the baggage, and ſome were ordered to remain with *Mazeppa* and the artillery, to preſerve them from the inſults of the Coſſacks, *Ruſſians*, and Calmucks, who during the action, made two attacks on the baggage and on the cannon, but were repulſed each time with little difficulty or loſs on our ſide.

The battle was now begun, and that with conſiderable ſucceſs. We drove the enemy without any great efforts or loſs behind their

redoubts,

redoubts, which we paſt in the midſt of a vio- 1709.
lent diſcharge, both from their ſmall arms and cannon, which latter played inceſſantly on the ſpaces between the redoubts. All the *Muſcovite* foot which were found there were put to the ſword, and their horſe were driven in ſuch a manner, and ſo near abſolutely routed, that inſtead of making a ſtand near their grand entrenchment, they rode full ſpeed beyond it, and made uſe of all their endeavours to repaſs the *Worſkla.*

What a misfortune was it for us, that the King was not now able in perſon to command on horſeback, and to be preſent every where according to his cuſtom? This battle, which he would infallibly have won, would have been infinitely more glorious for him, than the battle of *Narva*, and all that he had done before; and we ſhould have avoided all the misfortunes, which we have been expoſed to ſince that day.

Our miſcarriage was partly owing to General *Roos*, who, through I know not what infatuation, committed one of the groſſeſt errors, by engaging unadviſedly among the redoubts, and then with the moſt unwarrantable obſtinacy attempting to carry them ſword-in-hand one after another, inſtead of paſſing through the intermediate ſpaces, as the King had done with his column. *Roos* aſſaulted theſe redoubts with great fury, and carried ſeveral of them, his foot in reality working miracles; but he effected this with ſo great a loſs that the ground was all covered with dead bodies, and what finiſhed our ruin was, that *Roos* by this blunder was cut off from the reſt of the army without any poſſibility of rejoining it.

In

1709. In the mean time Major-General *Schlippenbach*, who was with *Roos*, seeing the distressed condition of this column, quitted it in the company of Captain *Palmfeld*, and went to find out the King to acquaint him immediately with what had happened. *Palmfeld* had the happiness to join his Majesty, but *Schlippenbach* fell into the hands of the *Russians*, who having recovered their courage, and seeing the blunder which *Roos* had committed, presently sent a large detachment under the command of Lieutenant-General *Rensel*, which entirely cut off that unfortunate party from the rest of our foot in the following manner.

Roos, who was now too sensible of the enormous error he had made, and not knowing how he might rejoin his Majesty, had detached Captain *Funck* to discover whether those were not the King's troops, which were advancing at a distance, and which were indeed those under *Rensel*, in full march to inclose him. *Funck*, who mistook them for *Swedes* by seeing Mr. *Schlippenbach* amongst them, on which account he drew too near, was taken prisoner by the enemy; so that *Roos* had no answer till *Rensel* fell upon him and surrounded him on all sides.

Whilst this was doing, the King having passed the redoubts, put all the enemy's horse to flight, as we have said, and cut a large body of *Muscovite* foot to pieces. His Majesty then made all his army halt on the plain which was between the enemy's grand entrenchment and the redoubts, and drew up again in order of battle. At the same time to compleat the affair, the King thinking *Roos* was ready to join him, made a party of his horse and dragoons dismount

mount to attack the entrenchment, till *Roos*'s column, which he impatiently expected, was come up. Whilst his Majesty was making the disposition for this attack, he perceived *Rensel*'s body of foot at a distance, and not doubting but that it was *Roos*'s party, he detached Adjutant-General *Gyllenklo* to *Mazeppa*, to press him to bring up the troops which he had with him, together with the artillery, to assist in and support the attack of the entrenchment. 1709.

This had been the King's resolution on the morning before the battle began, for he feared that if he had then stayed to bring up the ordnance he should have lost too much time, and delayed the execution of his design of passing hastily through the redoubts. But when *Gyllenklo*, as he drew nearer to *Rensel*'s body, perceived they were not *Swedes*, he returned hastily to inform his Majesty, who was much astonished, and more shocked soon after at hearing that *Roos* was taken prisoner, most of his men dispersed, and all the prisoners killed with horrible inhumanity.

It was now that this great Prince, who was always intrepid, without discovering the least emotion, in spite of his wound and the situation to which he saw his affairs reduced, gave immediate orders to begin the attack of the entrenchment with those few foot which remained with him, whilst the horse and dragoons remounted to support this handful of men.

Before we continue the almost incredible account of this famous battle, it will not be improper to make a few remarks.

Count

1709. Count *Rheinſchild*, who, notwithſtanding the cenſures of his enemies, was certainly a great General, had propoſed to the King as ſoon as he had paſſed the redoubts, to wait in good order till *Mazeppa* came up with his troops, the artillery and baggage, to puſh with more ſafety and ſucceſs an enemy half defeated and almoſt routed, but yet powerful and ſo much the more formidable as he yet retained ſeveral advantages over us.

The opinion of Count *Piper* was unfortunately preferred at this ſeaſon to the ſage advice of ſo experienced a General. He told the King, *That he muſt ſtrike the iron whilſt it was hot, and not give the enemy time for conſideration.* The miſunderſtanding between this firſt Miniſter and Count *Rheinſchild*, which had ſubſiſted ever ſince the battle of *Franſtadt*, which the latter had gained in 1706, was a great miſfortune to *Sweden*, for it was the occaſion of rejecting all the wiſe advice which he had given. But let us draw the curtain over ſuch diſagreeable ſcenes; and return to the rehearſal of this unhappy battle; which hath coſt *Sweden* ſo many tears, and for which almoſt every family there wore mourning.

During the whole time that the horſe and dragoons were employed in diſmounting by the King's command, in expectation of being joined by *Roos*, the *Ruſſians* made a dreadful diſcharge from 120 pieces of ordnance, moſt of them of the largeſt ſize, with which their entrenchments were guarded, but without doing us much miſchief. As ſoon as his Majeſty had given orders for the attack of their entrenchment, we ſaw all their foot advance out of their lines to oppoſe our deſign. Our foot being

being then put in motion, marched bravely up to the enemy, under the command of Count *Lowenhaupt*, with orders to begin the attack and to penetrate into the entrenchment, whilst the horse, which marched in the wing, fell on the enemy's foot with design of putting them into confusion. Our foot were so few, that the line which they formed made no appearance when compared to the enemy's. They nevertheless attacked with such fierceness, vigour and resolution, that at the first shock they staggered the enemy's line, and the regiment of guards possessed themselves of the cannon which was planted against them. But most of the other regiments were less successful, some of them especially suffered greatly by the enemy's artillery, particularly the regiment of *Calmar*, which was almost half destroyed by a single discharge; and at the same time lost their Colonel *Ranck*, who was killed on the spot. The same happened to that of *Upland*, which at the first shock lost their Colonel *Stierhok*, their Lieutenant-Colonel *Post*, and their Major *Anrep*. 1709.

All this might have been yet remedied, if the King had not been wounded; but as he lay on his litter, with his sword in his hand, and it being impossible to convey him quick enough from one place to another to distribute his orders, there was in reality no true command on that day in the army, and confusion at last beginning to arise, every one would act according to his caprice.

If all our squadrons had done their duty as well as the gallant Count *Torstenson* did at the head of his, I make no doubt but we had yet gained the battle. He attacked the *Russian* foot with such fury at the head of his own company

1709. company of *Nyland*, that he was on the point of penetrating into the enemy's entrenchment; but not being seconded, as he ought to have been, he was killed with his whole party, after they had performed miracles of bravery.

Colonel *Hielm* likewise broke through the enemy's foot[i]; but the rest did not follow so fine an example. In short, that wonderful activity which had appeared in our troops when the King himself led them before he was wounded, and when he used to fly to all quarters to animate them, was not observable on this day. In a word, his wound was the source of all our misfortunes, and the real cause of the loss of this bloody battle.

The enemy continued, during the whole action, to make a dreadful fire from their cannon. One of which having broken and overturned the King's litter, his Majesty wounded as he was, was forced to mount his horse, with his leg swathed in bandage, and without his boots. His Majesty now seeing the impossibility of gaining the entrenchment, gave orders to the troops to retreat, and march towards the place where the baggage was. Some say, that the King's horse was at this time killed under him, and he was obliged to mount another.

Velt-Marshal *Rheinschild* and the Prince of *Wurtenberg*, were now taken prisoners. Count *Piper* endeavoured to reach the regiments which had

[i] The brave Prince of *Wurtenberg* perform'd wonders at this fatal battle, which caused the King to say, *That if all his regiments had done their duty as well as that of the little Prince, Lilla Printzen*, (by which name he used to call him) *the* Russians *would never have gained the battle.*

had been left before *Pultowa*, but he was made prisoner before he came to them; those regiments having retreated towards the baggage, after an attack from General *Rensel.* 1709.

As soon as the King came up to his baggage, he waited not only for the arrival of the troops who returned by little and little from the action, but he stayed yet some hours longer, to see if the enemy had any mind to pursue him, and attack him in the open field: but the *Russians* had not the courage to give him this satisfaction; and contented themselves with what they had gained by the assistance of their cannon and entrenchments.

The King was not inclined to quit his present encampment, hoping to have a second trial with the enemy; but on the strong instances of *Mazeppa*, who was afraid for his own person, and on the repeated entreaties of his faithful Generals and Officers, he at last suffered himself to be prevailed on, and after having had his foot new dressed, he entered calmly, without shewing the least emotion, into a post-chaise with *Mazeppa*; and marched with the remains of the army, artillery and baggage, with the sound of trumpets and kettle-drums along the *Worskla*, directly towards the *Boristhenes*: this march was performed in excellent order, without the least loss of any kind, and so gallantly, that it bore no resemblance to a defeat. The enemy's troops made several shows of attacking us, but on the Rear-Guard's facing about to receive them, they had never the courage to execute their intentions. The next day the army arrived at the *Boristhenes*, twelve leagues from *Pultowa.*

1709. Such was the ſucceſs of the famous battle of *Pultowa*, of which ſo much has been ſpoken and written in the world, always to the advantage of the *Ruſſians* and the diſadvantage of *Charles* XII. If we reflect on the unhappy conſequences of that bloody day, we muſt confeſs that they have been very fatal to us, in the loſs which *Sweden* has ſince ſuffered; but if abſtracted from all the conſequences of that battle, we conſider only the circumſtances of the action itſelf, and have regard only to bravery and true glory, the honour muſt be always placed on the ſide of the *Swedes*, who with a body of between ten and eleven thouſand men almoſt ſtarved and deſtitute of every thing, with an intrepidity and courage which have been ſcarce ever equal'd, attack'd an intrenched army of upwards of an hundred thouſand men, provided with every thing both for their ſubſiſtance and defence; whom our troops not only forced to give ground, but would have abſolutely overthrown and conquered, even by the confeſſion of the *Ruſſians*, if the King's wound had not prevented him from giving orders himſelf. Moreover, the enemy's loſs was as great in the morning when the battle began, as ours was at the end. I do not find in the *Swediſh* hiſtory a battle nearer reſembling this than that where *Guſtavus* the Great attacked the intrenchment of *Wallenſtein*, near *Nurenbourg*; where the loſs of the *Swedes* and *Imperialiſts* was almoſt equal; but when *Guſtavus Adolphus* retreated with his army after the battle, it was yet ſixty thouſand ſtrong, and he had his way open to him on all ſides; but when *Charles* XII. retreated from before *Pultowa*, he had in all, including the ſick and all his detachments,

no

no more than about fourteen or fifteen thou- 1709.
ſand men, without any place of retreat where he could place this handful of men in ſafety, and he was near three hundred leagues diſtant from his Kingdom; notwithſtanding which, this brave Prince was ſo far from loſing courage, that he yet breathed nothing but the ſpirit of battle, and if he could have mounted his horſe, tho' never ſo little, we ſhould perhaps have had our revenge near the *Boriſthenes*, when the enemy followed us thither.

If the *Muſcovites* had gained ſo compleat a victory, as they pretended, why did they not immediately follow the remains of the army which attended the baggage, and why did they not poſſeſs themſelves of our cannon and baggage, if we had been ſo abſolutely beaten as they had reported? For this muſt have been very eaſy for them to do, if they had gained a compleat victory. But as they knew us too well to attack us in the open field, ſo it is certain they never marched but in great bodies, and ſuffered us very quietly to purſue our rout to the *Boriſthenes*.

To confeſs the truth however, we ſuffered ſufficiently by the conſequences of this battle; for it occaſioned the loſs of *Revel*, of *Riga*, and the reſt of *Livonia*, which the enemy conquered with great eaſe, by reaſon of the plague which cauſed a general deſolation, and we may truly ſay that fortune hath miraculouſly ſeconded the Czar in all his enterprizes; but no one can agree, without blinding himſelf, to all thoſe diſadvantages which have been placed to our account, by reaſon of the battle of *Pultowa*. The *Swediſh* nation hath certainly not loſt her an-

1709. cient valour, nor the reputation of her arms; the judgment of which we leave to posterity.

The *Muscovites* were not better soldiers at the battle of *Pultowa*, than they had been the preceding year at that of *Holofzin*; nor can any one say, that they have become braver since that time. This last action was not less wonderful in its kind, than the battle of *Narva*; and the King gave here very sensible tokens of his powerful genius for war.

On the twenty-ninth of *June*, old style, *Charles* XII. arrived with his army on the banks of the *Boristhenes*; the whole amounted, including the sick, maimed and wounded, to about sixteen thousand men; the rest having been killed or taken prisoners in the battle.

We had not one General killed, but six Colonels met with that fate; the first was Count *Torstenson*, Colonel of the regiment of horse of *Nyland*; he was a young Nobleman of about thirty-three years of age, but already consummate in the art of war, and had besides a very cultivated genius: if he had lived longer, he would have equalled if not surpassed his grandfather the Great *Leonard Torstenson*, who was a Velt-Marshal of the *Swedish* armies in our wars with *Germany*. The young Count had served ever since he was fifteen years of age in the *Saxon* troops in *Hungary*. The King knowing his merit, had trusted him with a separate body of several regiments from the time we had entered the *Ukrain*; and he gave proofs on all occasions of a conduct worthy a great General, till he gloriously lost his life at this battle.

The other Colonels killed in the field, were *Stiernhok*, who commanded the regiment of *Upland*; *Siegroth*, who had the *Dahl-Carlers*; *Ulfsparre*,

Ulfsparre, of the *Westrogothes*; *Weydenheim*, of that of *Sudermand*; *Rank*, of the regiment of *Calmar*; and, *Buchwald*, of that of *Jonkioping*; all foot. 1709.

Amongst those of the Court and Chancery Mr. *Olof Hermelin*, Counsellor of the Chancery, a man of great abilities; *Gustavus Adlerfelt*, and *Hirschenstierna*, Secretary to the King, were all killed on the spot.

We long hoped that *Hermelin* was not dead, but that he had been taken prisoner. It is certain that his name was in the first list of prisoners which the Czar sent to King *Augustus*, with his relation of this battle; but in all the others he is reckon'd amongst the dead. It is however pretty extraordinary, that three priests pretended to have buried him, and each of them in a different place; it is probable, that they were all deceived, the great heat having caused the bodies of all those who were killed to swell so violently, that their faces could not be known. Whilst I was a prisoner in *Muscovy* in the year 1713, a Cossack Colonel assured me, that he had spoke to *Hermelin* in 1712, through a hole of a deep dungeon, in a little town situated between the *Ukrain* and the City of *Moscow*, the name of which I have forgotten.

Amongst the prisoners of distinction, were Count *Piper*, Count *Rheinschild*, the Prince of *Wurtenberg*, the Major-Generals *Schlippenbach*, *Roos*, *Stakelberg* and *Hamilton*.

Major-General *Meyerfeld*, who is actually now Velt-Marshal, Senator and Governor of *Pomerania*, had the misfortune some months before the siege of *Pultowa* to break his leg; he obtained a passport of the Czar to pass

1709. safely through *Poland*, in case he should fall into the hands of some party of *Russians* or confederated *Poles*, and he designed to go into *Germany* in order to get himself cured. Upon the strength of this passport his Majesty sent him from *Stara-Zianscara*, which is situated between *Pultowa* and the *Boristhenes*, where he had been posted to demand of the Czar some particulars which I do not now call to mind; all this did not prevent *Meyerfeld* from being put under arrest: The Czar pretending, that as the passport had been given some time before the battle, it could not be of any validity; however, he was presently released on his parole; but on condition he would send back in his place some *Russian* General made prisoner by our troops.

On the *Boristhenes Charles* XII. halted, with the remains of his army, near a town called *Perevolocsna*, where the *Worskla* empties itself into the *Boristhenes*: His Majesty's intention being immediately to pass the *Worskla*, which is not very wide in this place, and to attend on the other side of the river the motions of the *Russians*, if they had any inclination to attack us, and afterwards to take the road of the *Crim*. This project was the more easy to be executed, as we had with the baggage not only sufficient horses for all the foot, but likewise for all the servants, boys and sutlers.

The King having taken this resolution, ordered all the baggage to be burnt, and all the ammunition-bread, consisting of large biskets, to be distributed amongst the soldiers, with which every regiment was provided for six weeks. The military chests, which were guarded by several regiments, were to be conducted into

two

two places, and the money diſtributed among the officers to ſerve them in caſe of need, and which were to be placed to the account of the wages which were due to them. 1709.

After his Majeſty had given out theſe orders, the Generals of the army came to him, and deſired him with the moſt earneſt entreaty, to convey his ſacred perſon to a place of ſafety, repreſenting to him the danger of his wound, which would not permit him to follow the army and ſupport fatigue. They promiſed him on their ſide punctually to execute all his orders, provided he would ſecure himſelf from thoſe dangers to which the army muſt be expoſed. Theſe intreaties prevailed on the King, who at laſt determined to paſs the *Boriſthenes*; but before his departure, he expreſly enjoined *Lowenhaupt* to follow in every circumſtance thoſe orders which he had given for a retreat towards the *Crim*.

After the King had made all theſe diſpoſitions, he paſſed the *Boriſthenes* about midnight, having with him the regiment of foot of *Sudermanland*, which had been in the trenches before *Pultowa*, during the battle. The detachment of Lieutenant-Colonel *Funk*, which had been poſted at *Belitz*; and that of Lieutenant-Colonel *Silfwerhielm*, which had been poſted as we have ſaid before near *Perevolocſna*, likewiſe attended his Majeſty. The regiment of *Sudermanland* amounted to two hundred men, *Funk*'s detachment to eight hundred, and that under *Silfwerhielm* to five hundred; beſides theſe, the *Drabans*, with the *Einſpanners* commanded by *Andrep*, alſo followed his Majeſty. Several Generals and Officers, amongſt whom ſome were wounded, were named by the King to

1709. follow him, together with the Court, Chancery, *&c.* The General or *Hettman Mazeppa* had already paſſed the river with a good number of Coſſacks.

Count *Lowenhaupt*, who had received his orders with full power to act as he found it moſt convenient for the ſervice of his King and Country, had with him no more than two Major-Generals, *Creutz* and *Cruus*, when the King quitted the army, his Majeſty having taken the reſt with him.

The King had no ſooner paſſed the *Boriſthenes*, than his orders for immediately burning the baggage and diſtributing the money, were no more thought of. As the troops were extremely fatigued, they went quietly to repoſe themſelves, as ſoon as the guards and pickets were placed for the ſecurity of the army.

The next morning they were awaken'd by the Knées *Menzikof*, who had followed us at the head of all the *Muſcovite* horſe, and driven our pickets and advanced guards from the hill where they were poſted; I ſay hill, becauſe the army was encamped in a valley near the *Boriſthenes*. *Menzikof*, after this firſt expedition, ſent to *Lowenhaupt* to offer him a capitulation.

I have ſaid above, that the army, including the ſick and wounded, might have amounted before the King's departure to ſixteen thouſand men; amongſt which near five thouſand were in no condition of fighting, by reaſon of their wounds, diſtempers, *&c.* and about fifteen hundred followed his Majeſty; ſo the remainder of the army which were able to act might make in all between nine and ten thouſand, which was near the number of troops the King had with him

on

on the day of the battle of *Pultowa*, when he attacked the *Muſcovite* entrenchment. 1709.

This army, ſmall as it was, ſhewed all imaginable eagerneſs to come to an engagement; it did not appear to them impoſſible to beat the *Ruſſian* horſe, before they were joined by the foot which followed them in full march, and then after they had overthrown the enemy they would have been in a condition to follow the plan and the orders of his Majeſty; but ill fortune, which had reſolved our ruin, prevented our burning the baggage and diſtributing the money in the evening as the King had ordered, by means of which every thing was thrown into diſorder and confuſion. Several were deſirous to preſerve the valuable baggage and money, which they had gotten in *Poland* and other places, and regard was had to their repreſentations, eſpecially to thoſe of *Cruus* and *Creutz*, who were chiefly intereſted. Indeed we may ſay, that God had abandoned us, and that diſorder and giddineſs had conſpired to deliver us up to our enemies.

To compleat our misfortune, *Lowenhaupt* was obliged to pay great deference to the advice of *Creutz* and *Cruus*, becauſe he was yet little known amongſt our troops; it is true he had commanded a party of the army before the battle of *Lieſna*, but he had ſince received no other command ſave what he had a few days only before the battle of *Pultowa*. However this be, he might have exerted more vigour on this occaſion, where he ſhould have put all to the riſque; and all the Officers of the army, who had ever ſo little penetration, could not help attributing the blame to him. Both officers and ſoldiers were in the utmoſt indignation

1709. nation at his proceedings, to which they could not be accus'd of having given their consent, since they were not informed of the articles of Capitulation, till after they had been settled.

Count *Lowenhaupt*, after having intirely agreed with *Creutz* and *Cruus* to surrender to the enemy, called together, for form only, all the Colonels and Commanders of the regiments, as well as the oldest Officers, to declare to them their intentions; and tho' most of them were of opinion to give battle and follow the King's plan, no regard was had for their representations, but they followed the opinions of those who had already concluded and settled the whole affair.

In consequence of this resolution, *Creutz* and *Cruus* were sent to the enemy, to capitulate as well as they could with the Knées *Menzikof*. The Articles of Capitulation are so well known, that it is needless to insert them here.

A JOURNAL

Of the KING *of* SWEDEN's *Retreat to* Bender *after the Battle of* Pultowa.

AFTER we had been repulſed at the attack of the *Muſcovite* entrenchments, on the twenty-eighth of *July*, new ſtyle, his Majeſty halted with the remains of the army near the baggage, to wait for the return of his troops from the battle, and to ſee if the enemy would bring themſelves to attack us in the open field; but the *Ruſſians* attempting nothing, the King, after having dined and ſtood ſeveral hours together in this place, which was but half a league from the field of battle, yielded to the repeated intreaties of his Generals, and gave orders to his army to decamp and march towards the *Boriſthenes*. 1709.

The army was put in motion between two and three in the afternoon with the ſound of kettle-drums and trumpets, and marched gallantly in ſight of the enemy along the *Worſkla*, and between that river and that of *Pſiol*, directly to the *Boriſthenes*. The King advanced but a few leagues this firſt day, being ſeated with *Mazeppa*, in a chaiſe which belonged to Baron *Sittman* [k], a Lieutenant-Colonel, and Aid-de-Camp General of the King of *Pruſſia*; the Baron was charged with the affairs of his maſter, and had a conſiderable time followed the army as a voluntier.

The

[k] A Privy Counſellor to the Duke of *Wurtenberg*.

1709. The army having decamped the next day at nine in the morning, continued their march both that and the following day, without the enemy's having had the courage to purſue them; they indeed made ſeveral ſhews of haraſſing our army, but retreated as ſoon as we put ourſelves in a poſture of defence.

In this manner we arrived on the eleventh of *July* at the *Boriſthenes*, near a little town called *Perewoloczna*, which the enemy had burnt; his Majeſty was of opinion inſtantly to paſs the *Worſkla*, which was neither wide nor deep in this place, and to march with the army towards the *Crim*: but his wound hindering him from ſupporting the fatigue, and being beſides abſolutely incapable of bearing his horſe, he yielded to the entreaties of his Generals, who begged him to ſecure his ſacred perſon, whilſt they would punctually execute his orders with regard to this march.

The King now took a reſolution to paſs the *Boriſthenes*, giving orders to about one thouſand horſe and foot, without reckoning the *Drabans*, the *Einſpanners*, the Court, the Chancery and the Coſſacks, to follow him through the Deſarts into *Turky*; but as he had neither ſufficient boats nor wood to build them, he found himſelf very much embaraſſed on this account. However, the enemy not appearing we had time enough to ſearch for them along the *Boriſthenes*, and at length found a ſufficient number of boats and canoes to begin the tranſportation, which we continued in ſafety till the twelfth of *July*; by which time about two thouſand of our men were paſſed over, tho' we proceeded but ſlowly, becauſe the *Boriſthenes* wa

was ſo wide in this part, that we were an hour at leaſt in paſſing and repaſſing. 1709.

The horſes which we wanted were carried over in great numbers by the current, and as we took great care to put thoſe at their head which were the beſt experienced ſwimmers; the others followed them ſo well, that they all arrived at the other ſide. The *Tartarian* horſe did us good ſervice on this occaſion, as did the Coſſacks; for as many of them were very good ſwimmers, they ſtripped themſelves naked, and throwing themſelves without ſaddles on their galloways, they encouraged a great number of the horſes to follow them; and when thoſe on which they were mounted were tired, they threw themſelves into the water and ſwam by their ſides, holding them at the ſame time by their bridles. In this manner, theſe people paſſed over a great number of horſes without much labour, which would have given us a great deal of trouble, if we had been obliged to make them all ſwim by the ſides of the boats or canoes.

As to the baggage, no one took more with him than was neceſſary; and they only carried over a few caleſhes, which were well tied together on the canoes, to ſerve for his Majeſty, old *Mazeppa* and ſome Coſſack Ladies.

Mazeppa went over about ſix in the evening, but his Majeſty did not paſs the river till the middle of the night between the eleventh and twelfth of *July*, in a canoe, having ſome ſervants with him, after giving orders to Count *Lowenhaupt* to burn all the baggage of the army, and to march towards the *Crim*. As *Mazeppa* had left behind him two ſmall caſks full

1709. full of ducats, his Majesty sent Mr. *Neugebaver*[1] in the night, to fetch them; who soon returned with this money, which was afterwards of great assistance to us.

In the mean while the enemy having pursued our army, Count *Lowenhaupt*, instead of executing his Majesty's commands, surrender'd himself by capitulation, against the representations of most of the Officers in the army.

We had notice ever since the morning of the arrival of the *Muscovites*, by the report of the fire which we heard far off; and about noon we were informed by the return of our last boats, that *Menzikof* was posted with all his horse near our camp, and that he expected to be soon joined by the foot. We now thought the battle inevitable, not knowing any thing of the measures which *Lowenhaupt* was taking towards a capitulation, nor of his resolution to surrender. That the enemy might be prevented from immediately pursuing us, his Majesty ordered all the boats to be destroyed, to prevent the enemy from making use of them.

By these measures we secured our selves for some days from the pursuit of the *Russians*; but we had other enemies to combat with, which were the desart, hunger, thirst, the heat of the days and the cold of the nights which equally threatned us with destruction. As this desart which we were to pass was of a vast extent, and almost every where without water; we surveyed our situation with horror in so hot a season, and where we were in want of every thing.

In

[1] He is now Chancellor of the Court of Justice in *Pomerania*, and hath been made a Baron by his present *Swedish* Majesty.

In this ſad condition we begun our march the twelfth of *July*, new ſtile. All the army was on horſeback except the King, who was in a little *Tartar* chaiſe, reſembling our caleſhes: This Prince had on his ſide Major-General *Hard*, who had been wounded at the battle of *Pultowa*. *Mazeppa* was in a coach with ſome Coſſack Ladies. A profound ſilence reign'd every where, and no one knew which way to turn in order to paſs the deſart; the troops were at length divided into two columns, the one of which being compoſed of *Swedes*, followed his Majeſty; and the other, conſiſting of Coſſacks and Valoches, had *Mazeppa* at their head. 1709.

The deſart, which we were to paſs, is called by the neighbouring people, which are the *Poles*, Tartars and Coſſacks, *Dzike-Pole*. The land is at firſt of a marſhy kind in ſome places and covered with reeds, afterwards it becomes more dry and ſandy; but at laſt preſents the proſpect of an open Champaign, without trees, and covered with graſs: here and there are ſome hills, on which there are excellent paſtures.

We ſoon found a road, which leads towards the Frontiers of the Palatinate of *Braclau*, but we quitted it to march directly a-croſs the deſart towards *Turky*, without ſeeing the leaſt path through which men had ever paſſed. However, our Coſſacks conducted us like Pilots in an open ſea, and knew all the vales and rivulets, and all the moraſſes which lay in our way. *Mazeppa* himſelf was not ignorant of any part of this deſart, having often croſſed it with the Coſſacks in the laſt war between *Ruſſia* and the *Turks*, towards the

1709. the end of the laſt Century; when he had inceſſantly ſcoured the country as far as *Oczakow*; and it was he who in all likelihood adviſed the King to take this rout.

Theſe guides conducted the *Swedes* in ſuch a manner, that the two columns which took different roads joined the firſt evening near a moraſs covered with reeds; here the men and horſes refreſhed themſelves, after having horribly ſuffered for want of water during the extream heat of the day. They now laid aſide all delicacy, and their thirſt ſurmounting their diſguſt, each ſatisfied himſelf with drinking this troubled and muddy water, with which ſome of them filled bottles for the next day, our guides having aſſured us that we ſhould not find any more in a great way. As to the horſes, we turned them to graze; but the men ſuffered through the want of proviſions: and what incommoded us moſt in this rout, was, that we were continually obliged to remain in the open air, there being neither hut nor cottage in theſe parts. It may be not improper to mention, that there is neither wood nor ſhade in this deſart, but towards the evening we could ſhelter our ſelves from the ſun behind the hills, which are pretty large in ſome places. The reſt of the day we were expoſed to the fiery rays of the ſun, which darted perpendicularly on our heads in this vaſt champaign.

After our horſes had foraged, we gave one another the ſignal without making uſe of trumpets, and afterwards continued our march as before till midnight, when we halted to give our horſes ſome reſt, which were much fatigued and very hungry; however, we could not ſuffer them to graze during the night, left they ſhould

run

run away, which would have obliged great part of our men to walk on foot, and would have rendered our ſituation yet more melancholy; ſome however being overcome with fatigue, having diſmounted to take a little ſleep, their horſes taking the advantage of that time to graze, ſome of them ran away, and left their riders in a moſt dreadful perplexity. After two hours repoſe we renewed our march the thirteenth of *July*, at two in the morning: If we had ſuffered in the day through the violent heat, we underwent in the night beſides our fatigue as piercing and extraordinary cold, which laſted till the ſun appeared on the horizon; and we remark'd on this occaſion, that the cold was the moſt violent an hour before ſunriſing, but as ſoon as the ſun began to dart his rays we preſently felt their force, and at the end of an hour or two the heat became ſo exceſſive, that as we had during the night great difficulty to preſerve our ſelves from the cold, ſo no clothes were thin enough for the immoderate heat of the day. However, as diſagreeable as theſe two oppoſite extremes were, eſpecially the heat, which was not qualified by the leaſt breath of air; we had reaſon to thank God that the ſeaſon was not rainy, for in that caſe we could not have reſiſted the fatigue, and ſhould very likely have periſhed all together.

1709.

We continued our march quietly till noon, when we came to a water, which obliged us to ſtop to give ſome paſture to our horſes, which was very good in this part, and the water better than that of the preceding day, which afforded us great ſupport.

1709. As to provisions, the greater part of our people were without them; notwithstanding which they resolutely held out, with having recourse to food which could not but be in the highest degree distasteful. Some Tartars only, who were used to eat horse-flesh, cut the throats of those horses which were unable to keep up, and dressed them in their own way; they chose out the best bits, which they dried by the sun, or else laid them under their saddle to make them more tender and easy to digest, which sort of food their hunger made them eat with the greatest appetite in the world.

After having halted two or three hours at this place, we all remounted our horses and continued our march till midnight, when we rested again for some hours. In this manner we performed our whole journey from the *Boristhenes* to the *Bog*.

The fourteenth of *July* we found in this desart in several places very wide and long spaces of land all covered with a particular kind of cherries, these grew on very small shrubs, about the thickness of the smallest birch-trees, and not higher than the grass; they were of the bigness of common and wild cherries red and very sharp: the Cossacks eat them very greedily, which gave our men an inclination to taste them, who, finding them very good, took with them a large quantity of these small shrubs, each of which bore two or three cherries, and served them on the road for refreshment. These cherries resembled the *Chamæcerasi*, mentioned by *Pliny*, and those which grow in *Switzerland*; to which they give the name of *Mountain-Cherries*,

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We saw besides in this country several sorts of game, as hares, wild sheep and a sort of partridge. As for the sheep, some of our men pursued them and killed some of them, the Cossacks having assured us that they were very good to eat, and they came to us very agreeably in our present scarcity; but the chief question was, how to dress them: for the vast desart did not produce a single stick of wood, with which we might make a fire. However, as necessity is the mother of invention, we thought on a way, which was to make use of horse-dung, which we dried in the sun, and afterwards burnt to roast our game with; tho' the heat of this fire was not sufficient to make the flesh of our sheep very tender, yet those who eat thereof affirmed that the taste came very near up to that of the roe-buck; but these animals did not in the least resemble our sheep, being leaner, higher, bow-neck'd, and their wool of a black colour. 1709.

The fifteenth of *July*, we passed through a road which led from the Palatinate of *Braclau* into the *Ukrain*. The Cossacks there met a Peasant, who drove a waggon loaded with salt, in order to convey it to the *Ukrain*; and as we were in want of it, and did not care it should fall into the enemy's hands, they spared the Peasant the trouble of carrying his charge any further, by immediately buying it as well as his horses.

The scarcity of provision was still very great, and as hunger encreased more and more, it at last obliged several of our men to accompany the Tartars in eating horse-flesh; and afterwards all our men from the first to the last had recourse to this food, although they had yet some

1709. victuals left; but they conceal'd it, for fear of having unwished-for guests to partake of it.

In the mean time we approached the frontiers of *Turky*, altho' it was difficult to distinguish it in these desarts. The Cossacks informed us, that it begun above half way between the *Boristhenes* and the *Bog*. And as we were ignorant in what manner we should be received there with so great a number of men, his Majesty had already sent General *Poniatofski* with the Secretary *Klinkostrom*, to the Governour of *Oczakow*, to give him notice of his arrival, and to desire him to take care that when the King came to the *Bog*, every thing should be ready for him to pass it, with all his men; and that they might have provision there, which he would buy with ready money.

The Bashaw, or Governour, immediately answered, that without an express order from the Grand Seignor, he could not agree to the King's passing; but upon the reiterated remonstrances of *Poniatofski*, who in a very lively manner represented to him that there was not a moment's time to be lost, he was pleased withou delay to send the King's letters by water t *Constantinople*. To these letters he joined hi own representations, and at the same time sen a courier to the Bashaw or Seraskier of *Bender* to ask his advice how to act on this importan occasion, till he had received an answer fron *Constantinople*, which might arrive in four o five days, if the wind was favourable, *Oczakoc* being situated upon the Black Sea.

The Seraskier answer'd him, that he had nc thing to do, but to furnish us with provisions fc ready money, and to keep all the barks an men in readiness to convey the King over th

Bog

Bog; time being extremely precious, as he knew the *Ruſſians* had paſſed the *Boriſthenes* in order to purſue his Majeſty. 1709.

Poniatoſſki and *Klinkoſtrom* came back with this news, but they did not yet know the Seraſkier of *Bender*'s anſwer, which we afterwards learned, whilſt we yet kept on our way. We arrived in a place, where the ground being extremely ſandy and dry, the paſture was worth nothing; there was alſo in this country a river, which was the only one we had ſeen ſince the *Boriſthenes*, it was called *Ingulet Weliki*, that is to ſay, the Great, to diſtinguiſh it from another river which runs more to the left, and which is called *Ingulet Malinki*, or the Little.

We left the river on our right, and continuing our march from it, we ſet up our little camp a league from the *Bog*, where we found water enough; but its not being freſh, was a great inconveniency to both men and horſes. As we were very induſtrious in ſearching for freſhwater, our Coſſacks, who were always in motion, and who were perfectly acquainted with the country, had the good fortune to diſcover a fountain of excellent water, at a ſmall diſtance from the camp[1]. As it was feared ſo great a number of men would ſoon drain the ſpring, centinels were poſted there to keep order, and that the King might always have water freſh and pure. The poor horſes, beſides their bad paſture, were ſtill forced to drink dirty water, which took

[1] Monſieur *Voltaire* in his hiſtory of *Charles* XII. ſays, it was General *Poniatoſſki* who diſcovered this fountain near a willow-tree. Nevertheleſs, one may ſay, that there is not in all this deſart wherewithal to form the leaſt wand.

1709. its bitter taste from the neighbourhood of the *Euxin* Sea.

Here we saw wolves all among us, one of which of a prodigious size passed through the middle of our men, and had the good fortune to escape them; and having spread a terror through all our men, he had full time to get out of danger.

We were already on the frontiers of *Turky*, which country increased in beauty the farther we advanced. We were told that in this delicious country there are whole fields covered with wild melons; and we met with some fields full of wild white cabbages. Notwithstanding all these advantages of the most fruitful ground in the world, this Country is a desart as far as the *Bog*, and there is not even the least sign that it has ever been inhabited[m].

After

[m] We have great reason to admire the incomprehensible and profound wisdom, with which God has distributed the parts of this world, and given to men so many wild and unfruitful countries; where they are obliged with incessant labour to get their bread, which often is not sufficient to nourish them all. Whilst so many great and vast provinces, the most fruitful and delightful, remain uninhabited and uncultivated. This desart is certainly in the number of these last countries, it remains untilled, not because there is any impossibility of its producing the necessaries of life. but by a conceal'd and wise providence.

It may perhaps be objected, that the want of water prevents its being inhabited; but this objection is not sufficient, because this inconvenience might be remedied by digging springs, as they do in *Poland* and in the *Ukrain*, where, in a thousand places they only make use of this sort of water; and the morasses which are in this desart plainly prove, that there must be a great number of fountains. Besides, the two rivers of *Ingulet* not only produce at their rise, and towards their middle, as far as within some

After repoſing ſome hours in this place, we continued our march the ſixteenth of *July* towards 1709.

ſome few leagues of the *Euxin* ſea, freſh water; but they have alſo a favourable means of carrying on a commerce advantageouſly by the communication with the *Euxin*, otherwiſe called the Black Sea.

As to wood, which is the principal want in this fine country, it might eaſily be brought by two ways; namely, by the *Boriſthenes* and the Sea: ſo that this country might become a great and important principality, if any one would undertake to cultivate it. Altho' we cannot penetrate into the reaſon why ſo many hundred thouſand men, do not endeavour to this day to ſupply their wants by the poſſeſſion of this fruitful ſituation, we may nevertheleſs alledge ſome probable reaſons why the neighbouring people would never eſtabliſh there.

The firſt is, the want of wood and water, two things difficult to be had in this deſart. The ſecond is the idleneſs and natural ſtupidity of theſe people, who not only want induſtry, but give themſelves no manner of trouble to render life convenient and agreeable. The third, is the largeneſs of the neighbouring countries, the proportion of their extent greatly ſurpaſſing the number of the inhabitants; ſo that there remain places uncultivated there. The *Ukrain*, for example, is a country of ſuch a vaſt extent, that it is not only in a condition plentifully to feed its inhabitants, but alſo produces enough beſides to aſſiſt all its neighbours. Fourthly, they are not in the wrong who impute the cauſe of this negligence to the ancient *Scythians*, I mean the *European Scythians*, who according to *Quintus Curtius* inhabited from the left of *Thrace*, which is at preſent called *Romania*, and where *Conſtantinople* is ſituated, as far as the *Boriſthenes* along the *Euxin* ſea, and from the *Boriſthenes* as far as *Tanais*, otherwiſe called *Don*. Theſe *Scythians* never fixing any bounds between their lands, and conſequently having nothing they could call their own, were ignorant of agriculture, and lived only upon milk and honey. They had neither houſes nor any fixed abode, but continually went from one deſart and from one province into another, with their wives, children and cattle. It is not wonderful that their ſucceſſors having left part

1769. wards the *Bog*, where we arrived in two hours time. We incamped in a fine meadow along the river, but there was very little refreſhment there, for want of freſh water: for altho' there is ſome, yet many leagues from thence as far as

of this country uncultivated and in the ſame condition in which they found it, at the ſame time preſerved ſome remains of the *Scythian* ancient manner of living. The *Zaporovians*, for example, to this day inhabit only in holes under ground, or in tents made of felt, that they might be the more eaſily carried from one place to another, living only upon their cattle, game and fiſh; whence it is eaſy to conclude, why this delightful country has hitherto remain'd a deſart on the Northern ſide, and why it ſhould always remain in this condition, if one conſiders the genius of the neighbouring people, which on one ſide are the Tartars. Fifthly, the reaſon why the Southern part of this country is not inhabited by the *Turks* to whom it belongs, is the ſame we alledged in the third place, namely, the largeneſs of their country, and the ſcarcity of men; which appears more eſpecially in croſſing this country from the *Bog*, as far as the *Nieſter*, where there are vaſt deſarts which are entirely uninhabited, altho' the ſituation is both agreeable and ſafe.

As to the *Poles*, who border on the Weſtern ſide, no neceſſity has yet obliged them to quit their own fruitful and fine country; and which is able very plentifully to maintain them, in ſearch of a new one. Towards the Eaſt this deſart has only the Black-ſea, which bounds it on that ſide. But one cannot well decide, if it would be uſeful and profitable to a diſtant and polite nation, and who know the art of eſtabliſhing themſelves in an advantageous manner, to ſend colonies into a country ſurrounded by robbers, Barbarians, and by people who are conſtrained by neither laws nor manners; it would be, I ſay, difficult to decide this queſtion, at leaſt unleſs it was firſt granted that this Colony ſhould be protected by a formidable and neighbouring power; and that by the help of this protection it might place itſelf in ſuch a ſituation as to fear nothing, and even make uſe of it as a barrier againſt the dreadful power of the *Turks*.

as the Black Sea, the river had nevertheleſs already taken the muddy taſte. As to the breadth of this river, which riſes far off in *Podolia*, and which is navigable in *Poland*, it is a good quarter of a league in this place. The *Turks* already expected us there with impatience, that they might ſell their proviſions; their greedineſs after money made them, as ſoon as they perceived us on the oppoſite ſhore, row with all their ſtrength to join us. 1709.

It is eaſy to gueſs with what eagerneſs men almoſt famiſhed waited their arrival. As it was to be feared there would be great diſorders, the King placed guards near the river to prevent any confuſion when the barks drew to the ſhore; and to take care that his Majeſty and his Court were firſt ſerved.

The *Turks* at their arrival knew very well how to turn this impatience to their profit, and they made an advantage, like *Jews*, of the condition they ſaw us in; and particularly when they ſaw we gave them money, without even agreeing on the price of their proviſion, which they diſtributed to the poor famiſhed *Swedes*, juſt as they thought proper. However, they were very well contented on both ſides, the *Turks* that they made a good market of us, and the *Swedes* that they had ſatiſfied the moſt preſſing hunger.

The proviſion which they brought us conſiſted in ſheep, fowls, fiſh, bread, biſcuits, figs, ſeveral ſorts of wine, ſpice, wood, *&c.* The ſheep were large, beautiful and extremely fat; the fowls reſembled the common ſort; the bread and the biſcuit was very well baked, and of a good taſte, and the figs were neither freſh nor whole, but cut, candied, and faſtened by the

1709. the dozen to ſtalks of ſtraw, which we bought at firſt at a groat a dozen; but afterwards for the ha.f of that price.

As to wine, they brought us different ſorts; but the greateſt part was the wine of the *Crim*, very heady, not agreeable, and a little upon the red. They alſo brought us another ſort, which they ſaid was *Greek* wine; and that it was as ſtrong as that of the *Crim*, but it was infinitely more agreeable. Theſe two ſorts of wine were not ſo dear in proportion as the other proviſions. It was nevertheleſs neceſſary to take great care, becauſe it was eaſy to be overcome with the ſtrength of theſe wines, and even before the thirſt was quenched. Our men, who were very dry, felt the bad effects of it, which at the firſt cauſed ſome diſorder. We found afterwards that this drink was not only incapable of quenching thirſt, but even augmented it; for which reaſon we ceaſed buying it. The ſheep and the wood was reſerved for the King, who had ſcarce eat any thing hot all the time we were in the deſart.

We had ſome difficulty in dealing with the *Turks*, becauſe we had no knowledge of either their money or their language, having no body amongſt us who could ſpeak it. They brought with them a *Jew*, who ſerved for an interpreter; but what ſignifies one man amongſt ſo many people, where the croud and confuſion was ſo great? Their ſmall money conſiſted moſtly in *aſpres* and *paraſi*, of which they talked much; and ours were *gros* and *copekes*, having with us in ſmall ſilver only theſe two ſorts; the former *German*, and the latter *Ruſſian*. As the *copekes* were extremely ſmall, the *Turks* at firſt made

made ſome difficulty of taking them; but the *Jew* having inſtructed them in the *Saxon* coin, and particularly the *drittels* or *German* florins, they took them with pleaſure; becauſe they ſhould get a great deal afterwards, by either melting or changing them. However, the ducats pleaſed them better than any other ſort of coin, and they even begged us to be provided with them; for altho' afterwards each man ſtood on his guard, we were nevertheleſs obliged greatly to give way to the avarice of the *Turks*, who let ſlip no opportunity of crying up the value of their goods, and of ſelling them as dear as poſſibly they could. 1709.

As his Majeſty did not take ſo much care of himſelf as of his poor ſoldiers, he cauſed both bread and meat to be diſtributed amongſt them; giving orders that oxen, ſheep and other food, ſhould be bought to refreſh them. A *Turk* coming forward at the beginning with a ſheep and ſome other proviſion which he preſented to the King, this Prince ordered him twelve ducats; which being reported to the others, they came in crouds from all parts, and laid at his feet all the beſt they had to regale him. His Majeſty ſtill continued to give them marks of his liberality, which, joined to that grand and majeſtick air which they ſaw ſhine in him, immediately inſpired them with a veneration for his perſon; ſo that they are very much in the wrong who decry this nation as extremely barbarous: for the *Turks* eſteem virtue, and ſhew, except ſome few faults, as much, and, it may be, more candour, honeſty and charity, than many Chriſtian Nations.

As

1709. As it was not expedient to ſtay long on this ſide the river, the enemy being in full march to overtake us, his Majeſty very much preſſed the paſſage, ſending again to the Baſhaw of *Oczakow* [n], to remind him of executing his orders.

This Baſhaw did not deny but that he had received orders from the Seraſkier of *Bender*, concerning the King and a ſmall retinue; but he ſaid that theſe orders made no mention of his Majeſty's troops, and conſequently that he could only let the King with ſome domeſticks paſs; that he was going to prepare all that would be neceſſary for this paſſage, but for the troops he could not diſpenſe with the orders from *Conſtantinople*. At the ſame time he forbid, under the moſt rigorous puniſhments, all the watermen and merchants who had brought us proviſions, to take any *Swede* aboard. There was only one little bark which was always kept in readineſs for the King and ſome few neceſſary attendants.

The King ſurprized at the Baſhaw's interpreting the Seraſkier's orders in this manner, declared plainly, that he would not paſs the river without all his men, whom he would never abandon; and at the ſame time he ſent the Baſhaw word, that when he firſt aſked leave to paſs, it was not for himſelf alone, and that the Seraſkier's orders, that he ſhould tranſport him as ſoon as poſſible, muſt certainly include his followers. But it was talking to a man that was deaf, who was not at all inclined to favour the *Swedes*, altho' they did every thing in their power to gain him, both by promiſes and preſents;

[n] This town, which is ſituated on the other ſide of the *Bog*, was but five or ſix leagues diſtance from us.

ſents; which at firſt was all in vain, but afterwards upon our giving him a conſiderable ſum, he conſented to our demand, and even without receiving any farther orders from *Conſtantinople*. 1709.

The Coſſacks we had amongſt us very much augmented his ill humour, and were partly the cauſe he was obſtinate ſo long: for he would have been perſuaded in favour of the *Swedes* without our being at ſuch an expence, if the Coſſacks, who were always ſuſpected by the *Turks*, and particularly in this country, had not been with us. In this dangerous ſituation we had no other reſource left, till we had prevailed on the Baſhaw, but by great promiſes, to engage the merchants to tranſport the *Swedes*. We happily perſuaded one, whoſe boat could hold fifty, to promiſe to tranſport them the next day for two ducats each man.

The *Swedes*, all men of diſtinction, who had bargained for this paſſage, went in the evening the ſeventeenth of *July* into the bark, having employed all the day in concluding their bargain; they ſtayed there all night, that they might go upon ſure grounds, and for fear the merchant ſhould change his mind; but when day broke, the eighteenth of *July*, they ſaw neither the merchant, who had already received half the money, nor his rowers: thoſe who were imbarked reſolved to take ſome *Swediſh* ſoldiers to row them over to the other ſide without waiting any longer. When they arrived at the middle of the river, the *Turk*, who was maſter of the bark, met them, having about twenty men with him in his boat, and cried out like a fury to the *Swedes* to return to land, and that otherwiſe they ſhould inſtantly repent

1709. repent it. These menaces made no impression on the *Swedes*, and they even continued to row towards the opposite shore. The *Turkish* merchant to intimidate them, ordered his men to make ready to fire; our men at the same time put themselves in a posture of defence, and by that means struck such an awe into the *Mussulmen* that they retreated, and arrived on the other bank before the *Swedes*, who, being uncertain what the *Turks* would do at their landing, held themselves in readiness for all events, but the affair went better than was expected; and except some few abuses, which the *Swedes* pretended not to hear, the affair was terminated without their being forced to come to an engagement. The *Turks* contented themselves with obliging the *Swedes* presently to quit the bark, into which they threw themselves with precipitation, and rowed towards *Oczakow*.

The *Swedes* who were passed over, were very glad to find themselves in a place of safety; but they were very nearly concerned at the sad fate of all the rest, because no *Turk* durst render them this charitable piece of service to transport them, being strictly forbid by the Bashaw; who however, being gained by money as above mentioned, the *Turks* gave them boats towards the evening of the eighteenth of *July*; and we made so good use of them that day, and the next being the nineteenth of *July*, that we passed over a great number of men.

As to the King, who had his bark in readiness, he still continued to take care to transport his men, as well to encourage them, as to make the Bashaw fear he should run a great risk if he did not speedily send more barks to

transport

transport all the rest. The King appeared fully resolved to stay on that side, till all his men were transported. The *Turkish* Governour at last sent more barks, but it was too late, the King had already passed, and the *Russians* arriving soon after, took prisoners all those who remained on land. The King's train, after the passage, was composed of the Hettman *Mazeppa*, the Major-Generals *Axel-Sparr*, *Hardh*, *Lagercrona* and *Poniatofski*; the Colonels *Ornstedt*, *Hierta* and *Dahldorf*; the Lieutenant-Colonels *Gyllenkrok*, *Ehrenschild*, *Funk*, *Silverhielm*, *Grothusen* and *Leyonbrink*; the Adjutant-General *Gyllenkla*, and of several other officers of distinction and quality, with the remainder of the *Drabans* and some soldiers, amounting in all to four hundred men, or thereabouts; besides some Cossack officers. 1709.

As to the Court, it was composed of Marshal *Düben*, the Chamberlains *Thornschold* and *Klingstierna*; the Gentlemen of the Court, *Clüsendorf* and *Cronmark*, Bishop *Malmberg* the King's confessor, who afterwards died at *Bender*, and who had succeeded Mr. *Nordberg* taken prisoner at *Pultowa*; the two masters of his Majesty's pantry, a butler, a controller, a cook, some under-cooks and butlers, and several foot-men.

The Chancery was composed of Mr. *Müllern*, Counsellor to the Chancery; Mr. *Fieff*, Counsellor of war; the three Chancellors *Bunge*, *Hyltéen*, and *Von Kochen*, and some Clerks; which in all amounted to five or six hundred men.

The rest might all have passed very easily from the time we arrived at the *Bog*, if the Bashaw had not testified so much ill-will towards us, and if he had furnished us in good time with

1709. with the boats which were neceſſary, there being great numbers at *Oczakow*; but the obſtinacy of this *Turk*, before he was brought over by money, was the cauſe that in the afternoon of the nineteenth the *Ruſſians* ſurprized the reſt of our men, immediately ſtopt ſome of the veſſels, and fired upon thoſe who at their arrival quitted the ſhore to croſs the river.

As the *Swedes* were not able to oppoſe forces ſo much ſuperiour, they were ſoon obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners; but as to the Coſſacks who knew the country perfectly well, they ſaved themſelves by croſſing the deſart, and were not long purſued by the *Ruſſians*, who being fatigued as well as the *Swedes*, were not in a condition to overtake them. Beſides, the *Ruſſians* had already ſufficiently violated the *Turkiſh* frontiers, and committed too many hoſtilities upon the Grand Seignor's territories, to venture at any further exceſſes, which might draw upon them fatal conſequences, if the *Turks* ſhould be incenſed and take the field to cut off their retreat, for which reaſon they ſpeedily returned to the *Boriſthenes*.

It was not then ſufficient that theſe poor unhappy men had already ſuffered the moſt horrible miſeries and fatigues in paſſing the deſart, but they were forced to croſs it yet a ſecond time as ſlaves, and in a condition much more ſorrowful and deplorable. There were very few of them who arrived at the *Muſcovite* army; for the Coſſacks informed us that they had found a great many of them in the deſart, who were overcome by hunger, miſery and fatigue, the *Ruſſians* themſelves having repaſſed this vaſt deſart with great difficulty. Thoſe few of them who had the good fortune to ſave themſelves,

ſelves, were very much comforted when they ſaw the King in ſafety, notwithſtanding the uncertainty of their fate, being in a foreign country, and at the diſcretion of a people of whom the *Europeans* commonly form very falſe ideas. They nevertheleſs greatly regretted the loſs of their faithful companions, and alſo of their baggage, and all they had brought with them from the *Boriſthenes* as far as the *Bog*; which the enemy there ſeized and carried off. The greateſt part complained more particularly of the loſs of their horſes, of which very few had paſſed the river; ſo that even ſeveral perſons of diſtinction were under a neceſſity of travelling on foot. 1709.

As ſoon as the Baſhaw had begun to change his conduct towards us, he ordered proviſion and other things neceſſary to be tranſported to our camp. The *Turkiſh* merchants came thither in crouds, and brought us all ſorts of commodities; and amongſt others, horſes and waggons, which they ſold very dear to thoſe who were able to pay for them, which however comforted our men who were terribly fatigued and dejected. The King only, notwithſtanding his wound and the ſorrowful ſpectacle he had juſt ſeen of his men dragged into ſlavery almoſt before his eyes, preſerved his uſual grandeur of mind and a tranquillity quite uncommon and worthy of a hero.

We then began to hope, that inſtead of the deſart through which we had paſſed, we ſhould have the good fortune to meet in our rout towns and villages; but we greatly deceived ourſelves in this reſpect, we had not yet croſſed all this vaſt deſart which ſtill continued, ſo that in the day we were expoſed to an extraordinary

1709. heat without being able to find the leaſt ſhade, and in the night we had only the ground for matreſſes and quilts, and the ſky to cover us. But as we at leaſt found ourſelves in ſafety, in regard to the enemy who could no longer purſue us, all thoſe who were able to be at any expence, bought ſmall *Turkiſh* waggons, made in the manner of the country, namely, of the length of a man, very narrow and without any iron, and ſo light that one horſe is able to draw them, they have four wheels and a board at the top, of the depth of a ſpan and a half, which is covered with felt; we accommodated ourſelves with theſe carriages the beſt we could, and continued our march but ſlowly. In the day theſe carriages ſerved us for ſhelter in the places where we encamped, in the night we uſed them inſtead of beds; when it rained, they were our tiles; they at the ſame time held our little proviſion, and into them we could retire and ſhelter our ſelves as *Diogenes* did formerly in his tub.

It then appeared to us, that the country itſelf obliged the inhabitants to live there in the manner of the ancient *Scythians*; for although this famous people have for a long time ceaſed making any figure in the world, their manner of living is yet ſo much practiſed in all this country, that they ſtill continue the ſame rambling and vagabond life, without either fire or fixed habitation, continually decamping from one place to another, without building either towns or villages.

It was a ſpectacle equally melancholly and ridiculous, to ſee us in the morning come out from under the felts of theſe waggons; nor was the manner in which we drove them all day leſs ridiculous.

diculous. We nevertheleſs travelled more conveniently in them through the deſart, than we did formerly on horſeback: the fatigue of which became at laſt quite inſupportable. As ſoon as we were provided with neceſſaries to continue our journey, we began the march; becauſe the place where we then were failed in good paſture and freſh water. We then drew directly towards *Oczakow*, ſtill croſſing a great plain which bounded our ſight. When we ſaw his Majeſty take this rout, we were in hopes he would fix his camp near this town, where we might refreſh and repoſe our ſelves at our eaſe; but this was neither the intention of his Majeſty, nor of the Baſhaw: ſo that we turned ſuddenly on the right of *Oczakow*, marching through uncultivated and uninhabited fields, and encamped three leagues from this town. 1709.

However, this town was of great uſe to us; for the Baſhaw gave ſome *Swedes* who were to buy the King's proviſions the neceſſary paſſports, with free leave to enter there. Several made uſe of this opportunity to buy a thouſand little things in the town, which they wanted the more as the diſtempers cauſed by the miſeries we had ſuffered, began to ſpread amongſt us; and eſpecially the dyſſentery, which very few, except the King, eſcaped.

This diſtemper immediately ſeized us after our arrival at the *Bog*, and as ſoon as we began to eat what the *Turks* brought us thither; their heady wine, the figs, and all thoſe candied fruits, could not agree with that quantity of water with which we had loaded our ſtomachs going through the deſart in the exceſſive heat, to which we had been expoſed.

1709. We ſtayed in the firſt camp on this ſide of the *Bog*, the twenty-firſt and twenty-ſecond of *July*. His Majeſty employed all that time in conſulting on the preſent ſituation of affairs; he was reſolved to ſend ſomebody to *Conſtantinople*. For this purpoſe he ſpoke to ſeveral perſons, but they refuſed being charged with this commiſſion, under pretence that they neither knew the ſtate of affairs, nor the cuſtoms nor manners of the country. His Majeſty then ſent for Mr. *Neugebaver*, a native of *Dantzick*, and who having retired out of the *Muſcovite* ſervice, had for ſome time followed the army in quality of a voluntier, with a convenient penſion. His Majeſty ſpoke to him of it himſelf, and Mr. *Neugebaver* conſulting only his zeal for his Majeſty's ſervice, immediately accepted the employment. They without delay diſpatched his credential letters, and the following letter from the King of *Sweden* to the Grand Signor.

To the moſt high, moſt powerful, moſt glorious and invincible Emperor ACHMET, *Son of* MAHOMET *the Fourth; Emperor of diverſe Empires, King of many Kingdoms, Sovereign and Protector of ſeveral different Nations; whom God protect, and prolong your Reign.*

" THIS Letter, ſign'd by our Royal Hand,
" is to give your Highneſs notice of our
" arrival in your dominions; and to inform you
" of the misfortune that happened to us in
" thoſe of the Czar, after we had thus far as
" fortunately as juſtly chaſtiſed the violation
" of

" of the law of nations and the faith of trea- 1709.
" ties ſolemnly ſworn to. After having forced
" King *Auguſtus* to renounce the Crown of *Po-*
" *land*, of which he was rather the tyrant than
" the King, gave that nation a King from
" amongſt themſelves, who is a friend to your
" ſublime Port; after we had chaſed the Czar,
" his Ally and Colleague in perfidy, from *Po-*
" *land*, which he had ſet in a flame, and purſued
" him as far as the town of *Pultowa*, to give
" him laws and break his pernicious deſigns;
" heaven has permitted our army, diminiſh'd
" and fatigu'd by rough marches, and wanting
" the moſt neceſſary things for ſubſiſtence, be-
" ing ſuddenly overwhelm'd by a multitude
" three times more numerous and provided
" with all we wanted, in the end to loſe the
" battle.

" Not being in a condition, nor near enough
" our provinces to raiſe a new army, and be-
" ing willing to eſcape falling into the hands of
" a barbarous enemy, we are come to ſeek in
" this Empire an aſylum againſt his perfidy,
" under the auguſt protection of your Imperial
" Highneſs, with means of immediately re-
" joining the army we have left in *Poland*,
" under the command of the worthy King,
" whom we have given to that Kingdom, to
" ſupport him on his throne, in caſe that he
" whom we have by force dethroned ſhould
" attempt to re-aſcend it, contrary to the faith
" of Treaties which we have made with him.

" What we propoſe to our ſelves beſides
" this aſylum, and theſe means, is the friendſhip
" of your Imperial Highneſs; to whom we offer
" and promiſe on our part the moſt ſincere at-
" tachment we are capable of. The firſt proof

1709. " we think ourſelf under an obligation to give
" of this attachment to your Highneſs, is to let
" you know that if we give the Czar, whoſe
" ambition is no more guided by courage
" than by faith and honour, time to make
" uſe of the advantage our ill fortune has gi-
" ven him over us, he will fall ſuddenly on
" ſome of your Provinces; as he and his Allies
" in perfidy have done upon ours, beginning an
" unjuſt war, not only without any declaration
" of it, but even in the midſt of a peace eſta-
" bliſhed in the moſt ſolemn manner, at the
" time when he aſſured us by our reciprocal
" Miniſters, that he was ſincerely reſolv'd re-
" ligiouſly to obſerve the treaties, and deſired
" us to do the ſame thing on our part. But
" the ſeveral forts which this Prince has built
" upon the *Tanais*, and upon the *Palus Mæo-*
" *tis*, and his new fleet, ſufficiently publiſh his
" pernicious deſigns againſt your empire with-
" out alledging theſe examples of his perfidy.
" Things being in this ſituation, we ſee nothing
" more uſeful or more proper to prevent the
" danger with which this Prince threatens
" your auguſt Empire, than an alliance be-
" tween your ſublime Port and our Court, by
" virtue of which your Highneſs will put us in a
" condition of returning ſafely into *Poland* and
" our Provinces, under the guard of a body of
" your valiant horſe, and fortifying our army
" which is under the direction of a wiſe and
" faithful King, who will voluntarily enter
" into our confederacy. Which being once
" procured, we will yet once more carry our
" juſt arms as far as the heart of *Muſcovy*, to
" ſuppreſs the unjuſt ambition of the Czar.
" Finally, we will never forget the favours it

" ſhall pleaſe your Highneſs to confer upon us, 1709.
" and will ſeek all opportunities and means to
" give real proofs of our gratitude; and we
" ſhall always think it a particular honour and
" a real pleaſure to ſubſcribe our ſelf,

Your faithful Friend,

CHARLES, *Son of* CHARLES XI.

Mr. *Neugebaver* being furniſhed with his inſtructions, began his journey; but before his arrival at *Conſtantinople*, the *Turkiſh* Emperor had already been informed of all that had paſſed, by an Aga, who having three weeks before eſcorted Secretary *Klinkoſtrom* and Mr. *Sandul*, as above mentioned, to the army before *Pultowa*, had been eye-witneſs of the bloody battle which was fought there, and as ſoon as we had paſſed the *Bog* went on before to inform the Grand Seignor of what had happened; and alſo to give him intelligence of the King of *Sweden*'s approach, to put himſelf under his protection.

The next day, being the twenty-third of *July*, there arrived at the camp a *Turkiſh* officer, who was ſent by the Seraſkier of *Bender*, with letters full of politeneſs and civility for the King: in which this Governour greatly condoled the loſſes his Majeſty had ſuffered, offering at the ſame time to do him all the ſervice in his power; and ſending the King a tent which came very ſeaſonably, and which was immediately ſet up for his Majeſty.

The *Turk* made but a very ſhort ſtay, and after he had received a handſome preſent from his Majeſty, he returned very well ſatiſ-

1709. fied to *Bender*. At the ſame time we continued our march on the ſide of *Oczakow*, and we encamped as uſual in open field, without being able to diſcover on any part either villages, houſes or cottages.

All this country was but one dreadful deſart, known formerly by the name of *Solitudo Getarum*, *the Deſart of the Getæ*: it is at preſent included under the general name of *Tartary-Akerman*, and it extends itſelf from the North-weſt of *Iſhmaeli*, as far as *Oczakow*. There was not to be found the leaſt hut, but only ſome horſes which were guarded by the Tartars, who live to this day without following any other law than the inſtinct of pure nature; as did formerly the ancient vagabonds, which were collected or come out from among the *Daci*, the *Getæ*, and the *Scythians*, who overwhelmed the little *Scythia*, the *Taurica Cherſoneſus*, and the banks of the *Palus Mæotis* °. They form *hordes*, a ſort of portable village, with their covered waggons, and ſome tents called *Obas*, which ſerve for a retreat or habitation for their wives and children. Finally, they live upon horſe-fleſh and other cattel, cheeſe, milk, and particularly mare's milk; and whilſt one part make frequent inroads upon the neighbouring nations with freſh horſes, the other part feed thoſe who want reſt, to refreſh them; chuſing for that uſe the beſt fields, and the fineſt meadows, where their *Keddis* or *Hordes* remain as long as their graſs laſts.

It was with great difficulty we went through this deſart, which is about twenty leagues from *Oczakow*, as far as the *Nieſter*; and if the officious and

° See *La Mottraye*, Vol. II. pag. 39.

and interested *Mussulmen* had not had the goodness to follow us with all sorts of provision, and to set up a sort of market on the road, which we passed through, where we might be provided with every thing necessary, and even buy horses, we should never have been able to have supported the fatigue of this journey. 1709.

The milk which the *Turks* brought us was not good, because of the bitter taste which is caused by the great quantity of wormwood which grows in this desart; so that we liked better to buy water, altho' it was hot and disagreeable, by being brought a great way in the manner of the country. This water however was so dear, that very often one good draught came to two *gros*, or more. They also sold us wine, but as it was extreamly strong, it did not go off well, because it caused an excessive heat; besides, it could not at all quench our thirst. They brought us several other things; amongst others, excellent filberts, which were not inferiour either in goodness or size to those in *Italy*. All this enliven'd the march, especially in the places where we encamped; because a great number of merchants and victuallers always assembled there.

When the King arrived at the distance of a league from the town, he gave orders for us to encamp and stay there that night, and the next day, being the twenty-fourth of *July*. In this place we observed in his Majesty, what no one had ever remark'd before, outward marks of a deep melancholy. The news he had just received of the death of Madam Royal his Sister, the Duchess of *Holstein-Gottorp*, was the cause of this change.

Mr.

1709. Mr. *Klinkoſtrom* had brought a letter from the Queen-Dowager, to inform him of this diſmal news; but as he arrived before *Pultowa* ſome few days after the King was wounded, Count *Piper* thinking it improper, in a ſituation ſo dangerous for the King's health, to diſcover to him his ſiſter's death; ſtrictly forbad *Klinkoſtrom* to acquaint him with it, hoping to find a more favourable time to tell him of the Death of a Princeſs, whom he had always tenderly loved. The loſs of the battle of *Pultowa*, followed with great diſorders occaſioned by our retreat through the deſart, was the reaſon his Majeſty was not yet acquainted with this news; and they reſolved to ſtay till we had paſſed the *Bog*, and then to communicate it to him; which, for ſeveral reaſons, could now be concealed from him no longer.

Mr. *Müllern*, Counſellor of the Chancery, was charged with this commiſſion. He endeavoured as much as poſſible to ſoften the bitterneſs of this news, which could not but be a great trouble to him. The King, notwithſtanding all his heroiſm and greatneſs of mind, was quite overcome, at hearing of the death of a ſiſter who was ſo dear to him. Hitherto all the loſſes he had ſuffered, had not been capable of moving his conſtancy. He had always appeared indifferent, and with a ſerene and tranquil countenance in the midſt of all his late misfortunes; but this laſt blow quite caſt him down, and altho' before, notwithſtanding the pain of his wound, thoſe who were familiar with him had never heard him fetch the leaſt ſigh, he appeared ſo much oppreſſed by his

ſiſter's

ſiſter's death, that he retired into his tent, and would neither ſee or ſpeak to any body. 1709.

As this Prince from his youth had harden'd himſelf by fatigue and continual warlike exerciſes, it was generally thought, that he was in a manner inſenſible of all that is called tenderneſs, and that the moſt fatal events were not capable of moving his conſtancy and firmneſs; or elſe, which is more probable, that he was ſubject to theſe affections, but that he had ſo well conquered and brought them under, that he never let them appear outwardly, and that he always kept them deeply concealed in his mind. Nevertheleſs, we ſaw with aſtoniſhment, on this occaſion, what an effect the tenderneſs for a ſiſter ſo much beloved could have on a heart otherwiſe the moſt firm and magnanimous, that perhaps was ever known. In a word, this death even coſt him tears, the only ones he had ever ſhed in all his reign [p].

Nevertheleſs this Prince, after he had given ſome time to the firſt ſentiments of grief, which nature inſpired him with, ſoon recovered that greatneſs of mind, which he had always ſhewn on all other occaſions; and ſubmitted himſelf, with reſpect to the irrevocable decrees of God. He did not delay returning an anſwer to *Stockholm*. At the ſame time he gave ſeveral officers and ſoldiers, who were either wounded or ſick, leave

[p] This muſt be underſtood about temporal things; for all the world knows, and the King's different Confeſſors could never enough praiſe his Majeſty's devotion, when he communicated, which he did twice a year. It was very well known, that for two whole hours this Prince remained upon his knees, and generally ſhed tears, ſo tender was his piety.

1709. leave to go to *Oczakow*, to be cured there; and to ſtay till ſuch time as they were able to come to his Majeſty at *Bender*.

It is very probable the King would have preferred *Oczakow* to *Bender*, if the Baſhaw had behaved with more civility to him; but this reaſon and ſome others at laſt determined his Majeſty to quit the neighbourhood of *Oczakow*: it was really very inconvenient, that the diſpatches which were ſent to *Conſtantinople*, were always forced to go through the deſart, unleſs they ſent them by ſea.

We decamped the twenty-fifth of *July*, after having ſtayed a day and two nights in the neighbourhood of *Oczakow*; and encamped two leagues from thence in the deſart. In this rout, we were obliged for ſeveral days to defend our ſelves againſt the continual attacks of a new enemy. A terrible number of locuſts generally aroſe every day before noon from the ſea-ſhore, firſt in a ſmall number, but afterwards like clouds, which obſcured the air, and made it ſo dark and thick, that the ſun appeared in all this vaſt plain to be entirely eclipſed.

Theſe inſects did not fly near the earth, but almoſt of the ſame height as ſwallows, till they have found a field to pitch on. We often met with theſe inſects in our way, and riſing they made a noiſe like that of a tempeſt; they afterwards fell upon us like a ſtorm, pitching on the ſame plain where we were, and without any fear of being trod under feet by our horſes; when they aroſe from the ground they covered us all over in ſuch a manner, that we could not ſee before us till we had paſſed

the

the place where they were. In all places where 1709.
theſe locuſts pitch'd, they made a terrible havock, eating the graſs by the roots; ſo that inſtead of that fine verdure, with which the country was before covered, there was nothing now to be ſeen but dry and ſandy ground. It could not be believed that ſo ſmall an animal could paſs the ſea, if experience had not ſo often convinced theſe poor people of it: for after having paſſed a ſmall arm of the *Euxin* ſea, coming from the iſlands and neighbouring countries, theſe inſects croſſed great provinces, where they deſtroyed every thing they met as far as to eat the very doors of the houſes.

The next day being the twenty-ſixth of *July*, we continued our march ſtill through the ſame deſart, or the *Tartary* of *Akerman*; and we encamped four leagues from the place which we had left the night before. After we had ſtayed there that night, we went the next day five leagues, paſſing near the lake *Teligon*, and encamped upon the borders of the *Euxin* ſea, which we coaſted along all this day. The water is extreamly clear, and eſpecially near the ſhore; ſo that it is falſely called the *Black Sea*, a name which was formerly given it to diſtinguiſh it from the *White* and *Red Seas*, as there are the *White*, *Red* and *Black Ruſſia*. In the evening, as the King came to the ſpot where we were to encamp, there arrived an Envoy from the Han of *Tartary*, who demanded an audience of him. He immediately obtained it, and after he had given his Majeſty a letter from his maſter, he made him a preſent of a ſmall *Tartarian* waggon, which was drawn by four horſes, and in which there was a tent. The King

1709. King immediately anſwered the Han's letter; and the Envoy having received a ſuitable preſent, departed to the *Crim.*

The twenty-eighth of *July* we continued our march by the ſide of the *Black Sea.* The heat was exceſſive, and the water beginning to fail, we ſuffered a great deal. We went four leagues that day. The twenty-ninth and the day following, having quitted the ſea and marched ſeven or eight leagues from it, we came to a wretched *Tartarian* village, having not ſeen a ſingle houſe in twenty days march from the *Boriſthenes.* Nevertheleſs, the King forbad us lodging there, that we might not incommode the inhabitants; and we only took what they offered themſelves, which was immediately paid for with ready money. This village, the thatched houſes of which rather reſembled caves under ground than houſes, and the people appearing to us extreamly miſerable, was the moſt piteous ſight in the world. The thirty-firſt we went ſix leagues, marching along the ſide of the *Nieſter*; and after we had paſſed the little river of *Kurkahun*, we at laſt encamped the next day a league from *Bender.*

His Majeſty here heard the news, that the Czar had ſent to *Conſtantinople*, to demand the delivery of *Mazeppa*; but that the Grand Seignor had generouſly refus'd it him, which gave this Prince great pleaſure. We ſtayed two days in this camp, where, contrary to our expectation, arrived ſome *Swedes*, who at the time that the *Ruſſians* had ſurprized the others on the *Bog*, concealed themſelves among ſome reeds, and had found means, after the enemy's departure, to paſs the river,

river, by the assistance of the *Turkish* barks, and afterwards to overtake us. 1709.

At our arrival near *Bender*, we found the Seraskier had already made all the necessary preparations for the King's reception; and as soon as he knew that his Majesty was on his way towards that town, he, with some horse, came out to meet him half way. After he had made a polite compliment to the King, he told him, that he had set up a camp by the Grand Seignor's orders near *Bender*, on the other side of the river, for his Majesty and all his men, where he would find all that he had thought could be necessary for him; and that he desired him to receive graciously the pains he had taken on this account. The King answered this compliment in a very obliging manner. Then this Seraskier and his horse having surrounded the King's coach, we began again the march, continuing to coast along the *Niester*. At our arrival before *Bender*, from which the river separated us, they fired all the cannon there round the fortress, at several different times. When the King entered the camp, he found there a magnificent tent, which was pitched for his Majesty. Before this tent were ranged, on both sides, two companies of Janisaries, who sounded their warlike musick to do honour to his Majesty. After the King had entered the tent, and given thanks to the Seraskier, the latter returned to the town with his retinue; but he left the companies of the Janisaries, with an Aga, for the King's guard. This Seraskier took care before his departure, that the principal officers and all the Court were well lodged in fine tents, which had been pitched

1709. pitched for them, and where they had every thing convenient; that of his Majesty particularly, being of a grandeur and magnificence worthy a King.

As the minutest Particulars relating to *Charles* XII. deserve to be recorded, we have thought proper, that we may omit nothing, to insert here the following Verses of Secretary *Ronnow Dublar* on the Picture of *Charles* XII. which we have placed before the First Volume of his History.

On the most excellent Portrait of CHARLES XII. *King of* Sweden, *painted by* KRAFT.

In Opus KRAFTII *Clarissimum pingentis* Suionum *Imperatorem* CAROLUM XII.

Imperatorum vis summum pingere *Krafti?*
Define: Vix hominis res foret ista labor.
Pinge simul *Curii*, *Marcelli* & *Cæsaris* ora:
In tribus haud pictus CAROLUS unus erit.
Lapsa Polo nitidam virtus heroïca sedem
Omnis in hoc uno pectore fixit ovans.

Upon the Same.

In Idem.

Cæsare Marcello, *Curio* nil clarius extat:
Clarior at pictus Dux tribus unus adest.
Actior hoc, illo melior, frugalior isto,
Nulli impar, punctum CAROLUS omne tulit.

CAROLUS

CAROLUS immensi vastissima gloria mundi,
Axem qui *Suionum*, major *Atlante* gerit.

Londini Scanorum, Die
15 Aug. 1717.

Magnus RONNOW DUBLAR.

His Majesty thinking the Picture had too great a resemblance of himself, defaced it: On which Mr. *Dublar* made the following Verses.

On the defacing the Picture of CHARLES, *drawn by* KRAFT.

In dissectam Effigiem CAROLINAM *Operis* KRAFTIACI.

Ludere Pictorem cupis, optime CAROLE, vultus
Dum celer augustos scindit acuta chalybs.
Falleris: in tuto est Pictoris laurea: dudum
Uranie in Cœlum transtulit ora tua.
Ecce micas illic; nihil hic, quod ab arte remansit,
Est, nisi purpurei luminis umbra tui.
En! ut inocciduæ tua lucis stella recepit
Te nitidum in nitido, Stella Borea, sinu.
Non vel Apellei fuit unquam illustrior auctor,
Vel fuit Herculei justior oris honor.
Quælibet orta recens Dea vibrat amica Tonantis
In faciem visam basia mille tuans.
Pascit in hac oculos tua jam lectissima Mater
Arctos UDALRICÆ nomine culta novo.
Hanc Jove nata sibi, quæ Martem sprevit, amoris.
Fassa placere faces, CAROLE, Pallas amat.

Hæc Princeps ſit Imago Tui, victoria, fani,
Sit Princeps fani Pax rediviva Tui.
Quam bona mens & amicæ Salus, arteſque fideles
Semper in Arctois ſuſpiciunto jugis.
Annua præcipue cum thura liberaverit horæ,
CAROLE, natali candida Flora tuæ.

Londini Scanorum ipſis
Calendis Martii 1718.

M. RONNOW DUBLAR.

Mr. *Kraft* preſently repaired the Picture, and acquitted himſelf ſo well, that the cut in it was ſcarce viſible. On which occaſion Mr. *Dublar* made the following Verſes.

On the repairing the Picture of King CHARLES. London *in* Scania, *June* 18*th, being the day in which his Majeſty entered into the thirty-ſeventh year of his age.*

In reparatam Effigiem CAROLINAM. Londini Scanorum, *die xviij. Junij, trigeſimo ſeptimo natali auguſtiſſimi* CAROLI. *Anno* 1718.

Vidit ut alma Venus divi ſimul omina vultus,
CAROLE Magne, Tui condecorare polum:
Illico deſcendens eadem hîc diſſecta refecit,
Ne non in Cupro ſtaret Imago tua.
Quam colerent Nymphæ, Reginæ, & quotquot Amori
Dant operam, Caſtæ turba ſerena Deæ.
Quam colerent Populi, Reges, Heroës, Amici,
Æterni teſtes laudis in orbe tuæ,

Quam

Quam Tibi ſtas geminus, quam Candidus ore, Gradivo
Par animis, animi par bonitate, Jovi!
Nulla tuam faciem notat, hac medicante, Cicatrix,
Hac velut Æneæ nulla medente femur.
Kraftius obſtupuit, velut alter Iapis, hiulcum
Eximia vulnus conſolidante Dea.
Pictoris, Medicique, manum, circumdata nimbo,
Heroïs gemini rexit amica Venus.

M. RONNOW DUBLAR.

There can be no ſtronger proof of the great modeſty of *Charles* XII. than the following ſtory. His Majeſty ordered General *Schwerin* to write from *Norway* to Mr. *Dublar*, to compoſe an Inſcription for the Monument of Colonel *Clauſſen*, who was a Native of the Dutchy of *Luxembourg*, and died at *Norway*. Mr. *Dublar*, on this occaſion, added at the end of the Epitaph the two following Verſes.

Virtuti pretium ſcit ponere CAROLUS, Orbis Gloria, Virtutis fama, Corona, Jubar.

Harrebergæ, die 22 Sept. 1718.

When General *Schwerin* preſented this Epitaph to the King in *Norway*, he cut off thoſe two Verſes. An inſtance of modeſty, which the zeal of Mr. *Dublar*, for his Prince's glory, hath recorded in the following lines,

In abscissum abs Rege Distichon in Inscriptione positum Clausenianа.

Forfice dum truncas mea, CAROLE, carmina, totus
Forfice damnato, justior orbis ait.
Virtutis pretium, scit ponere CAROLUS orbis
Gloria, Virtutis fama, Corona, Jubar.
Non sic effigiem poteris delere modestus
Heroicæ mentis, CAROLE Magne, tuæ,
Justior Orbis habet jus in te maxime Regum,
Nec minimo vatum jus mihi suave deest.

Londini Scanorum, die
8 Oct. 1718.

Magnus RONNOW DUBLAR.

The End of the Third VOLUME.

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