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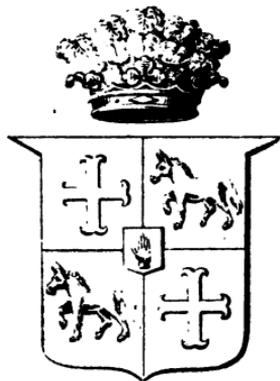
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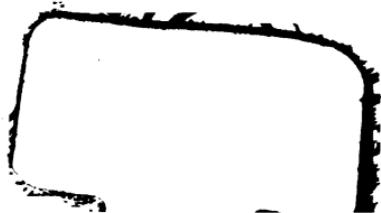
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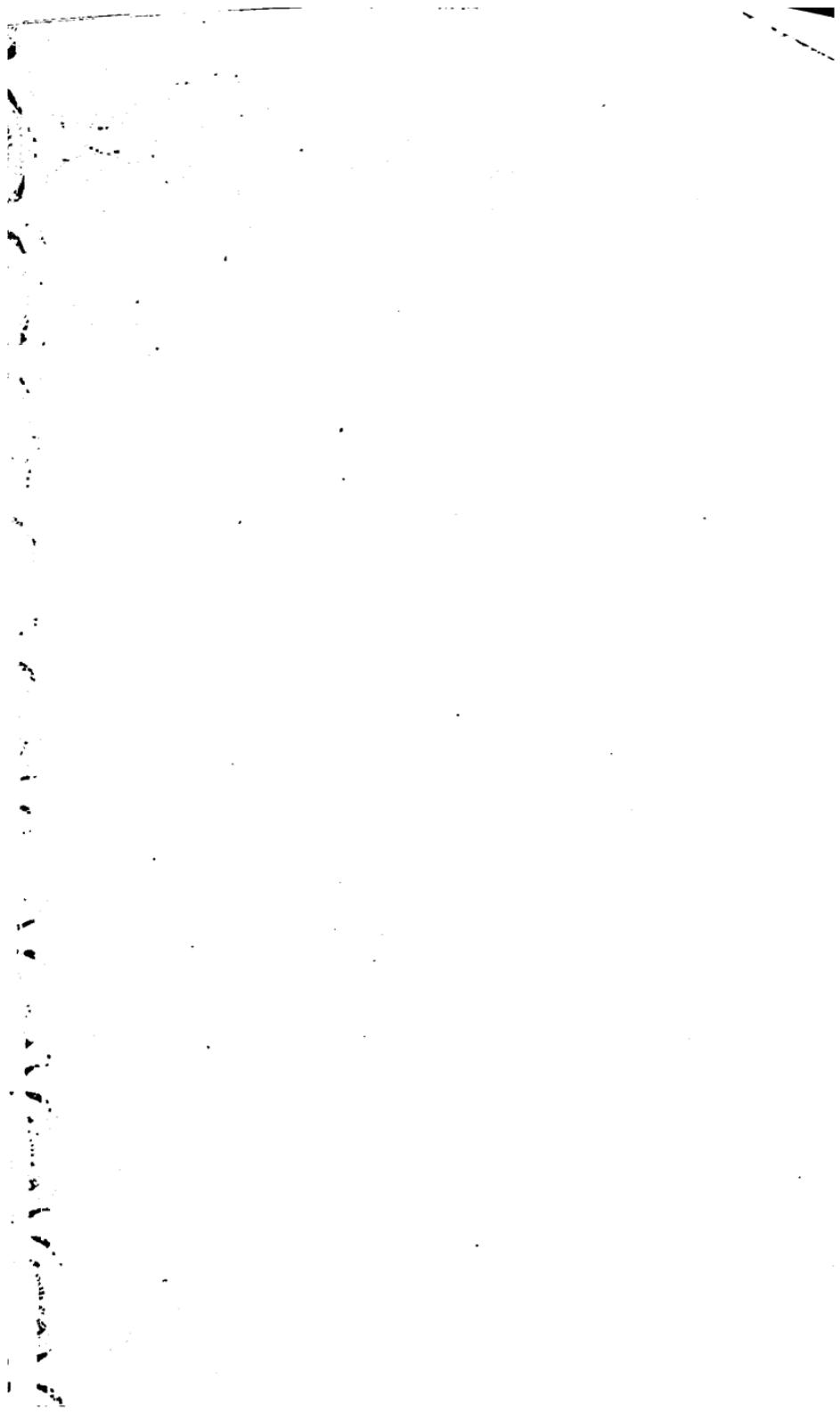
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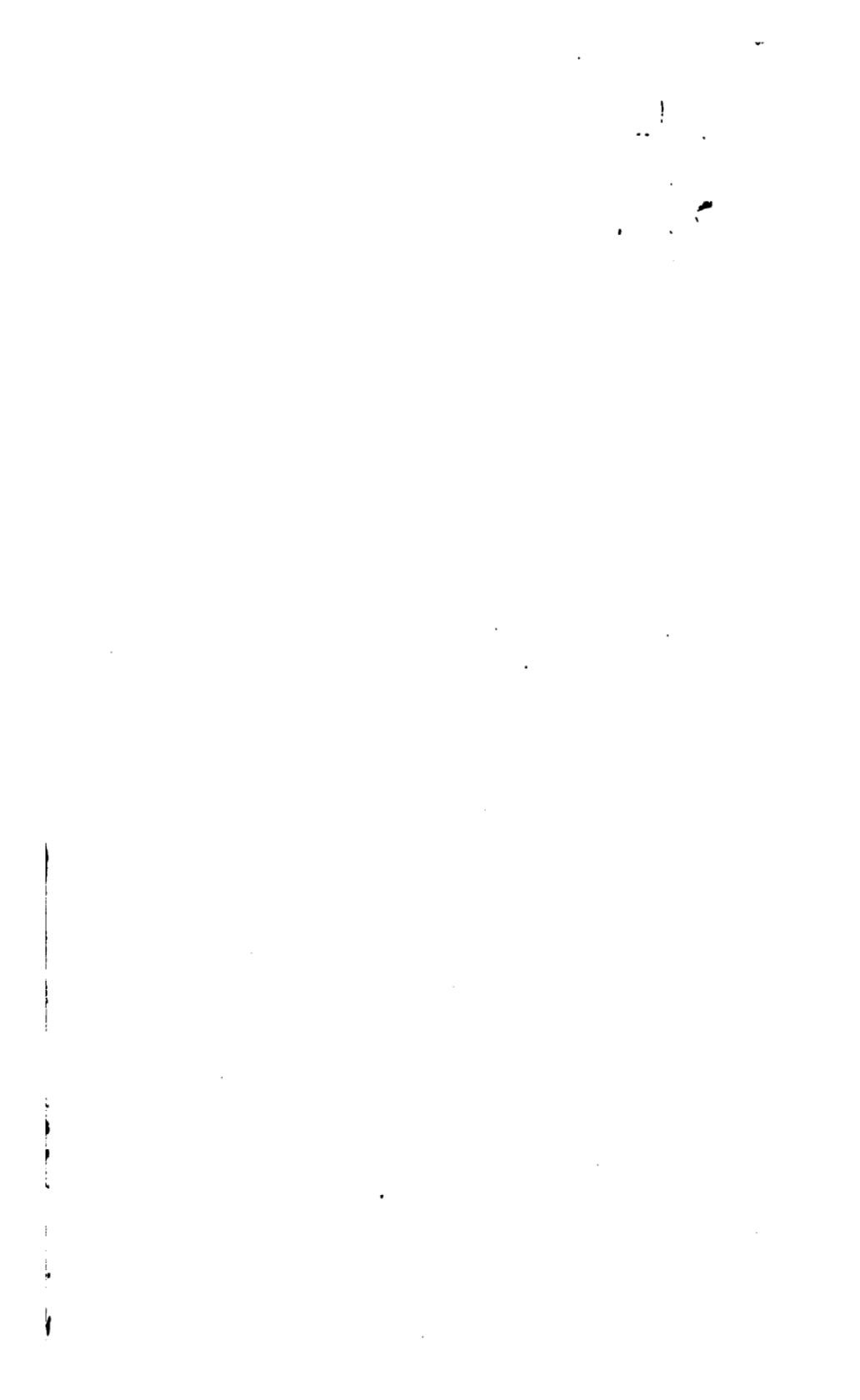


Sir Joseph Copley Bart.











An Account
OF
LIVONIA;
WITH A
RELATION
OF THE
Rise, Progress, and Decay
OF THE
Marian Teutonick Order.

The several Revolutions that have happen'd there to these present Times, with the Wars of *Poland, Sweden and Muscovy*, contending for that Province.

A particular Account of the Dukedoms of *Courland, Semigallia*, and the Province of *Pilten*.

To which is added

The Author's Journey from Livonia to Holland, in 1698. with his Observations upon Prussia, Brandenburg, Hanover, Hesse, and several other German Courts.

de Blomberg

Sent in Letters to his Friend in London.

LONDON: Printed for *Peter Buck*, at the Sign of the *Temple*, near the *Inner-Temple-Gate* in *Fleet-Street*, 1701.

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To the READER.

THese Letters not being de-
sign'd to be expos'd to the
Publick, when they were first
writ there was little Care taken in
the Method, Expression or Cor-
rectness of the Style. And since
no Account hath appeared as yet
of those Countries by a more able
Pen, from whence there is now an
Expectation of some notable E-
vents, from the Successors of the
same Princes, who formerly were
Actors in those long and bloody
Scenes in *Livonia*; a sudden Reso-
lution was taken to Print them,
the time not permitting further
Amendments, 'tishop'd they will
be Perus'd with a favourable
Censure.

The

The Contents of each Letter.

Probable Opinions why the North has been early inhabited, and wherein preferable to the South. That the Lituonians are Germans. Their Civility to Strangers, and of the Antiquity of the Germans.

Letter II.

Of the Extent of Livonia, with an account of Narwa, Riga, and its other chief Towns and Provinces. And a compendious deduction from the Ancient Livonian History, to the Year of our Lord 1261, with their several and various Successes against the Swedes, Danes, Goths, &c.

Letter III.

The Swedes Invade and Subdue Couronia Anno Christi 862. Beginnings of Christianity in Muscovy. Pretensions of the Emperors to the whole World. Bishop of Livonia's Dependency from the Empire. Erects an Order of Knighthood called Episterni. Of the Templars. King Waldemar II. of Denmark Conquers great part of Livonia. Loses it by an Accident. The Episterni Unite with the Teutonick Marian Order.

Letter IV.

Of the famous Marian Teutonick Order, and particularly of the great Master thereof Hermanus a Saltza.

Letter V.

Of the Heer-Meister in Livonia. The Quarrel betwixt the Knights and Bishops, and occasionally of the Battle that was fought at Tannenberg in Prussia, between the Knights of the Order, and the King of Poland, in which the Knights lost 40000, and the King 60000 Men. The Degeneracy of the Knights, and a remarkable Death. Of the Heer-Meister of

The Contents.

of Livonia. Russia reduced under one Head by John Basilides the First, &c.

Letter VI.

Of Gualternus Plettenberg, Heer-Meister of Livonia, his great Reputation, with a particular Description of the Battle he gave the Muscovites, wherein with a small Number he kill'd 100000 Russes. Of the Republick of Plescow; the Reformation in Livonia; the Death of Plettenberg, and the respect paid his Memory by the King of Sweden.

Letter VII.

The Causes of the Decay of the Teutonick Order by their inward Divisions and Luxury. The Muscovites threaten and Invade Livonia. The Livonians Jealousie of their Sovereign, and their Avarice and Sloath the first cause of their Ruin; the several steps to it taken by their powerful Neighbour the Czar. Livonia doubly surrendered by the Heer-Meister to Poland, and the contrary party to Sweden. The extinction of the Teutonick Knights in those Parts.

Letter VIII.

What happened after the Partition of Livonia. The beginning of the Wars of Poland and Sweden against the Muscovite. A Conspiracy against the Czar, discovered by one of the Plotters, and the Czars incredible Cruelty on their Wives, Daughters, Subjects, Servants, and ev'n Cattle. Two Letters of the unfortunate Deposed King of Sweden, Ericus the 14th. during his Imprisonment by his Brother.

Letter IX.

Of Duke Magnus of Holstein, the King of Denmark's Brother. He is declared King of Livonia by the Czar. Some Tragical Relations of the Czar's Barbarities, in killing and causing to be murdered 40000 Men. Moscow taken, and burnt by the Tartars. While King John of Sweden in compliance with his Wife, strives to introduce Popery into his Countries, the Muscovites with 80000 Men Invade and Harass Livonia. Is check'd by the Swedish General with a handful of Men; and seeks Peace. The Czar
at

The Contents.

at the Marriage of Duke Magnus, sings in Mirth the Creed of Athanasius, &c. Suspects King Magnus, destroys his Garrisons, surprizes, and imprisons him. The Czar's extream Cruelties at Wenden. The brave Death of those that fled to the Castle. The Swedes and Poles beat the Muscovites every where. The Czar to get the Pope's Mediation, pretends to Unite with the Romish Church. He kills his Son with a blow of a Cane. A Peace between Poland and Muscovy. The King of Poland design'd a small Fine instead of Corporal Punishments to the Peasants of Livonia, which they refus'd to comply with. The Swedes make IncurSIONS into the Heart of Muscovy. The Jesuits endeavour to settle at Riga. The Czar Iwan Wasilewicz dies in cruel Torments.

Letter X.

Of Sigismund, King of Poland, his Engagements and Promises to Sweden when he left it. Of Duke Maximilian of Austria. How Sigismund lost his Swedish Crown. Of the Polish General Zamoyiski, his Letter to Charles, Duke of Sudermania. Of a dreadful Famine. The Duke of Sudermania, declared by the State, King of Sweden. King Charles IX. of Sweden is defeated by the Poles in a great Battle, is saved by an Officers changing Horses with him, to the loss of his own Life. The Death of Charles IX. King of Sweden, succeeded by Gustavus Adolphus. The form of the Czar's Sweaxing to the Peace. The beginning of his brave Actions; takes Riga, &c. King Sigismund of Poland dies. Gustavus Adolphus killed at the Battle of Lutzen. Vladislaus, eldest Son to King Sigismund, declared King of Poland. A Truce for 26 Years between Sweden and Poland.

Letter XI.

Charles Gustavus, King of Sweden, breaks the Truce with Poland. A pleasant Contest betwixt the Swedish Ambassadors, and the Muscovite Inductor of Embassies: The Czar pre-ingag'd uses them with Contempt. In the mean while Gustavus over-runs the Kingdom of Poland, but soon loses it by a Massacre of his Men. The Town of Riga makes a vigorous defence against the Czar, who besieged it with

The Contents.

a numerous Army, the War between Sweden and Poland continues in Livonia. The King of Sweden surprises the Duke of Courland, contrary to the Treaty of the Neutrality granted him, and sends him Prisoner with all his Ducal Family to Juanogrod. That King's Ambitious Designs. Elector of Brandenburg Revenges the Duke of Courland. Swedes beaten out of Courland. Charles XI. of Sweden, undertakes an unlucky Expedition against the Elector of Brandenburg in favour of the French King.

Letter XII.

King Charles XI. of Sweden, gets the Arbitrary Power of his Kingdom, makes use of it to reduce the Estates and Lands of the Nobility and Gentry of Livonia. The beginning of their Troubles, the Resumption of Grants made by the Crown. They protest against it; and lay their Grievances before the King in an humble Petition, which is taken for a Capital Crime: The hard usage of the Livonians, and the ill consequences of it. King Charles XI. of Sweden dies.

Letter XIII.

Of Curonia, or Curlandia, and Semigallia: How these Provinces came to be erected into Dukedoms. Of the Dukes thereof. Of their Succession to Cleves; the Ducal Genealogy. Of the late Duke and his Dutcheffs, their Court and manner of Living. How his Ambassadors are treated when they receive the Investiture from the King of Poland. Of the Duke's Prerogative. Of the greatness of the former Polish Kings. What are, or may be the Dukes Forces. Of the Religion and Clergy of Livonia. An equal Privilege allow'd to the English and Livonian Bishops.

Letter XIV.

Of the Nobility in Curonia, Semigallia, and Piltten; how they derive their Pedigrees from ancient Noble German Families: Much given to Service in Wars. Of the Vulgar German People. Of the great Liberties and Privileges the Gentry of those Dukedoms enjoy; their great Power over their Tenants, &c.

Letter

The Contents.

Letter XV.

Of the Province of Pilten, formerly a Bishoprick in Catornia: Whence it had that Name. The Duke of Courland's Title to it, and his present Jurisdiction: The Pretensions of the Romish Bishops upon it. The Nobility thereof, and what great Immunities they enjoy, in partaking the same Privileges with the Gentry of Courland, and Semigallia. The Towns and Castles that belong to the Duke in Semigallia: Those appertaining to him in Courland and Pilten, &c.

Letter XVI.

Of the Duke of Courland's Decease, and the Succession of his only Son. Of the Elector of Brandenburg's Greatness. Of Prussia, its Limits and Name. Division of Royal and Ducal Prussia. The Antiquities of Prussia. The Ancient Prussians make a War about the Nick-Name. The Grant of it by the Emperor to the Teutonick Order. Its Ancient Kings. Its Nobility. Of an Inquisition formerly in Germany, and Prussia. University in Konisberg. Of Copernicus the great Mathematician. The Electrides of the Ancients are supposed to be Prussia, and Curonia. Sterling in English comes from Easterlings or Prussians.

Letter XVII.

A farther Account of the Electoral House of Brandenburg. Of Berlin the Residence of the Elector. His Dominions. Of some Courts in Saxony. Of Hanover and the Electoral House. Of the Princess Sophia, and the Young Electoral Prince, with the Dominions belonging to them and to Zell. An odd way of taking the Air. Of the Abbess of Hervorden. Of the Court of Hesse Castle, and its Provinces; with some remarkable Passages of the Ancestors of the Princes of that House. Of the Landgrave of Hesse-Hombourg. Of the Court of Nassau Sigen. Luther allows the Duke of Hesse a left handed Wife. Of Amalia, Elizabetha of Hanau, the Heroine of that Age. Of the Landgrave of Hesse-Hombourg, his fancy for Chymistry. Of Cologne, and the Oath taken by the Burgbers to their Archbishops. Of the Island of Tabago.

LETTER I.

LETTER I.

Probable Opinions, why the North has been early Inhabited; and wherein preferable to the South.

Of the Antiquity of the Germans.

S I R,

THAT I may pay you some acknowledgment, for the many Civilities I have received from you, I thought my self obliged; according to my promise, to give you an Account of the Countries I have travelled in since I saw you; and though perhaps the Relation may be little diverting, yet I hope the Account being new, and not much heard of in *England*, may render it acceptable.

You must not expect an History exactly digested, but only a short and true Narrative without Ornament, or the decoration of Words, as my Employments and Conveniencies could permit.

B

This

The First Letter.

This being an inquisitive Age, the Curious may be willing to know the Actions and Customs of these parts of *Europe*, which have so little been particularized in Modern History.

The received Opinion here, is, that the Northern Regions were first inhabited after the Deluge, and are the most Ancient Kingdoms of *Europe*. Though this seems a Paradox, how Mankind should prefer to inhabit the frozen North, before the more temperate and delicious Provinces of the other Quarters of the World. Perhaps the first Race of Mankind voluntarily banished themselves from the Pleasures of those warmer Countries, the better to avoid the Vices, which the hot Air inclines them to. Thus *Augustus* mildly sentenced *Ovid* to Banishment to the *Pontus*, where his Punishment soon effected his Cure, and he there lived to a great Age in good Heathen Morality, being far from the bewitching Allurements of Luxurious *Rome*.

Though the Climate may temper and allay immoderate Heats, yet it is evident, by the numerous increase of its Inhabitants, that neither the Temper of the Men, nor the Product of the Earth suffers by the Frigidity of the Region; and History speaks with Astonishment, of the numberless Inundations of these Northern
People

The First Letter:

People, that over-ran all the South of *Europe*, and the amaz'd World wondered what Land could furnish such multitudes.

Puffendorf tells us, that Curiosity and Love to Astrology was the Motive that carried them thither, they observing the *North-Star* to be fixed and immovable, whereas the other Stars seem to move and circulate, therefore they were willing to try the effects which that Star might produce in those Countries, which lay always under it.

But we may reasonably conceive, that the Sons of *Japhet* (*Noah's* eldest Son) who spread their Colonies over all *Europe*, multiplying exceedingly, did not only through Curiosity, but also Necessity in a very few Ages, visit and inhabit the most Northern parts thereof. And they had sufficient encouragement to do it.

Genes. X
v. 21. Vid:
Helvicum
in Theatr:
Histor.

For they (probably) making their Progresses in the Spring, or Summer-time (how dismal soever the Face of things might appear in Winter) where-ever they looked, found a pleasant Prospect; the green Woods with their Pines and lofty Oaks, exciting both Admiration and Reverence, and the Fields presenting most delightful Scenes of various Flowers, and great plenty of Cattel and Fowl.

For though the most Northern parts of *Europe*, by their distance from the *Sun*,

The First Letter.

Genes.
9. 27.

do not receive its Rays in that plenty and vigour, as to become a hot Clime, yet it has the advantage of being a Fertile and Healthy one. And that Great God whom *Noah* promised to enlarge *Japhet*, did it by sending them into these Regions, where they increased so exceedingly, that some Writers have not unworthily call'd these Countries *Officinas Gentium*, the Shops or Magazines of Nations, and also *Vaginas Gentium*, the Scabbards of Nations, and from whence such a multitude of War-like People have been drawn or extracted: These cold Regions producing a more prolific and vigorous Generation of Men, than the Eastern or Southern.

Which we need not wonder at, since those benign Influences, which are so copiously and briskly darted into the Creatures of those warmer Countries, are not a little dissipated by the heat of the Air; whereas the Cold of these Regions doth hinder that expence and profusion of Spirits and Vertue received (though in lesser measure) from the *Sun* here.

Besides, the Munificence of Heaven is such, that though it was not the Creator's Pleasure, that the *Sun* should approach nearer to the Northern Parts, yet out of a general and infinite goodness, he placed over them such Stars, as do in great measure, recompence the *Solar* defect there; and in
some

The First Letter.

some things exceed its usual Efforts: So that those Stars are effectually a kind of *Sun* to the North Countries.

These Stars are a certain Number, which make that Constellation call'd by the Astronomers, *Ursa Major*, which as some Naturalists tell us, did from their first Constitution abound with such Natural Heat and Moisture (besides what they continually receive from the *Sun* and *Moon*) as render their Influence and Aspect very beneficial.

And by way of Explanation, the Naturalists inform us, that the heat of these Stars is from a vigorous and rich Sulphur, which makes both the Stars, and the Earth subject to their Influences, very Magnetical: So that they do not only attract the Rays of the *Sun*, but also detain them, so as to be able to afford them plentifully unto the Products of the Earth, under their Aspects, whose Powers and Benefits have always been found to be so great, that the ancient *Germans* thought they could not do their Fifth King, the Great *Hermion*, or *Herman*, more Right and Honour, than to call this most beneficial Constellation of *Ursa Major*, which they compared to a Wain; *Der Hermans-Wagen*, i. e. *Hermans Wain*, from the rich and useful affluence of Necessaries, which that Wain or Wagon conveys into those Countries.

The First Letter.

For 'tis through the Influence of that great and bountiful Constellation, that these Northerly Countries are exceedingly stock'd with Men and Cattel, Fish and Fowl, and with the best of Grain : As also with rich Metals and Minerals ; for though the North is not enrich'd by its own Product of Gold and Silver, (though some parts of it have Mines of Quicksilver, as also of Silver and Gold) yet the Gain it makes through the World, by its wonderful plenty of its own Tin, Iron and Copper, is not at all inferior to what is made in all other Parts, by their Gold and Silver. And as a further Evidence of the propitious Goodness of Heaven here, and of the copious, excellent and lasting Nourishment which the Earth affords, the Men of those Countries are of a large size, and the Trees big and lofty ; and the Soil (being proper and good) yields such plenty of them, that their very Winters, are made comfortable and chearful to them by the Fires, which without much expence, their abundance of Fuel affords them. So that there is hence reason enough given us to believe, that these (though very cold and long frozen) Parts, were early inhabited.

Whatsoever Motive first induced them to visit these Countries is altogether uncertain ; yet after Ages ('tis likely) were attracted by the renown of our beautiful
 Women,

The First Letter.

7

Women, who had Charms sufficient to detain them; notwithstanding the Ideas of their delightful fragrant Fields, and Myrtle Groves, which diffuse such Variety of odoriferous Scents, and flourish with a perpetual Spring.

'Tis beyond dispute, that the Fair Sex in these Countries infinitely excel the Southerly Women, as those of England surpass the rest; in which Island *Apelles* might have found many Originals for his *Venus*, without the trouble of a Collection to compose one: The fair Complexion, which is common to the People of the North, is there attended with an exact Shape, a graceful Mien, a lively Wit; and the Conversation of the Sex is far improved, by a discreet, free, and generous Education; and they are equally perfect in Mind as well as in Body: The Men having a grateful Sense of their Happiness, shew an Honourable, Just esteem and value for them. Fair and Noble Souls are generally suppos'd to animate the most beautiful Bodies; the Men therefore with Reason, generously confide in their Modesty and Discretion, which frees them from the perpetual inbred Torments of Jealousie; and the Women from the close Confinements, Guards, and other Abuses, inhumanly imposed on them by the East and South.

The First Letter.

Here Plain-dealing and Honesty dare lift up its Head, and 'tis no necessary Qualification or Argument of Wit, to be Lewd and Profane. *Corruption and Atheistical Principles which reside in the South, have not yet spread themselves thus far; but in the North, Morality and true Religion still flourish, the Cold destroys pernicious Vermin of all sorts, which are nourished in those hot Countries, and the Inhabitants are forced to groan and labour under the

* *Nemo enim illic vitia videt; nec corrumpere & corrumpi seculum vocatur. Tacit. de morib. German.*

† *Nibil tale novere Germani, & sanctius apud Oceanum vivitur. Quintil: Austri & Orientis ista infamia sit; que ne nunc quidem septentriones habitat, aut Frigidum castrumq; hunc Orbem: Lipsius supra Tacitum de Morib. German.*

inconveniencies of them. *Banditti, Sicarii, Bigottry, Poison, or Powder of Succession, Unnatural Lust, † &c.* are things not known in these Countries.

'Tis agreed that the North produces as Brave and Martial Men, as any part in the World; and some who deservedly may be stiled Heroes; though all have not had equal Justice in the

Records of Fame; but the Malice of Time hath buried their Actions in Oblivion: For instance, *Plettenberg*, so famous in his days, that some have thought fit to make Parallels between him and the greatest *Roman* Captains: Yet 'tis rare to meet with Authors that give an account of him, whereas many insignificant and
obscure

The First Letter.

9

obscure Persons, have their Names with Honour conveyed down to Posterity; which occasion'd my Lord Bacon to observe, *that Time is like a Stream wherein ponderous and valuable things sink to the bottom, whilst Straw and Stubble swim a-top.*

Here you may also have a lively Prospect of the Ruine, which Time brings to great Structures and Buildings, which is seen in the small Remains of those Castles, Towns, and Fortresses built by that once famous and mighty *Marian Teutonick* Order, who have been the first Conquerors of these Parts; and were so potent a Society; that their Forces were diffused through many Kingdoms; and for their Number, Riches, Valour and Possessions, they were dreaded by great Kings: But at length, the Divisions among themselves expos'd them to their Enemies, and consequently hasten'd their Destruction.

Though their Power is lost, and the Order extinct in *Livonia* (in *Germany* there are still some Knights, and a great Master) yet are all those that now possess and rule those Countries true *Germans*, being the Remains of those old Noble *German* Families, who came in those early years out of the Circles of the *Roman* Empire to the assistance of those Knights, and did conquer, convert, and divide the Country among

mong them, keeping the Natives, though Christians, as Slaves for their many perfidious Dealings; therefore 'tis a mistake of some in *England*, that will not allow the *Livonians* or *Curonians* (which is all one) to be *Germans*; for they have not only the Habit, Language, Laws, Heraldry, Customs, and all the essential Parts of *Germans*, but keep up their Alliances, and are readily acknowledged by their Relations thro' *Germany*, who are of eminent Quality in the Empire now, in Ecclesiastical Electoral Dignities; some in those of Princes of the Empire, Archbishops, Bishops, Great Masters, Commanders, Coadjutors, who have the same Extraction, Arms and Relation; nay, often when Questions arise in *Germany* about the Antiquity of a Noble Pedigree, they send into *Lifland* to vindicate by Authentick Testimonies their Descent.

'Tis as ignorant a Mistake in those, who think the *Livonian*, or *Curonian* Nobility, are no *Germans*, as 'twould be absurd to say, that the *Teutonick* Order were not *Germans*; whereas *Teutonick* signifies *German*: This nice distinction they may make, they are *Gente & Origine Germani, sed Natione Livones, Curones, Prussici, Piltenses, &c.* though these Countries were held as Members of the *Roman Empire*, 'till
of

The First Letter.

of late years, as I shall shew you hereafter.

You may well allow them to be tenacious of their just Claim of Descent, from a Nation so glorious, that hath given Monarchs to the greatest part of *Europe*; nor has any State ever made so considerable a Figure among its Neighbours, as when they have placed a *German* Ruler at the Helm.

The *French* lay hold of an Observation; which is, that whenever a general Use is made of a Language, there follows an Universal Monarchy to that Nation: This Argument may serve as well for the *Germans*, whose Language is not only as much extended, but is spoke as a Mother-Language in the *Northern* Courts, whereas *French* is only learnt like *Italian*, as part of Education among the rest of superfluous Qualifications: But, after all, it will be *Bravery*, not the *Speech*, that will acquire and maintain Empires.

The *Germans* ever since they were known in the World, were counted a Warlike Nation, their very Name being derived from War; * And *Tacitus* says, that their Fame alone has given such a Terror to their Enemies, that it had Power to prevent or fi-

* *A se ipsis invento nomine Germani. Tacitus de morib. germ. Lipsius in hunc locum. Germani etymo prisco Bellaces Viri sunt; Gerra, Bellum; invenero ergo nomen ab ipsa re, quia tales, gallice guerre.*

The First Letter.

† *Et ipsa plerumq; fama
bella profigant.* Tacit. ibi-
dem.

nish Wars, † and their
Country is still to this day
a Nursery for good Soldiers
and great Captains: And
were all those Countries now ruled by
Germans, in a collective Body, and could
join their Interest and Inclinations,
'twould be a Monarchy sufficiently pow-
erful to cope with all the World.

Veterisq; Fama late vestigia manent.

* *Quod ad Druidum No-
men attinet multi id ar-
cescunt à Germanica voce
Dru vel Tru, qua verum
& fidelem sonat.* Vid. Spel-
manni glossarium & M.
Antonii Dominicii dissert.
de Treuga & Pace. *Alii
tamen à Saxonica Voce
Dry. Ita enim Saxones
linguâ suâ magum voca-
bant.* Vid. Alfricum in glos-
sario Saxonico Latino, &
Berosus in quinto antiqui-
tatum sit loquitur: *Anno
quarto Nimi literis & Legi-
bus Germanos format Tuis-
con.*

If, as *Arætinus* affirms,
the Ancient Learned *Druids*
* have had Colleges esta-
blished in *Germany*, in the
Reign of their King *Her-
Helvicus.* *man*, who by com-
putation lived a-
bout the time, or not
long after the time of *A-
braham*; then the Love to
Learning was as early a-
mongst them, as in any Na-
tion, and the *Romans*
thought them barbarous,
from the little knowledge

they had of them, being never able to
conquer them.

I cannot forbear mentioning the Ci-
vilities which my self, and the *English*
with me have met with in these Coun-
treys,

The First Letter.

13

treys, where Feasting and Drinking is inevitable; and we being Travellers and Strangers, People of Quality make it their Pleasure to entertain and divert us; so it appears as if the Old *English* Hospitality were retired hither: However it must be objected, they urge Drinking to excess; and should you send a Ship full of Philosophers to perswade Sobriety here, they would sooner turn Martyrs to the Grape, than be converted to embrace their Doctrines.

The Old Philosopher *Musæus* says, the Reward of Vertue is perpetual Drunkenness (though he meant it of Celestial Exhilaration): Then sure none ever had their Vertues more fully rewarded than the *Germans*; who are willing to apply this Saying to the Joys which they receive from the Liquor, rather than give it any other Sense. This irregular way of living must help to make my Excuse for my Errors and uncorrect Stile, not only in this, but my next Letters, wherein I design to give you some more particular Account concerning the History of these Parts; and if in any thing else you will employ me, I shall with Pleasure receive your Orders. I am, &c.

LET-

LETTER II.

Of the Extent of Livonia, with an Account of its Chief Towns and Provinces. And a Compendious Deduction from the Ancient Livonian History, to the Year of our Lord 420.

S I R,

IF that large Tract of Land, so called, were still united under one Head, as it was during the Regency of the *Tentonic Order*, whose Supream Governours were little inferior to Crown'd Heads, either in Preference or Authority, (the last of whom was that Renowned Prince *Godhard Kettler*, Father of that Illustrious Race, the present Dukes, and Founder of the Dukedoms of *Courland* and *Semigallia*) it might be numbered among the lesser Kingdoms for its Dimension, Trade, Fertility, and Product: Its extent being in length above One hundred great *German* Leagues, reckoning about five *English* Miles to a League; and almost half as much in breadth. Towards the East of it, lieth the vast *Russian* Despotick Monarchy

Monarchy; to the South, the great Dutchy of *Lithuania*, and a small slip of *Samogitia*, which separates it from *Ducal Prussia*, (though anciently its Limits did extend much farther Southerly, *Memel* and *Lacus Curonicus* within three Leagues of *Konigs-berg*, belonging to it. The West is bounded by the *Baltick-Sea*, which by the *Germans* and *Hollanders* is called the *East Sea*; and the North of it is cut off by the *Gulph* of *Finland*.

The Name of *Livonia* has several Deductions, some of them seeming Romantick; but the most probable is, that they were originally called *Lives*, or *Levenes*, from their own ancient Kings, and those *Germans*, the first Discoverers of it, *viz.* the *Bremisb* Merchants finding it a plentiful, healthy Country, conforming themselves thereunto, call'd it in the *Low Dutch Idiom*, *het Lieve-Land*, i. e. a beloved Land: *Ac si dicent, Livonia ob Bonitatem dicenda Bononia.*

It belongs at present partly to the King of *Sweden*, and partly to the Duke of *Courland*, under the Protection of the Crown of *Poland*, and is divided into several Dukedoms, Governments and Provinces, as *Estonia*, or *Eastland*, *Lettia*, or *Lettland*, belonging to the former; *Curonia*, or *Courlandt*, *Semigallia*, *Districtus*

strictus Piltensis, &c. to the latter; which are again sub-divided into several Precincts: We must add a third Division of it, into *Polish Lifland*, belonging immediately to the Kingdom of *Poland*, and divided into several Starosties, or Territories; whereof they have a Palatine, a Castellan, and a Bishop, who sit in the Senate, and several Starosts. Though it has pretty large Dominions, yet being for the most part destroyed in the Wars between *Sweden* and *Poland*, these are the most considerable Places, *Duneburg*, *Creuzburg*, *Rositten*, *Lucsen*, besides some others.

Estonia, or *Estland*, comprehends *Wyhrland*, *Allentaken*, the Bishoprick of *Dorpat*, the Districts of *Ferwen*, and *Wycke*.

Rewall the chief Town in *Estia*, lies in *Harien*, a City of Strength, Trade, and Renown; being the Seat of the *Swedish* Governor General of that Province.

In *Wyhrland* are the Boroughs and ruin'd Castles of *Wesenberg*, *Borkholm*, and *Tolsburg*.

In *Allentaken* is seated the Strong and Maritime Town of *Narva*, which is the Residence of the Governour for *Ingria*, where there is as great a Resort of all Nations, as to any City belonging to the Kingdom of *Sweden*; and you may hear there

The Second Letter.

17

there the *German, Swedish, Finisb, Esthisb, Polisb, Russian, and English* Languages very frequently spoken.

In the *Biskoprick Dorpat*, is the Town of the same Name, where is kept the High Court of Judicature, and has an University, and many Castles and Boroughs.

In *Ferwen* stands the Town and Castle of *Wittenstein*, and that of *Felin, Oberpalen, &c.*

In the *Whyke* is the Town of Trade *Per-nau*, and *Habsal*: All those Divisions contain a great many other Towns, Boroughs, Castles, Abbeys, &c.

There are besides what I have already mentioned, several Islands depending upon *Estland*, viz. *Oeselia, Dagedoen, Moen, Warmsoe, Wrangoe, Kjen, Wodesholm*, and others; whereof *Oesel* is the largest and principal, wherein the Town of *Arensburg* and *Castle Sonnenburg* are.

Lettia, or *Lettland*, contains the City of *Riga*, the Capital of all *Livonia*, and the Seat of the Governor General; a Place of so great Trade, that the Town is too small for the Inhabitants, the Fortifications not permitting to extend it further; therefore it has many Suburbs.

The Second Letter.

'Tis a rich Town, well built, but narrow Streets, seated on the River *Duna*, called by *Ptolemy Rubon*, which carries from its Rise in *Russia* near *Biala*, the best Products of *Muscovy*, *Poland*, *Lithuania*, and *Semigallia*, for about 130 Leagues to this Town, where 'tis very large, and, as I take it, at least three times the breadth of our *Thames* at *London*; tho' never the better Port for that, for it is almost choak'd up, and no loaden Ships can come up to it: Nay, the River has changed its Channel, as unwilling to be hem'd in its Course by so inconsiderable a thing as Sand and Slime; yet such is the force of the North West, and sometimes the North East Wind, that it raises Sand-banks by the Mouth of the River, so that the ordinary depth by *Dunamundar Schanz*, is of seven foot; yet when the Wind blows hard and long from the Sea, it makes the Water rise to eight or nine foot; but the greatest benefit they receive, is in the Spring after a hard Winters Frost, for the Shoals of the Ice make their way, and scour the Banks to nine or ten foot; yet is the Channel so changable, that they are forced to alter their Buoy's or Marks almost every Year: Between the *Schanz* and *Riga* there is a good depth

depth in some places, and by the Bulwark or the Key of the Town it has ordinarily eleven, sometimes fourteen foot. The River is the best Defence of the Town on the side towards *Poland*, who never have any Foot, or Artillery considerable enough for a Siege; yet the *Suedes* may be mistaken as to its Security, whenever the *Poles* choose some Potent and troublesome King; for their Pretentions upon *Livonia* are of some weight; but on the side towards *Moskov*, *Riga* is Fortified according to the Modern way. There is a fine new Citadel not finished.

That these Provinces have brought forth early and brave Inhabitants, great Lovers of their Liberty, as they are to this Day, may be gathered out of the most Ancient *Swedish* and *Danish* Histories, wherein they unanimously agree, and therefore it must not be thought altogether fabulous.

Eight hundred thirty six Years after the universal Flood, these Countries have appeared to be so Warlike, that *Berico*, a brave Heroe and King of the *Suedes* and *Goths*, has made publick Complaints in Parliament of their Invasions into his Kingdoms; who thereupon assisted him, and reduced all *Livonia* with a strong

The Second Letter.

hand under his Dominion. After *Berico's* and *Captus* his Successor's Deaths, when *Augis* was become King of the *Goths* alone, those *Livonians*, to rid themselves of their Subjection, fought a great Battel against him, wherein, though they slew King *Augis*, yet the *Goths* obtained the Victory, and kept them still in Subjection.

Amalus Succeeded his Father *Augis*, in the *Gothick* Kingdom, to whom the *Livonians* cut out so much work, that not being able to reduce them alone, he was forced to implore *Gottila's*, the King of *Sweden's* Assistance, and those two Princes, in Conjunction, did effectually reduce them to their former Subjection upon harder terms.

Anno Mundi 3000. did *Frotho*, King of *Denmark* subdue *Livonia*, and annexed it to his Crown, which made him so haughty, that with the help of his new acquire'd Subjects, the *Livonians*, he Attack'd, without any cause, his Brother-in-Law, *Regnerum*, King of *Sweden*, who being absent, his Queen *Svanhuita*, met him at Sea, and overcame her Brother *Frotho* in a Naval Fight, took him Prisoner, but gave him his Liberty: Yet he soon forgot this Courtesie, Attack'd *Sweden* a second time, and was killed in Battel. After

The Second Letter.

After *Regnerus* his Decease, his Son *Halward*, Sirnamed *Hotebrod*, King of *Sweden*, undertook to vindicate the Injuries done to his Father by the *Livonians*, under the command of *Frotho*; made War upon them, and brought them under the *Swedish* Yoak, wherein they continued till King *Hotter's* Reign, when the *Livonians* revolting from him, he was obliged to take up Arms to reduce them, but he lost his Life in the Attempt.

Whereupon the Son of *Hotter*, *Rodericus*, Sirnamed *Slingabond*, continued that War, and subdued them again, though they continued not long in their Obedience; for as King *Roderigo* was engaged with *Denmark*, the *Livonians* Revolted; yet presently were brought again under the Subjection of *Swedeland*, by his Son *Attilus*, whom they willingly afterwards followed in his Wars against *Denmark*.

After *Attilus's* Death, they recovered their Liberty again; and lived a good while free from the *Swedish* Yoak; in-so-much, that they waged War * against

* Christian
Ketch, in
his Histo-
ry of Li-
vonia, De-
dicat: d to

Grimmer, a cruel King of the *Swedes*, whom they defeated in Battel, took him

the King of Sweden, Charles XI. Anno 1695.

C 3

Prisoner,

The Second Letter.

Prisoner, and hang'd him on a Tree. Being puffed up with this Success, they had the Vanity to Invade *Swedeland* it self, but were repulsed; and this happened sometime before our Saviour's Birth.

I have seen a Chronological Table of the *Swedish* Kings in their Language, where they call that unfortunate King the 32d King from *Magog*, and there was written under it, Konig Grimmer, Anno Mundi 3456. War en grim Tyran, blef af Eterna tangen och uphanga, meet en fort Hadia. King *Grimmer*, Anno Mundi 3456, a Cruel Tyrant, was taken Prisoner by the *Livonians*, and hanged in Iron Chains.

I purposely leave out the Occurrences in those parts before the Birth of our Saviour, because I would reserve your Patience for what follows, which perhaps may be more worth your Curiosity.

Few Years after our Saviours Incarnation, *Geterich*, a Valiant King of the *Goths*, Conquered *Prussia* and *Livonia*, and gave them to his Son *Philimer*, who with the Aid of his new Subjects, and some *Gothick* Troops of his Father, fell into *Russia*, (now *Muscovy*) and fought a great Battel for several Days together, with

The Second Letter.

23

with *Hernito* a *Russian* Prince, whom at last he conquer'd, and then subdu'd the greatest part of *Russia*; but when *Phelim* was recalled to succeed his Father; *Hernito* drove those Intruders out again.

At the time as *Frotho* the Third or (as some will have it) the Fourth, Reigned in *Denmark*; he sent to *Livonia* that mighty Champion *Starcoter*, a Native of *Helsingland*, who was as bulky in Body as he excell'd in Prudence and Strength; it was this same *Roland*-like Heroe, who perform'd incredible Achievements, not only in the Northern Kingdoms, but also in *Russia*, *Germany*, and *Britain*: this *Starcoter*, they say, with the help of the *Wandals*, overcame, subdu'd, and maintain'd the *Livonians* under *Danish* Obedience for many Years; yet afterwards they fell again to the share of the *Swedes*.

Anno Christi 420. *Farmerich*, King of *Denmark*, overcame that Nation in a Battel, killing the King of *Livonia* and his Sons.

Anno Christi 454. King *Inguardus* of *Sweden*, a Vertuous and Valiant Prince, prepared to bring these *Livonians* under his Power; but the fame of his excellent Qualities and Renown, so

The Second Letter.

wrought upon them, that without Opposition, they freely surrendered unto him; yet, out of ~~natural~~ Love to Liberty, they Revolted, and as King *Inguard* was about to reconquer them, they, by a Stratagem, overthrew and killed him in an Island of the *Baltick*.

Here again these old Historians are silent for some hundred Years; which will also occasion my Silence at this present; only assuring you, that I am your humble Servant, &c.

L E T.

LETTER III.

The Swedes Invade and Subdue Couronia, Anno Christi 862. Beginnings of Christianity in Muscovy: Pretensions of the Emperor to the whole Habitable World. The Bishop of Livonia's Dependency from the Empire, erects an Order of Knight-hood, called Enliferi. Of the Templars. King Waldemar II. of Denmark Conquers great part of Livonia, loses it by Accident. The Enliferi unite with the Teutonick-Marian Order, &c.

S I R,

I would not interrupt your more serious Affairs with too many Stories of those dark and ancient Times; yet we may justly gather from the Premisses, that they have been a Powerful, and Considerable People, whom their own Enemies, the *Swedes* and *Danes*, between whom they were continually forced to stand to their Arms, allow to be so; by their most Ancient Authors and continued Traditions,

But

The Third Letter.

But to come nearer' our Times, *Rimbertus* Archbishop of *Hambourgh*, in *Hist. S. Ansgarii*, whose Successor he was in that See, writes, that *Anno Christi 862.* the *Courlanders* or *Curonians* who had freed themselves from under the Subjection of the *Swedes*, after they had overcome a strong Fleet of the *Danes*, who came to Attack them, by taking many of their Ships, and dispersed the rest, were again reduced under the Power of the *Swedish* Crown by King *Oloff*: The very Terms and Conditions of Subjection are set down by the same Author, and are as follows.

Rimbertus qui Diaconus primum & deinde Archiepiscopus Hambürgensium fuit, vixitq; seculo nono, in vita St. Ansgarii cap. 27. de Curlandis hæc memoriæ prodit: Gens quadam ab eis longe posita, vocata Chori, Sueonum Principatui olim subiecta fuerat; sed jam tunc diu erat, quod rebelando eis subjici dedignabatur. Deinde narrata Danorum Clade, addit; quod audiens prædictus Rex Oleph: (Olaus ejus nominis secundus;) populusq; Sueonum, volentes sibi Nomen acquirere, quod facere possent, que Dani non fecerant, & quia sibi etiam antea subiecti fuerant, innumerabili congregato exercitu illas adierunt partes, & prima quidem improvise ad quandam urbem Regni ipsorum

forum vocatam Seeburg, in qua erant septem Millia pugnatorum, devenientes, penitus illam vastando succenderunt. Exinde confortati animo, dimissis navibus, iter quinq; dierum arripientes, ad aliam urbem ipsorum, Appulia dicebatur, effero corde properabant. Erant autem in illa urbe quindecim millia bellatorum; Post gravem oppugnationem, his legibus deditioem faciunt Curones: Primo quidem quicquid ex Spoliis Danorum præterito anno in auro & armis acquisivimus, vobis pro munere fæderis damus. Deinde pro unoquoq; hominum in hac urbe, constitutorum; dimidiam libram argenti offerimus, & insuper censum quem antea solebamus vobis dare, persolvemus, & datis obsidibus, ab hinc subjecti & Obedientes, sicuti antea fuimus, vestro imperio esse volumus.

And he farther assures us, That there were in Courland at that very time, five well fortified Towns, whereof he mentions two, viz. Seeburg and Apulia; this is set down by so Ancient, Foreign, and Unquestionable an Author, Eight hundred thirty odd years ago. Dionysius Fabritius, an irrefragable Author, says expressly, That Livonia had in Old Times, before the German Conquest, two Kings of their own, of which one had his Residence in Courland, the other in Estland,

The Third Letter.

land: And there are still at this time some of the Natives call'd *Courish* Kings, but are kept in Subjection.

Anno Cb.
948.

Did *Ericus* Surnamed *Segersel*, King of *Sweden* bring all *Livonia* under his Power, and kept it whilst he lived; after whose Death they recovered again their Liberty.

Anno Cb.
989.

Now begins the *Christian* Epocha of *Muscovy*, for in that Year Prince *Wolodimir* in *Russia* married, *Anna*, Sister to the Emperor of *Constantinople*, *Basilicus Porphyrogenetes*, whereby the first Foundation was laid there for *Christianity*.

Anno Cb.
1075.

This Country was again Attack'd by *Canutus*, King *Sueno's* Son of *Denmark*, yet the *Esthii* gave him such an Entertainment, that he was forced to retire with great loss.

Anno Cb.
1077.

But soon after, when he himself came to the *Danish* Crown, he resolv'd to continue the War begun by him, and to bring them not only under his Power, but under that soft and gentle Yoke of *Christianity*, which by degrees he endeavoured to effect; making all *Livonia* Tributary to the Crown of *Denmark*, and at the same time assumed the Title of Duke of *Esthonia* in *Liesland*, which Title the Kings of *Denmark*

mark bore for a long while, untill King *Woldemar* the Third, his time.

This King *Canutus* was Sirnamed the Saint; perhaps for his Zeal and Concern to bring the *Livonians* to Christianity; he was afterwards treacherously slain by the *Futlanders*, and succeeded first by his Brother *Olaus IV.* who killed himself *Anno 1095*, and after him by his second Brother *Ericus*.

But the glory of Conquering and Converting these Nations entirely, was reserved to that unparallell'd Warlike Nation, the *Germans*. For about the Year of our Lord 1158, when *Fridericus Barbarossa* held the Reins of the Empire, it happened that some Merchants belonging to the Town of *Bremen*, set out with several well rigged Ships for *Wisby*, in those Days a most flourishing Town of Trade, in the Isle of *Gotland*, and were by a violent Storm driven to that Shore, where the *Duna* falls into the Sea; there they first Traded by agreement with the Natives, and by degrees settled, and finding it a commodious and profitable Country, sent Colonies thither, as well Soldiers as Monks, both to exhort 'em and afright 'em to Conversion, according to the Popish way in all Ages; but this violent

lent way of proceeding, did more hurt than good; for during the absence of their first Bishop, *Meinhard*, who was a good, pious, and virtuous Man; those new Christians, to shew their dislike to the rude Conversion of those he left behind him; would swim in running Waters, to wash off, as they said, their Baptism; however the succeeding Bishops endeavoured to do all by force. And since there was such a respect left in the World for the *Roman* Empire, that whatever the *Germans* did Discover or Conquer, *in partibus infidelium*, they did *sub auspiciis Romani Imperii*. * For that extravagant Opinion, as if *Rome* had been *Terrarum Dea gentiumq;* and the *Romans*, *Rerum Domini*, or Lords of the Universe, was propagated down many Ages.

*Vid. Con-
ring. &
Harsku. in
Prussia

*Orbem quod totum victor Romanus haberet,
Quà mare quà terra, quà fidus currit utrumq;*
&

*Roma Caput Mundi, regit Orbis frena ro-
tundi.*

So that the succeeding Christian Empe-
rors fancied themselves *Orbis Dominos*,
no less than their Predecessors; princi-
pally when the flattering Clergy at-
tended

The Third Letter.

31

ledged Authority from the Scriptures for it, wherein the *Roman* Empire, according to the usual Stile of those Days is called *ἡ Ὀικουμένη*, which signifies the *World*, whereby the Authors of the 11th, 12th, and 13th Centuries carried it so far, as to declare all those were Hereticks, that did not believe the Emperor to be Lord over all the *World*; yet 'tis well known, that the *Romans* in their greatest Lustre, had but the least part of it, being bounded to the North by the *Danube*, and to the East by *Euphrates*.

Albertus the Third Bishop of *Lief-land*, led on, not only by the fore-mentioned general Notion, but expecting Aid and Assistance from the Empire, acknowledged *Livonia* a Fief of the Emperor *Henry VI.* and obtained it *jure Feudi Anno 1200*, as also *Jus cudendæ monetæ*, or the Power to Coin Money, &c. he built the Town of *Riga Anno 1202. Riga quasi nova sive Rigata.* This is farther confirm'd by two Copies of Concessions, come to my Hands; which I send hereby, that you may consider whether they bear the true Marks of Antiquity, and contain only what I mentioned before.

Copia

Copia Investituræ Hermanni Dorpatensium
Primi Episcopi, ab eodem Henrico
Romanorum Rege.

HENRICUS Dei Gratia Romanorum Rex; & semper Augustus, Universis Imperii fidelibus, quibus presens Scriptum ostensum fuerit gratiam suam & omne bonum; Notum esse volumus universis, quod nos ad petitionem dilecti fidelis nostri Hermanni, venerabilis Torbatensis Episcopi, Marchiam unam per totum ejus Episcopatum per has videlicet provincias, Ugenois, Waigels, Sobolits, Saccale, Moike, Alumbus, Narmegunde constituimus; & eundem ei principatum jure aliorum Principum concessimus; Dantes ei auctoritatem monetam faciendi, ac fundandi Civitatem in Tarbato & in locis aliis in quibus eas fieri oportet. Si autem in illis locis vena metalli cujuslibet, vel Thesaurus absconditus fuerit repertus; in his & hujus modi jus nostrum Speciale de Consilio Principum nostrorum, ipsius fidei commisimus, mandantes itaq; & Regia Auctoritate firmiter præcipientes, ut de omnibus justiciis & Nationibus ad Regalem Jurisdictionem pertinentibus sæpe fato Episcopo respondeatur & per omnia obediatur; Scituri, quod nos ipsum tanquam dilectum Imperii

The Third Letter.

33

Imperii Principem sincere diligimus; & cum per ipsum Imperiales Termini dilatentur & annuente Domino, barbarorum infidelitas jugo Christi subjugetur; nihil eorum omittere volumus, quæ ipsius commodo conducere poterant, & Honori. Hujus autem nostræ Concessionis Testes sunt venerabiles Salceburgensis & Trevirensis, Patzaviensis & Estadensis Episcopi; Austria, Saxonia, Bavaria & Carinthia Duces; Langravinus Thuringia & Alii quam plures Comites, Nobiles & Imperii Ministeriales. Datum apud Norinbergum Calendis Decembr. Anno Domini Incarnationis, 1224.

Copia Investituræ Alberti Livonorum Tertii Episcopi ab Henrico FridERICI II. Romanorum Imperatoris Filio; Romanorum Rege collata in Comitibus Norinbergensibus, 1226 juxta Computationem Helvici.

HENRICUS Dei Gratia Romanorum Rex, & semper Augustus, Universis Imperii Fidelibus, ad quos hæc Literæ pervenerint Gratiâ suam & omne bonum. Ad petitionem Alberti venerabilis Livoniensis Episcopi, Marchiam unam partem ejus Episcopatum, per Livoniam videlicet & Lettiam, Lehalé & Terras Maritimas

The Third Letter.

ritimas instituitur & eundem ipsi Principatum jure aliorum Principum, munificentia Regali concessimus; Dantes ei potestatem faciendi monetam & fundandi Civitatem in Riga & in Locis aliis in quibus eas fieri oportet. Si autem in partibus illis vena metalli cujuslibet sive Theaurus absconditus manifestatus fuerit, in hujusmodi jus nostrum speciale ipsius fidei de consilio Principum nostrorum commisimus: Statuimus igitur & sub interminatione Gratia nostra firmiter precipimus, quatenus Episcopo prænominato de omnibus justitiis & rationibus ad Regalem Jurisdictionem pertinentibus plenè respondeatur & per omnia intendatur, scituri quod ipsum tanquam dilectum Principem Imperii sincerè diligimus. Et cum per eum Imperiales Termini dilatentur & Barbarorum Infidelitas annuente Domino Christiano cultui subjugetur, nihil eorum omittere volumus, quæ commodo suo conducere poterunt & honori. Hujus nostræ Concessionis Testes sunt Trevirensis & Salceburgensis Archiepiscopi, Augustensis, Bambergensis, Patzaviensis, & Estadiensis Episcopi; Austria, Saxonix, Bavarix & Carinthix Duces, Landgravius Thuringix & alii quam plures Principes, Nobiles & Imperii Ministeriales. Datum apud Norenbergam Calendis Decembr. Indictione XIV.

The Third Letter.

39

At the same time the Emperor gave him Authority to institute a New Order of *German* Knighthood, for defence of this New Acquisition, which was effectually initiated in the Year 1204; and confirmed by Pope *Innocent III* according to the Rules of the *Knights Templars*.

Their first Great Master was *Vinno a Robrbach*; their Habit a *White Cloak* with two *Swords Gules in Sautoir*, and a *Red Star*. The Master or Sovereign of the Order, did thrice strike the Knight with a Sword upon his Soulder, saying;

*Dis Schwerdt empfang von meiner Hand,
Zu Schuttzen Gottes und Marien Land.*

That is,

*This Sword take thou out of my Hand,
To fight for God, and Mary's Land.*

for this New Province was dedicated to the Holy Virgin. Their Institution was often to hear Mass, not to Marry, but to lead a Sober Chaste Life; to fight against the Infidels, and to defend the Holy See. For these Services they were received by the Pope into the Protecti-

The Third Letter.

on of God and all the Saints; and were to have and enjoy whatever they Conquered from the *Pagans*, to themselves and their Order for ever.

Though this New Order resembled almost in every thing that of the *Templars*, and were by some called *Templarii*; yet were they a different Order, their proper Name was *Enssferi*, from their great Swords; and since we are mentioning that once famous Order of the *Templars*, whose History alone would fill a large Volume; I'll give you a very short Account of it.

This Order of Knights of *Jerusalem*, or *Templars*, took its Rise *Anno* 1128. resided first at *Jerusalem*, and their chief Office was to convoy Pilgrims thither, and to defend that Holy City. Though the intent of the Institutors was pious and good, yet as it is common with all such Orders, they degenerated mightily after their Acquisitions, and Donatives in *Germany*, *France*, and other Kingdoms; falling into Luxury, Pride, and Perfidy, whereof this is one instance, *Anno Christi* 1229, those Knights endeavoured to betray the Emperor *Frederick* to the *Sultan*, with whom he had already concluded Peace: They informed
ed

The Third Letter.

37

ed him by a Letter, that the Emperor would go with a small Company such a Day, to view that place of *Jordan*, where our Saviour was Baptized, and there he easily might either take or kill him; which abominable Treachery the *Sultan* himself did abhor, insomuch that he sent that very Letter to the Emperor.

Yet did this Order stand for near Two hundred Years, till *Anno 1311* Pope *Clement* the V. did utterly extirpate it. The most likely reason of it, *Pomarius* sets down in his Chronicle saying, that he himself had seen the Letter, wherein that Pope to the Bishop of *Magdeburg* expresses himself in these Terms, *Erat enim voluntatis nostrae intentio, Templariorum bona ad Cameram nostram transferre*. So that their greatest Crime at that time, for which they suffered, was their vast Wealth, and their Fidelity to the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, whom they owned above the Pope.

Anno 1206. came *Wilhelmus* Bishop of *Modena*. as Popish Legat into *Livonia*, where he settled the Territories of that new acquired Province between the *Enssers* and the Bishops, so that the Knights were to possess one third of all the Lands then taken, or that should be conquered

The Third Letter.

by them hereafter ; but the main design of the Legat, was to sell the Popes Benedictions, Indulgencies and Pardons for ready Money, and as soon as he had filled his Purse he departed.

Anno Ch.
1219.

King *Woldemar* II. of *Denmark*, came with a great Fleet into *Livonia*, fought a victorious Battel against the *Esthii*, *Lettii*, *Lithowanians* and *Russians*. *Pontanus* writes, That at the beginning of this Fight, the *Danes* lost their great Ensign representing an Eagle, which disheartened the Soldiers ; but the King by his address gave them new Courage, in making them believe, that at the same instant another Eagle fell from Heaven, red coloured with a white Cross (which perhaps had been sent him by the Pope) and so he won the Battel. This King *Woldemar* conquered *Courland*, where he established the Bishoprick of *Pilten*, and subdued the Island *Oesel*, built the Town of *Revel* ; and his Captains after his departure, the Town of *Narva* ; and several other Places were built by them
Anno 1223. This King having conquered most of that Province, and left it in a good posture, lost it all by an unlucky accident : For as he was diverting himself with the Countess of *Swerin*, in the absence of the Count *Henry*

The Third Letter.

39

Henry her Husband, *Swerin* surpris'd the King, and took him Prisoner, where he kept him Three Years, till he paid a Ransom of 45000 Marks in Silver: In which time the Bishops and the Knights took the opportunity to seize upon all the *Danish* Provinces, and drive the *Danes* out of them; they took *Revel*, *Estonia*, and all that belonged to them in *Livonia*. Notwithstanding these *Ensseri* did behave themselves as brave Men, yet were their Enemies too numerous and too powerful for them, and *Volquin Schenck*, their second and last Master being killed by the *Lithuanian* Infidels in a great Battel, Anno 1238: they immediately propos'd to join with that great and most famous *Teutonick* Order. Who at the same time, being overcome by the *Saracens*; and having lost all they had formerly got in *Palestine*, readily embraced the offer, in hopes to make up their Losses in the North, which happened beyond their Expectation; thereupon the *Livonian* Order of the *Ensseri*, after Thirty five Years duration, under two Masters, was quite extinguished, and entirely united with the *Teutonicks* or *German Knights*; and this Union was solemnized at *Rome* in the Pope's Presence, 1238, with several

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Cere-

Ceremonies, where the great Master of the *Teutonic Order*, gave previous Assurances, that he would restore to the King of *Denmark* the Town of *Revel*, with several other Districts, which that King's Ministers earnestly insisted on as his Right.

This Combination made them so powerful, that after they had made themselves Sovereigns of all *Livonia*, and *Prussia*, they forgot the Vertues of the Ancient Knights, and fell into Luxury, Idleness, Pride, Ambition and Covetousness; so that they grew formidable to Princes, burdensom to their Subjects, and troublesom to their Neighbours; till the *Poles*, under the Conduct of their brave Leader King *Uladislaus Jagello*, broke their vain Designs, in the Year 1410, in a pitch'd Battel at *Tannenberg*.

Anno Ch.
1454.

These States of *Prussia* submitted to *Casimirus IV.* King of *Poland's* Protection, they groaning under the Oppression and Tyrannical Government of the Knights: And the whole Country had Revolted, had not the Pope, by his Mediation, interceded that Seventy Towns and Castles should be delivered to that King, and the remaining part of *Prussia* to be held by that Order, as a Fief, or Depen-

Dependency of the Crown, of *Poland*; and this part was afterwards called *Prussia Ducalis*.

And thus *Prussia* ever since depended on *Poland*, till 1657. when all that Tract we call now *Ducal Prussia*, was with Sovereign Power transferred to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, *Frideric William*. This Order had no better success in *Livonia*, than in *Prussia*, for having perpetual Quarrels with their Bishops concerning the Regions and Jurisdictions; it grew incurable under *William* of *Furstenberg* their great Master, and *William*, Marquis of *Brandenburg*, Archbishop of *Riga*; and though besides this inward Fire, the *Muscovites* Incurfions from abroad threatened them, yet could they never agree, but rather divided from their late great Master *Gotthard Kettler*, who after the Northern part of *Livonia* had submitted to the King of *Sweden*, persuaded the other Provinces thereof to chuse the King of *Poland's* Protection, 1562. reserving for himself the Dutchies of *Courland* and *Semigallia*, which his Posterity enjoys to this Day.

Thus,

The Third Letter.

Thus, Sir, I have given you a general Idea of those things which I design to make more clear in my next; and I shall think my Time happily employed if I can gather any thing that may conduce to your Satisfaction.

L E T.

L E T T E R I V .

*Of the Famous Marian-Teutonick Order,
and particularly of the Great Master
thereof, Hermannus a Saltza.*

S I R,

IF it was permitted to exceed the bounds a Letter, how easily could I swell this, with representing those famous Trophies which that once Renowned *Marian Teutonick Order* did erect in these Parts: I find, though Lawrels may be planted here, yet the Severity of the Climate will not suffer them to flourish long.

'Twas a hard Fate for those Conquerors, that there lived not in their Days a *Livy* or *Qu. Curtius* to convey down to us the Actions and Victories of those Men whose Histories are so neglected, that we scarce know their Names. And I believe the Exploits of those great Heroes may still be

be unregarded, especially in this Age, wherein the Bravery of our *English* Nation under the Conduct of *our Wise and Valiant Monarch*, exhausts all our Admiration and Praises: However, I shall give such a view, as appears from remote Objects through a Perspective Glass; which though true, yet by reason of Distance and Defect of the Artist may be thought imperfect and obscure.

Anno Ch.
1099.

Some Years after that Christian Prince *Godfrey of Bouillon* had taken *Jerusalem*, where he was for his Valour proclaimed King by the whole Army; yet he would not suffer them to set a Golden Crown on his Head, saying, *How should he dare to put on a Crown of Gold, where his Saviour wore one of Thorns?* Nevertheless accepted one made of Boughs. Several Nations took up their Abode in that City; among others an honest pious *German*, who took particular Care and Compassion of his Countrey-men, that resorted thither in Pilgrimage by supplying their Wants, and assisting them in their Sickness. He therefore built an House for their Reception, which was called an Hospital, from his Hospitality, as also a Chappel, Dedicated to the Blessed Virgin; Several
of

of those Pilgrims settled there, out of a Christian Zeal to serve God in the Chappel, and the Sick and Strangers in the Hospital.

As all great things we see in this World have had slender beginnings; so the noble Design of this small Company attracted by degrees, some more considerable Persons of Birth into their Society; whereby increasing, they resolved not only to serve in that Hospital, but also, in cases of necessity, to fight against the *Saracens* and Enemies of the Christian Faith, which they performed to a Miracle: For their Valour in Battels they were called *Equites*; For their Devotion to the Blessed Virgin, *Mariani*: For their great Charity and Hospitality, in *Jerusalem* chiefly, *Hospitalers*, or *Fratres Hospitii Hierosolymitani*: And for their extraction from *Germany*, *Teutonici*. They continued their Acts of Prayers, Charity and Bravery, but were not much taken notice of till about the Years 1190 and 1191, when *Guido Lusignan*, King of *Jerusalem* lay before *Ptolemais* or *Accona*, which he re-took after two Years Siege from the *Saracens*, by the help and personal assistance of the two Kings, *Richard* of *England*, and *Philip* of *France*,
and

and many other Princes, chiefly those of *Germany*; whose Names most deservedly ought to be mentioned, as the great Heroes in those Holy Wars. Namely, *Fridericus*, Duke of *Suabia*, Son to the Emperor *Frederic Barbarossa*, who was unfortunately drowned leading an Army to this Expedition. *Henry*, Duke of *Brabant*; *Philip*, Count of *Flanders*; *Henry* Count Palatine, a Duke of *Brunswick*; *Fredric*, Duke of *Austria*, a Prince of *Saxony*; a Landgrave of *Thuringia*. *Albertus*, Marquis of *Brandenburg*; a Marquis of *Landsberg*; a Marquis of *Misnia*; a Duke of *Bavaria*: The following Counts. *William*, Count of *Holland*; *Otto*, Count of *Gueldre*; Count of *Cleves*, *Juliacum*, *Bergen*; a Count of *Nassau*; Count of *Henneberg*; Count *Spanheim*, and many more; besides several Archbishops and Bishops.

These Princes seeing that many Christians were assisted and relieved during this tedious Siege, by those Pious *German* Brethren, consulted how so useful a Company might be continued and established, and since so good a Work had begun of it self in the Hospital of *Jerusalem*; therefore Duke *Frederick* of *Suabia*, as General of the *German* Army, by the consent and desire of the other Kings

The Fourth Letter.

47

Kings and Princes, sent immediately an Ambassador to the Emperor *Henry VI.* and to Pope *Celestinus III.* intreating them, that this Charitable Fraternity might be incorporated into a particular Order of Knighthood, which the Pope granted and confirmed *Anno 1191.* Those Rules they had made among themselves, were approved, and some new ones added.

The Habit of the Order was a *Black Coat* and a *White Cloak* mark'd with a *Black Cross* over it; their Weapons was a great Sword, plain, without Ornament of Gold or Silver; they slept upon Beds of Straw; they were allowed at the entry into the Order, only Bread and Water for their Food, all manner of Luxury being banished, and whilst they kept to this Institution, they prospered wonderfully.

Their Coat of Arms was at the beginning very plain, *i. e. Argent a Cross Sable.* Afterwards *John de Bregna,* King of *Jerusalem* allowed them another *Cross Or,* to be charged on the *Sable,* the middle of which the Emperor *Frederic II.* surcharged with the *Imperial Eagle.* Afterwards *Lewis IX.* of *France,* called *Le Saint,* added to the corners of their *Cross Sable,* the *Lilies* of *France,* when he returned from his

The Fourth Letter.

his Expedition into *Palæstina*, Anno 1250, the 20th of *August*, in regard to those many Services and great Deeds they had performed. None under Fourteen Years of Age were taken into that Order, nor any that were not of a strong and healthy Constitution, as unfit to endure Hardships.

He that stood Candidate for a Member of the Order, was to take an Oath that he was a *German*, born in Wedlock of a Noble Family, without Reproach; That he never was Married, and would continue always a Single and Chaste Life; That he would submit to all the Laws and Rules of the Order; He was to Renounce Subjection to Father and Mother, and all Relations, and only promise entire Dependence to the Master of the Order; as also chiefly to serve God, and then the Sick and the Poor; and to fight for the Holy Land against the Enemies of the *Cross*: He had no property of any thing, &c. After this he was Knighted being upon his Knees, arm'd *Cap a pied* by the great Master of the Order with several Ceremonies; and being led before the Altar, the Priest gave him the *White Cloak*, with the *Cross* of the Order, saying these words; *Ecce! Crucem istam*

The Fourth Letter.

49

istam damus Tibi pro omnibus peccatis tuis,
& si servas ea quæ promisti, facimus Te
securum vite æternæ. There! Take this
Cross from us for the Remission of all
thy Sins; and if thou dost faithfully
keep thy Promise, we warrant thee e-
ternal Life.

As soon as this was confirmed by
the Pope and the Emperor, Forty No-
ble *Germans* entered the Order and were
Knighted; the first by the King of *Je-
rusalem*, the second by Duke *Frederick*
of *Suabia*, and the rest by the several
Princes then in the Army. The first
Master of this new Order, was one
Henry Walpott, of a Noble Family upon
the *Rhine*, Elected by the rest of his
Brethren, and by the Unanimous con-
sent of Princes: Although these Knights
were, and are still called Knights of
Jerusalem; yet could they never get Pos-
session again in that Holy City, ever
since the Year 1287. the 28th of *Septem-
ber*, when *Saladine* of *Egypt* took it from 1191
the Christians; but as soon as *Ptolemais*
was taken by the above-named Princes,
Walpott built there another Hospital
and Church, which was afterwards their
chief Residence in those Parts, he made
many good Laws for his Order, and
after he, with the other Knights, had
E pefform'd

perform'd several brave Exploits in Wars against the *Saracens*; and made himself famous for his Charity; he died and was interred at *Accona* or *Prolemais*; as were also his two Successors.

1211. The Fourth Master was *Hermannus de Saltza*, Whose Vertues, says *John Caspar Venator*, can only be admired, not sufficiently described. He went in the Expedition
1212. with the Kings of *Hungary* and *Jerusalem* against the *Saracens*, where he justly gain'd Esteem for several great Actions. He also assisted at the taking of the
1220. Fortres *Damiata*.

Never did any Company increase in Glory, Riches and Honour, as that Order did under this their Master, he got great Possessions in *Apulia*, *Romania*, *Armenia*, *Hungary* and *Germany*: 'Twas he that first gain'd *Prussia* from the Infidels, and *Livonia*, when the *Livonian* Knights called *Enssiferi* combined and entirely united with his Order in the Pope's Presence, as I mentioned in my former Letter. He was endowed with so much Piety, Prudence, Humility, Charity, and so eminent in Martial Deeds, that the greatest Monarchs had a very high esteem for him; whereof this may be one Example: That whereas notable differences being risen between the Pope
Honorius

The Fourth Letter.

91

Honorius II. and the Emperor *Frederick* the Second, after several Fruitless endeavours by many Princes and States to compose them, they both readily referred themselves to his Mediation and Decision, therefore he may well be called *Super-Arbitrator*, when the two Arbiters of the World submitted to his Umpire.

He modestly at first excused himself, but at last by their Intreaties was prevailed upon, and managed that nice and weighty Affair so wisely and so effectually, that both Parties were content, gave him thanks and honoured him highly: For the Pope and Emperor conferred the Dignity of a Prince of the Empire upon him and his Successors; the Pope presented him besides with a Ring of value, to be worn by him; and this Ring was afterwards by all Elections delivered to the new Master as a Badge of that memorable Action. The Emperor added to the Arms of the Order the *Imperial Eagle*, which they wore ever since in their Shields, Habits and Arms. The Emperor also gave him a piece of the Holy Cross, which he got after having humbled and vanquished the *Venetians*; which was in those Days preferred to all other

E 2 Treasures

Treasures in the World. This *Saltza* continued to make up the Divisions, not only in Pope *Honorius* the Second, but his Successors *Gregory* the Ninth's time, with the Emperor.

1226.

1238.

Prosperity did not exalt him, though he acquired great Dominions, and was made Sovereign Lord of all *Prussia*, by the Donative of *Frederick* the Second, and of *Livonia* by the Union of the two Orders, and was possessed of vast Estates in *Bohemia*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and other parts; yet did he decline the Title of Distinction of *Magister Generalis*, in German, *Hoe-Meister*, i. e. High or great Master, which they urged him to, and we never find he took any other Title, but *Frater Hermannus de Saltza, Dominus Hospitalis S. Mariae Teutonicorum Hierosolymae Magister*; Like the rest of that Company, who were called *Fratres Ordinis Teutonici*; and his Successor *Henry* Count of *Hohenlo*, Sign'd a Privilege; which is to be seen in these Terms: *Ordinis Teutonici Minister Humilis*.

1239.

The Two Orders being now One, *Saltza* sent the *Land-Master* of *Prussia*, *Herman Falcke*, into *Livonia*, with the Title of *Heer Meister*, i. e. *Supremus Belli Dux*, or General of the Army of the *Teutonick Order*. He was a renowned Martial

The Fourth Letter.

53

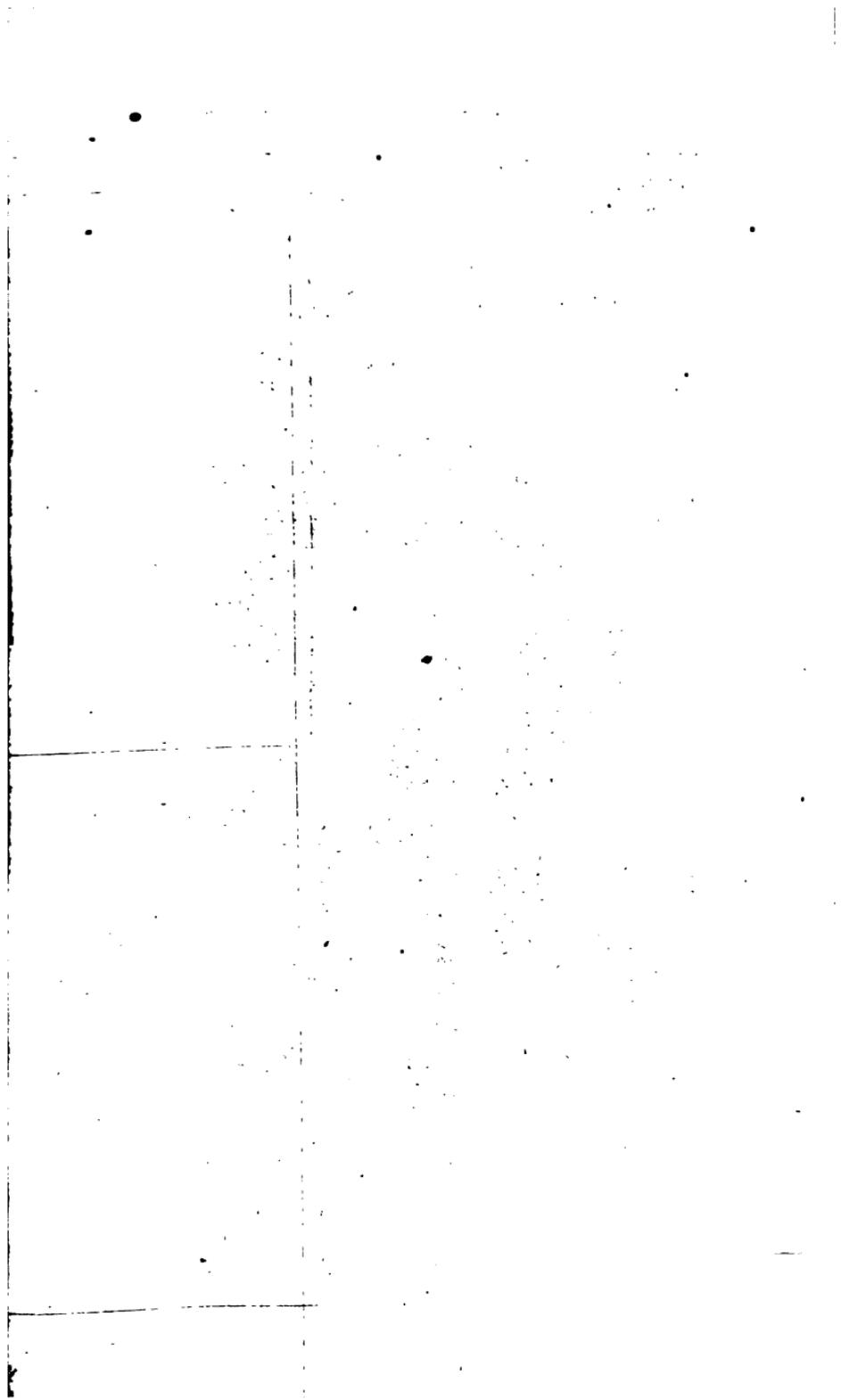
Martial Man, and in great esteem, having performed many brave Actions in the Wars of *Prussia*.

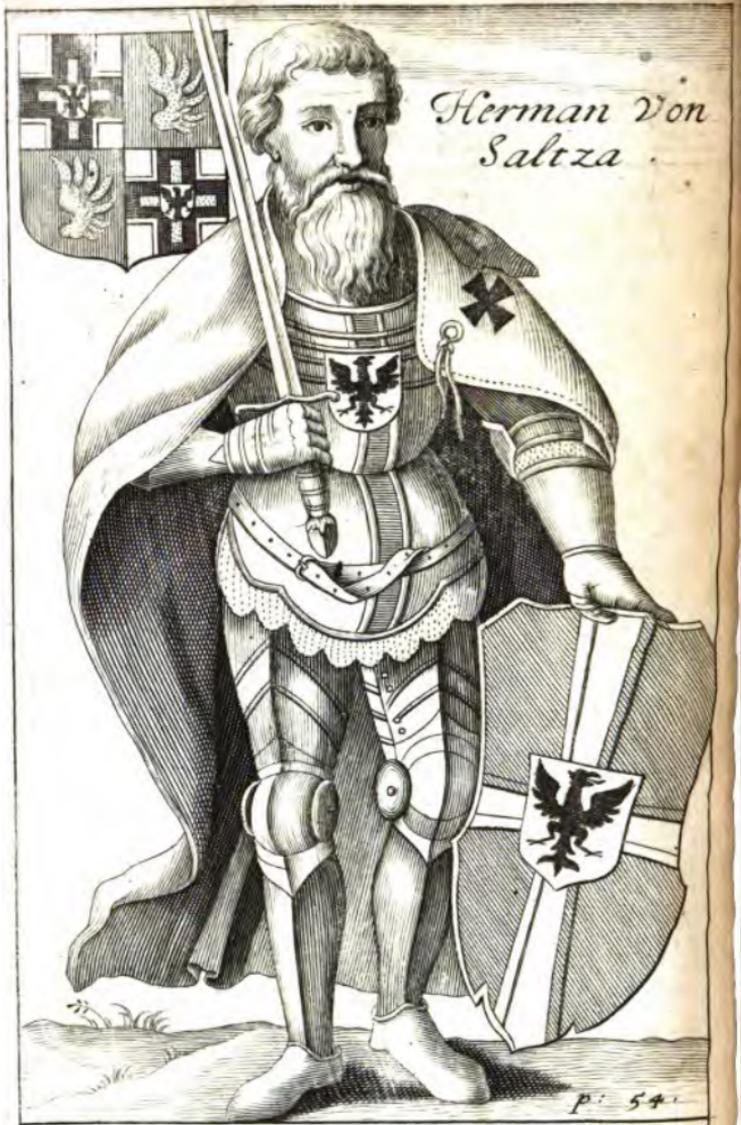
The King of *Denmark* at the same time made great instances at *Rome*, in the Empire, and to *Saltza*, that according to agreement, the Provinces of *Esthia* and other Towns might be restored him, which the Order and the Bishop had taken from him, and could not be prevailed to restore, till the Pope *Gregory*, and Emperor *Frederick*, sent their Ambassadors into *Livonia*; by whose earnest Intreaty and Mediation, the Town of *Revel*, with the Provinces of *Harrien*, *Wyhrland* and *Allentacken*, were surrendred to the King of *Denmark*; who again on his part renounced for ever all his Pretentions to *Esthia*, and obliged himself to assist the Order with a powerful Army against the *Russians*.

The Authors disagree concerning the Time when this *Saltza* died: *Simon Grunau* says, 'twas *Anno 1221*. *Caspar Schutz*, *Anno 1240*. *Petrus a Dusbourg* says, that he lived *Anno 1243*. the Chronicles of that Order *Anno 1246*. which is affirmed by *Waisselius*. We are no ways indebted to the Ancients for an exact Chronology, for in this

The Fourth Letter.

they have shewed a mighty carelesness, so that through their negligence or ignorance, we are oftentimes left in the dark. The great Admirers of venerable Antiquity compare the Knowledge of the Ancients to a Giant, and the Modern to a Dwarf or a Child, if you allow this, those Ancients seem to have been of the Race of one Ey'd *Polyphemus*, who could discern but by halves, what relates to their Historical Accounts, and the ranging of their *Annals*. I have shortened my Letter to avoid seeming tedious to you, and to make some diverlity, I have here sent you the Effigies of that once famous Master *Saltza*, with the Verses under it, perhaps worthy your reading.





*Transivi intrepidus per mille pericula Victor,
Non acies ferri, non vastis moenia fossis
Conatus tenuere meos, domat omnia Virtus.*

LETTER V.

Of the Heer-Meister in Livonia, and occasionally of the Battel that was fought at Tannenberg in Prussia by the Knights of the Order against the King of Poland, where an Hundred thousand Men were killed, and several other Occurrences worth notice.

S I R,

I Must leave now the great Masters of the Teutonick Order in Prussia, and will give you an Account of the Heer-Meisters in Livonia, with the Fragments of what is most remarkable concerning them.

Henry Groningen, the Third Heer-Meister of the Teutonick Order entered Cour-^{1249.}land with all his Forces, and as soon as he had finished the Building of two Castles, Goldingen and Amboten, he sent to those
E 4 Inhabi-

Inhabitants that were not yet Baptized, to receive their Sacraments and submit to the Order; but they were not so Zealous for any Religion, as to exchange their Liberty for a perpetual Slavery, wherefore they refused all Treaty with him; this refusal occasioned a Battel, and many were killed on both sides: But when the *Courlanders* saw the *Germans* wou'd be too strong for them, they joined with Duke *Mendau* of *Lithuania*, so both they and the said Duke were defeated; and *Courland* was conquered by the *Germans* the first time.

1753.

Semigallia also was subdued and made Tributary to the Knights: About the same time *Riga* was declared an Archbishoprick, and Pope *Innocent* the Fourth made Bishop *Albert Saurbeer*, not only the first Archbishop thereof, but declared his See the Metropolitan, with the highest Authority over the *Livonian*, as well as over all the Bishops in *Prussia*; and there were Nine Bishopricks depending on him, Four in *Prussia*, and Five in *Livonia*, with great Revenue and Power; for they were Lords in *Temporalibus*, as well as *Spiritualibus*: And as the Great Master of *Prussia* had the supreme Command over all the Knights of the *Marian Order*; so had he over all the Bishops. *Mendau,*

The Fifth Letter.

57

1254

Mendau, Duke of *Lithuania*, desired an interview with the Fourth *Heer-Meister Andreas Stuckland*, where the Master made use of all Persuasions imaginable for him to embrace the Christian Religion, which the Duke promised, on Condition that he would prevail with the Pope, that he, and his Dutcheſs might be Crowned Christian King and Queen of *Lithuania*; for which good Office he promised the Order a Tract of Land. Hereupon the *Heer-Meister* ſent immediately to the Pope, *Alexander* the Fourth, to ſolicite this Affair, who preſently granted it. All things being agreed on, the Archbiſhop of *Riga*, and the *Heer-Meister*, prepared two rich Crowns, and went in great State, accompanied with many Biſhops, Prelates and Knights into *Lithuania*, where they performed firſt their Baptiſmal, and then, with ſeveral Ceremonies, their Coronation Solemnity.

1258.

The *Heer-Meister Hanno a Sangerhauſen*, Duke of *Brunſwick* (for ſo *Hezneberger* in his Chronicle ſtiles him) who was a Man of incomparable Endowments, did fight many Battels againſt the *Lithuanians*, *Curonians*, and *Samogitians*; for King *Mendau* and they having revolted from the Christian Faith, became great

great Enemies to the *Marian Order*; where on both sides great Numbers were slain. This *Heer-Meister* performed many worthy Deeds; and was afterwards chosen the Seventh Great Master of the *Teutonick Order*.

1261. The various success of Arms against the above-mentioned Nations, who were made more powerful by the assistance of the *Russians*, had so far weakened the Order, that several *Crusades*, came now and then to their Assistance; till at last, under their *Heer-Meister*, *Conrad Herzogenstein*, they brought those Infidels, either to terms of Submission, or to Peace; He soon after died.

1287.

And thus their Affairs being in a very good posture from abroad, not being us'd to leisure and peace, they fell into Quarrels at home. *Crantzius* in *Vandalia*, attributes the Cause to the Avarice of the Order, and others to the Pride and Ambition of the Bishops, who would Lord it every where, as they indeed at that time did, in most parts of the World: But these Fewds did not break out into a Fire then, upon information that their common Enemy *Mutech*, Sultan of *Egypt*, besieged *Ptolemais* in *Syria*, in which place above Three thousand *Marian Knights* had their

their places of abode, with a good number of Soldiers in Garrison: *Burchard de Schwenden*, the Eighth Great Master, went with a great number of Knights, besides Forty thousand *German* and *Italian* Soldiers thither, with design to raise the Siege; but was unhappily overthrown by *Mulech*, whereby *Accona* or *Ptolemais*, and the whole Garrison fell into the merciless Hands of the *Turks*: *Schwenden* went after this Misfortune to *Rhodes*, and there died of his Wounds, and the chief Residence of the Order was transferred to *Marpurg* in *Hessen*.

From the Year 1292, till 1341, was the time chiefly spent in intestine Wars between the Knights and the Bishops in *Livonia*. For the Bishops were desirous to Lord it over the Order, and the Knights were wholly for the diminution of their encroaching Power; the Bishops were so inveterate, that they made no scruple, even to make use of the worst of means, and like the Goddesses in *Virgil*, *Movere Acheronta*, and join sometimes with the Infidels of *Lithuania*, *Samogitia*, and *Semigallia*, sometimes with the *Russians* and other *Pagans*, which caused great effusion of Christian Blood, *Petrus a Dusburg*, who lived in

The Fifth Letter.

in those Days, writes, that the Animofities between those Apostles were so high, that in little more than in one Years time, there were fought Nine Pitch'd Battels, with different success on both sides.

The Natives of *Livonia*, though converted to the true Faith, were yet used like Slaves in a very barbarous manner, which prompted them to Revolt, but after many bloody Slaughters, they were reduced to their Fetters again, wherein they continue to this Day.

1345.

1347.

King *Woldemar* the Third in *Denmark*, being in necessity for Money, to defray the expence of his Journey to *Jerusalem*, sold for ever, and without any reserve, the Towns of *Narva*, *Revel*, and *Wesenberg*, as also the Provinces of *Harrien*, *Wyhrland*, and *Allentacken*, to the Great Master of the *Teutonick Order*, for Nineteen thousand Mark fine Silver; whereof the Order took immediate Possession, and the *Danish* Domination in *Esthia*, which had been kept by Ten *Danish* Kings from *Woldemar* the Second to *Woldemar* the Third, was thus put to an end in *Livonia*.

1348.

A War broke out between the Order and the *Russians* of *Witepsk*, *Smolensko*, and *Pleskow*, which ended *Anno 1350*, with a terrible Battel, where Ten
Thou.

The Fifth Letter.

61

Thousand *Russians* were killed on the spot.

Winrich Kniprode, Eighteenth Great Master, an extraordinary Man, made great preparations for the invading of *Samogitia*, and *Lithuania*; and having joined for that purpose with the Knights of *Livonia*, on the Enemies Frontiers; they, and the whole Army kept a Day with Prayers, and Fasting, and then engaged the Enemy, whom they routed in a great Battel, after having killed Eight thousand of them. This Master was so curious, as to search into the *Annals* of those Times, where he found, that the Wars between the Order and the *Lithuanians* until his Time, had lasted Fourscore and four Years, and that in open Battels alone, there had been lost on the *Germans* side Twenty eight Knights of the highest Nobility, among whom many Princes and Counts of the Empire; Forty nine of the lesser Nobility; Eleven thousand Gentlemen; Four thousand Burghers, or Citizens; Eight thousand Common Soldiers; Fifteen thousand Strangers and Volunteers; Sixteen thousand eight hundred of the Commonalty, as Peasants, Plowmen, &c. who were either killed or carried into Slavery by that Enemy.

He

1351.

He afterwards fought many Battels where great numbers were killed, and one Battel which was very remarkable, where after a whole Days Engagement, the Great Duke of *Lithuania, Kinstud*, was taken Prisoner.

1369.
Thuanus.

The Feuds between the Order and Bishops lay smothered; yet sometimes brake forth, but not with Violence; not for want of resentment, but force: Both Parties made their Complaints to the Pope, and as *Sigfried Blomberg* came to be Archbishop of *Riga*, he would affect some Singularities in changing the Habit of his Prebends, which the Knights would not agree to, but maintained that the Archbishop and his Chapter ought to wear Habits like theirs: This Trifle caused such Disturbance, that the Knights seized on all Ecclesiastical Estates, except the Town of *Riga*, which kept faithful to their Archbishop, who thereupon was forced to go to *Avignon*, where the Pope then resided, to make his Complaints, but *Sigfried* died there, before he brought it to any Conclusion.

1373.

1381.

Alexander Guagninus writes, That the Great Duke of *Muscovy* had besieged with a mighty Army the Castle of *Newbus*, in the Bishoprick *Dorpat*, he says, with

The Fifth Letter.

63

with Three hundred thousand Men, and had almost ruin'd the Works thereof by continual Attacks and Storms, whereby the Strength and Number of the Beseiged being tired and exhausted, they applied themselves with great Humiliation, to implore the Assistance of Heaven, as their only Refuge: Our Author says, the Night before *Friday*, the Governor lay prostrate the whole Night with great Devotion before an Altar, and prayed fervently for a Deliverance out of that deplorable Condition: Rising from Prayers at break of Day (the *Muscovites* only expecting the Sun's rise to carry the Place) he took his Bow and Arrow and went to a Window of the Castle, from whence he successfully directed it, to that part of the Camp, where he thought the Great Duke had his Quarter, and shot him through the Heart: The astonished *Muscovites* at this sad Accident, run about amazed, and thought of nothing else, but how to fly and save themselves, and taking up the Corps of their Dead Master in haste, and confusion, made their way to *Moscow*; whereupon the Beseiged sallied forth, pursued and killed great numbers of them; and for a remembrance of this providential Deliverance, that same Bow

Bow was dedicated and hung up before the Altar in the Great Church there; where it continued, and an *Annual Commemoration* was celebrated for this Miraculous Action until 1558. when Czar *Iwan Basilewitz* made himself Master of the Castle.

1382. The Knights began to throw off the Name of *Frater*, Brother, and took upon them that of *Domini*, Lords.

1386. *Hedwigis*, Queen of Poland, Married *Jagello*, Duke of *Lithuania* on Condition that he should become a Christian, and unite his Dutchy to the Crown of *Poland*, which he accepted, and received the Name of *Uladislaus* in his Baptism; by which means that whole Dutchy was brought under the Catholick Faith.

1391. The two contending Parties in *Livonia*, laid before Pope *Boniface* the Eighth, their Pretensions, but it was decided in favour of the Knights; the weighty reason which prevail'd, was (saith *Cromerus*) The Order sent by their Ambassador Fifteen thousand Duckets to the Pope; whereupon he declared, That the Archbishop should depend from the Order, and to pacifie the other Party, he made *John à Sinten*, the Archbishop of *Riga*, Patriarch of *Lithuania*, and created

ed another Archbishop in *Livonia*: Yet for all this, the other *Livonian* Bishops would not submit; but joining with their old *Pagan* Friends of *Lithuania*, *Russia*, and *Samogitia*, fought with the Order a furious Battel, wherein both Parties were almost destroy'd; yet the Knights at last got the better, but were so weakened, that they were not able to prosecute the Victory, or to make any more enterprizes against Episcopacy; till the *Heer-Meister Conrad à Jungingen*, a Pious and Peaceable Man, in a Convocation of both Parties at *Dantzic*, after many Disputes, persuaded them to agree amicably. 1394.

Heer-Meister Conrad à Fitinghoff, invaded the *Russes* of *Pleskow*, and killed Seven thousand of them in a Battel by the River *Moddo*, besides many were drowned; but was prevented from prosecuting his Victory, by the Great Master, who earnestly intreated him, to come to the Assistance of the Order in *Prussia*, they being desperately Attack'd by *Jagello*, King of *Poland*, and *Vitoldus*, Duke of *Lithuania*; as soon as he came thither, a Peace was concluded between that King and the Order. 1403.

At *Marienbourg*, in an Assembly of the Order, there were several Laws en-

F acted

acted to curb the growing Luxury, Pride and Insolence of the Knights; among others, there was one, That a Knight should not keep above Ten Horses; and a Comptrol or Commander not above One hundred, for their own particular Use or Equipage.

This Order was now on the highest Pinnacle of Prosperity and Honour, exceeding great Kings and Potentates of Europe in extent of Dominions, Power and Riches, when *Ulricus a Jungingen* was chose the Three and twentieth Great Master; but he being of a hoisterous fiery temper, soon broke the Peace concluded between *Poland*, with his Father and Predecessor *Conradus a Jungingen* whereupon King *Uladislaus Jagello* joining Forces with his Father *Miroslaus of Lithuania*, formed an Army of an Hundred and fifty thousand fighting Men, and marched into *Prussia*. To stop the Progress of this formidable Army, the Great Master drew up as many Forces as he could, and after the *Livonians* had joined him, found his Army consisted in a general Muster, of Fourscore and three thousand well Armed, Stout Combatants. And thus with an undaunted Spirit he March'd forth to meet his Enemy. Such a Battel as this was never heard

The Fifth Letter.

67

heard of before in these Parts, and was given the 15th of July in Prussia, near the Town *Siegenburg*, between the two Villages *Tannenberg* and *Grunwald*, on a large Plain, with such obstinacy, that according to an exact Computation, there were actually killed on both sides, a Hundred thousand on the spot. The Poles got the Victory, but lost Threescore thousand Men. The Order lost Forty thousand, but among them almost all their Generals and Commanders, the Great Master himself, and the Chief of the Order, with Six hundred Noble *German* *Masonic* Knights were there slain: There is still kept every Year a Day of Devotion upon that Plain in a Chappel, built to the remembrance of this Battle, marked with the Date of the Year it happened, and this Inscription; *Centum mille perijt*. * This King of Poland was so weakened by this dear-bought Victory, that he very readily agreed to a Peace.

New Differences were like to break out again between the King of Poland and the *Teutonic* Order, but the Pope's Legate made them enter into Articles, that it should be enquired into, and determined in the next Council, which was a little time after held at *Cosniz*, or

1414. *Constance*: To this Council was sent from all the States of *Livonia*, *John Wallenrode*, Archbishop of *Riga*, who went thither in great State.

The Order grew every Day more vicious by their Plenty and Ease, *in Cupite & Membris*: The Authors of those Days have Recorded a Story of the *Heer-Meister*, *Siegfried Spanheim*; that not regarding in the least his Vow of Chastity, kept several Concubines, and endeavoured to give one of them in Marriage to a Prentice of *Riga*, which he refusing, incurred the indignation of his Master and Mistress, who both resolved to be revenged on him: Few Days after, he was accused of a Theft by suborned Persons, and the *Heer-Meister* condemned him without much enquiry, to be hanged; whilst this Young Man was going to be executed, seeing no Reprieve, he thus expressed himself; *Since I am so unjustly condemned in this World, I do summon herewith the Heer-Meister before that severe Judgment of God, and appoint him to appear there Thirteen Days hence.* *Spanheim* little regarded this; but continued in his Diversions as formerly, till, the appointed Day coming, he was seized with a sudden horror and struck with Death, which took him away in

The Fifth Letter.

69

an instant, crying out to the Company, *I am a dying, and see him, who summoned me to the Tribunal, before me.*

Russia grew now into a considerable Body; for *John* the First, a Son of *Basilus* the Blind, who began to Reign 1450, overthrew the Petty *Russian* Princes, one after another, between whom the *Russian* Empire was hitherto divided, and joined their Provinces to his. 1457.

At *Revel* arrived this Year a *Grecian* Princess, descended from the Family of the Emperor, *Michael Paleologus*. She came from *Rome*, where she had been bred in the Popish Religion, and was richly and magnificently dismiss'd by Pope *Sixtus* the Fourth, who promised himself no less, than that she would dispose her future Spouse *Ivan Wasilewicz*, to become a *Roman Catholick*. The *Revelians* received her with much respect, and carried her in great State beyond *Dorpat*, where the *Russes* received and carried her to their Czar at *Moskov*. But when she was arrived there, she herself forsook the *Roman*, and embraced the *Greek* or *Russian* Religion. 1472.

Czar *Ivan Wasilewicz*, the First Conquered the famous Town *Novogrod* and that Province; they say he carried from

1479. this Rich City, which was then famous for Trade, a Booty of Three hundred Waggons laden with Silver and Gold, and all the Citizens thereof were led away Captives.

1480. Heer-Meister Bernard Borg fell into *Russia* with a Hundred thousand Men; but by his ill Conduct, did no more than burn the Suburbs of *Plaskow*, and thereby provoke the *Russians*, who in their turn fell the next Year into *Livo-*

1481. *nia*, burnt and destroy'd many Towns and Villages, and returned with great Booty.

From 1482, to 1495. there were perpetual Divisions and Quarrels between that two-headed Government, of the Order and Bishops, so that it was decided in a Battel between the Knights and the Town of *Riga*, where the Town got the Day. These Domestic Broyls continued till *Walter Plettenberg* a Gentleman of *Westphalia*, was chosen Heer-Meister: He by his excellent Conduct put an end to these Troubles. A further Account of this extraordinary Man you may expect in my next.

LETTER VI.

Of Walter Plettenberg, Heer-Meister of Livonia, with a particular Description of the Battel he gave the Muscovites, wherein with a small Number he killed a Hundred thousand Russes. Of the Republick of Pleskow.

S I R,

Walter Plettenberg is the Man, whom those Nations prefer to all their other Heer-Meisters for Valour, Wisdom, and good Fortune.

Whereby he has not only eclipsed the Glory of his Predecessors, but left hardly any hopes to those that might succeed him, to get more Honour in the Post he was in: I have heard several notable Men say, that some great Man in France, whether it be the Duke of Rohan in his *Parfait Capitaine*, or *Marq. de Lan-gy*, or some other, have set down, That there were but three Great Heroes in

the World: *Alexander, Julius Caesar,* and this *Plessenberg*: I cannot find these Authors here, and desire the favour of ~~you that have so much knowledge in~~ History, to enquire the Truth of it, at least you may find it in one of those Dictionaries that deduce the Transactions of Great Men down to these Times, or else they cannot pass for compleat, if they take no notice of so Renowned a Person:

1498.

His first Care was to make a lasting Peace with *Riga*, to compose those Divisions, and to reform the Abuses that were crept in among the Knights of the Order. He applied all his care to maintain Peace at Home and Abroad, that after so many Civil and Foreign Wars, *Lithuania* might enjoy Rest and Plenty: But he was interrupted by an Invasion from the *Muscovites*, who plundered and burnt all about *Narus, Dorpat, and Riga*; whereupon the *Heer-Meister* prepared to return: then their Visit in like manner, which he performed with a small, but well ordered chosen Army, consisting of not above Four thousand Men, advancing in an Hostile manner in these Provinces, till he encountered the Main Body of the Enemy, consisting of forty thousand, who were chiefly Horse: He attacked and Routed them the 7th of

of September, and pursued them Three Leagues, till Night hindred his further pursuit, many Thousands were killed; he took all their Baggage, a great number of Horses, and much Ammunition, and went further on into their Country, took several Fortresses; and overcame another Body of the Enemy, which he met by *Imanogrod*: But a great Mortality in the *Livonian* Army caused his Retreat, *Plettenburg* himself was attacked with a violent Sickness, which so weakened him, that he hardly escaped with life; this discouraged the *Russians*, that they invaded *Livonia* again with great Numbers, destroy'd several Provinces in a most barbarous and inhuman manner, so that after their Retreat, there were missing about Forty thousand People, either killed or carried into Slavery.

No sooner was the *Heer-Meister* recovered, but he called a Parliament, wherein 'twas resolved to invade *Russia* again; he gathered with all haste imaginable, Seven thousand *German* Horse, and Five or Six thousand *Curlandish* Infantry. With this small Number he broke into *Russia*; being come near *Plaskow*, he took two Prisoners, who inform'd him that the *Muscovites* approach'd with a mighty Army, to whom

the

the Czar had given Orders to surround that little Herd of *Germans*, and to drive them like Cattel to *Moscow*. This Advertisement gave the *Har-Meister* time to March on in good Order, till he met that vast Army, above a Hundred thousand strong, divided; and marching in Twelve Bodies: He animated his Men in a short *Chr. Koles* Speech, and after he had discharged his Field-Pieces, (to which the *Muscovites* were not much used) fell with great fury upon them, at which daring Onset the *Russians* were greatly astonished: The Fight was close and Obstinate, and the *Har-Meister* with his handful of Men was quite surrounded by the *Russas*, yet he fought his way through their Army thrice with uncommon Bravery, till he obliged the Enemy to betake themselves to their Heels, and in their Flight there were a prodigious Number of them killed. The Conquerors wearied, and their Horse tired, could not pursue them further but kept the Field three Days, to see if the Enemy had Courage to Rally and Assault them again, but they durst not look them any more in the Face.

There

There is no doubt in History of this Famous Battel, and most of its Circumstances agree; yet the Authors vary in the number of the Slain: Those that will allow the least number, say, that there was of the *Moscovites* dead Carcasses on the Spot Forty thousand; and on the *German* side, of the Infantry, a Captain, a Lieutenant, and an Ensign, besides Four hundred common Soldiers, and only one *Teutonick* Knight killed.

I know you delight in Relations of Great Men, and Extraordinary Events; therefore I shall be something more prolix in this notable Battel, to give you an assurance of its being much greater, than what I allgd'd before; since there is very few in *England* that have any knowledge of this Action, or this Hero.

When *Johannes Lavoclavius*, an approved, and very searching Author, gives an Account of this memorable Fight, he says, I am going to describe that Battel between *Livonia* and *Moscovy*, which few years ago was fought with incredible Bravery, and wherewith we in our Times have not been enough acquainted: For those that have related it to *Paulus Jovius*, and to the Baron of *Herberstein*, have for their own Interest

The Sixth Letter.

Interest and Reasons, commemorated it differently, from what I my self have learned upon the Place from the *Livonians*; viz.

Frag-
ments out
of Leun-
clavius.

Basilus, Czar of *Moskow*, born of *John* the Great Duke, and a *Grecian* Mother, *Sophia*, who was Daughter of *Thomas Paleologus*, an Illustrious Prince in *Pe-lopomnesus*: This Prince was of an ambitious and aspiring Temper; and having performed many Martial Deeds, and got more Glory by his Arms, than any of his Predecessors, was incited to invade *Livonia*, about 1501. where the Teutnick Order had for their *Heer-Meister* with Sovereign Power, *Gualterus & Plettenberg*, descended from a Noble Family in *Westphalia*, (*Magni Viri Animi & Consilii* — who with a select number of German Horse, not exceeding Seven thousand in number, and Five thousand *Curonians*, (who are a Nation of *Livonia*, and were then under *Plettenberg's* Command) ent'ed the Enemies Territories, and took several Forts; Marching onward he went directly towards *Plescow*, the Sixteenth of *October*, where he was rencountred by the *Muscovites*, with an incredible number of Men in a vast Plain, very proper for a Battle. 'Tis affirmed, that the

the *Muscovite* had of his own Troops above an Hundred thousand; and besides that, was joined with Thirty thousand Tartars; for these vast Regions are crowded with numberless People.

Here *Leunclavius* makes almost the same Relation of the Fight, as is before-mentioned; and when he comes to the number of the Slain, he says the Enemy received an incredible Overthrow, and brings an Argument from those large Plains being all over covered with Carcasses, * and then assures us, that there were no less kill'd of Tartars and Muscovites, than fourscore thousand; and on *Plettenberg's* side (he says) there was a great many wounded by the Enemies Arrows, but only one Man killed. This Author adds, that the Czar must have been extremely defeated; since presently after it, he sent to the *Heer-Meister* an Embassy, desiring Peace, which he never had done, if he had not suffered an intire Defeat. 'Tis true, he allows that the *Germans*; had the Advantage of being armed with Cuirasses, and the Enemy not; and that in their Camp they had

* *Hos quidem cered constat, quod ea planities, in qua pugnatum fuerat. Et que supra sexaginta stadia longe lateq; patebat, undiq; Cadaveribus constrata corruerant.* Jo. Leunclavius de Moschorum Bellis adversus finitimos gentis, ab Acriis LXX.

had some Artillery, to which the *Ruffes* were not well used, and this may take off somewhat from the seeming Improbability. I here send you another Account, done by a Person that seems by the natural and florid Stile, to have been inspired in that Battel by *Mars*, or some more learned Divinity. The Original is as follows, leaving it to a more able Pen, than mine to express it in *English*; for it were injurious to the Author not to reach up to the Energy of his Stile.

Atrax.

A Trox & memorabile Prælium gesserunt Livones contra Ruthenos, Anno Domini, 1500. sub Ordinis Teuthonici Magistro D. Vualtero à Plettenberg excessi Animi & magna industria Viro. Igitur cum Teuthonicus Magister cum Ruthenis confligere statuisset, publica servitia & solennes Lithanias triduo servandas indicit, paulo post Natalem Virginis Matris, ut communibus votis divinam operam & prospexum Prælii eventum obtinerent. Conscribit deinde Magister Præfectos & Commendatores universos cum Nobilibus totius Provincia, quibus copias & auxilia sua conjungunt quatuor Livoniæ Episcopi, Rigensis, Torpatensis, Rivaliensis, & Habselensis, ita ut Magister Teuthonicus septem haberet Germanorum Equitum Millia, & quinque Millia Curonum qui Populi sunt Livoniæ. Hoc exercitu Magister, Ruthenorum fines invadit, arcesque & oppida quadam expugnat. Inde ipso exaltationis Crucis die ad Urbem Plešcoviam tendunt. Juxta hanc sita est planities duorum Milliariorum amplitudine, in quam ubi devenire,

nère, obviam illis procedit Ruthenorum Imperator, cum centenis Millibus Armatorum, qui in duodecim acies distributi erant. His adjuncta erat ingens Tartarorum manus triginta Millia conficiens. Itaq; Teuthonicus Magister, ubi aut turpiter fugiendum, aut ingenti cum Animo adversus tantum exercitum, barbarie & armis formidabilem procedendum videt, nequicquam de Victoria Spe remittens, fortunam belli tentare statuit, & paucis suorum Animos confir-
mat.

Praclaram sanè victoriam, inquit O Milites, hodie nobis obventuram de Numinis benignitate, & vestra omnium fortitudine facile mihi promitto. In Causa justissima, Dii non possunt non esse propitii. Vos tantummodo pristina strepuitatis & constantiae memores, existimate Vos, Decus, Gloriam, Patriam, Libertatem & Religionem in dextris vestris portare. Alios fortasse ingens barbara gentis multitudo animo dejiceret. Vos vero Milites, dum considero, & cum vestra facta aestimo, quibus Parentes, Patriam, aras & focos, vitamq; adversus hereditarios Catholica pietatis hostes, fidem saepenumero tutati estis, eandemq; ad extremum vite, armis & Sanguine vestro vindicare cupitis, magna me spes Victoria tenet, animus, aetas, virtus vestra hortantur.

Hæc

Hæc ubi dixit non multò post utriq; signa canuntur, Teuthonicus Magister glandes ferreas & globos tormentarios, velut crebra continuaq; tonitrua in Tartaros, contorquet, inde maximo clamore infestis signis utriq; concurrunt, gladiis, lanceis omniq; telorum genere res geritur. Tartari & Moschovii arcibus & sagittis assueti, densissimo creberrimoq; telorum jactu æthera obumbrant, quæ tum universa pene irrita aërem verberant, donec ultro in terram decidunt. Ingens ibi sonitus ad Cælum attollitur, bombardarum fulmina, Armorum fragor, Vulneratorum genitus, pereunstum clamor, tympanorum sonitus, equorum hinnitus, omnia & Martem & mortem referebant. Tartari ubi pralio fusi fugatiq; succedunt duodecim Motchoviorum acies, Animis & Virtute recentes. Teuthonici casis Tartaris, ubi bellum recrudesce sentirent, quanto majorem hostium vim prioribus succedere conspiciant, tantò majoribus animis in hostes irruere, & velut ab integro nova virtute resumpta, ingenti cum fremitu casim, punctimq; conflare; vergente jam ad vesperam die, qui ex Moschoviis supererant, furim se Plescoviam subducunt. Pralio ita dirempto, compertum est ex Teuthonicorum agmine unum duntaxat interentum. Moschoviorum verò & Tartarorum circiter centena Millia trucidatos ut duobus Milliaribus

ribus cadavera passim dispersa jacerent. Memorabilis hic erat triumphus & singulare Virtutis & Fortitudinis exemplum ac dignum quod sempiterna memoria donatum nunquam aboleatur. Moschoviorum Imperator (qui ipse in aciem non prodierat) cum summo stupore admiratur tantum exercitum, tam exigua manu, tam turpiter casum & prostratum, atq; illicò Pacem quinquaginta annis cum Teuthonicis firmat. Qua iuncta omniq; bellico tumultu composito, Legatum Magnus Moschoviæ Dux, ad Ordinis Magistrum ablegat, rogans, uti unum quempiam ex ferreis illis Militibus (Rutheni Teuthones ferreos vocabant) qui tantam Moschoviorum multitudinem fuderant, ad se mittat, se una cum Legato obsidem mittere, ferreum illum Virum non inhonoratum, indonatumq; ad suos reversurum. Magister Teuthonicus haud invitè unum è Militibus Cataphractum equitem Moschoviam versus destinat, quem ubi Moschoviæ Princeps adventare accipit, confestim universis Ducibus, Nobilibus & Praefectis suis denuntiat, uti prescripto die Moschoviam conveniant, novum visusq; dignum spectaculum eos habituros. Destinato Die Cataphractus in apertam planiciem juxta Aulam Principis, numerosa (ut fit) populi Corona circumstante; procedit, & huc illucq; obequitans, petasum è capite cujuspiam

The Sixth Letter.

83

piam circumstantis abripit, eamq; in hippodromi centrum projicit. Illicò pleno cursu Lanceam in petasum dirigit, eamq; dicto citius cuspide arreptum terrâ subleuat. Moschovius Imperator eam equitis agilitatem conspiciens, urși in morem (solent id facere Moschovii admirantes) barrit. Rursum Cataphractus demissa paululum Lancea in oppositum parietem pernicissimo cursu fertur; Ac tametsi parietem invasurus videretur: Ille tamen protinus intacto muro hastam reducit, & Equum retrahit. Illud Spectaculum denuò Principis omniumq; circumstantium admiratio subsequitur. Resumptâ iteratò lanceâ plenissimo impetu in parietem fertur, hastamq; circum volitantibus undiq; fragmentis, confringit. Hæc ubi omni dexteritate expedite gessit, Cataphractus vocatur ad Principem, & Insigni munere ad Teuthonicam Magistrum remittitur.

G 2

Here

Here you may observe, that this Author does not diminish the number of the Slain; but assures us that the Enemy lost about an hundred thousand; and secondly, that the Czar himself would not engage in the Fight personally, but kept at distance: It may, perhaps, be their Maxim to spare their Persons, like some of your Neighbours, as 'tis the particular Endowment of the *Herculean Race of Nassau* to be always at the Head of Danger.

Alexander Guagninus, in his *Sarmatia Europaea*, who was also very inquisitive in the Affairs of *Livonia*, and personally informed himself there of this great Battle, gives us the same Account.

At the Czar's desire, *Plettenberg* agreed to a Peace for Fifty years, which was concluded, and confirmed by Oaths on both sides. The *Heer-Meister* applied himself during that Interval, to procure the Prosperity of his People, shewing himself no less worthy to govern in Peace, than to command in War.

1509.

Dav. Ely.
1704.

The Czar *Basilius* swallowed up the City and Dutchy of *Pleskow*, which was then a small Republick of it self, and had his own Dukes, who were Elective; yet nevertheless confirmed by the Czar: They

The Sixth Letter.

85

They had their Senate, who ruled this Republick according to their own Laws; yet so, as that Matters of the highest Concern, *viz.* Peace and War, Alliances, the Election of a Duke, Taxes, &c. required the Peoples Consent. The too great Ease and Liberty made the Populace so insolent, that they pretended to have share in the Estates and Lands of the Richest, and most Potent among the Magistrates, and wealthiest Citizens; which occasioned great Tumults, that rose to such a height, that there could be found no Accommodation.

Whereupon the *Russian* Clergy implored *Plettenberg's* Aid, in the Name of their Senate, against the People; and since he would not accept their Invitation, thinking it would be taken for a breach of the concluded Peace with *Moskow*, they at last were so distracted with Civil Broils, as to call the Czar *Basilus* to their Assistance, and to refer to him the Arbitration of their differences; who glad of this Opportunity, came with an Army before *Plescow*; and being privately let in by the Magistrate and Clergy, he overthrew them all, sending their Chief Men Captives to *Moskow*, and united this Dutchy to his Dominions. Thus fell

Pleskow from the highest Liberty into the greatest Slavery in one day.

1510. The 33d. Great Master of the *Marian* Order, *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, died in this Year, and in his room was chosen *Albertus* Marquis of *Brandenburgh*.

1514. Czar *Basilius* took that great Fortrefſ *Smolensko*.

1511. *Plettenberg* became now Independent, and a Sovereign in his own Right, paying a good Summ to the Great Master of *Prussia*, for the Resignation thereof; who remitted the Oath, whereby the *Heer-Meisters* of *Livonia* were tied to the Sovereign Head of the *Marian* Order, and renounced all his Authority in *Livonia*: Thereupon, to shew his Independence, *Plettenberg* made Gold Coin, in Value like that of *Portugal*, which was then the finest in *Europe*. The Emperor *Charles* the Fifth created him a Prince of the Empire, *cum Voto & Sessione*; and all the *Livonian* Provinces, as *Letitia*, *Curonia*, *Estonia*, and *Semgallia*, were allowed the Privilege to appeal from their Prince, to the Imperial Chamber at *Spire*, as Members of the Empire.

1522. The Reformation also began about this time in *Livonia*, from the *Roman* Church, whose Priests, by their Ignorance,

rance, Idleness, and great Abuses, had rend'ed themselves odious every where.

Luther sent Ministers thither with admonitory Letters, for a zealous Reformation. *Plettemberg* himself, and many of the Order, privately favouring the Protestant Ministry; and though the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth writ several times very urging Letter, upon the Request of the *Romanists*, that the City of *Riga* might restore the Ecclesiastical Estates they had seized, and make no Innovations in Religion, yet the Protestants were favoured; and afterwards the *Lutheran* Religion entirely embraced, when the Archbishop of *Riga* himself, Marquis *William* of *Brandenburgh*, declared for that Doctrine.

The said Emperor endeavoured by all means, to re-establish the Ecclesiasticks in their Church-Lands; and to that intent, he sent a Message to the *Livonians*, that if they did not forthwith restore them, he would compell them to it, with Fire and Sword: To which they returned Answer, that His Imperial Cavalry would be much harass'd, and tired, before they could reach their Land; and if he sent a numerous Army, they would perish by Famine through the length and tediousness of the Journey; and if only a small

one, it would give them no Terror; for they should very well be able to deal with them.

1535.

That Valiant General, and Wise Prince, *Walter Plettenberg*, dyed this Year, generally lamented, not only by his Subjects, but by all that had any knowledge of him.

I knew your Love to Antiquities, and Rareties of this sort, which made me take a Journey from *Mittau* hither, on purpose to search for the Portraiture of this renowned Person; which I have copied, and sent you: It stands in the Old Castle on the Wall *sub Dio*, done in *Fresco*, but much impaired by the Injury of Time and Weather. The King of *Sweden* to shew the Value he had for the Memory of this great Man, when he had ordered a new Castle to be built in *Riga*, had given positive Orders not to pull down that Piece of Wall where his Effigies stands. The Letters are set in this rude manner under it.

Riga, 1697.

Nec Historia debet egredi veritatem, & honeste factis veritas sufficit. Plinius in Epistola ad Tacitum.

L E T.



her walter uan p
lettenberch mester
loßland durches
ordens. Anno 1515



L E T T E R VII.

The Causes of the decay of that Order, chiefly their inward Divisions and Luxury. The Threats and Invasions from Moskow into Livonia, with the extinction of the Knights of the Teuto-nick Order in those Parts.

S I R,

I Wan Wasilewicz the Second, Czar of 1552.
 Moskow, conquered the two Tartar-
 ian Kingdoms of Casan and Astracan,
 leading their Princes and those that be-
 longed to them, Prisoners into Moskow.
 This Czar was of a mighty Ambitious,
 Brutal and Bloody Disposition; and if
 all be true the Histories tell of him,
 he comes no ways short of any Tyrant
 whatsoever, taking that Name in the
 worst Sense. He knew very well that
 Livonia had vastly increased in Riches,
 by Trade and a long Peace, that their
 Wealth

Wealth had rendred them Luxurious, Effeminate and Careless: Their too great Felicity had bred Civil Animosities, and there always were Quarrels between the two leading Parties, the Bishop and the Order. Since *Plettenberg's* time all things belonging to Martial Affairs were neglected, no Exercise of Arms for the Militia; neither an Army of Natives, or Mercenary Troops. The publick Treasury was exhausted by lavish and profuse Conduct, or enriching of the Friends and Relations of the Knights, Bishops and Prebends; great part of it was sent yearly to *Rome*: But especially the *Exchequer* was rob'd by self-interested Managers and Commissioners, and misapply'd to the advancement of their private Fortunes, and each State refused to contribute towards the publick Security, alledging their Privileges.

Though Rich Subjects are a desirable Treasure, when the Prince has Power and Authority to employ their Purfes without much Ceremony upon necessary exigencies of State; yet when by preposterous Privileges, and in precarious Assemblies, they stand upon their immunities, without considering that they hazard or lose both Wealth and Liberty,

ty, if they do not supply what must maintain them; any other Nation than the *English*, who understand when to keep back, and when to give (still acting as their Glory requires) will be easily overthrown, as we may see by the Ruin of the Eastern Empire at the Seige of *Constantinople*; the loss of the Liberties in *Denmark*; the Destruction of *Livonia*, as you shall presently see, and many others.

Whilst things were thus in *Livonia*, the Czar took care to provide himself with Guns, Arms and Ammunition; he got Officers to Exercise his Horse and Foot, from *Germany* and *Scotland*; as also Engineers, Gunners, Architects, and all sorts of Artisans; and having Train'd under them his undisciplin'd Nation in Martial Affairs, especially in the Wars of *Casan*, and *Astracan*, he presumed to Attack braver Nations, and knowing how far Divisions, Pride, Luxury, and above all, Security and supine Negligence had prepared the *Livonians* a Prey for him, made great preparations to Invade them; and not to want pretence, he sent the Bishop of *Dorpat* to demand Tribute, which he said, was in Ancient Times paid by that Bishoprick to his Predecessors;
whereat

1554. whereat the *Livonians* being alarm'd, the *Heer-Meister* and the Bishop sent an Embassy to *Moskow*, to Remonstrate, That *Lifland* had never paid any Tribute to *Russia*; but the Czar was positive, and would hearken to no reason; nevertheless he concluded a Peace for Fifteen Years with them, on condition that within the first three Years, the Quarrels between *Russia* and *Livonia*, particularly that about the Tribute should be compos'd.

The *Heer-Meister*, *Henry Galen*, foreseeing this Peace could not last long, sent an Ambassador in the same Year to *Gustavus* the First, King of *Sweden*, desiring Aid and Assistance against the *Muscovites*, who returned an Answer as could be wish'd, and made preparations against the *Russians*.

1555. The *Muscovites* besieged *Wibourg* in *Finland*, but were repuls'd and beaten back by that Glorious King *Gustavus Vasa*. Their Pride and Insolence might easily have been brought down at that time, if the *Livonians*, according to their Engagement, had fallen upon them, as opportunity offer'd; but the Sloth of the degenerated Knights of the Order, and the intestine Broyls and Animosities

ties, between them and the Bishops, made them neglect their Safety.

William Furstenberg, Coadjutor to the *Heer-Meister* in *Livonia*, besieged Marquis *William* of *Brandenburg*, Archbishop of *Riga*, and *Christof*, Duke of *Mecklenbourg*, his Coadjutor, in *Kokenhausen*, where he took them both Prisoners, The King of *Poland*, *Sigismundus Augustus*, a near Relation to the Illustrious Prisoners, employed all his Offices to procure their Liberty, and Restitution, but in vain; therefore 'twas Resolved in a General Dyet at *Warsaw*, to Invade *Livonia* with One hundred thousand Men.

Christian the Third, King in *Denmark*, sent an Ambassador to *Livonia*, to mediate Peace between the Archbishop and the Order; but *Furstenberg*, who was now become *Heer-Meister* himself, was very averse to it, till he heard that the *Polish* Army had joined the *Prussians*, (the Great Master *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, was Brother to the Archbishop) and were in their March to *Livonia*.

King *Sigismund* sent a naked *Sabre* to *Furstenberg* with this Message, That with such Instruments he resolved to open the Prison of the two Dukes, and
to

to procure their full Restitution! Which he had certainly effected, if the Ambassador from the Emperor *Ferdinand* the First, and other *German* Princes had not intervened, by whose Negotiations a very Honourable Peace was made for the King of *Poland*, whereby not only the Restauration of the Princes was effected, but the King got also a good Summ of Money to defray his Expedition. At the same time the said Mediators perswaded *Poland* and *Lifland*, to enter into a Defensive League against the *Muscovites*: Whereupon the States of *Livonia*, blindly secure, and fearing some ill consequences from their Standing Forces during Peace, Disbanded their Army, except some few Troops: But lamented their Misfortunes in doing so rashly, when it was too late.

The Czar had an Eye upon all this, and hearing of a League betwen *Poland* and *Livonia*, he demanded again the former Tribute of the Bishoprick of *Dorpat*, and besides a Free Trade for his Subjects with Natives and Foreigners, throughout all *Livonia*; as also the rebuilding of many *Russian* Churches, destroyed by the late Reformation; and withall, that they should renounce

renounce the late Treaty made with *Poland*, threatening them with Fire and Sword in case of refusal. The *Livonians* more disposed to indulge their Sloth and Luxury, than to Fight, sent a solemn Ambassy to *Moskow*, with great Gifts and Presents, and gave Instructions to compound with the Czar for a Summ of Money, and then to conclude a Peace.

The Czar would not enter into any Treaty, unless the *Livonians* presently would dismiss their only Standing Force of Six Companies of *German* Troops, which by a blind Fatality they did condescend to, and Disbanded them; whereupon the Treaty began, and the Ambassadors agreed to pay for all his Pretentions Forty thousand Rix Dollars, and that the Bishoprick of *Dorpat*, would besides for the future, make him an *Annual* Payment of a Thousand Duckats in Gold: No sooner were the Ambassadors come to their Lodging, but the greedy Czar sent thither to receive the Money: They told the Messengers, that they had not the Money about them, but promis'd to have it return'd in a little time: This they took ill, and the Czar thought to be even with them, he must play them this trick; which was, He invited the
Am-

1558.

Ambassadors to his own Table, where all the Dishes were covered, and when by the Czar's Command the Covers were taken off, they were all empty, and thus the deluded Ambassadors were sent hungry back to their Quarters, and dismissed with this Answer, that he himself would go to fetch the Tribute from *Livonia*: . Therefore he immediately sent an Army of Forty thousand Men, under the Command of a *Tartarian* Prince, called Czar *Sigaley*, who committed the most cruel Barbarities in *Livonia* that can be heard of; which so perplexed them, that they neither knew how to help themselves, nor whence to expect relief: The Emperor could not assist them but gave them leave to chuse the Protection of some other Neighbouring Princes. Whilst they were deliberating whom to chuse, *Iwan Wasilewicz* came with his Army before *Narva*, beseiged and took it by Storm in *May*.

In *July* came above a Hundred thousand *Russes* under *Sigaley* before *Dorpat*, which was surrendred after a small Resistance: 'Tis incredible what brutish rage the *Muscovites* committed all over the Country, on all Sexes, Ages and Conditions, which struck such a panick
fear

The Seventh Letter.

97

fear in them, that no body thought of making opposition, but making Provision for their own safety.

Heer-Meister William Furstenberg resigned his Regency, and made room for his Coadjutor *Gotthard Kettler*; who was made Supream Head of the Order in *Livonia*. He sent an Ambassador to *Augsburg*, where the Emperor *Ferdinand* the First, held a Dyet of the Empire, to represent to them the dangerous Condition of *Livonia* who obtained only a promise of a Summ of Money, which never was paid. He went himself to King *Sigismund* in *Poland*, and sent to King *Gustavus* in *Sweden*, who both gave him fair Promises, but no Assistance. The *Muscovites* in the mean time with an Army of an Hundred and thirty thousand Men, Ravaged all the Country about *Riga*, with repeated Cruelties.

1559.

The same Year arrived in *Livonia* Duke *Magnus*, the King of *Denmark*, *Friderick* the Second's Brother, to take Possession of the two Bishöpricks the King his Brother had bought for him; *Pilten* in *Curonia*, and *Oesel*, which he gave him as his Appanage, and were then Seculariz'd. This Prince being Young and Ambitious, pretended to se-

1560.

H

veral

veral Dependencies to his Bishopricks, seized on some of them, and was thought to have intelligence with the *Muscovites*, which was like to produce a new Civil War between him and the *Heer-Meister*.

The *Russes* continued their Devastations, and took the Fortress *Felin* by Mutiny of the Garrison, where the Old Abdicated *Heer-Meister Furstenberg* was retired, and they carry'd him in Triumph to *Moskow*.

1560.

Gustavus the First, of Immortal Memory departed this Life, and sent a little time before his Death, an Ambassador to the States of *Livonia*, earnestly exhorting them to be faithful to their *Heer-Meister*, and not to divide themselves, and if he lived, he would give them Assistance; but he soon after died, and his Son and Successor to the Crown of *Sweden*, *Erick* the Fourteenth, had other Designs.

Livonia was now reduced to a most deplorable Condition, and had no way left, but to implore Aid from their two Neighbours, the Kings of *Poland* and *Sweden*: who declared that they would not assist them, unless they would put themselves entirely under their Protection; with this difference, that the
King

The Seventh Letter.

99

King of Poland demanded all *Livonia* to be annexed to his Crown, to which the *Heer-Meister* rather inclined, than to *Sweden*, who only demanded the Town of *Revel*; and some parts in *Estland*.

Whilst the *Heer-Meister* was treating with *Poland*, and doing all he could by wise Council, Conduct, and making of Alliances, the Town of *Revel* with part of *Estonia*; Engaged with King *Ericus XIV* of *Sweden*, much against the *Heer-Meister's* Will, who understanding that they were deeply advanced in Treaties, sent his Ambassadors *Henry Dohna*, and *John Fischer*, to admonish them not to conclude with *Sweden*, and to promise them speedy Assistance; but they came too late, for they had already paid their Oath of Homage to *Ericus* upon very Honourable and Advantageous Terms.

This Division induced the *Heer-Meister* and the Marquis of *Brandenburg* Archbishop of *Riga*, with the Nobility to hasten their Accommodation with King *Sigismund Augustus* of *Poland* in the same Year; wherein they promised their Accession to the Crown of *Poland* and Great Dutchy of *Lithuania*, with a *Provisio*, that the King of *Poland* should procure an Absolution of their Oaths of Fidelity from the Emperor, whereby

they were tied and annexed to the *Roman* Empire; and for this their Change they might not be put in the Bann of the Empire: The other Conditions were, That the King and his Successors should maintain the *Livonians* in their Confession of *Augsburg*, and not suffer any Innovations to be made therein. He confirmed to all the Provinces their Privileges, Laws and Liberties in Temporal and Spiritual things; and chiefly to the Nobility their Possessions, Rights, Jurisdictions, and Immunities: All the Places and Offices were to be held only by *Germans*, and chiefly the *Heer-Meister* hence-forward was to be invested with the Ducal Title, and the Inheritance of the Duchies of *Curon* and *Semigallia*, for himself and Heirs Males; yet that it should depend as a Fief from the Crown of *Poland*. Besides, he was declared perpetual Governour of all the rest of *Livonia*.

On the other Hand, the States of *Livonia* promised, That not only that Part which was now Treating, but whatever should be recovered from the Enemies, which formerly belonged to them, should hence-forward appertain to the Crown of *Poland* and Great Duchy of *Lithuania*. The *Heer-Meister*

The Seventh Letter.

104

ster was to Resign, and Remit publickly the Oath of Allegiance, wherewith the States of *Livonia* were tied to him, and he with them together, pay Homage to the Crown of *Poland*. These, and many more Articles were agreed, perform'd, and sworn to on both sides in *Wilna* on a Dyet the 28th of *November*.

1561.

The *Pacta Subjectionis* being thus concluded, Prince *Nicolaus Radziwill*, came from the King of *Poland* to *Riga*, and delivered to the States of *Livonia*, the Authentick Patents of their Agreement from the King, whereupon the *Heer-Meister* resigned his Order, laid down the Habit thereof and other *Insignia*, with many others of the chief Knights of that Order, and was pronounced in the Name of the King, Duke of *Curonia* and *Semigallia*, and the Nobility took the Oath to him as to a Temporal Prince, he was also declared at the same time perpetual Governour of *Livonia*; and thus, that Famous *Marian Order*, that so bravely established and maintained it self above Three hundred Years in *Livonia*, had its Period.

1562.

In my next Letters you'll hear of the Miseries and Desolations that after followed, and occasioned these Verses, wherewith I finish.

H 3

Disce

The Seventh Letter.

Disce meo exemplo peccatis fræna negare,
 Inchyta Germanis subdita Terra Viris.
 Me mea luxuries, me cæta Libido, Tyrannis,
 Hæc tria me tantis implicuere malis.
 Hæc tria verterunt olim clarissima sceptrâ,
 Hæc tria sunt luctus jam quoq; causa mei!
 Pœnitet heu! fero scelerum me pœnitet: at

[nunc
 Quid juvat amisso claudere septa grege?
 Si tamen ô Germana sapis, Germania felix,
 Disce meo exemplo fræna negare malis.
 Dum te fata trahunt studia ad meliora se-
 [quendum est,
 Tempore qui Fatis paruit, haud perit;
 Ultrix Dextra Dei quo tardus exit ad iram,
 Hoc gravius tandem, cum furit illa, ferit*.

† Theodor. Sorbadius, introducing in this Epigram distressed Livonia, as warning her Sister Germania.

LETTER VIII.

What happened after the Partition of Livonia, and the beginnings of the War between Poland and Sweden against Moscow; and the Cruelties of the Russian Tyrant Iwan Wasilewicz; as also Two Letters from that unfortunate King of Sweden Ericus XIV. imprison'd by his Brothers.

S I R,

THE Partition of *Livonia*, among so many Potent Princes, did by no means put an end to the unhappy Wars, but produced many more. For there was none had got a share in it, that did not pretend to the whole.

King *Sigismund*, who had the greatest Part of it, thought he had most right to the rest, and therefore sent an Ambassador to *Stockholm*, to claim *Revel*, and what the *Swedes* held in *Esthonia*; but King *Ericus* returned an Answer, That his Title to that Part he had, was as good as the King of *Poland's*.

H 4

Duke

The Eighth Letter.

Duke *Magnus* of *Holstein*, pretended also to *Revel*, and the Lands belonging to it, but was refused by *Sweden*, and thereupon he kindled a War between the King of *Denmark* his Brother's and the King of *Sweden*.

1652.

Ericus seeing many Enemies raised against him, endeavour'd to renew the Peace with *Moskow*, and to include *Esthland* in it; but *Iwan Wasilewicz*, who without exception pretended to all *Livonia*, would not hearken to it, only made a Truce for two Years including *Revel*, and presently after denounc'd War to *Sigismund*, King of *Poland*, in a very insolent manner, calling himself in his Letters God's Vicegerent (though he was more properly his Scourge) and threatening that King arrogantly with ill Language; he concluded, that he would carry a Coffin with him to put King *Sigismund's* Head in. That King return'd an Answer, and Challeng'd the Czar to meet him at *Smolensko*, where formerly *Sigismund's* Father had obtained a signal Victory over the *Muscovites*.

The same Year in *October*, Duke *John* of *Finland*, King *Ericus's* Brother Married at *Wilda*, in *Lithuania*, Princess *Catharina* Sister to King *Sigismund August*, in *Poland*, which extremely offended his Brother King *Ericus* of *Sweden*. The same Prin-

The Eighth Letter.

105

cess had been desired in Matrimony by the Czar *Ivan Wasilewicz*; but since he would not engage to settle his Succession upon the Children, he might have by *Catharina*, in prejudice of those of his first Wedlock, he received a denial, which the *Poles* aggravated in a scornful way, sending him for a Bride, a white Mare dress'd as a Lady; this he took so hainously, that he avenged it most cruelly upon the *Lithuanians*; for as King *Sigismund Augustus* of *Poland* was consulting in a general Dyet how to carry on the War against *Moskow* and *Sweden*, the Czar came with 300000 Men before that great and rich Town *Polocko*, carried it by Storm, Massacred many Thousands, and led away near 80000 Prisoners, with a vast Treasure to *Moskow*, and would have over-run all *Lithuania*, had not the Dyet, which was then Assembled at *Peterkow*, sent him an Ambassador to tell him, that they were met in order to chuse a Successor to their Childless King, and were inclined to Elect either the Czar, or one of his Sons: By this Stratagem he was disposed to go home.

1. Marquis *William* of *Brandenbourg*, the last Archbishop of *Riga*, died this Year, and that Archbishoprick was Seculariz'd.

2. The King of *Poland* finding himself Attack'd on one side by the *Russians*, on the other

1563.

other by *Sweden*, disposed the King of *Denmark* to fall upon *Sweden*; whereupon the *Danish* Admiral, *Jacob Brockenhusen*, at the beginning of this Summer, attacked the *Swedish* Fleet, commanded by *Jacob Bagge*, by *Bornholm*, but was very unfortunate; for not only the *Danish* Admiral, with 7 Captains and 900 Seamen were taken Prisoners, but 600 *Danes* were kill'd in the Fight, Four Men of War taken, and the rest of the Fleet dispersed.

1566. *Godhard* Duke of *Curonia* and *Semigallia*, married the Princess *Ann* of *Mecklenburgh*, and the Solemnities of it were performed at *Konigsberg*, in *Prussia*. All this while the Hostilities, as well between *Poland* and *Sweden*, as between *Poland* and *Moskow*, continued in *Livonia* with many Skirmishes, Attacks, and Sieges.

1568. Several of the *Czar's* near Relations, wearied, with his Tyranny, made a Plot against him; which was fomented by King *Sigism. August*. To whom they had promised to surrender themselves with a great part of the *Muscovite* Provinces: But one of the Conspirators discovered all; whereat the *Czar* enraged, seized on every one of them, and caus'd not only them, but their Wives, Children, Relations, Friends, Subjects, Tenants, Servants of both Sexes, to be dispatched

patched with all imaginable Torments, all their Houses razed, and their Names blotted out from the List of his People: Nay, the very Beasts that belonged to them, Horses, Cattel, Dogs, and Cats, were exterminated, and the very Fish in their Ponds kill'd by Poison. *Salomon Henning*, who lived in that time, and writ his History then, relates a bloody Proof of this Tyrant's Cruelty; That whereas among others, two Brothers being employed by the Czar in this cruel Execution, finding a pretty Child in a Cradle, and being moved with the innocent Smiles, and endearing Motions of that Babe, they could not kill it; but thinking to move the Czar's Compassion, brought it to him, who first took it in his Arms, kiss'd, and caress'd it, and then barbarously run a knife thrice into that poor Creatures Body, and flung it out at the Window to the Bears, and ordered the two Brothers to be presently massacred before him.

King *John* of Sweden, (who with his younger Brother *Charles* of *Sudermannia*, had dethroned their King, and Elder Brother *Ericus XIV.*) sent his Ambassadors *Paulum Justum*, Bishop of *Abau*, and *Antonium Olsen*, Lord of *Trasterby*, to the Czar, to treat with him about a Peace; who violating the Right of Nations, first took all
what

The Eighth Letter.

what they had from them, then had them cruelly beaten, and put in Prison: For he was a great Friend to that unfortunate Prince *Ericus*; who is the same, that made Court to Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*; being refused, he made his Addresses to Princess *Christina*, Landgrave *Philip* of *Hessen's* Daughter, and was denied also: Afterwards by some unaccountable Fatality he married a very mean Woman, whereby he alienated the Affection of his Brothers and Subjects; and being suspected of a kind of Frenzy, which produced some cruel Actions, he was dethron'd and kept in Prison; and as some will have it, poison'd by his Brother *John*, who succeeded him. *Ericus* was of a Noble Stature, and had several good Qualities, particularly of great Learning; which you may see by these two Letters he has sent to his Brother out of Prison, where he was kept in a deplorable Condition.

Illustrissimo

Illustrissimo & Potentissimo Principi Joanni, Gothorum, Vandalorum Moderatori & Principi Hæreditario Duciq; Finlandiæ, Fratri Germano.

Illustrissime, Potentissime Princeps, etsi dubitem apud me an consultius sit scribere aut tacere, cum experientia assecutus sim plus mihi incommodi ex scriptis meis quam solatii emanasse. Accedit & hoc, quod nullum unquam mihi licuit habere responsum, ex quo colligo forte accidere potuisse, ut supplicationes meæ Vestra Serenitati non sint exhibitæ. Attamen cogit me summa necessitas aliquod remedium tentare, ut hæc miseria aliquando leniri aut levari possint. Etenim nunquam in Animum inducere possum, omnes calamitates quæ mihi infliguntur voluntate & mandato Vestra Serenitatis provenire; Deus novit quam indignè & inhumaniter hisce 22 Septimanis sumus vexati: Nullus enim dies absq; miseriâ aliquâ transit, fuimus sanè, præterquam quod variis convitiis ab indignis hominibus lacessiti, fame, frigore, fœtore atq; tenebris plerumq; excruciatî Præterea me inermes gladiis & pugionibus sunt insectati sæpius. Nonnunquam etiam non licuit nobis somnum & quietem

The Eighth Letter.

quietem capere præ nocturnis invasionibus atq; strepitu. Præter hæc omnia, quod maximo nos commovet, miserrimè verbo Dei & concionibus sumus spoliati: Duodecim enim Dominicis diebus & sæpè ab his festis Concionatore caruimus. Sacrum Textum Biblicum Latinum etiam nuper, dum omnia scrinia nobis abriperentur, abstulerunt. Quæ omnia adhuc Aequo Animo laturus sum, si scirem pro certo quando unquam Libertas nobis restituta, & finis custodiæ & carceris, miseriarumq; contingere deberet. Testor Deum omnipotentem me non habuisse in animo violare Tractatum, Conditiones & Literas inter Vestram Serenitatem & me conscriptas, quas etiam Sigillis & jure jurando Vestra Serenitas mihi confirmavit. Si licuisset mihi vivere in pace absq; injuriâ, ego nunquam causam dedissem controversarum. Nec quidquam mali contra Nobilitatem in animo habui post renovatam amicitiam & literas utrinq; datas, ut ipsi conquerrantur, tantummodo meditatus sum, quomodo eos in officio & fide possem continere, & totam patriam ab hostium vi & direptionibus tutari. Sed heu dolorodum de omnibus bene mereri studebam, mihi ipsi summam perniciem acceleravi. Quapropter cum bonâ conscientia fretus, & nihil scelerati mihi conscius sim, atq; etiam si hostis ingenuus judicium proferre deberet, & facinus sceleratissimum perpetratum foret: (Cujas minimè reus sum :) his miserrimis

The Eighth Letter.

111

miserrimis cruciatibus & pœnis, Regio corpori inflētis, jam dudum pœnam expiatam, ut opinor, censeret. Existimo Vestram Serenitat. ut Fratrem & ob Amorem Justitiæ & Equitatis, tum multo magis ob spem, æterna Beatitudinis, velle considerare meam calamitatem, & miseriam, & liberare me ex carcere & custodia durissimâ atq; integram mihi libertatem restituere, aut ad minimum mihi significare, quid à me expetat & habere velit, quod ad libertatem meam & meorum consequendam conducat. Rogo etiam id conditionibus planis & simplicibus velit exponere. Polliceor, si quamprimum id fieri possit, sigillis, Literis & manu propria confirmaturum & subscripturum, atq; præstiturum quas conditiones Vestra Serenitas petit; dummodo contra Deum omnipotentem & noxia meo honori, fama aut vitæ, deniq; ne sint in perniciem & detrimentum maximum mei, Uxoris meæ aut filiorum meorum, que omnia spero Vestram Serenitatem minime expetere. Est enim mundus satis amplus & latus, ut odia inter Fratres distantia locorum maxima & Regionum intervallis facile sedari & tolli possint, non autem carceribus & suppliciis est opus. Quod si neq; hoc licet mihi invenire, rogo saltem ut meas tres Filias possim recuperare, quousq; odium & ira paulo magis deserbuerit & Vestra Serenitas Divini spiritus instinctu melius de mea causa deliberaverit. Hæc est brevis hujus meæ supplicatio-

nis

The Eighth Letter.

nis series. Deus omnipotens det vestra Serenitati ejusdemq; Consorti & Liberis Sanitatem corporis & animæ, & honestorum, & piorum desideriorum felicem eventum atq; me competentem Voti, Liberatione mei & meorum.

Dabam Holmiæ
ex carcere.

*Vestra Serenitatis,
Frater Miserrimus,
Ericus.*

Illustrissimo ac Potentissimo Principi Joanni Suecorum Governatori Hæreditario, salutem humiliter.

Illustrissime ac Potentissime Princeps, Domine Frater; Conjectus est heri in carcerem unicus meus famulus Doctor Benedictus unâ cum coquo meo; Quorum operâ pro me & liberis meis in hac mea miseria minimè carere possum, inedia nobis pereundam & contabescendum erit. Rogo propterea, ut ipsis relaxari è carcere, & nobis inservire liceat: Id Deus Omnipotens C. V. in hac Vita & futura compensabit; Ego etiam piis precibus ad Deum demerebor.

Datum Holmiæ è Carcere
6 Octobris, 1562.

To the most Illustrious, and most Powerful
Prince, John, Governor of the Goths and
Vandals, Hereditary Prince, and Duke of
Finland, my Brother.

Most Illustrious, and most Powerful Prince,

THO' I have reason to doubt whether
it be more adviseable for me to com-
mit my Grievances to Writing, or be silent
as to any farther Complaints; since I have
already experienc'd, that my Letters hi-
therto have rather added to my Misfor-
tunes, than been the occasion of any Com-
fort or Assistance under them: And I have
not been permitted the Favour of the least
Answer to 'em; from whence I conclude,
that it's uncertain whether my Petitions
have reach'd Your Serene Highness's
Hands, or been made known to you. Yet
the highest Necessity obliges me to seek
for some Remedy, and endeavour to find
out some Means, whereby the Miseries I
at present labour under, may one time or
other be rend'ed less burthenfome and op-
pressive. For I never could be perswaded
to believe, that all the Calamities which
have fall'n upon me, proceeded from
Your Serene Highness's Will and Com-
mand.

The Eighth Letter.

mand. God knows how cruelly and unworthily I have been used these 22 Weeks last past. Not a day goes over my Head, without leaving behind it some Affliction or other. We have been (besides the Provocations giv'n us from the Reproaches of slanderous Men) exceedingly tormented with Hunger, Cold, Stench, and Darknes; and what is more afflict-ing than either, my Enemies have more than once follow'd me with Swords and Poniards. Sometimes we have been deprived of the common Liberties of Rest and Sleep, because of Tumults and Noise in the Night-Season. But as an Addition to all these Misfortunes, and which is the greatest Provocation imaginable to us, we are inhumanely robb'd of the Comfort which we used to receive from Sermons, and the Word of God, having had no Preacher allow'd us for Twelve Lord's Days, as also on several other Festivals. They have likewise very lately taken from us the Holy Bible in Latin, among the rest of my Books which I am denied the Benefit of: All which Sufferings I am even yet ready to bear with Patience, provided I could but certainly know when my Liberty would be restor'd to me, and an end put to my Imprisonment and Misery. I call God to witness, I never had any intention whatsoever of acting contrary to the Treaty,

The Eighth Letter.

119

Treaty, Terms of Agreement and Letters, which pass'd between Your Serene Highness and my self, and which your Serene Highness confirm'd to me by an Oath, and under your Seal. Had I been permitted to live peaceably, without any injurious Dealings towards me, I should never have occasion'd the present Misunderstanding between me and my People. I never entertain'd the least evil Thoughts against the Nobility, after the Peace was restored between us, and Articles of Ratification exchange'd on both sides, as they complain; only consider'd with my self how I could keep 'em within the Bounds of Duty and Allegiance, and put my Dominions in a Posture of Defence against any Insults of an Enemy. But, oh! the Misfortune; whilst I made it my Endeavour to get the good Will of every individual Subject, I hasten'd my own Ruine. Wherefore since I have the Enjoyment of a good Conscience, and have committed no ill thing to leave a sting behind it, insomuch that even my very Enemy, if he would deal ingeniously, and make a right Estimate of what I have undergone, tho' I had actually been guilty of the worst of Crimes, (which I am wholly innocent of) would, as I am induc'd to believe, think the Offence long since aton'd for, in the Punishments and Torments which have been int-

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flicted

The Eighth Letter.

sicted on a Royal Body like mine. I have reason to suppose your Serene Highness is willing as a Brother, and for the sake of Justice and Equity, much more for the hopes of eternal Salvation, to consider the present Calamity and Misery which I am overwhelm'd with, and release me from Prison, and the hardest Confinement; and restore me to my perfect Liberty; or to let me know, to a Tittle, what your Highness desires of me, towards the purchase of mine and my Families Freedom. I also make it my Request, that you would send me the Conditions in as plain, and intelligible Terms as possible: And I promise, as soon as it can be done, to ratifie and confirm whatever Proposals your Serene Highness shall send me, under my Hand and Seal; provided nothing in 'em be detrimental, or hurtful to the Honour of God, injurious to my own Life, or Reputation, or of ill consequence to the welfare of my Wife and Children: All which I trust your Serene Highness has no Thoughts of desiring. For the World is wide enough, and of sufficient Circumference, that Animosities between Brothers may be easily remov'd, and made to disappear, by the distance of one Place from another, and the large Extent of Countries and Kingdoms, without any Necessity of Imprisonments, or Corporal Punishment. But if I have

not

The Eighth Letter.

117

the liberty of finding the benefit of this, I
prefer my Petition to have my three
Daughters restor'd to me, 'till the Wrath
and Anger grow weaker, and your Serene
Highness shall have better Sentiments of
my Case, thro' the Dictates of the Divine
Spirit. This is the short Substance of my
Prayer. Almighty God grant your Serene
Highness, the Princess, your Wife, and
Children, Health of Body, Vigour of Mind,
and an happy Event of all your Just and
Religious Desires; and make me successful
in my Petition, by my own Release, and
those belonging to me.

*Given at Stockholm,
in my Prison.*

*Your most Serene Highness's
Unfortunate, and Miserable
Brother,*

Erick.

The Second Letter.

*To the most Illustrious and Powerful Prince,
John, Hereditary Governor of Sweden,
Health and Safety in the most humble
manner.*

Most Illustrious and Powerful Prince, my Lord and Brother,

Yesterday, my only domestick Physi-
cian, Doctor *Benedict* was imprison'd,
with my Cook; whose assistance towards

The Eighth Letter.

the Support of my self and Children I cannot possibly be without in this my present Exigency, unless it is your Will that I should perish for want. I beseech you therefore to order their Release, and that they may have their Liberty, and be employ'd again in our Service: God Almighty will give you sufficient Rewards both in this Life, and that which is to come, for so Signala Kindness; and I, for my part, shall beseech God for such a Return to it, with my most hearty Prayers.

*Given at my Prison in
Holm. Oct. 6. 1568.*

LET

L E T T E R IX.

Of Duke Magnus of Holstein, the King of Denmark's Brother. Some Tragical Relations of the Czar's Barbarities, whom King Stephen of Poland overthrew in many Places.

S I R,

THe Czar endeavoured by his Emissaries to persuade the Town of *Revel*, by all fair means, to put themselves under his Protection, offering them all the advantageous Conditions imaginable; and telling them, that he loved the *Germans* , being himself descended from *German* Blood, as coming from a *Bavarian* Race: He also ordered Letters to be sent to the Duke of *Courland* , promising him in the Czar's Name to make him King of *Livonia* , and to put all that Country under his Power, if he would renounce *Poland* , and come in to the *Russians* ; but they scorned to answer. Tho' this was rejected by the Duke of *Courland* ; yet the poor young Prince *Magnus* of *Holstein* was deluded with that specious Title of King of *Livonia* , partly by his own Ambition, and partly by the persuasion of his Brother, *Frederick* King of *Denmark* :

1570.

Duke *Magnus* sent for that purpose his Ambassadors to *Moskow*, who brought him such favourable News back, that himself went thither, and was declared Hereditary King of *Livonia* by the Czar, who only reserved to himself the Title of Protector thereof; promising to put him in Possession of that whole Province, and to drive out of it the *Svedes*, and other Enemies.

About that time, the *Muscovite* Tyrant grew suspicious of his own Subjects, went on a sudden to *Novigrad*, *Pleskow*, and *Narwa*, destroying with unheard of Cruelties all sorts of People: He run his own Chancellor through, who was held to be the wisest and ablest Man in *Moskow*; and caused so many others to be butcher'd, that 'tis computed there were above 40000 of the bravest Men in *Russia* slain in this cruel Fit.

1571.

King *Sigismund* of *Poland*, to give an occupation to the Czar at home, incited the *Tatars* to make an unexpected Incurfion into the Heart of his Territories; who the 24th. of *May* took by Surprize the Town of *Moskow*, burnt the Town, and kill'd above 30000 in it.

The same Year King, or Duke *Magnus* was forced to raise the Siege before *Rovel*, which he had besieged near eight Months with a *Russian* Army.

1572.

King *Sigismund August* died this Year; whereupon the Czar finding himself secure

on that side, by reason that the *Poles* never attempted any thing during an *Interregnum*; and feeding the hopes of the Succession to that Crown for himself, or one of his Sons, bent all his Forces against the *Swede*; whose King *John* had been powerful enough to resist this insulting Enemy, if his untimely Zeal to restore the Popish Religion in his Kingdom had not employed his Time; for he would rather humour his Queen therein, than promote the Publick Good. This gave the *Czar* fair Play to enter *Livonia* with an Army of 80000 Men, and to commit most inhumane Barbarities wherever he came.

The *Swedish* General *Claus Akefon*, with 600 Horse, and 1000 Foot, attacked 16000 *Muscovites* by the Castle *Lode*, routed 'em totally, killing 7000 on the Spot, took all their Artillery, Horses, and Baggage. This frightened the *Czar* into better Manners; for he now writ Civil Letters to King *John* of *Sweden*, and was desirous to treat about a Peace.

1573.

The same Year Duke *Magnus* of *Holstein*, under the Title of King of *Livonia*, which he had assumed, married at *Novogrod* a *Russian* Princess, a Relation of the *Czar's*, where at the Wedding the *Czar*, with his two Princes assisted, and shew'd himself full of Mirth, which had still something of Barbarity in it; for he would sing himself with some young *Greek* Monks the *Symbotax* of *Athanasius*,

Athanasius, holding a great Staff in his hand; and when he thought the Monks did not sing so justly as himself, he beat Time upon their Heads, that they were all bloody.

1574. *Henry de Valois* came to the Crown of *Poland*.

I should willingly intermix this Abridgment with something might divert the unpleasant recital of the Czar's continued Cruelties; but all I can do, is, to pass great part of them over; perhaps the Rehearsal might cause in you either Melancholy, or Incredibility: The greatest Tyrants, I ever read off, were merciful to this.

1577. The *Russian* Army besieged formally the Town of *Revel*, with 50000 Men, and many Guns; but were forced by the brave defence of the Governor, *Henry Horn*, and his Son *Charles*, to raise the Siege; whereat our *Nero* enraged, return'd again the same year; took several Places belonging to the Crown of *Poland*, and ruined all he pass through. Whilst he was thus going on, he was informed, that his pretended King, Duke *Magnus* of *Holstein* did endeavour to put himself, and the Places he kept, in the King of *Poland's* Power: This made him turn towards *Kokenhausen*, that was garrison'd by Duke *Magnus's* Soldier; who thinking him to be their Master's Friend, let him into the Place; but he massacred most of them, and took the rest Prisoners. Thus he did to
the

The Ninth Letter.

123

the Places belonging to Duke *Magnus*, 'till he came before *Wenden* the Duke's Residence: That poor Duke being summon'd to appear before the Czar, went out to him with great Submission. The Czar first abused him in mighty foul Language, and then put him in a vile Prison. The Inhabitants and Garrison of *Wenden* was so terribly used, that it seem'd as if the Devils had put on the shape of *Moscovites*; violating the Ladies, and then mincing them to pieces; cutting off their Ears and Noses, were the slightest Martyrdoms. The Czar himself ordered to one Minister his tongue, and the Burgher-master's heart to be cut out before him; and a great many People of Fashion and good Quality he ordered to be whipp'd almost to death, and to be put on a Spit, who then were roasted by the Fire, and basted with their own Blood.

A good number of Noble Men, Ministers, and People of the best Quality, had retired into the Castle of *Wenden*; to see what would become of their Master, seeing those Cruelties before them performed on their Friends, would by no means surrender: The Tyrant had soon Four Batteries raised, and play'd with his heavy Cannon for Five Days, till the Walls of the Castle fell down; the poor Souls resolved in despair to blow themselves up with the remaining Gunpowder, rather than

Petrejus.

*Salomon
Henning.*

The Ninth Letter.

to fall into the hands of that unmerciful Enemy. The Clergy who were among them, having seen the dreadful Execution for several Days performed in the Town, consented to it, exhorting them to prepare themselves with the Holy Sacrament for their Exit, but finding that there was no Wine, this put the meekest part of them into such pusillanimity, that the Ministers had enough to do to comfort them: There was also one Abbot of *Prussia* among them, of the *Romish* Church, who would persuade them with great Zeal, to Receive in one kind, rather than to March off without this *Viaticum*: But the *Lutheran* Ministers oppos'd it, and said, That this Privation of the Sacrament would prejudice no bodies Salvation. Whilst they were thus perplexed in their Agony, it happen'd that the *Valet de Chamber* of Duke *Magnus*, found a small Vessel with *Rhenish* Wine, which he presently bestowed upon the *Lutheran* Ministers, who taking it as from the hands of Providence, administred it presently to about Three or Four hundred Persons of both Sexes, and thereupon all the Gun-powder that was left, they laid in a Vault under the great Gallery, waiting for their doom in Prayer. Whilst the *Russes* with continual Firing had made a wide Breach, and were just in great Fury leading on their Storm, every one in the
 Castle

The Ninth Letter.

121

Castle run into the Gallery, there to receive their Expedition, they kneeled down in the Room, recommending themselves to God's Mercy, till *Henry Boifman*, Captain and Gentleman to Duke *Magnus*, put the burning Match through the Window to the Powder, which lifted them all up and split them to pieces. Only *Henry Boifman* was flung out at the Window, and though much bruised, was taken up yet alive, and brought before the Czar, and after he had related before him, with a faltering Tongue, their own Execution, he gave up the Ghost, and his Body was presently impaled. Some in the Castle had hid themselves in Cellars and Vaults, were taken up and suffer'd cruel Martyrdoms, one *Casper Hinninghusen* was so cruelly beaten, with Rods before the Czar's Face, till all his Flesh was tore off his Body, and the Bowels in it were seen, which the Czar himself wanted. Though there is an infinity more of this kind of Cruelty, yet I am resolved to omit them, and resume the thread of the Fragments of History.

The Czar sent also to *Wolmar* 3000 Men, and the Commander bid Duke *Magnus's* Men come out to him, who suspecting nothing, went out, and were presently all cut to pieces.

Though the *Muscovite* took almost all
the

the Ports, Castles and Towns about *Riga*, yet durst he not Attack that Town: He went to *Dorpat*, carrying Duke *Magnus* with him, and after that poor Prince had been in Terrible apprehensions for several Weeks, he was there set at Liberty, having first given Assurance to be the Czar's Vassal, and paid him 40000 Duckats.

1572

Stephanus Bathory, the New King of *Poland*, a brave and wise Prince, with Advice and Consent of his Parliament; declared open War against the Czar, for which purpose he sent his Ambassador, a fierce and undaunted Man, to *Moskow*; who by going to his Publick Audience, (though against the Advice of many) had a naked Sabre carried before him into the very Room where the Czar sat in great State; covered with Pearls and Jewels: He deliver'd the King's Letter with the Sabre; and told him in his short Harangue, *That the King his Master desired Satisfaction for the great Damages his Subjects in Livonia and Lithuania had suffered by his Cruelties; or else he would vindicate the same by an open War upon the Czar and his Dominions*: The Ambassador without receiving any ill Treatment; was carried back to his Lodgings; and entertained as usually. King *Stephen* also engaged Duke *Magnus* of *Holstein* to renounce entirely the *Russian* Party, and to put himself under his Protection.

The

The Town of *Wenden* had been retaken by *Buring a Livonian*, the *Russes* again laid Siege to it with 18000 of their best Troops, the same year; but some *Polish* Troops in conjunction with the *Swedese* against their Common Enemy, Attacked them before their Camp, where they were drawn out in order for a Battel, routed them and made them raise the Siege, the *Russes* by the favour of the Night saving themselves, yet there were numbered upon the spot of *Muscovite* and *Tartarian* Carcasses 6022; among whom some of their best Generals, and a near Relation to the *Czar*, several Persons of Note were taken Prisoners; besides they lost all their Cannon, Mortars and Baggage. The *Poles* and *Swedese* together lost but 100. Those Victorious Troops, went on, took several places and beat many of the Enemies Parties.

King *Stephen* went in Person with a gallant Army to the Siege of *Polocko*, took several Places of Note, as he passed and burnt the Suburbs of *Smolensko*: That Important Place of *Polocko*, after a vigorous defence, he also reduced, and went on victoriously taking many Places; and then besieged again the Fortrefs *Socaly*, which Place besides a great Garrison, had almost the Chief Men in *Russia* in't; at first they made a brave defence, till King *Stephen*
Ordered

1579

Ordered many red hot Bullets to be shot into their Wooden Houses, which consumed the Town, and great part of the Garrison being burnt, the rest terrified with the Flames, flying from the Fire, run upon the Swords of their Enemies, and were all cut to pieces.

1580.

This caused a great Consternation all over *Russia*, and chiefly in *Moskow*. The Czar endeavoured to make Peace with the *Poles*, but their King being averse to it, chose rather to conclude a League with *Sweden*, by which as every one should Attaek the *Muscovites* by himself, so they were to keep what they took. In order hereunto King *Stephen* resolved to lay Seige to *Wielkeluky*, thinking the Czar would come to the Relief of it, that so he might draw him to a decisive Battel: But when the King came before it, the Czar sent Ambassadors to him, which were presently sent back; and that Place had the same Fate as *Soculy*: There were now burnt again, or kill'd at least 8000 *Russes* of their best Troops. This Glorious King beat also many Thousand *Tartars*, and his Generals over-run all the Country, as far as *Porkou* and *Opatz*, taking all the strong Holds by Accord or Storm.

The K. of *Sweden*'s Army, under the Command of their General *Pontas de la Gardie*, went before *Keckholm*, and having set it on Fire, a great many *Russes* to avoid being

ing burnt, threw themselves into the Water, the rest to the number of 2000 were cut to pieces.

Another *Swedish* Party took the strong Place *Padis* by Storm, without giving Quarter.

As King *Stephen* held a Parliament at *Warsaw*, there arrived a new Ambassy from the Czar to Treat about Peace, but the King told them, that he must send other Conditions by other Ambassadors, who should not find him in *Poland*, but *Russia*, whither he was going. King *Stephen* sent to the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, desiring them, that whilst himself Attack'd *Russia* by Land, they might enter it by Water behind *Normay*, by *St. Nicholas* Port, and *Colmogrod*, and seize upon *Biazar* in the *White Sea*, where the Czar had his best Treasure kept. The King of *Sweden* readily embraced the Advice; but the King of *Denmark* excused himself from it.

This Year was very successful to the *Svedes*; for they reconquered almost all their Places in *Estonia*, and other Provinces of *Lifland*, as *Wesenberg*, *Tolsburg*, *Halsal*, *Lode*, *Leal*, *Fickel*, and above all, the Town of *Narva*, which they took by Storm, massacring about 7000 *Muscovites*; then followed *Ivanogrod* by Composition.

The *Polish* Army had laid a formal Siege to *Pleskow*, where they found great resistance;

stance; yet King *Stephen* was resolved to force it; and had succeeded, if the crafty *Russ*, to prevent his Country's Ruine, had not sent privately to Pope *Gregory* the XIII. intreating him to mediate a Peace between him and *Poland*, and promising to unite with the *Roman* Church, by which means he prevailed so far, that the Pope had sent his Legate *Possevinus* into *Russia*.

The Czar sat still all this while at *Moskow*, and had it spread abroad, that by a Dream or Vision, he was forbid to go into the Wars; nevertheless some of his Chief Men represented unto him the vast prejudice his Subjects and Lands suffered, for want of his Presence in the Camp, and begg'd of him to let at least his eldest Son go with them into the Army. He thinking that this was a Conspiracy against him, fell with terrible Reproaches upon his Son, who made the best Excuse he could; whereupon the Father struck him with a Cane on the head with such a force, that he instantly kill'd him; whereat the Tyrant himself was so moved, that he howled and cried, lying on the ground, and abstaining from Meat and Drink for several days: At last he sent to the Patriarchs of *Constantinople* and *Alexandria*, and to the Monks of *Jerusalem* 77000 Guilders, to pray for the Soul of his Son.

The Pope's Legate *Antonius Possevinus*, with some more Jesuits, arrived from *Moskew*, in the *Polish* Camp before *Pleskow*; not doubting

doubting to procure a Peace for *Moskow*; and at the same time a fine Son to the *Romish* Church. In the first he succeeded; for he made the King go from the Camp to *Wilna* in *Lithuania*, and then the Treaty went on, and was soon concluded, whereby the *Muscovites* resigned all that they had got in *Livonia* to the *Poles*; who on their side gave up to the *Muscovites* all they had got of 'em in *Russia*, except *Walisne*, and *Polocko*.

King *Stephen* having thus happily finished the *Russian* War, came to *Riga*, with his great Chancellor and General *Zamoyski*, where he made many Inroachments upon their Privileges, taking a Church from 'em, and establishing several Jesuite Colléges in the Town of *Riga*, *Wenden*, *Dorpat*, and *Kokenhausen*.

He also made several Reformati-
 1582
 ons in the Government, establishing, or abrogating new Customs; among others this is worth your Notice: The King call'd a great many of those *Livonian* Peasants, who lived in an extream Slavery, though Christians, before him, and told them, that he had compassion of their wretched Condition, and would put them henceforward in a better state; principally he told them that he would abrogate that Custom, whereby a Peasant, tho' never so old and grey-bearded; is cruelly beaten with rods for a small fault; and in lieu of this hard Punishment, he was resolv'd to order a small Fine, or

Imprisonment to be paid for the future: Tho' this seem'd to be gracious; yet these miserable People, by whom the long inhaunced Slavery had quite choaked up the Sentiments of Liberty, which ought to be so precious to Mankind, took this offer as a new punishment, prostrated themselves at the Kings Feet, and pray'd, for Heaven's sake, to leave them by their old Custom; for they had found by Experience, that Innovations never had brought them any good, but had always laid a more heavy Yoke upon them. The King could not forbear laughing at this their simplicity, saying *Phryges non nisi plagis emendantur.*

King Stephen having now by his Presence recovered and settled *Livonia*, went to *Poland*, whence he sent an Ambassador to *Stockholm*, to demand of that King the Restitution of *Estonia* to *Poland*, alledging that *Poland* had a twofold Title to it; for all *Livonia* (as the Ambassador said) did by the first Agreement belong to *Lithuania*, and by Subjection, to *Poland*, whereof *Estonia* is one part; and besides, they had conquer'd it by their Arms. He added that in this last War, whilst the King of *Poland* did fight with the Enemy, the *Svedes* gathered in, and took the Towns; and although it were agreed at the beginning, that every side might keep what they took from the *Muscovite*; yet was this only to be understood of those
Places

The Ninth Letter.

133

Places that belonged properly to the *Russians*, and not of *Livonia*. He offered besides, that in case the *Swede* would give up *Estland* to the *Poles*, they would reimburse him for his Expences of the War; and in case of refusal, he said, the *Poles* were resolved to take that Province by Force of Arms.

King *John* dispatch'd the Ambassador with a vigorous Answer, that *Sweden* had fought as bravely for *Livonia* as the *Poles*, and wondered that his Brother-in-Law *K. Stephen*, would hinder him from enjoying the Price of his Victory: He should rather thank him for assisting him thus faithfully, in attacking and dividing the Enemy: And the King of *Poland* would do better to pay him the Dowry of his Queen, and other Moneys lent, which with the Interest came to 300000 Rix-dollars: And lastly he let him know, that there was remaining the Race of those ancient *Goths*, who formerly conquer'd *Europe* and *Asia*, and who did not fear either the *Russian* or *Polish* Sabres, and knew how to maintain and keep what they had got by their Valour.

At the same time the *Swedes* made Incur-sions into the very heart of *Muscovy*, whilst the *Czar* on the other side was invaded by the *Tartars*.

The King of *Poland* in a Diet at *Warsaw*, demanded of the States large Taxes, for to carry on a War against *Sweden* and the *Tar-*

tars, but they were deaf to it; and the King urging it, some of the Deputies were insolent to that degree, that, if the King had been unacquainted with the *Polish* ways, he might have doubted whether he was their King or no. For one of the Deputies, by name *Jacobus Niemiokowski*, said to the King's Face: *Whilst Your Majesty keeps our Privileges as you have promised and sworn, you are our good King; if not, you are but Stephen Bathori, and I am Jacobus Niemiokowski.*

1538.

There was now in *Livonia* introduced a sort of *Polish* Government; several Senators were establish'd as *Woywods*, *Bishops*, *Castellans*, and other Innovations in Religion, against the Oath and Agreement; which made them very uneasy; principally, when the General of the Jesuits, with 12 more of his Apostles came to *Riga*, undertook to settle there, and instigated the new Bishop of *Wenden* to force the Country Peasants to their Principles; who therefore gave a month's time to consider to those Boors, if they would by fair means come over to his Church: But those poor People having consulted among themselves, gave this Answer, That they were simple and ignorant, and had been brought up in the Protestant Religion, in which they saw their Lords and Masters continue, who understood much better than themselves what was good or bad; and since they without doubt were not

not willing to go to the Devil, he should first see to convert those their Masters, and then after come to them.

Nevertheless the Jesuites went on by all insinuating and violent Methods to enlarge there; and if a Toleration could have sufficed, they might have enjoy'd it quietly: But they made use of such indirect means; that there were several Murders, Seditious, and base Actions practis'd; several Ministers were displaced, and many Gentlemen turn'd out of their Places and Estates: And since by Remonstrances and Prayers, the Citizens of *Riga* could not redress their Grievances, they resolved to stand by one another; and sent the Cardinal *Radzivil* word (who was now Governor of *Livonia*) that ere now, they in *Riga* had put one of their Archbishops backwards on a Mare, and so led him out of their Town: This made them quiet for some time.

King *John* of *Sweden* made a Truce for 3 years with *Moskov*.

This Year died at *Pilten* Duke *Magnus* of *Holstein*, who had acted several Persons, sometimes a King, sometime Bishop, and sometime Duke. His Subjects of *Pilten* (which was formerly a Bishoprick of *Curonia*) seeing those Innovations the *Poles* made in *Livonia*, had no mind to submit to that Crown; and therefore sent to the King of *Denmark*, *Frederick* II. to let him know his

The Ninth Letter.

Brother's decease, and the devolution of *Piltten* to him. K. *Frederick* sent thither some Commanders and Guns to maintain his Right. Cardinal and Governor *Radzivil* had seized on several Castles and Lands that was Duke *Magnus's* in *Livonia*, for *Poland*, and sent also Troops to take *Piltten*; but the Nobility thereof repulsed them bravely, saying, they would have no other dependence, but on *Denmark*. The two Kings *Frederick* and *Stephen*, sent Ambassadors one to another about this Affair with a great many Reasons on both sides to no purpose; for their Arguments and Letters rather increased them more; and it went so far, that both the Kings resolved on a War about *Piltten*, and were arming, till *George Frederick*, Marquis of *Brandenburgh* and Duke of *Prussia*, laboured hard in it; and by his Mediation brought it thus far, that they should forbear Hostilities, till a *Medium* for their Accommodation were found out.

That terrible Czar *Iwan Waslewicz* expired now in cruel Torments to the great Joy of his Subjects and Neighbours; for there is nothing so tedious and intolerable to Mankind, as a long, vexatious and tyrannical Reign of a Prince, who sacrificed every thing to his Lust, Pride, Cruelty and Ambition. — A *Terrarium fatale malum, Fulmineq; quod ceteros Percuteret pariter populos & Sydas insignum* and *Gentibus*. —

LET.

LETTER X.

Of Sigismund King of Poland, his Engagements and Promises to Sweden, when he left it. Of Duke Maximilian of Austria. How Sigismund lost his Swedish Crown. Of that brave Polish General Zamoyski. His Letter to Charles Duke of Sudermannia. Of a dreadful Famine. K. Charles IX. of Sweden is defeated by the Poles in a great Battel. The Beginnings of Gustavus Adolphus's brave Actions, who takes Riga. Of his Wars with K. Sigismund of Poland. He also overruns Prussia, and makes a Truce with Poland.

S I R,

THe new Czar, Foedor Ivanovitz, Son to the deceased Tyrant, sent a splendid Embassy to the King of Poland, with Intent either to prolong the Truce, or to conclude a Peace. K. Stephen had no mind to either; for besides his own Inclination, Cardinal Possenus, and the other Jesuites, mightily prompted him to a War, to vindicate the Falshood of the late Czar, who tho' he had promis'd to become a Romanist, would not so much as receive the Roman Almanack, or the Gregorian Stile; yet the Polish Nobility would by no means consent to it, but brake up their Dier in a tumultuous manner: However K. Stephen

ap.

apprehending a War with *Denmark* about *Pilten*, prolong'd the Truce with *Moskow* for two Years.

King *John* of *Sweden* also agreed with the *Muscovite* to extend the Truce between them for four Years longer.

1586.

King *Stephen* of *Poland* departed this Life.

1587.

• *Gothard* the first Duke of *Curonia* and *Semigallia*, a zealous Confessor of the Protestant Religion died.

The same Year was held the Diet of Election at *Warsaw*, where the Deputies of *Livonia* represented with great Liberty and Vehemency the Infractions made to their Privileges by the late King, chiefly in bringing in the *Roman* Religion. Those of *Riga* also complained of many Inroachments, and seeing that the *Poles* would not redress them, they forbid the Jesuites their Town, and drove them away.

• Prince *Sigismund*, K. *John* of *Sweden*'s Son, was chosen King of *Poland*, on these following Conditions among others.

• That the Kingdom of *Sweden* should belong to King *Sigismund* after his Father's Death, and the Succession to that Crown should be Hereditary to his Posterity, and he might go thither personally, when Necessity required, with the Consent of the States of *Poland*.

He should keep a Fleet upon his own Charges, for the good of the Realm of *Poland* when required, and lend the *Poles* Guns in their Wars against *Moskow*. Foreign Troops he might bring into the Kingdom, pay them out of his own Purse, and presently after dismiss them.

• He should have no *Suedes* in the *Polish* Counsels, nor in Places of Trust and Profit. Only *Poles* and *Lithuanians*, and no others, were to compose his Guards.

The Promises about Liberty of Religion should be kept inviolably; and lastly, that part of *Livonia*, which the *Suedes* then had, should be united to *Poland*. To this last Point, the *Suedish* Ambassadors at *Warsaw* would never consent; yet Prince *Sigismund's* Aunt, the Queen *Ann* Dowager of *Poland*, disposed the *Poles* to refer that Article, till the New King's Arrival.

At this Election there were great Differences, for another Party had Elected Duke *Maximilian* of *Austria*, which made King *John* hasten his Son thither; yet with this peculiar Order, not to quit his Ships at *Dantzick*, till the *Poles* had renounced their Pretensions to *Esthonia*, which King *Sigismund* faithfully promis'd, and before he departed *Sweden*, he was obliged to leave in writing the following Assurances among the rest, to the Kingdom of *Sweden*.

That whenever he should return again
into

The Tenth Letter.

into *Sweden*, he would bring no more Popish Priests with him, than he had kept till the time of his departure at his Father's Court, nor give them any more Liberty. That he would promote none to Dignities in *Sweden*, who were not of the Confession of *Augsbourg*, nor suffer any other Religion publickly to be professed there. To carry those Priests which he should bring with him from *Poland*, back again, and that during his stay, they should not meddle in any Affairs, not teach Schools, nor call any body a Heretick. He should not suffer the Pope to bring in any Archbishop, or Bishop, or introduce the Popish Style. At least once in three years he was to come to *Sweden*, where he was to prefer the Arms and Title of *Sweden* to that of *Poland*. He should not alienate any of the *Swedish* Provinces, &c. Lastly, that if King *Sigismund* should ever be dispensed with by the Pope, from these his assurances, and engagements; then the *Swedes* should also on their side, be free from their Allegiance, Oath and Fidelity, whereby they were tied to him. After this King *Sigismund* embarked, and cast Anchor by *Dantzick*, yet would not land, by reason of the dispute about *Estland*, which the *Poles* claimed as an Article of their *Pacta Conventa*: But after long debates, the King at last landed, but always protested against about *Estland*, not

to be dismember'd from Sweden: Nevertheless, by the great Importunities, and Threatnings of the Polish Senate, to send him home to Sweden again, if he would not stand to the Bargain, he was prevailed to declare himself thus:

Concerning that part of Livonia, which is at present in the possession of the King of Sweden our Father, its agreed between us and the States of Poland, that that whole Affair shall be left undetermined, until we our selves shall come to succeed in Sweden. This Clause did cause many bloody Wars hereafter. Sigismund writ to the Governours in Estland, that if ever they received any Orders from him concerning that Province in favour of the Poles, they should not obey, but look upon it as extorted by the Polish Importunity from him.

King Sigismund's Competitor, Duke Maximilian of Austria was vanquish'd in a Battel, and taken Prisoner by the Polish General Zamoyski, yet the Poles were so generous, that the next year they gave him his Liberty again, without any Ransom or Reward. That Zamoyski was a very great Man, and excelled as much in Learning as in Commanding of Armies, but of a very mean Presence, so that his Illustrious Prisoner Maximilian, (whom Zamoyski kept like a Prisoner of that Quality with great Respect) told him once, he looked like a School-

The Tenth Letter.

Schoolmaster ; to which the General Replied, *Your Highness is in the right, to call me so, and therefore 'tis my Task to punish the vain Ambition of Young Princes.*

1589.

Both the Kings, *John of Sweden*, and *Sigismund of Poland* his Son, met at *Revel* ; and though to pacifie the *Poles*, the Old King told them, that he only would see his Son Crowned in *Sweden*, and then send him back to *Poland* ; yet by reason of the great Divisions fallen out between him and his Brother *Charles of Sudermannia*, he intended to keep him always in his Hereditary Kingdom, and not to let him go back ; which King *Sigismund* willingly agreed to ; but both Nations suspecting it, the *Poles*, afraid of another shameful desertion, as had happened to them by King *Henry's* flight to *France*, mightily urged his return, remembering him of his Oath. The *Swedens* also remonstrated, that 'twas not now time to put such an Affront upon the *Poles*, who perhaps in revenge, might chuse for their King the *Czar*, and in Conjunction with him could mightily annoy *Sweden*. At the same time *Zamoyski* sent to King *Sigismund* News of the *Turks* and *Tartars* Invasion in *Poland* : This obliged him to return to *Poland*. He passed through *Riga*, and there earnestly urged the Restitution of the *Je-suits* in that Town ; The *Magistrates* were unwilling to it ; the King gave them a days time

time to consider, but they thinking it uncivil to give him a refusal in their own Town, promised to send their Answer after him to *Mittau*. The King said nothing but shewed his dislike in several things, and as he passed over the River *Duna*, he would not so much as look upon the Town, but turned his back to them, wherefore the Town forbore their Fireworks and other Preparations made in honour for him. The Declaration they sent the King to *Mittau*, was; that his Majesty might order any other Priests to *Riga*, but with *Jesuits* they would have nothing to do.

The *Swedish* and *Russian* Ambassadors met upon their Frontiers, to treat about a Peace; but the *Muscovites* had a great Army following very silently at the Heels of their Ambassadors, with intention, that in case they could not agree in their Treaty, they might presently fall upon those Places they pretended. At the same time when the *Muscovites* had sworn, and by their kissing of the Cross confirmed, That during the Treaty, no Hostilities should be committed on their side, The *Swedes* received News that a Party of *Russes* had plunder'd and burnt *Jama*, whereupon they presently broke off the Treaty.

The Army of the *Russes* was near 100000 strong, took presently *Jamogrod*, and laid Siege to *Narna*, where they met with very warm

warm Reception. The Enemy on the 19th Feb. gave a general Storm with the whole Army, which lasted from break of day till Noon, wherein one half of the Swedish Garrison bravely ended their days, yet at last the Besiegers were beaten back: They prepared for another Storm the next day; whereupon the Citizens, and the remaining part of the Garrison begg'd their Governor *Charles Horn*, not to come to that extremity, considering their small remains, and that there was no hopes of relief: So he was prevailed upon to Treat, and agreed to let the Enemy have two Places, *Ivanograd* and *Capury*, on condition to raise the Siege before *Narwa*, which was performed, and the Czar *Foedor Ivanovicz*, made his Entry into *Ivanograd* in a great Waggon of Wood, where there was a Chimney, he put a good Garrison in the Place, and returned to *Moskow*.

1592. King *John* of *Sweden* died, and was succeeded by his Son *Sigismund*. Czar *Foedor Ivanovicz*, bid adieu to the things of this Life.

1599. The States of the Kingdom of *Sweden*, being tired by the preposterous Zeal of King *Sigismund* for introducing the Popish Religion, declared, that they renounce Fealty to King *Sigismund*, for not keeping to his Oath and Promise, therefore they proffered their Crown to his Son, *Vladislaus*, then a-
bout

About four years old, on condition that he should within one year be brought into *Sweden*, to be educated there in the Protestant Religion; which if refused, then both the Son and the Father should be excluded, and none ever of that Line should be admitted to their Crown. In the meantime they offered the Government to Duke *Charles*, Uncle to *Sigismund*, who then only took the Title of Regent upon him, and concluded an Alliance with the New Czar *Boris Gudemou*, against *Poland*.

The States of *Sweden* assembled in Parliament, excluded King *Sigismund*, and *Vladislaus* his Son, from the Crown of *Sweden*, and offered it to Duke *Charles*, with assurances, that none other but his Son *Gustavus Adolphus* should succeed him. Duke *Charles* took the Government upon him, but forbore the Title of King then.

1600.

He made a Progress to *Revel*, and was well received there, and took all *Estonia* as far as it did formerly belong to *Sweden*; from the *Poles*; yet undertook nothing against that part of *Livonia*, which belonged to *Poland*; but when he saw the *Poles* fall upon *Estland*, and upon the *Swedish* Troops there, he also vigorously Attack'd them, and was much beholden to his Enemies for the Persecutions they exercised in *Livonia* against the *Lutherans*, who in great numbers flocked to Duke *Charles*, inso-

L

much,

much, that he was soon able to make up a brave Army, and to take the greatest part of all *Livonia* within six Months, to the very Gates of *Riga*, which Town continued faithful to *Poland*.

The *Polish* General *Radzivil*, having be- sieged *Kokenhausen*, the *Svedes* would re- lieve it, but were beaten in a bloody Bat- tel that lasted from Morning till Night, having above 3000 kill'd, besides many Prisoners of Note; after this Battel, not only *Kokenhausen*, but *Wenden*, *Newhaus*, *Erla*, *Cremon*, *Segewold*, and other Castles fell to the *Poles*.

Duke *Charles* accompanied by *John*, Count of *Nassau*, who was come with se- veral *German* Troops to his Assistance, en- tered the River *Duna*, with a Fleet, resolv- ed to besiege *Riga*, whilst he was preparing a formal Siege, and began to make several Attempts upon the Town, he heard that King *Sigismund* with *Zamoyski*, were come as near as *Kokenhausen*, at the Head of a great Army, thereupon he raised his Camp with great Precipitation, re-embark'd his Troops and Guns in a great Storm, whereby many were drowned.

When *Zamoyski* was arrived at *Koken- hausen*, with 10000 Men, and whilst he stay'd there for King *Sigismund*, who was approaching with another Army, *Zamoy- ski* sent a Trumpet with a mighty insulting Letter

The Tenth Letter.

147

Letter to Duke Charles, wherein he charges him to have broke Peace with Poland, against the Christian Rule, and the Law of Nations, invading without provocation, or denouncing of War, the Polish Province of Livonia, and depriving his Nephew of his Hereditary Kingdom. He concluded his Letter with challenging him to fight a Duel. Hereupon Duke Charles answered accordingly: As concerning the Challenge, he expressed himself in these words; *Non es mihi par, si par esses, non Armis te, sed: fuste depexum & ustum darems*. Thou art not my equal, but if thou wert, I would not meet thee with Arms, but chastize thee with a Cudgel.

This provok'd Zamoyski to send another sharp Letter, which I thought fit to send you, as it was in its' original Language; to shew the Genius and Imperious Spirit of the Polish Nation.

A *Udābant te hominem cerebrosum, & intemperantis linguae ac vitæ fuisse: Ingeniū in te aliquid sperabam; sed ostendisti uñum illud esse, quod de te intimi tui familiares sentiunt; tantum te effreni impetu animi ferri, non iudicio regi. Scripsisti ad me scēdam, quā mirari te dicis, me tibi offerre duellum, cum sua tibi impar genere & dignitate; cum tu regio genere sis: Et si tibi par essem, te non aliis armis quam fuste decertaturum me-*

cum. Sudermanica hoc prudentia est, cum
 parhais regio genere, non militarium hominum
 sed baculorum more, certamen baculorum
 panens. Quasi vero desint in Polonia superbi
 & valentes lictores, qui iis castor, palli
 joris etiam quam baculus magnitudinis &
 ceritatis suffigunt, eos praesertim, qui se
 duellione fadarunt. Et si non sint in Polonia,
 per Dei gratiam, proditores in Sudermania
 laquerendi sunt. Jam vero quod scribis
 genere, eo sum par omnibus Nobilibus, ut
 quibus sunt reges creati; & ita honestissime
 utas, ut quibus Regum honestissime. Tu
 Ducem non appetivi, nec oblatos accipi
 tentus sum Nobilitatis Polonia libertate. U
 bi sordet Nobilitas. Carolus Quintus
 gustissima memoria & summi animi Impera
 tor, cum aliquid affirmaret, id sine Nobilit
 ura se affirmare solebat. In te hoc solum quod
 respiciam habeo, quod ex eadem familia cum
 Serenissima Rege natus sis; quod tu si curare
 aliter cum eo ageres. Cetera tuo ingenio, tu
 isq; moribus digna flocci facio. Dicit me scri
 bant esse, & debere arma sinere; sum Cancell
 larius, quod munus non impedit Electores Im
 perii, qui illud gerunt, quo minus priorem lo
 cum quam alii Electores & Duces ac tanti Du
 ces teneant. Sum certe Cancellarius in Pa
 tria mea amplissimog; Regno; eo facte, cu
 dignitate, qua ubi vis vel maxima sunt, no
 me fortasse Cancellarii Sudermania modo meti
 bare, quem majores & excellentiores Nobili
 Poloni,

Poloni, vel privati, habeant. Nec vero Cancellarius solum, sed etiam Generalis exercituum Prefectus sum. Armagero pro Patria exercitatusq; duco supra viginti aliquot annos. Nomen meum notum est orbi Terrarum; Actiones mea honestissimae, Labores, sumptus, pericula, pro Rep. suscepta: Tuum nomen paucis notum fuisset nisi abent Regni Dominatum invasisses, & quidem patruus fratris filii; vel fortassis putas, mei loco, tyrannem aliquem tibi eam exercitu obiectum iri; Ego sum etate, magna ex parte exorta & fragili. Remp. regni Poloniae Magnae Ducatus Lit. Deus O. M. divino suo numine & legitimo Imperio regit; firmam ac stabilem constituit; laudiq; & cultui suo dicavit. Habet illa multos Senatores & Nobiles, magnitudine animi, usu belli ac prudentia praestantissimos. Patriam tuam à me turbaram, quod scripseris, dico te mentiri; & quidquid aliud in me contumeliosum scripseris aut dixeris prorsus te mentiri dico, dicamq; & scribam. Hec contra consuetudinem meam, honoris mei causa provocatus tuendi, & necessitate à te mihi imposita, & quod tibi promississem, ita ut Tu mecum ageres, me tibi responsurum. Jam delingo.

I Have heard that you are a Man of obstinacy, and of equal intemperance of Tongue and Life: I was in hopes that you had some portion of understanding; but all that you have made appear is, that the Opinion your most intimate Friends have

of you, is nicely true, that Judgment is so far from being the guide of your Actions, that you are born away with the impetuous force of an unruly Fancy. You write that you are surpris'd to find me, who am inferior in Birth and Dignity to your Royal Blood, calling you to a single Combat, adding, that if I were your Equal, the only Weapon you would engage me at, should be a Cudgel. This is indeed a sample of your *Sudermanick* Understanding, while you boast of your Regal extraction, to propose a Combat for Porters, not Soldiers. As if there were no Cudgels in *Poland*, nor any sturdy Executioners to fix those that had been beaten by them on Stakes larger, and longer than Cudgels, especially those that have blacken'd themselves with the guilt of Treason. And if by the favour of God, we have no Traytors in *Poland*, we cannot fail of finding some in your Court.

As to your boast of Birth, in Birth I am equal to any Nobleman, Son to that Rank from whence Kings have been chosen. Nay, I must say more, that no King is of a more honourable Birth than my self. The Title of Duke indeed is not what I have solicited, nor accepted when offer'd, I am satisfied with the Liberty of a Nobleman of *Poland*; you condemn a bare Nobility, and esteem it but low and mean, though

Charles

Charles V. of most August Memory, and an Emperor of the greatest Magnanimity, used when he asserted any thing, to affirm it on the *Faith of a Nobleman*. All that I find in thee that challenges any respect, is that thou derivate thy self from the Illustrious Family of that most Serene Prince my Master, for which if you had but a just Regard, your Conduct to him would be very different from what it now is. Your other pretences worthy your Understanding and Manners I despise. You tell me that I am of the Gown, and ought to lay aside the Sword. 'Tis true, I am Chancellor, which Office deprives none of the Electors of the Empire, that bear it, of the Precedence they take of the other Electors, and Princes of the highest Fame and Reputation. I grant I am Chancellor of my own Native Country, a Kingdom as Ample as Noble, but it is there a Place of the highest Dignity, and Honour. You perhaps form'd a judgment of me by your *Swedish* Chancellor, who is but such as several of the *Polish* Nobles keep for their Chancellors, and they also are greater and better qualified than him. I am not only Chancellor, but Generalissimo of our Forces; I have fought for my Country, and led forth her Armies above 20 years, and my Name is known to all the World; my Actions are unstain'd and honourable,

as well as my Toils, Expences and Dangers undertaken for the Service of the Commonwealth. Thy Name had been known to few, if thou hadst not usurp'd the Rule of another Princes Dominion; and what aggravates it more, the Dominion of thy own Nephew; or you perhaps imagine, that instead of me, some raw, young experienc'd General will be sent out against you: I have pass'd long since the Flower of my Age, and am now Old and Infirm. Our great and good God Governes the Commonwealth of the Kingdom of Poland and the great Duchy of Lithuania, by his Divine Providence, and a legal Administration; he has made it firm and lasting; and devoted it to his Praise and Worship. This Commonwealth has many Senators and Noblemen most excellent for their greatness of Mind, and their experience and skill in War. As for your saying that I disturb'd your Country, I'll tell thee thou lyest; and as for the rest that thou hast contumeliously writ and said against me, I tell thee, and will always tell thee, and that under my hand, that thou plainly lyest. This, contrary to my usual manner, being provok'd, I am compell'd to say in defence of my Honour, and by that necessity, which thou hast impos'd on me, as well as to fulfil my Promise of making thy Conduct the measure of my Answer. Here I conclude, &c.

The Tenth Letter.

153

King *Sigismund*, the mean while went to *Wilna* in *Lithuania*, leaving the Command of the Army to *Zamoyski*, who took *Wolmar* and some other Places, particularly the Fortrefs *Felm*, before which he lay 3 Months, and afterwards he storm'd it nine times in two days, and prepared the third day for another storm, but an accident gave it up to him; for by the carelessness of a Soldier in the Garrison, the Magazine of Powder took fire, and blew up most of the Garrison, and the Governour himself: As soon as *Zamoyski* had gain'd this Place, the *Polish* Army began to Mutiny for want of Pay; but there was no Money, this public spirited brave *Polander Zamoyski*, generously pacified them out of his own Purse, then went before *Wesenberg* and took it; afterwards he led them before *Wittenstein*, and there left the Command of the Army to *Chodkiewicz*, and being now worn out with Age and Cares, retired into *Poland*.

1602.

Chodkiewicz took *Wittenstein*, and the Town of *Doppa*, he beat several of the *Swedish* Parties, and made himself almost Master of *Livonia*, which was now grievously afflicted with War, Famine and Pestilence, which two latter Plagues extended to the Neighbouring *Russia* where the Misery was incredible, many Parents eat their Children, and Children their Parents. *Petereus*, who was then in *Moscow*, writes, that he himself saw an almost starved Woman in the Street, bite two bits out of her own Childs Arms, whom she carry'd, and eat it in the Streets, and would have devour'd it quite, if People had not taken it by force from her. The same Author says, that by computation, there have died of Famine 300000 Persons throughout *Russia*.

1603.

Duke *Charles* of *Sudermania*, now Insinuated to the Assembled States in *Sweden*, how *K. Sigismund*

1604.

mund

mand had forfeited his Swedish Crown, whereupon they unanimously abdicated King *Sigismund* and his Issue, and declared Duke *Charles* their King, whom we must call now *Charles IX*. Thus King *Sigismund* may thank the Jesuits for losing *Swedeland*; who nevertheless did all he could to recover his Right; which he thought to effect by assisting the pretended *Demetrius* to come to be Czar of *Muscovy*, and then with his help to regain *Estland* and *Finland*; nay, *Sweden* it self, but the History of those false *Demetrius's* does not belong to this place.

King *Charles* came with a good Army before *Wittenstein*; the *Poles* coming to rescue that Place, Attack'd and Defeated him; he lost above 3000 Men, 21 Colours, and 7 Guns, and retired towards *Revel*, from thence to *Sweden*.

1605. *Chodkiewicz* the *Polish* General beat another strong Party of *Swedes* by *Wolmar*, and kill'd above 800 of them.

1607. King *Charles* came with a Fleet of 40 Sail, and a strong Army into *Livonia*, and being landed, ordered Count *Mansfeld* to surround, and block up the Town of *Riga*, the King himself with the Duke of *Lunenbourg*, and 15000 Men, arriv'd there also few days after; where continuing for several days in raising Batteries, he was suddenly informed, that the *Polish* General, *Charles Chodkiewicz* advanced with his Army; thereupon in all haste, he rais'd the Siege, and march'd all Night in very bad weather towards the Enemy, and coming to *Kirkholm*, he there found the *Polish* Army, and resolv'd presently to Attack them, and without giving his Troops any rest, though they were mightily fatigued, by the March and ill Weather, he fell furiously upon them, but found more resistance than he expected. King *Charles* continued for three hours in

The Tenth Letter.

199

the Fight, but Duke *Frederick of Courland* coming very seasonably with chosen Troops to the Polish Assistance, the Swedes were overthrow'n, having above 10000 killed or taken; the Victors got besides 60 Colours and 11 Great Guns. (The Polish Authors speak of much more.) The King with great pains, retir'd with the sad remains towards his Ships; and he had certainly been either taken or killed himself in the Battle, or in the flight (the King's Horse being quite tir'd) if a Gentleman of *Livonia*, by Name *Henry Wrede*, had not changed his Horse with the King, upon which *Charles* escaped; but the faithful Officer was cut in pieces by the Poles; yet King *Charles* and his Successors have recompenc'd this Signal Service to the Family of the *Wredes*. Among those that were killed on the Swedes side, was principally Duke *Frederick* of *Brunswick* and *Lünebourg*, whose Body was decently taken up by the Duke of *Courland's* Care. King *Charles* left the Command of his broken Troops to Count *Mansfeld*, and returned to *Sweden*. King *Sigismund* could not pursue this great Victory, being intangled in a kind of Civil War, for the Poles had made a Confederacy against him, under the Name of *Rokosz*, whereby they would force the King, to reform many things, according to their own Model. This gave King *Charles* opportunity to recover himself again. He conven'd the States of his Kingdom, and took all the care he could to make up his losses.

The unhappy Circumstances in *Moscow* in some measure diverted the War from *Livonia* into *Rusland*. King *Sigismund*, for his own ends, assisted the several false *Demetrius's* one after another; and *Charles* of *Sweden*, help'd the Czar *Basilus Zuzki*, yet in that Country, as well as in *Livland*, several Military Expeditions continued between the two Kings of *Poland* and *Sweden*, till King
Charles's

The Tenth Letter.

1611.

Charles's Death, which happen'd 1611, who left his Crown to his Eldest Son, the famous *Gustavus Adolphus*, between whom and the *Poles* there was a Truce agreed on for Three Years.

1617.

A Peace was concluded between *Gustavus Adolphus* and the *Muscovites*, by the Mediation of the *English* and *Dutch* Ambassadors, whereby *Sweden* got *Kekholm* and *Ingria*, as a strong Barrier on that side of *Russia*, and the *Muscovites* were quite debarred from the *Baltick*.

The *Swedish* Ambassadors went to *Moscow* to see the Czar *Michael Foedorowicz*, confirm the Peace with his Oath, which Ceremony was thus performed. The *Russian* Chancellor first read an Act containing the kissing of the Cross, on account of the concluded Peace, and put it before the Czar in a Golden Dish under a Crucifix, which was richly set with Jewels: The Czar then made a short Speech, how he was disposed to keep faithfully that Peace, expecting the same Observation on the King of *Sweden's* part, then bow'd his Head down; thereupon a Knez or Duke took his Crown off his Head, and another Knez his Scepter out of his Hand; then the Czar advanced one step from his Throne towards the Cross, and kissed it devoutly, saying to the Ambassadors; *Now you have seen me kiss the Cross, to observe all that has been agreed on between Us Czar of, &c. and our beloved Brother your Master the King of Sweden.* Then his Diadem was put on his Head again, the Bill containing the Act of the Cross-kissing, was deliver'd to the Ambassadors, and they dismiss'd with many Presents. A short time after the *Muscovite* Ambassadors came to *Stockholm*, in whose Presence *Gustavus Adolphus* swore to the Peace, at the Altar in the Great Church, holding his Fingers upon the Bible; and thus were all Hostilities between these two Nations laid aside.

The Tenth Letter.

157

A Truce also for Two Years was agreed on 1618.
between Poland and Sweden.

Gustavus Adolphus Marry'd *Maria Eleonora*, 1620.
Daughter to the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, *John Sigismund*, and presently after made great Preparations towards a War, nevertheless was so just, that he gave several Notices to the *Polanders* of his willingness to prolong the Truce, or to conclude a lasting Peace, before he broke with them; and when he saw that King *Sigismund*, tho' embarras'd with *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Muscovites*, shew'd 1621.
no disposition for a Peace; he landed an Army of 1 August.
20000 by *Dunamunde* near *Riga*. The Town had very earnestly employ'd all their Power to defend themselves.

King *Gustavus Adolphus* animated his Army extremely; and sometimes he and his Brother Prince *Charles Philip*, would take Shovels, and work themselves in the Trenches, where, by their Example, the Works were soon finished. Many brave Actions were performed in attacking and defending; yet the Town seeing no Relief, and every thing ready for a general Storm, at last was prevailed with to capitulate; which was followed by a Surrender 16 Sept. K. *Gust. Adolphus* made his Entry in *Riga*, and first of all went to St. Peter's to give Thanks for his Conquest, which cost him very dear, he being three times in great danger of being kill'd; yet he shewed himself very merciful; confirmed their Privileges, and exhorted them to be as true and faithful to him, as they had been to *Poland*; and then with 14000 Men entered *Courland*, took *Mittaw*; but went no farther: For some *Polish* Parties making great Havock about *Riga*, he returned thither, leaving in *Mittaw*, Field-Marshal *Wraigen*, with 2000 Men, and went himself

self to *Wolmar*, which he took; then return'd to *Stockholm*.

The *Polish* General *Radzivil* having retaken *Mittau*, *K. Gust. Adolph.* arrived with fresh Troops from *Sweden* at *Riga*, and went with his whole Army to attack *Mittau*; but finding the *Polish* Army very advantageously posted and entrench'd for its Relief, could do nothing; yet in several Rencontres the *Poles* were beaten, till both Parties agreed on a Truce for a Year, and then the King of *Sweden* returned to *Riga*.

1623. *K. Sigismund* began to form a Fleet by *Dantzick*, *K. Gustavus Adolphus* had no sooner notice of it, but came with a strong Fleet before *Dantzick*, and obliged that Town to declare to be Neuter; whereby he annulled the *K. of Poland's* Design; and this was followed by a Truce for 2 Years.

1625. Since the *K. of Poland* would not hearken to reasonable Terms of Peace, pretending still not only to *Livonia*, but to the Kingdom of *Sweden*: As soon as the Truce was at an end, *Gustavus* denounced War against *Poland*, landed 8000 Men at *Dunamunde*, forced *Kokenhausen* to surrender, after he had overthrown *Stanislaus Sapieha* with 3000 *Lithuanians*. His Generals also took *Dorpat*, and almost all the remaining Castles and Forts in *Livonia*: The King himself took the Fortress *Birzen* in *Lithuania*, as also the strong Castle *Bauske* in *Semigallia* with Storm, *Mittau* by Composition, and return'd to *Riga*.

1626. *K. Gustavus* marched now towards the *Polish* Army, commanded by *Leo Sapieha*, and sent to know of him by a Trumpet, if he would have Peace or War; he might chuse. *Sapieha* answered, his highest Ambition was to try *Gustavus Adolphus's* Force in a Battel. Thereupon they met by *Walsaw* in *Semigallia*, in Pitch'd Battels; and after a short, but sharp Fight, the *Polish* Army was routed, 1600 kill'd

kill'd, besides many Prisoners and Colour taken; all their Artillery and Baggage lost. After this Victory, the K. of Sweden went to *Revel*; in his absence, the *Poles* had the better in several Rencounters; but K. *Gustavus* made them an unexpected Diversion, landing 26000 Men by *Pillau* in *Prussia*, having Intelligence with the Governor of that Place; who discharged his Guns without Bullets upon him, and received the King with a great Feast. K. *Gustavus* in all haste, and before the *Poles* could almost perceive it, over-run, and took a great many Places in *Prussia*; and when afterwards the *Polish* Army came to oppose him, he beat them back, killing and taking a thousand of 'em.

The War in *Livonia* continued very sharp, between the *Polish* and *Swedish* Parties; and though D. *Frederick* in *Cowland* obtained by his Envoy in *Prussia* from K. *Gustavus* a Neutrality; yet was it impossible to let him enjoy the good of it, because the *Poles* had great assistance from his Dominions.

The *Swedish* General, *Gustave Horn* was routed about *Treyden* in *Livonia* by the *Lithuanian* General *Gonszewski*; but in *Prussia* K. *Gustavus* continued victorious, by overthrowing Armies, and taking Towns as fast as he could march, till by the earnest Mediation of the *English*, *French*, *Dutch*, and *Brandenburgh* Ministers (whose Principals were in great want of a brave Deliverer, from the incroaching and ambitious Designs of the House of *Austria*) a Truce for 6 years was concluded between *Poland* and *Sweden*, whereby King *Gustavus* was to keep *Memmel*, *Pillau*, *Elbing* and *Braunsberg*; the first three being the best Sea-Ports, and trading Towns in *Prussia*, except *Dantzick*; and besides, all he had conquer'd in *Livonia* was to remain to him; the rest of the Towns and Places taken in *Prussia*, he restored.

1628.

1629.
Decemb.

Dorpat

1632.

Dorpat in *Livonia* was erected into an Univer-
sity by the Order of *K. Gustavus*, who was then
in *Germany*: Among other Professors there, they
reckon one *Jacobinus Crellius*, who was able to re-
cite *Aristotle* by heart, leaf by leaf in *Greek*. King
of *Sweden*, *Gustavus Adolphus* was kill'd at
the famous Battel at *Lutzen*.

The last of
April
1632.
Nov 6.

The same Year was *Uladislaus*, eldest Son to
K. Sigismund, crown'd King of *Poland*, having
been elected 1632. Nov, 13. This Prince had a
great mind to recover his Right to the Crown of
Sweden, and the Province of *Livonia*; but was hin-
der'd by the Wars with the *Turks* and *Muscovites*,
both which he defeated in a glorious manner. He
obliged the *Turks* to make satisfaction for their in-
vading *Poland*, and to strangle the *Bassa*, who com-
manded their Army. He beat the *Russian Army*,
which was forced shamefully to surrender to him.
He took *Smolensko*, and made them renounce it,
and also the Dutchy of *Czernichou*.

As soon as the Truce of Six years was expired,
and the *Swedes* and *Poles* were beginning again
their Hostilities in *Livonia*, the happy News
came, that a long Truce for 26 years was con-
cluded in *Prussia* at *Sundorf*; whereby the
Swedes restored all they had in *Prussia*, annexing
what they had got in *Livonia*, to the Crown of
Sweden, after having been employ'd above 60
Years in fighting for it.

And thus I leave them in Peace for a time:
In my next Letter I shall engage them in new
Broils, 'till which time you may also expect re-
pose, free from the Importunities of,

S I R,

Yours, &c.

L E T.

LETTER. XI.

Charles Gustave King of Sweden, breaks the Truce with Poland, and overruns victoriously that whole Kingdom, but soon looses it, most of his Troops being cut to Pieces. The Town of Riga stoutly defends it self against the Czar, who besieges it with a Numerous Army. The War between Sweden and Poland continues in Livonia. King of Sweden Surprizes the Duke of Courland against the Neutrality granted him, and sends him Prisoner with all the Ducal Family to Jwanogrod. That King's Ambitious designs. Elector of Brandenbourgh avenges the Duke of Courland. Swedes beaten out of Courland. King Charles XI. of Sweden, undertakes an unlucky expedition against the Elector of Brandenbourgh; in favour of the French King.

S I R,

Livonia now enjoyed the sweets of Vid. Ketch. Peace, which James Duke of Curonia, and Semgallia, endeavoured by all methods,

M

thods,

162 . *The Eleventh Letter.*

thods, to make more lasting, and for that
 end by his endeavours, a meeting of the
 1650. *Swedish*, and *Polish* Ambassadors, was pro-
 cured at *Lubeck*; but the *Poles* partly out
 of Pride, and partly out of deference to
 the Emperor's, and the King of *Spain's* per-
 suasions; who were altogether for a War be-
 tween those Crowns; would not come to
 any reasonable Terms, nor renounce their
 stale pretentions to *Sweden* and *Livonia*;
 and tho' at that time, by the Revolt of the
 1654. *Cossacks* from *Poland* to the *Muscovites*, the
Russes retook *Smolensko*, desolated *Lithua-*
nia, making themselves Masters of the
 chief Town in it, *Wilda*, and many other
 Places; They ought to have Courted the
 Friendship of *Sweden*; yet was King *John*
Casimir (who succeeded his Brother *Ula-*
dislaus to the Crown of *Poland*, 1647.) So
 ill advised, as to send an Ambassy into
 1654. *Swedland* to Queen *Christina* with a solemn
 Protestation, against the Resignation of the
Swedish Crown, to *Charles Gustavus*; who
 therefore took this pretence, to break the
 Truce; and fell upon *Poland*, with a nu-
 merous and choice Army, which was
 look'd upon as a very unjust Action, and
 the more, because he knew the *Poles* were
 on all sides attack'd by other Enemies.

Vid. Puf-
 fendorff.

1655.

The King of *Sweden* to assure himself,
 of the Friendship of his other Neighbours,
 renewed not only Treaties with *Denmark*,
 but

but sent a Splendid Ambassy to *Moskou*, to confirm their perpetual Peace, who when they entred *Russia*, were met by a Prystaff, or Conductor of the Ambassy from the *Czar*, whose Name was *Buttenwa*, this Man shew'd but little Civility to the Ambassadors, and pretended that at their meeting, they should first alight from their Coach, before he would stir off from his Horse, which they constantly denying, he seemingly alighted, and as soon as they moved, in order to get out of the Coach, he presently got on Horseback again, which they perceiving sare still, till he made a motion to alight again, and perceiving the least appearance in them, of alighting he got up again; playing the mimick thus, for a good while, until the girt of his saddle breaking, he tumbled down, and thereby gave the Ambassadors time to get out of their Coach.

The *Czar* being preingaged in favour of *Poland*, by the Jesuit *Alegretto*, whom the Emperor and the King of *Poland* had sent hither some time before, used this *Swedish* Ambassy with very great contempt: whilst at the same time, *Charles Gustavus* made a wonderful Progress in *Poland*; where surprizing them, overran that whole Kingdom, which was forced to submit to him at the present: The same Fate attended *Polish Prussia*, except the Town of *Danzig*.

164 *The Eleventh Letter.*

He obliged both King *John Casimir*, of *Poland* to retire into *Silesia* out of his Dominions, and the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, *Frederic William*, to acknowledge *Ducal Prussia* as a Fief depending from the Crown of *Sweden*. *Lithuania* put it self under his Protection, but *Courland* obtained a Neutrality, and had been happy if the *Swedes* had kept it.

1656. This vast success awaken'd many Princes, some of whom directly, but most indirectly endeavoured to obstruct it. The *Poles* themselves shook off their panick fear, and deserted the *Swedish* King, with the same speed and facility, that they yielded to him. He had the misfortune to lose the greatest part of his Army, that were quartered, or put as safe Guards throughout that Kingdom, whom the *Poles* cut in Pieces, and at the same time; the *Lithuanians* made a great Slaughter of many *Swedish* Troops, Quartered upon them, who were thereunto animated by their Clergy, in the Pulpits, who told them in their jargon, that the *Swine were now well fatned, and fit to be kill'd*; which they laid hold on, and cut the *Swedes* Throats, which they said was a reward for the *Treacherous Truce-breakers*.

The *Lithuanians* desired of the *Courlanders*, that live in the Bishoprick *Pilsen*, they might do the same to their *Swedes* that

*Christ.
Ketch.*

that were quartered there ; but they refusing it, were threatned by the *Lithuanians*, that they would treat them like Enemies ; whereupon the Nobility of *Pilten* submitted to the Duke of *Courland's* jurisdiction, which they had hitherto refused ; whereby they found their security, and had all their Rights, Privileges, and Liberties confirmed.

The King of *Sweden* was desirous to continue in Peace with the *Czar*, he had prevail'd with *Cromwell* to send an Envoy to profer his mediation to *Moskou*, but the *Czar* would never receive that Minister, saying, He came not from the true Master in *England*, nor would he ever acknowledge the Protector, or his pretended Republick.

*Memoires
de Terlon.*

The *Czar Alexius Michalowitz* fell into *Livonia*, with 120 Thousand Men, took *Cokenhausen* and went before *Riga*, with the greatest part of his Army, leaving forty Thousand for the Siege of *Dorpat*. The Garrison, as well as the Citizens of *Riga*, behaved themselves with great Bravery during this Siege, under the Command of Count *Magnus de la Gardie*, Governour General of *Livonia* (which Siege lasted six weeks) and beat the Enemy back with great loss. In the last Sally, the Town made upon them, they had the advantage over a whole Quarter of *Russes*, over-

throwing four Regiments, and a *Brigade* of *Strelitz*; ruin'd and burnt their Works and kill'd above a Thousand of them. The Chief *Muskovite* Generals fled, and betook themselves, some into the Marshes and to their Armpits; and they report that the *Czar* seeing this confusion and defeat wept bitterly, cursing his *Patriarch Nican*, who had advis'd him to this War. He rais'd hereupon immediately the Siege, with great precipitation, drowning a great quantity of heavy Cannon, Arms, Powder and Ammunition: Yet had his General *Tolgaruky* better Fortune, before *Dorpat*; which he compell'd to surrender by Capitulation.

1657. The *Swedish*, *Polish* and *Muscovite* Generals, vigorously Prosecuted the Wars in *Livonia*, with different success; several Towns were taken, and retaken, many Camps forced, numerous Parties defeated, sometimes by one, and sometimes by the other, yet so, that for the most Part the *Russes* were worsted: For the *Swedish* General *Van Loeven*, attack'd a *Muscovite* Army of ten Thousand of their best Men, under their General *Szeremiton*; routed them, killing 1500 on the spot, and took a great many Colours and all their Bagage.

1658. Besides this overthrow, the *Czar* hearing that a Peace was concluded at *Rochild*, between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, began to think of

of Accommodation ; He set the *Swedish* Ambassy at Liberty, which he had kept till then Prisoners ; and farther gave orders, to his General *Chowanski* in *Livonia*, to agree for a Truce, which he did endeavour accordingly, by three several Messages, to *Christer-Horn* the Governour of *Narwa*, who had returned in Answer, that the *Muscovites* being faithless People, he would not trust to them ; yet at last, he consented to a Parley, and the Commissioners presently agreed to a Cessation of Arms ; whereby the *Muscovite* Army march'd off, and all Hostilities were suspended, till a general Peace could be concluded.

The *Swedes* having now an Enemy less, employed this year to rid themselves of the *Polanders* in *Livonia*, which they effected pretty well, taking *Wolmar* and *Ronnenburg*, and seeing that the Elector of *Brandenbourg* sided with his Enemies, to take his Revenge thereof : King *Charles Gustau* sent the same year private orders to the General of his forces in *Livonia* *Feldmarshall Robert-Douglas*, to seize upon the Duke of *Courland* and his *Dutchies*, which he did by surprize. This Action was much blamed, not only for breaking the Treaty of Neutrality, which the Duke had dearly enough bought, partly for a great Summ of ready money, partly for

1658.

Ammunition and Provision, he had furnish'd ; and which he had enjoyed during the War, and observed exactly on his side ; but for the rude and unmannerly treatment which was put upon him, in the Execution of this surprize.

Duke *James* reposing on the Treaty of Neutrality, was easily imposed upon by *Douglas*, who feigning to have many sick Soldiers in his Camp, entreated the Duke to suffer, that they might be sent into *Mittau*, to be cured ; No sooner had he got this Permission, but he made abundance of Soldiers Counterfeit, as if they were sick, weak and wounded, puts in the night five hundred of them in Boats with their Arms, and sent besides several Troops of Horse by Land the same Road, and followed himself with the Army. No sooner were the Boats arrived at the Castle of *Mittau*, when the Sentinel asking who they were, they Answered in a lamentable Voice, they were sick and maimed, and were by the Dukes Permission to be treated part in *Mittau*, and part were going to *Dunamunda*, mean while they got out of the Boats, scaled the Walls, and kill'd the Sentinels : *Douglas* at the same time, surprized the Town of *Mittau*, took the Duke and all the Ducal Family Prisoners ; and tho' the *Dutchess* was very weak and sick ; she was put in a Coach and sent away

away to *Jwanograd* by *Narva*, where they all continued till the end of the War. Several Excesses were committed; all the Duke's Treasure was seized, as well as their Goods and Moveables, nay, the very Cloaths from off the young Princes Backs were tor'n; and it happen'd that a *Swedish* Soldier cut off one of the *Dutchesses* Servants Hands in her presence, she being with Child; which made such impresson in her, that she afterwards lay In of a Prince with only one Hand.

Monfieur Terlon, who was then *French* Ambassador by *Charles Gustave*, and much in that Princes Confidence, writes thus in his *Memoirs* on this affair. *Le Roy de Suede* avoit fait revenir le *Comte Magnus de la Gardie*, son *Generalissime en Livonie*, aupres de *Luy*, ne voulant pas sans doute, que son *Beaufrere* fit une Action de cete nature, n'etant pas même bien assuré, qu'il la voulut entreprendre, contre la bonne foy d'un *Traitté*. Il auroit tout au moins, donné *Avis* au *Duc de Courlande*, que le *Roy de Suede* ne vouloit pas ratifier le *Traitté* afin de le prendre de bonne guerre, comme *Allié* de ses *Enemies*. Le *Mareschal Douglas*, qui avoit beaucoup d'honneur, auroit bien agi de la sorte, mais il sca voit, que le *Roy de Suede* vouloit, qu'on executat ses ordres sans rien examiner.

The King of Sweden had ordered his *Generalissimo* of *Livonia*, the *Count Mag-*

us de la Gardie, to return to him, as unwilling that his Brother-in-Law should undertake an action of that nature; neither being certain that he would have performed it, if commanded, it being a breach of Faith, contrary to a solemn Treaty. He had at least given notice to the Duke of *Courland*, that the *Swedish King* would not ratify the Treaty, that he might attack him more fairly, as being an Ally to his Enemy, *Mareschal Douglas*, who was a Man of Honour, would have taken the same Measures, but he knew the King of *Sweden* would have his Orders executed without examining them.

At the very same time this King of *Sweden*, attacked the King of *Denmark* again, just after having Sign'd, Seal'd, and Sworn to a Peace with him, concluded at *Rochild*.

Monsieur Turlon says, that the breach of the Solemn Treaty with *Denmark*, and the orders of seizing the Duke of *Courland* were produced, by the infallible hopes of conquering *Copenhagen* and all *Denmark*; in order that the King of *Sweden* might thereby make himself absolute Master of the *Baltick Sea*.

The same Ambassador gives an account of this Princes ambitious Designs, when he says, The King of *Sweden's* intention was, if he had taken *Copenhagen*, wholly

to demolish that Town, only to leave there a Fort, to guard the Haven and the Fleet, and to transfer the Privileges thereof to Malmoe or Landscron, and to establish his Residence in Schonen; and thinking himself by this Conquest master of the Baltic, he design'd to keep a Fleet of 100 Men of War, besides of Land Forces 80000 Foot, and 40000 Horse. For having conquered Denmark, he thought Norway also, and the dependencies of those two Kingdoms, could not escape him. He adds, that the King spoke often to him in these terms :

When I shall have happily brought about this my Conquest, there is no Prince or State but will be glad to let me enjoy it, nor will they then think of succouring the King of Denmark, in order to re-establish him; they'l rather court my Friendship, one before another, for re-settling the Trade; and I hope, either by Treaties with them, or other Alliances, I shall order it so, as to reunite my Conquests to Sweden, that it shall be feared by those that are remote, as well as Neighbours.

This King would often say (continues Monsieur Terlon) that being once Master of the North, he would invade Italy with a numerous Army by Sea and Land, and as another Alaric, bring once more Rome under the Gothick Power. This Prince was so ambitious, he stopt at no indirect ways to accomplish his designs, and he would have made

made War all his life-time; for he us'd to say, that a great Prince should always make War, and never ought to be in Peace; that he might always keep his Subjects employ'd, and be a Terror to his Neighbours.

What might the World have expected from his vast Projects, if he had had more Power and Riches, and had lived longer?

The Elector of *Brandenburgh* so resented the Invasion of *Courland*, and the Imprisonment of that Duke and Duchess, who was his own Sister, that by way of retaliation he attacked the Duke of *Holstein*, the King of *Sweden's* Father-in-Law, took *Gottorp*, his residence, and kept it till the conclusion of the Peace: And the Duke of *Holstein* experienc'd, that this War, wherein he had no other share or concern, but because the Queen of *Sweden* was his Daughter, caused his own and his Countrys Ruin.

1659. The mean while *Douglas* overran *Courland* and *Semgallia*, putting it under Contribution, till one *John Lubeck*, of mean Birth, forming a small Body of several *Courlanders*, fell upon that (till then) fortunate *Swedish* General *Aderkas*, killing abundance of his Men, taking the General himself, and most of his Officers Prisoners.

This *Lubeck* had lost one of his Eyes, yet was very quick-sighted in Martial Affairs; he extremely annoyed the *Swedish* Army

Army commanded by *Douglas*, falling upon them unawares, and never was beaten by them; wherefore he came at last to be a Colonel in *Courland*, and for his merits was admitted among the Nobility there.

The Elector of *Brandenburgh* sent also some of his Troops, under Major General *Schoning*, to the assistance of the *Poles*; who with the *Couronian* Nobility, beat *Douglas* out of *Courland*, and retook that Duchy in a little while.

That brave, magnanimous, and ambitious, King *Charles Gustavus*, died at *Gottembourg*, and a Peace was concluded the same year, between *Swedeland* and *Poland*, at *Oliva* by *Danzig*; whereby King *John Casimir*, and the Crown of *Poland*, renounced not only all their Pretensions to the Crown of *Sweden*, and to that part of *Livonia*, that lies beyond the River *Duna*, but also to *Esthonia*, and the Island *Oesel*; yet so as *Sweden* should never make any Incroachments in *Curonia* and *Semgallia*. By this Treaty that southerly part of *Livonia* wherein lies *Dunabourg*, *Rositten*, *Lutzen*, *Marienbuten*, &c. remains to the Crown of *Poland*.

The Duke of *Courland*, the Dutches, and all the Ducal Family, were also by a particular Clause in this Treaty, restored to Liberty, and the repossession of their Dukedom.

1661.

The Commissaries from Sweden and Moscow, agreed and concluded a Peace for their Principals, whereby the Russes restored all to the Swedes, even to the very last Places they kept in Livonia.

From that to these present Times, there has been Peace, Quiet, and Plenty, in Livonia.

1675.
1676.

King Charles XI. of Sweden, having unfortunately engaged in a French Alliance, had almost lost his Provinces in Germany, by the Danish and Brandenburg confederate Arms. The Elector had conquered Pomerania, when the Swedes, to make him a diversion, formed an Army in Livonia to invade Prussia; yet was this Expedition so slowly forwarded, that the Swedish Army did not begin their March till the end of

1678.

1678, from Riga, being between 13 or 14000 Men strong, under the Command of General Henry Horn: They obtained leave from the Duke to pass thro' Semgallia and Couronia, promising to pay and defray the charges of the Army, as they marched.

Thereupon that Army passed without doing any harm, till they came before Memmel in Ducal Prussia, which Town was burnt.

1679.
JANUARY:

They went farther on towards Koningsberg, but the Elector of Brandenburg advanced with a speedy and very fatiguing March towards them; there being

The Eleventh Letter. 175

ing at that time a more than ordinary hard Frost, the Electors and the Prince Electoral, sharing the difficulties of the Campaign with him.

The Swedes hearing of his approach, made hast to retire in great disorder towards *Livonia*, through *Samogitia*, *Lithuania*, and *Curonia*, yet some of the Electoral Troops overtook part of their Army, and haras'd them to that degree, that of their whole Army they hardly brought 2500 back to *Riga*. This Action was mightily extolled, and it contributed considerably to the Elector's great Renown. Puffendorf

Thus whilst we write the glorious Actions of these great Men, we must not overlook and forget the obliging Kindness of our Friends, therefore I take this opportunity, Sir, to thank you for your last Letter, and to assure you, how much I value your Correspondence, whose ingenious delightful as well as learned way of Writing, does at the same time improve and please those, that are so happy to hear from you, which is a satisfaction infinitely priz'd by

S I R,

Tours, &c.

LETTER XII.

L E T T E R XII.

King Charles XI. of Sweden, assumes an Arbitrary Power in his Kingdom; makes use of it to reduce the Estates and Lands of the Nobility and Gentry in Livonia; who protest against it, and lay their Grievances before the King in an humble Petition, which is taken for a high Crime. The hard usage of the Livonian Gentry, and the ill consequences thereof. King Charles XI. of Sweden dies.

S I R,

King Charles XI. of Sweden, was declared in a General Assembly of the States of that Kingdom at *Stockholm*, an Absolute Sovereign; whereby an independent, unlimited, and uncircumscribed Power of Government was vested in him: The effects whereof were soon felt; for soon after a severe Commission was established, to reduce in *Livonia* all those Estates of the greater Nobility, as Counts and Barons; which the Commissioners pretended to have antiently belonged to the Publick. This quite impoverished those Noblemen. Whilst the King's Commission
only

only attack'd the Grants of Counties and Baronies in *Livonia*; the other Nobility took no notice of it; for those great Estates only belonged to the *Swedish* Lords, to whom they were given by the *Swedish* Kings, and therefore by them might be repealed; nor did the lesser Nobility ever enjoy them before, either in the times of their Heer-Masters, or the Kings of *Poland*. They rather considered it as a great advantage, whereby the Publick Charges and Taxes should be diminished; the King having by this seizure greatly increased his Revenue: And by this very Argument the *Livonians* were lull'd asleep in the beginning, and that made them not join or concern themselves with what happened to those *Swedish* Noblemen.

But soon after did the Commission of the King extend farther, and attack also the Estates and Possessions of the other Gentry; who, foreseeing their Ruin, did what was possible to avoid the storm, by Supplications, Protestations, and Remonstrations, against that violent Action; yet the arbitrary Will of their Sovereign was to be obeyed, and numerous good Families, who had done great Services to the Crown, were utterly Ruined. Their Fate was very hard, their Ancestors having conquered those Countries by their Blood, enjoy'd it many Generations, having it continued not

only by the Heer-masters, who were then their Sovereigns, but by the Kings of *Poland*, who kept their promises tolerably well; tho' sometimes, when by a preposterous Zeal, they would endeavour to recal some of the secularized Ecclesiastick Estates of *Livonia*, to be applied to the use of the Romish Church: *Charles IX.* of *Sweden* would make use of this Argument against those Polish Kings, that it was a contravention to their Promises and *Pacta Conventa* with the *Livonian* States, which was no small inducement to the *Livonians*, to join with him; and this reason also facilitated the Conquest of *Livonia* to his Son *Gustavus Adolphus*; and the Swedish Kings to the year 1681, kept the Privileges of the Nobility very well; as is remarkable in this instance: When in a Parliament at *Stockholm* 1654, 'twas resolv'd, that the *Quarta*, or the Fourth part of all Grants or Donations from the Crown, should be revoked; King *Charles Gustavus*, who then was come to the Swedish Crown, sent positive orders to the Commissioners deputed for that purpose, not to meddle in any way with the Estates or Donations in *Livonia*; For he knew very well, that this could not be done without notorious and manifest Breaches of their Privileges, whereby they are exempted from the Acts of the Parliaments in *Sweden*, having their own Con-
vention

vention of Estates, called by them *Land-tags*; till Exigencies, or rather Necessities of State, obliged the King, for payment of Debts, contracted in the war time, to seize upon those Estates, which were represented unto him to have belonged to the Publick.

'Tis true, his Rbyal Ancestors for considerable Services done to the Crown, did bestow Donatives upon some who had deserved them; but this Commission did not stop at recalling these Grants only, but also took from them what they call their Inheritance. And when their Ancestors freely submitted to the Crown of Sweden, it was on condition to have their Estates and Liberties maintained and supported. a great many of those Estates had been acquired by the *Livonians titulo Oneroso*, some of them having been sold by the precedent Kings; and purchased *bona fide* for ready Money, by the Gentry, or Mortgaged to them: Others given and assigned them for their Military Services, in lieu of their Pay and Arrears; some for the advances they had made in raising Regiments, Troops, or Companies for the Kings Service: But that rigid Commission reduced them all to the Crown, for the King's use, without exception or regard to any Title, Claim, or Right, tho the Gentry showed their Writings and Contracts, confirmed

by those Kings Hands, and the Great Seal of the Crown, wherein all those Acquisitions and their Rights were clearly expressed.

The intended perpetual Peace between Sweden and the two young Czars, *Jwan* and
 1682. *Peter*, was now concluded; whereupon solemn Embassies were sent to see the same
 1683. confirmed by Oaths on both sides.

Commissioners were also deputed from
 1685. the King of *Sweden*, to reduce also the Estates of the Province of *Estonia*; the Noblemen thereof thought themselves more secure than the rest, they having been the first that by a voluntary and free agreement accepted the protection of *Swedeland*; but all this was to no purpose, and there was no regard to any old or new Privileges.

The *Swedes* object to the *Livonians*, they ought not to complain, but submit, as they do, to the will of their King; but the *Livonians* answer, they did not renounce their Liberties and Privileges, as the *Swedes* had done in their General Assembly; the Acts of the States of *Sweden* not obliging them, they having particular Laws, Privileges, and States or *Landtags* of their own, and they always on the beginning of every Kings Reign insisted on their Privileges, which were Sworn unto by each King; and thus they conditionally submitted to him. And besides, since the
 King's

King's Coronation Oath, every Chief of the noble Families in *Livonia* had, by paying their Homage to the King, obtained a new Confirmation under the Great Seal, of their peculiar Possessions, Hereditaments, and Limits, by Letters Patents.

Moreover the *Livonians* have an antient Privilege since the beginning of the Establishment of their Province, where, in a concordat or contract between the Heer-masters and the Nobility, 'twas agreed, that all Fiefs, as they became vacant, should never be Incorporated to the Demains of the Sovereign, but were presently to be resigned to some other Noblemen, which has always been Religiously observed by the Heer-masters, the Kings of *Poland*, and the Kings of *Sweden*.

The King seemed himself to pity their Case; for he ordered that one Third, which they call *Tertial*, should be allowed the former Proprietors, and that they themselves should be preferred before any other, in the Farming of those Estates from the Crown; yet such was the rigor or ill-nature of the Commissioners and Governours, that they invented several After-rekonings, and State-pretensions, of old Taxes, and made new Surveys, doubling or tripling the number of Acres, contrary to their old Rules, that they had but little or no profit by it.

The Twelfth Letter.

You desire of me in your last, a true Copy of the Address which the States of *Livonia* have sent to the King of *Sweden*, with their Complaints, and since it has made so much noise, I send it you here in its original Language, that you may see the dejected Expressions of a Nation that not long ago was so free, so wealthy, and so much at ease, and is now fallen from its Possessions and Liberties. Nevertheless you may yet discern some sparks, or remains of a noble Freedom, in some part of their Remonstrations, which is thus in the Original:

Gros

Gros Ma'chtigster Allergna'dig- ster KOENIG.

WIE Ew. Ko'nigl^e Mayesta't getreue Rit-
terschafft dieser untertha'nigsten Provinz,
mit gegenwaertigen klaeglichen Bittschriff
vor Ew. Ko'nigl. Maytt. mit Furcht und Zittern tre-
ten mus; So ist dieselbe, der allergnaedigsten Opinion
Ew. Ko'nigl. Maytt. gesichert; das es nicht anders
als ein Zeichen aller unterthaenigsten Treue und liebe,
zu Ew. Ko'nigl. Maytt. sey, wann bedraengte Un-
terthanen, alles in gedult erleyden; und bey endlich
nicht mehr zureichenden Kraefften Ihre Noth und
Anliegen in kindlich-demutigsten vertrauen vor Ew.
Ko'nigl. Maytt. ausschuetten, und erho'ring und hu'lfte,
nirgendanders als bey Ew. Ko'nigl. Maytt. suchen;
Die Noth und das Blend unfers armen Waterlandes
ist so gros, das wir uns schaemen, unsern Zustand
zu erzehlen; ia mit nichts als Tra'nen und Trau-
ren uns tro'ften mo'gen, wan wir spuehren, das
nimehro auch die Benachbarte uns mit bestu'rtzung
anschauen; Bishero sind wir aus alleruntertha'nigster
reberence gegen Ew. Ko'nigl. Maytt. still geschwie-
gen, haben fast das Euserste, mit stillem Gehorsam,
uber uns ergehen lassen; und die menschliche Unge-
dult mit, Standhaftigkeit, in blossen Absehen bey Ew.
Maytt. die probe rechtsschaffener Treue, noch weiter
zu beweisen, uberkunden; und allemahl den Trost
ans

aus der sichersten allerdemüthigsten Hoffnung, Ew. Ko'nigl. Maytt. werden die rechte Stunde uns wieder zu erfreuen aus Ko'nigl. Gnade selbst abmessen, geschöpft; da aber unsere Schwachheit, nemlich so groß wird; das menschliche Krafft nicht zureichen, und keine andere Hülff mehr abzusehen gewesen, so müssen wir den Weg ergreifen, unsere Noth zu klagen; Zu mahlen Ew. Ko'nigl. Maytt. der beschwerliche Zustand des gantzen Landes, und aller Einwohner, wahrhaftig nicht recht behandt gemacht, sondern von vielen aus verdeckten, und, wolte Gott, nicht eigenmuetzigen absehen eines Privat. Interesses ganz anders vorgekeltet wird; Wir aber finden uns aus vielen Ursachen verpflichtet, Ew. Ko'nigl. Maytt. die rechte Bescheidenheit zu erweisen, und zwar so treibet uns dazu, die allerstürmeste Noth, welche von allen Schozfabm der Gesetz befreuet ist, aus dem solennimè Anno 1687 von uns abgemessenem Leu-Huldigungs Eyde, darin wir gegen Gott, und Ew. Ko'nigl. Maytt. uns bey Verlust der Seelen Heyl und Seeligkeit verbunden haben, nicht zu verschweigen, was wir zu Ew. Ko'nigl. Maytt. und dero Ko'nigl. Successoren Schaden und Nachtheil zu seyn vermercken; Wann demnach Ew. Ko'nigl. Maytt. veritables, nicht aber apparentes Interesse, mit der Wohlfahrt, und Aufnehmen des Landes, nicht allein compatible, sondern auch dabon ganz inseparable ist; so das eine ohn das andere unmöglich in die laenge bestehen kan, so werden Ew. Ko'nigl. Maytt. Dero Chrißlichen Hertze, gegen uns armfelige, in den grund bereits ruinirte Unterthanen, nicht verschließen, sondern ein gnädiges Ohr uns in Gedult verleyhen. Unser Elend, Allergnädigster Ko'nig, erwaechset daraus, das wir allhier nicht allein aus unferen gar excessiv durch Geldt, getrowe Dienste, Blut und Leben, erworbenen Eigenthum verlossen; und also aus dem Wohlstande, in die Extremitet der bitteren Armuth gestuertzet werden; Dem

Wenn es wird auch dadurch vermehret, das man uns,
wann wir unter solch verha'ngnis, leyder, gerathen,
alle mobilien wegnimt, und nicht einmahl so viel
von dem verlohrenen lassen will, das wir den Leib und
das Leben erhalten koennen, Sondern Christlicher
hertzen hu'lfte erbeteln mu'ssen; Ja es wird leyder
uberdenne noch also getrieben, das mancher der woll
vor 20^m Kttl. Gu'ter gehabt, und durch die Re-
duction verlohren, nicht einmahl zu der Arende ge-
langen, und also in Possessione bleiben kan ob er gleich
gern wie ein anderer, praestanda praestiren will;
und auch zu erhaltung dessen keine Sorgfalt und
Wema'hung unterlasset. Und wie nunmehr durch
die augenscheinlichen Straffen, und Zorn-Ruten
des Ho'chsten, das Land so zugerichtet ist das redu-
cirte, und unreducirte in gleichem vermog'en stehen;
da hero alle Hulffe und Unterhalt des Lebens ver-
schwindet; so mu'ssen wir mit threa'nen und nicht
one he'ftige Gemu'ths-bewegung ansehen; welcher
gestalt einer nach dem andern, aus seinem Va-
terlande, dar in Er, und seine vorfahren, von vie-
len seculis her in Ehren und Wohlstande gefessen, sich
weg zu begeben, und die benachbahrte Gra'ntzen,
umb, Sicherheit, und unterhalt seines lebens mit
Weib und Kindern zu suchen, gemu'tiget wird. Ist
iemand von unsern mittwu'dern, der aus treibender
Noth nur unter dach zu seyn, und nicht under blof-
sem Himmel mit den seinigen zu sterben, sein re-
ducirtes Gut unter Arende zu pachten suchet; so wird
Ihm solches, so hoch angerechet, und noch dazu
die Allma'chtige Straff-hand des ho'chsten Gottes, von
Pillwachs, und andern Zufallen, Ihm allein zur
Last, und zu bu'ssen aufgelegt, was Gott u'ber das
ganlze Land verha'nget; so das Er nicht einmahl,
sein ta'gliches Brodt, dabey haben kan; sondern von
Jahren zu Jahren, das Jenige, so ernoch an Mobi-
lien u'brig hat, zusetzen, und dann endlich, wann es nicht
mehr zureicht, gar harke traitemens, und schwere
Executiones

Execuciones u^{ber} sich ergöhen, und also das Land un-
den mus; wo er nicht mit den seinigem in sicherer Furcht
stehen will, das man mit Adelichen Pächtern, so nicht
bezahlen können, (da sie doch nichts, als eben die
schwere Pachtung ruiniret had,) die Corps de Gardes
möchte anfüllen wollen; das also im gegentheil, und
bey solcher bewandnus ein Amtman, der seinen
Lohn genießet, und außer Gefahr sitzet, mehr
Advantage, und Sicherheit sich zu erfreuen hat, als ein
Königl. Arendator, der bey so conditionirten Arenden
kein Anfall stündlich gewärtig sein mus. Gint
gen haben Eu. Königl. Mayt. in Dero aller gnädig-
sten Resolution de Ao. 1687. bey der Huldigung, das
Tertial in den gütern versprochen und zugesaget, aber
fast niemand hat sich dessen wirklich zu erfreuen,
weilen die güter in solchen Preis angeschlagen sind
den, das mancher den Schaden seines Tertials, so bey
Königl. Mayt. doch in allergnädigster Intention, und
jedweden tertialisten gerne genommen, hätte sahnen
lassen, wann nur die Arende billig und lödlich gemacht
net würde. Hat mancher die Gnade erhalten, dem Eu.
Königl. Mayt. Thine in seinen reducirten ein Tertial
und Tertial zugesaget, welches er auch vor a. lide, einiger
Jahr her in friede genosien, und davon nichts mehr
brig gehabt, als das Leben kümmerlich nach den se-
nigen mit Arzneyen brodt zu unterhalten; so überfallt
ihn unversehens ein solche Observation, und Sachrech-
nung, wodurch er das, so er in seinem ruhigen Besitze
nosien, wieder aller vöcker Recht, mit seinem totalen
Ruin, von so vielen Jahren, zuruck bezahlen, und so
dann nothwendig darben mus. Wann alle dergleichen
harte zusetzungen nicht zureichig sind; so suchet man
auch die wenige so noch in ihren Eigenthum mit un-
wisheit sitzen, aus anderen ursachen, unter dem
text nicht bezahlter Contribution, mit schweren
Gilt-
tair Execuciones zu belegen, ungeacht, das alles rich-
tig abgetragen, und Solcher unfug mit schlammigen
tungen, hernachmahls überwiesen wird. Wann uns
dann

Darinnur dergestalt, von all dem Unfertigen abgebracht
sind; so hat unnothlich ein Edelman zur Pachtung
der redimirten Starosten zu folge der vorigen erwor-
benen Privilegien; und unter Ew. Königl. Mayst. Hand
und Siegel noch verhandeltene hohen Versicherungen
gelingen; sondern seine Armuth, wo in Er doch nicht
durch sich selbst; und sein versehen, sondern durch ober-
zehlte schwere Zufälle gerathen ist, mus als dann ursach
seyn das ein ander, geringern Standes, welcher Ihm
an mitteln überlegen, Ihm vorgezogen wird; da dann
ein so reicher Arendator, weil er selbst nicht so großen
Wärtzen vorstehen kan, die Arenden an andere cum
Letro wieder verhandelt; Dann so drucket auch den
durch Mißwachs, und andere Anfälle aufgelogenen Aren-
datorn gar heftig das er die Arenden nicht allein mit
habein gelbe, sondern gar mit spec. Kthal. zu zahlen,
und dieselbe gegen Albertus, die hier gangbar; und der
Kürstlich vor sein getroyde zu heben hat; mit 5. 6. bis 7
pro cent. anzuhaffen, und ein zuwechseln gehalten ist;
Ingleichen müssen wir mit Schmerzzen hoeren, das
unser Kleid manchem unbedacht sahmen Menschen ein
Lied sein in solichen Zusammenkunften seyn mus, und
man sich nicht heuet offendl. zu sagen das in 10 Jahren
kein Deutschher mehr in diesem Lande seyn werde, wie
dann wir solchen unartigen drängen, müß mehr auch, mit
der Dappten anberisset Professoren, es so weit gedie-
gen; das Sie nicht allein gar nachwendliche vorstalt ge-
machen; uns aus selbiger Accademie: Von welcher wir
dem Lande meh Nutzen wünschten als zu promittiren
bisher ursach haben) Leute anderer Nation und Sprache
in kurmäßige über das gantze Land ins Predigt Ampt,
nach der hand auf zu dringen, Sondern auch wercklich,
wo Sie es nur können, bis volführen, das der Teutsche
Gottes dienst abgestellet, und die Predigt nur auf Un-
deutsch von Einem unserer Landes sprachen nicht mach-
tigen verrichtet wird, so das nun hinfort bey so an-
sehnlichen manigsfattigen Drangfahlen, beides in
dem Zeitlichen und Ewigen unser Vaterland fast ein
Eckel

Eckel werden müs. Wir können auch nicht unterlassen Ew. Königl. Maytt. mit Schmerzen vorzustellen den großen Bedruck, der über uns alle ins gesamt durch die schwere und uncrträgliche Revision der Packer erwachsen ist; und können nicht glauben, das Ew. Königl. Maytt, dero getreue Unterthanen, mit der Last länger belegen würden, wann Ew. Königl. Maytt. uns die gedult lassen, und unsere Noth, hier in Gnade hören wolten; Dann Erstlich werden uns, ungewissen rebenuen mit angeschlagen und vor richtig poniret; doch nimet einkommen, zum andern, müssen wir von diesen ungewissen rebenuen 25 pro Cent. Gewillig Onera fragen, welche onera wann wir die Gewillig rebenuen in richtigkeit setzen, mehr als 33. pro Cent. impostiten und bey anfrucht baren Jahren alle Antrabon schlechterding übersteigen können; Welcher sich auch noch diese beschwerlichkeit findet, das nach der neuen Revision Packer Zahl die Reuter Verpflegung sich weit höher als jemahlen erstrecket, und zu allgeminer Befestigung des Landes ein mehreres als jemahlen bewilliget worden, und also simpliciter nur ex impostitione ein solcher Überschus, der den Päblichen Regiment doch nie angeschlagen, unter einen neuen Onere abgetragen werden müs; und in specie hat diese hohe Revision an den grantzte Orten den Augen scheinlichen effect das die Bauern in großer Anzahl mittelst bequemer Gelegenheit, sich von hinnen weg, und in fremde Herrschaften begeben, wie dan keine Contribution uns in den schwersten Zeiten, da Ew. Königl. Maytt. gantz Reich und Länder in Krieg gestanden, so hart getroffen hat als eben diese, da wir doch des Edlen Friedens genießen. Wan wir dan nun, Allergnädigster König, alle diese Uns leider bis an die see gehenden schweren last und Unglucks lässe betrachten, so müssen wir mit verzagten Gemüthe Uns vorstellen, den unabwehrlichen Effect; Das ein Ritterschaft welche bis Land gleichwohl mit Ihrem Blute von den Heyden erobert, zur Christlichen Kirchen geschacht, und sich durch

durch getreue Dienste gegen die Krohn-Schweden so woll
tey Ew. Ko'nigl. Maytt. Selbst als auch bey der gantzen
Welt signalisiret, wie schon viele den Anfang gemacht
haben, also auch der gantze rest mit seufftzen zu Gott
das Vaterland wird verlassen mu'ssen; Ew. Ko'nigl.
Maytt Ko'nnen Wir das Elend nicht beschreiben,
welches so zugerichtet ist, das Lieffland bereits keine
gantze Gestalt verlohren, so gar das ob es schon von
Hedem oeffnen Gott mit Korn und Lebens-mitteln genug-
sam gesegnet ist und vielen fremden Ko'nigreichen und
La'ndern Nahrung reichet dessen Einwohner dennoch in
dem zustande verfallen, das in diesen Jahren, weil alle
gebetene Hu'lfen abgechlagen ist, viele arme Leute an
Hunger-gestorben, einige an die Ahrigen und ihre eige-
ne Personen aus hunger Handt angeleget, und sich
ermordet, bey Tausend Bauer-familien berits u'ber die
Grentze gelauffen sind, und Plu'nderung wo, noch was
vorhanden gewesen veru'bet haben; Ja wir ko'nnen Ew.
Ko'nigl. Maytt. aller untertha'nigst versichern, das wann
uns der hochste Gott die wahl hatte heimticken wollen,
entweder schwere Kriege von dem sonst benachbarten
wu'trigen Feinde, oder diese trubelige Zeiten zu extra-
gen, Wir durch die Erfahrung nicht wu'sten, ob Wir
nicht iene vor diesen zu erwahlen wu'den Ursach ge-
habt haben. In summa wofern Ew. Ko'nigl. Maytt,
Uns mit dero Gnade und Kra'ftigen Hu'lfen nicht bey-
springen werden, ko'nnen wir als getreue und redliche
unterthanen Ew. Konigl Maytt nichts anders verheissen
als schwere Nachfolgen und ein wu'ttes Land, welcher
Schade irreparabel seyn du'rffte, wann auch schon Mil-
lionen daran gewand wu'den. Damit aber Ew.
Ko'nigl. Maytt. dessen gestechert seyn mo'gen das uns
nicht etwan ein ungegru'ndetes Beginnen, sondern die
euserste und gesetz-lose Noth und pure Warheit zu diese
algemeinen Klage unumb ga'nglich gebungen, so sel-
let Ew. Ko'nigl. Maytt dero getreue Ritterschafft diese
allergna'digste Verordnung aufheym, nach hiedruehen
Gutfinden gewollt desintressirte Leute abzufertigen, umb
den

Den Zustand des Landes zu untersuchen, da Ew. Ko'nigl. Mayt. finden werden das nicht allein diese alleruntertha'nigste Vorstellung War sey, wo3 wo3 die Ritterschafft mit Leben und zeitlicher Wohlfart garantiret, sondern auch viele Umbsta'nde zu finden welche uns drucken, wir aber nicht melden durffen; wir fallen demnach wo3 Ew. Ko'nigl. Mayt. Gnaden-Trohn mit betrubten Hertzen und gemu'te in aller ti'fsten Demuth nieder, und bitten mit weinenden Augen und umb Christi Barmhertzigkeit willen, Ew. Ko'nigl. Mayt. geruhen allergna'digst diese unsere Noth und Anliegen in Gnaden anzusehen, und uns kra'ftige Hu'lffe wieder den unendlichen und ga'nzlichen Ruin allergna'digst zu reichen; wo fu'r wir mit Gut und Blut zeit Lebens seyn und Sterben wollen.

Allergna'digster Ko'nig
Ew. Ko'nigl. Mayt.

Im Nahmen und von wegen Einer Eolon
Ritterschafft des Hertzogthums Lieffland

Aller untertha'nigste, getreue Untertanen und Diener

Ernst Friedrich Reichau, Hindrich Chronensbern
Otto Friedrich von Fitinghoff, Leonhard Gustave
von Buttberg.

Johan Hindrich Streiff von Levenstein,

Im Nahmen der Ritterschafft der Hertzogtume
Lieffland pro tempore Landmarschall.

Den 30 May Ad 1692. mit der Schwedischen Post
abgegangen.

WE Your Majesties faithfull Nobility of this your most humble Province, appear before your Majesty with fear and trembling, with this present lamentable Supplication, assuring our selves of a most mercifull Consideration thereof from your Majesty, and that it will be looked upon as a Token of an humble devoted Loyalty and Love towards your Majesty, when oppressed Subjects having suffered patiently as much as was possible, yet being overwhelm'd with Misery, and having no more strength left to support it any longer, they must lay their Grievances, in a most submissive manner, and humble reliance, before your Majesty, as the only one from whom they can expect Relief and Help in their distressed Condition. The necessity and misery of our Native Country is such, that we are ashamed to relate our own condition, and have nothing to alleviate our Misfortunes, but Tears and Groans; whilst we perceive that our Neighbours look upon us with pity and astonishment. Till now we have suffered all things with silence, out of profound Respect to your Majesty, and have supported all Extremities with awful Obedience, and in a manner overcome human Impatience with Constancy, to give proofs of our Loyalty towards
your

your Majesty, and have hitherto comforted our selves with the hopes that your Majesty would out of your own Royal Compassion and Goodness, find and measure out the time, to deliver and restore us.

But having this experience, that nature sinks under the weight, and that Humanity cannot bear it any longer, since no prospect of Redress presents it self to us, we are forced to apply our selves to our last refuge, which is, the representation of our humble Complaints to your Majesty. For the wretched state of this Country, and the Inhabitants thereof, has been kept from your Majesty's knowledge; and to add to our Misfortunes, has been entirely misrepresented by those who for secret Reasons, and self-interested Regards, have made relations different from the Truth.

But we find our selves obliged, for many reasons, to discover and lay before your Majesty the true Condition thereof, we being necessitated by the greatest Extremity, which is exempted from all obedience to Laws, and besides this, our Oaths of Fidelity taken to your Majesty with all solemnity, An. 1687. did oblige us before God and your Majesty, with the hazard of our Salvation not to conceal any thing what we think might tend to your Majesties and your Royal Successors detriment or prejudice.

The Twelfth Letter. 193

The welfare and prosperity of this Land, is your Majesties true and real Interest, and therefore ought not to be separated; and this makes us hope that your Majesty will not shut up the Bowels of your Christian Compassion towards us your Majestj's miserable and utterly ruined Subjects, but rather mercifully bear us with patience.

Our Afflictions (most gracious King) arise from hence, that we are not only expelled out of our Properties, which we have purchased partly with our own Money, Blood, faithful Services, and Lives, and thereby are precipitated from a prosperous Condition, into the Abyss of most bitter Poverty; but this proceeding is aggravated and augmented by taking from us (after we are fallen under that fatal Reduction) our Goods and Moveables, and there is not so much left us out of the seizures, as will enable us to sustain our Bodies and Lives, but we are forced to beg the assistance and benevolence of well-disposed Christians; nay, we are so extremely ill us'd, that those who have possessed Estates worth above Twenty Thousand Crowns, have had all taken from them, and they cannot gain admittance to Farm that which was their own, tho' they endeavour in any quality to continue on the same Lands, and proffer all the Securities that a stranger can give.

And since by the visible Punishment from Heaven, the present scarcity hath level'd all

○

our

our Estates, as well those who were entirely reduced, as those that are not, whereby all the supports of Life are vanished; we cannot but with Fears and great Commotions of our Souls, see how many Inhabitants are forced, one after another, to forsake their Native Country, where their Ancestors and themselves have lived many Ages, in Honour and Plenty, and now must seek in other Lands for security, and wherewithal to maintain themselves, their Wives and Children. If there be of our Brethren, who in this their calamity, are desirous of shelter for themselves, and not to starve with their Family, without any thing but the Sky for their coverlid, and to that end employ their pains to farm that same Estate that was taken from them, then the Lands are so highly rated to them, and no allowance made them for those years of scarceness wherewith it pleases the most High to scourge the whole Land, that they cannot gain daily bread by it; which reduces them to sell year after year the little they had left; and when they have nothing more to make Money of, then they are hardly used with Distrain, and lastly, are forced to fly their Country, to avoid perpetual fear of being apprehended, and put in the Goals and Corps de Gardes, with the rest of the noble Leassees, who have not been able to pay their Rents, and which inability has been occasion'd by the extraordinary Price of the Leases. So that with their circumstances,

The Twelfth Letter. 195

excess, a Steward who enjoys his wages, is more out of danger and in a much happier state, than those who Farm from the King what formerly was their own; who have nothing to expect each hour but their final Ruin.

Your Majesty has been graciously pleas'd, to promise An. 1687. To some of them a Tertial, or an allowance of a third part in their Estates; but no body has had the benefit of it: For the Price has been rais'd so excessively, that they had rather renounce that Tertial, intended as a Royal favour to them, and choose to Pay, what Rent can be demand'd in reason and equity. If your Majesty has been so Gracious to some, as to bestow on them a special Grace in those reduced Estates, which has been enjoyed for some years, yet did it reach no farther, then to allow them bread, to mix with their tears: But then unawares, they were attack'd by some Inspectors and after-reckonings; whereby they were forced to make good all the arrears, which they were pleas'd, to exact from them; which is against the Laws of all Nations, this proceeding of necessity produced their utter ruin. If all these hard Usages were insufficient, to destroy them; then there are found out other ways, whereby those, who are yet in uncertainty and not wholly disposs'd of their Estates, are vex'd and tormented; These are overwhelmed with Military Execution under several pretences, whereof one is, that former Taxes have not
O 2 been

been payd, notwithstanding they prove the contrary, and make it appear by sufficient quittances. Since we are then, after the manner deprived of all, no Gentleman is able to farm those seized Demains or Starosties, they are intitled to it, by Ancient Privilege, and your Majesties own Assurance under your Royal Hand and Seal, yet extant. But the extreme Poverty, which is fall'n upon us, not by their own fault, but by the above-mentioned Persecutions, occasions, that a mean and vulgar Person, that has any little Estate, is preferred to a Nobleman, and a able Farmer, because he cannot manage great districts by himself, lets it out to others with advantage.

Above all this the above-mentioned Plaintiffs, being undone by dearth and scarcity, are yet obliged, to Pay the Rent not in ready Money, but such Species they call the Bank, which is not the current Money of the Land, whereby they loose 5, 6, or 7 per Cent. by the change. 'Tis no less sensible to us, to hear, that we are made a scorn, and are held in derision by some inconsiderate People in the Assemblies, where they without any reserve openly say, that within ten years, there is to be left a German in these Countrys, and it seems those threats are pursued, by the methods that are taken in the University of Dorpat, from whence they only impose People upon us of another Nation and Language, as we

The Twelfth Letter. 197

in the Pulpits as elsewhere, and whenever it lies in their Power, they abrogate the Sermons to be Preached in the German Tongue, and have them delivered by those, who don't understand our Country Language, that after this manner, by such many growing evils and miseries both in Temporal and Spiritual concerns, our Country must become despiscable.

We cannot forbear to represent to your Majesty with deep concern, the great oppression some groan under, by that heavy and insupportable revision or taxation of our (Hacken) Lands, or Acres : And we cannot believe, that your Majesty would any longer suffer that burden upon your Loyal Subjects, if your Majesty was only Graciously pleased to hear us with Patience. First, they compute uncertain revenues, that never come in, for certain ones. Secondly, we are forced out of those casual revenues to pay certain Taxes, at 25 per Cent. which Taxes if they be brought to the true Standard, import more than 33 per Cent. which from the scarcity of late years exceed absolutely all our income : Another grievance arises from this New Survey, which is the Provision we furnish for Troops, whose Numbers have been augmented.

And there is no Tax that has been raised and imposed upon us in the most difficult times ; and the Wars which your Majesty and your Kingdoms have been engaged in, that has been so Grievous ; as this present Land Tax, at a

Here comes in a mention of some Troops, which for brevity is left out, &c vide supra the Original in German.

time, when we should enjoy the sweets of Peace.

When we consider all these intollerable burdens and misfortunes, under whose weight our very Souls must bend, we are forced, most Gracious King at the same time, to represent to our selves with the utmost despair, the unavoidable consequences thereof: That such a Nobility who have conquered this Land from the Heathens with their Blood, Converted its Inhabitants to the Christian Faith, and so often signalized themselves in faithful services towards the Crown of Sweden, as well in your Majesties presence, as in the Eyes of the whole World, must be oblig'd at last, to follow the Example of those, who have already forsaken and abandon'd their Native soyl with sighs to the most High God; and this must be the unhappy fate of all them that yet remain.

We are not able to describe to your Majesty all our miseries, they being without Number and of such a deplorable Length, that Liffand is no more, it was formerly, and tho' it is best with plenty of Corn and all necessaries in such quantity that many Foreign Kingdoms and Provinces have been furnished with Provisions from hence; yet the Inhabitants thereof, are reduced to so wretched a condition, that in these late years, whilst they have in vain implored relief, many Poor People are dead with Famine, others have laid violent hands on their Families, and on themselves

out

out of Hunger and Despair; Thousands of Country Peasants with their Families have already deserted us to live in Foreign Countries, having plundered many places, where they thought to find something, and we can most humbly assure your Majesty; that if God Almighty had been pleased to leave to our choice, either to suffer a cruel War from our Neighbouring Tyrannical Enemy, or else, to endure these present deplorable times; our woful expence would leave us in doubt, whether the first had not been preferable to the last.

To sum up all; if your Majesty out of your Clemency does not relieve us with your Powerful assistance, we as your Faithful and Loyal Subjects can promise your Majesty nothing else, but heavy Consequences and a deserted Land, which damages may prove irreparable, tho' many Millions should afterwards be employed to retrieve it.

And to the end that your Majesty may be assured, this is the very Truth, and does not proceed, from any ill grounded Motives, but only extreme and lawless Necessity, that has unavoidably forced us to this Universal Complaint: Your Majesties Faithful Nobility, hopes with all humility, that you will be pleased in your Royal Wisdom, to appoint certain disinterested Persons, to inform, your Majesty what is the true State and Condition of this Land; and then your Majesty will find, not only this most humble remonstrance to be true.

The Twelfth Letter.

The Nobility will warrant and engage their Lives and Fortunes for the Truth thereof. But moreover many circumstances of our oppressions will be found, which the Oppressors we labour under, deser us from laying before you.

We therefore prostrate our selves most humbly before your Majesties Throne of Clemency, with afflicted Hearts and Minds, and humbly beg with tears in our Eyes, for the mercies of Christ, that your Majesty will be pleased, to look upon our Necessities and Miseries with Favour and Compassion, and deliver us with your powerful Assistance out of our infinite and intire ruin, and we will constantly spend our Blood and Fortune for your Majesties Service, and so live and dye,

Most Gracious King,

Your Majesties (in the Name and in behalf of the Nobility of the Dukedom of *Lifland*.)

Most Humble and Faithful Subjects

and Servants,

Ernst Friedrich Reichau; Hindrich Cronenstern.

Otto Friedrich von Fitinghoff, Leonhard Gustave von Butberg.

Johan Hindrich, Streift von Levenstein.

May 30. An. 1692.

In the Name of the Nobility, of the Dukedoms of *Livonia*, at that time their Land Marshall, or Speaker. This

This humble Petition, was call'd in Sweden a Capital Crime, and therefore the King was advis'd, to summon before him, at Stockholm those Landraths, or Councilors of State, who had sign'd this Address; They appeared there accordingly 1694, and their supplication being declared seditious, they alledged in their defence, that having sign'd the said Address not as Principals, but according to form and custom, in an Assembly of the body of the Livonian Nobility, and being only their *Mandatarii*, or Commissioners, they had underwritten it, as the General sentiments of all the Nobles of the Land, therefore their Proceeding being interpreted as a high Crime; not they alone, but the Nobility must Answer it in commune, as they had consulted and joyn'd in it; But the Court ordered them to Answer to their Accusation, which they still excepting against, sentence was Pronounced upon them, and they were Condemned, to have their heads cut off, and their Goods Confiscated, &c. Thereupon they were put into Prison in order for Execution, but great Intercession being us'd, the King changed the sentence, into an Imprisonment of 6 years, which they suffered two years and a half, till the Kings Death, 1697. April 5. At which instant his Spiritual

ritual Director, minding him of these Noble Prisoners and interceding for them, he sign'd their release and immediately dyed.

The *Livonians* do now conceive great hopes of consolation and redress from the Noble and Generous disposition of this present young King, who had his Instructions, and received good Impressions in his tender years from his Mother *Ulrica Eleonora*, that Excellent Queen, a Royal Princess of *Denmark*, whose Memory is so highly respected for her incomparable Goodness, Charity and Piety, and to compleat their Character, we must liken her to our Late Queen *Mary*, who also dyed the following year. This present young King of *Swedeland*, *Charles XII.* according to the Relations of those who are nearest to his Person breaths nothing, but what will be worthy of a great Prince, and if it be possible to make a Judgment of such tender years, and know *ex Unge Leuven*, he may outstrip in Glory his Renown'd Predecessors, and reach up to the Fame of His Renown'd Ancestor, the Great *Gustavus Adolphus*,

I am

S I R, &c.

L E T.

LETTER XIII.

Of Curonia, or Curlandia, and Semgallia: How these Provinces came to be erected into Dukedoms. Of the Dukes thereof. Of their Succession to Cleves; The Ducal Genealogie. Of the Late Duke and His Dutches, their Court and manner of Living. How His Ambassadors are treated when they receive the Investiture from the King of Poland. Of the Dukes Prerogative. Of the Greatness of the former Polish Kings. What are, or may be the Dukes forces. Of the Religion and Clergy in Livonia. A Parallel between the English and Livonian Bishops out of the Canon Law.

* Et tandem Antiquis Curerum allabimur Oris. * By Saxo

S I R,

THE Name of *Curonia*, or *Curland* is not so much known to other Nations, because it was always an individual Part of *Livonia*, and has constantly been comprehended and involved under the Notion of *Lifland*, before, and during the Re-
By Saxo Grammaticus, this Country is call'd *Curia*, *Curia* & *Curonia*, and the Inhabitants *Curites* & *Curi* in diversis Locis.
 gency

gency of the Famous *Marian Teutonic* order; Therefore all those Conquests, Battels, Sieges, Victories, Treaties and Transactions whatsoever, that have been Acted between any *Potentates*, and *Livonia*, and the History thereof, must of necessary consequence be also understood of *Courland*, and some Authors affirm, that all *Livonia* came under the notion of *Courland*. ↑

† Adamus
Bremenſis
Canoniceus, qui
circa finem
ſeculi undecimi
floruit dicitur.
ſub Curo-
nia etiam
Livoniam
comprehenſam
fuſſe, att-
teſtante
Hærnoc-
kio in diſ-
ſertatione
de Repub-
lica Curo-
norum,
ſect. 4.

Therefore I think it more adviſeable to entertain you from the Time, when that order was extinguished, or rather ſecularized in theſe Parts, by the reformation, about the middle of the 16th Century; When the laſt Sovereign of *Livonia*, under the Name of *Heermaster Godhard*, who as well, as his Predeceſſors, was a Member of the *Roman* or *Germanick* Empire, where they had a Seat and Vote, theſe Provinces not being able to withſtand the terrible Invaſions of the *Muscovites*, by reaſon of their Luxury and Diviſions, as I have formerly mentioned, rent themſelves in two Parts: For *Reval* and *Eſthonia*, the Northern Parts of *Livonia*, tho' againſt their Oath and Promise, ſeparated from the *Heermaster*, and choſe *Sweden* for Protection, ſubmitting to King *Eric XIV.* and the reſt of *Livonia*, under their *Heermaster's* Conduſt, united to the Crown of *Poland*, and great Dutchy of *Lithuania*; whoſe King was then *Sigismundus Auguſtus*; who at the
• ſame

• same time conferred the Dutchies of *Curo-
nia* and *Semgallia*, with the Province of *Pil-
ten* upon the *Heermaster Godhard*, as a *Feu-
dum Majus*, with an Hereditary Title, and
full possession of the abovesaid two Dut-
chies for him and his Heirs Males, leaving
him most of the acquired Prerogatives and
Jura Superioritatis, as *jus cudendæ monetæ*, an
absolute Jurisdiction in Temporal and Ec-
clesiastical Affairs, declaring him also His
Vice-Gerent of *Livonia*; in short, this Duke
Godhard was invested by *Sigismundus Augu-
stus*, with the same Liberties, Præ-eminencies,
Dignities and Honours, as *Marquis Albert*
of *Brandenbourg*, had obtained few years
before by his Investiture of *Prussia Ducalis*,
from *Sigismund I.* King of *Poland*. The
Nobility of those Dutchies also got their
Privileges confirmed, and their Estates de-
clared *Allodial*, or Hereditary for both
Sexes, as also the Confession of *Augsbourg*
was hereby established, and all this was
declared by publick Acts and Forms, 1661,
Novem. 28. by the foresaid *Sigismundus*
Augustus, and has been hitherto punctually
observ'd by the Kings his Successors. So
that there may be drawn this inducement,
that whilst the *Poles* keep themselves free
from Arbitrary Power, *Carland* may be se-
cure of their great Immunities, they have
enjoyed to this day. At the same time *Si-
gismundus Augustus*, caution'd them to see

for the indemnity of the Emperour, from whom only they depended formerly, for their Accession to *Poland*.

This *Gothard* first Duke of *Curland and Semgallia*, was of the Illustrious Family of *Kettler*, which is numbred among the Ancient and chief Families in the Dutchy of *Berguen*, I'll only go back to the XV Century, where *Gothard Kettler* by *Margareta van Batenberg* had two Sons. *Gothard* and *Francis*, *Francis* took sacred orders and was Abbot and Duke of *Corway* 1504. *Gothard* Propagated the Line, leaving by *Sybilla van Nesselrod* two Sons likewise, *William* and *Gothard*. *William* was Bishop of *Munster* 1537. but resigned 1557. *Gothard* step'd into the *Marian Teutonick* Order, and was made *Heermeister* thereof after *William Furstenberg's* resignation, and is the Father of the present Ducal Line. He left by his Dutches *Anna* of *Mecklenbourg* two Princes, *Frederic* and *William*. And two Princesses (1.) *Anna*, Married to *John Albert*, Prince *Radziwill*, Duke of *Olyka*, 1586. (2.) *Elizabeth*, Married, 1595. to *Adam Wenceslaus* Duke of *Tetchen* in *Sileria*. *Frederic* had no Children by his Dutches, who was a Princess of *Pomerania*, whereby the Regency fell to his Brother *William*.

Here I must take a little notice of the Succession, to *Juliers*, *Cleve*, *Berguen*, &c. that caused a great Controversie about the
middle

Vide die
Durch-
lauchtige
Welt.
Lohmeyer
& alios.

middle of this Age, wherein the greatest Potentates of Europe sided with one Party or other, till it was divided between *Brandenbourg*, and *Newbourg*.

There were two Princesses, *Anna* and *Sophia*, Daughters of the Marquess of *Brandenbourg*, *Albertus Fredoricus*, Duke of *Prussia*, and of his Dutches *Maria Eleonora*, who was the Eldest Sister to the late Duke *John William* of *Cleves*, *Juliers*, *Berguen*, &c. that died Childless, 1609. *John Sigismund*, who was afterwards Elector of *Brandenbourg*, Married the Eldest of the abovesaid Princesses, *Anna*; by whose right, he got the Possession of the Dutchy of *Cleves* and the Counties of *Mark* and *Ravensberg*. And Duke *William* of *Courland*, Married the other Sister *Sophia*, by whom he had his only Son and Successor *James*, born 1610. So Named after King *James I.* of Great Britain. This Duke *James* came to the Government of his Dutchies 1643. and was Married 1645. to the Princess Electoral of *Brandenbourg*; *Lovisa Charlotta*, Eldest Sister to the late great Elector, *Fredenis William* of *Brandenbourg*.

Here we may observe, that if ever the Electoral House of *Brandenbourg* should fail (which is neither likely, nor to be desired by any that is a well wisher to the Protestant Religion) then the House of *Courland* comes in, as Heirs to the Dutchie

chies of *Cleve* and the Counties of *March* and *Ravensberg*: And tho the *House of Courland* has a Prior right by *Duke William's* Marriage, yet I hear there has been a Marriage settlement made, when *Duke James* Married the Electoral Princess of *Brandenbourg*: That whenever the fore-mentioned Case should happen, then the *House of Courland* is to have the full succession to *Cleves*, *Mark* and *Ravensberg*, with an obligation to Pay to the *House of Cassel*, where the youngest Princess and Sister to *Duke James's* Dutches was Married, the summ of threescore Thousand Rhinish Guilders, and if the *House of Courland* should be quite extinguished, then the aforefaid Inheritance of *Cleve*, *Mark* and *Ravensberg*, is to fall to the Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassell*,

Duke James's Dutches *Lovisa Charlotta*, was a Princess very Eminent in Wisdom, Piety, and all Moral Vertues and Accomplishments, and was the Mother of.

1. *Uladislaus Frederic*, who died an Infant.

2. *Frederic Casimir*, the present Duke, born 1650.

3. *Louisa Elizabeth*, Born 1646. and Married to Landgrave *Frederic* of *Hesse-Hoybourg* 1671. she died 1690.

4. *Charlotta Sophia*, born Sept. 17. 1651. now Abbess of *Hereford*.

5. *Maria*

5. *Maria Amalia*, born the 11th of *June*, 1653, who is the present *Landgravin* of *Hessen Cassel*, and was Marry'd 1673.

6. *Carolus Jacobus*, born 1654. died 1677, in *Berlin*.

7. *Ferdinand*, born 2 Nov. 1655. of an heroick Spirit, full of noble Ambition, and aspiring thoughts, who has improv'd his natural excellent Genius, by many Travels and several Campaigns. He has been Lieut. General first in the *Brandenburgh*, as he is now in the *Polish* Armies, and has behaved himself very Gallantly in several Actions, particularly against the *Tartars*, by *Budziack*, and several other occasions.

8. *Alexander*, a Prince of great hopes, who was killd very young before *Buda*, where he lavish'd his Blood and Life, and was distinguish'd for his Bravery at the Head of the *Brandenburgh* Forces, Anno 1686.

The present Duke had for his first Dutchess *Sophia Amalia*, a Princess of the House of *Nassau-Sigen*, to whom he was married at the *Hague*, 1675, and had by her a Prince who soon died, but there remain three Princesses.

1. *Maria Dorothea*, born 1684. 23 *July*.

2. *Eleonora Charlotta*, born 1686, 11 of *June*.

3. *Lovisa Amalia*, born 1687. 27 of *July*.

These are very lovely Princesses, and are free from that insulting Imperiousness which is inseparable from a Princess born in an Arbitrary and Absolute Sovereignty.

That Dutchess *Sophia Amalia* died in 1688.

Anno 1691, at *Berlin* the Duke Married his second Dutchess *Elizabeth Sophia*, Electoral Princess and Daughter to the late Elector *Frederick William* of *Brandenburgh*; she was born 1674. a Princess that discovers her high Birth in her noble, Majestick Mien, as well as in all other Accomplishments and Virtues which becomes one of her Rank. Of her was born

Frederic William, 1692. 19 of July, at *Mittau*, who is a lovely Prince, full of Vivacity, and has all the marks that promise he will hereafter distinguish himself from other Princes, whose sole advantage is their Birth.

1694. 14. December, was born the second Prince, *Leopold*, who died lately.

The Limits of those two Dutchies *Semgallia*, *Curonia*, and *Districtus Pitensis*, * are

* They are situated between the degrees 45 and 50, of Longitude, and between 56 degrees 5 m. and 57 deg. 5 m. of Latitude.

of one moiety belongs to *Semgallia*, they are contiguous, and will take up, as they did antiently, 8 days journey: For *Adamas Bremensis*, who lived in the eleventh Century, says of these Countries, *sed & alia interior sunt Insulae, quarum maxima est illa, quae Carland dicitur, iter octe dierum habens*, and then adds, *Præterea recitatum est nobis, alias plures Insulas in eodem Ponto esse, quarum una grandis Estland dicitur, non minor illa de qua prius dixi.*

Those Dutchies comprehending that large Tract of Land, are at present solely and individually possessed and happily Governed, by the Duke *Frederic Castmir*: since by the late Duke *James's* Testamentary Disposition, and subsequent Fraternal Transaction and Agreement, as well as Royal Confirmation, the *Jus Primogenituræ* has been established.

This Prince had from his Youth warlike Inclinations, and to shew his early desire of Glory, he led by his Fathers permission, some Regiments of Horse into *Holland*, where, under the command of the then Prince of *Orange*, our present glorious King, he behaved himself on all occasions with great Bravery; and there is no doubt but he had been exalted to the highest Military Employments, if he had not been earnestly recalled by Duke *James* his Father, who would not suffer him to serve

longer against *France*; and 'tis remarkable that in his march towards *Holland*, he fell upon the Bishop of *Murster's* Troops, a French Ally, near *Lier*, and defeated them; so he brought good luck with him; for this was the first overthrow that the Enemy felt, having always before overrun the *Dutch*.

He is every way master of Princely Qualifications, full of Civility to Strangers, affable and of easie access to his Subjects, generous and liberal to all, has a great deal of knowledge, in all sorts of Arts and Sciences, and in most affairs of the World, a sprightly Wit, and a great encourager of all sorts of Manufactures in his Country. The Pastimes which he is most addicted unto is Hunting, towards which sport he makes superfluous provisions, as all sorts of Dogs in vast numbers, &c. and is at a profuse expence about them.

His Falconry is also very large and curious, his Country abounding therewith: He sends every year presents of them to the Emperour, King of *France*, and formerly to *England*.

He keeps a noble Table; his Musicians which attend the Court are sent from *France*, and his Comedians from *Italy*.

His Stable is worthy to be mentioned, where are constantly above thirty Sets of choice Coach-Horses, besides at least 300 Saddle or Leading-Horses: very fine of all
forts,

sorts, as *Arabs, Barbaries, Persians, Polish, Hungarian, Turkish,* and *Bachmats* or *Tartar-Horses*: They have shew'd me one, a present from *Moskou*, whom they say to have found by experience to see with one Eye by Night, and with the other by Day; that which is held to serve him in the dark looks like a glaz'd Eye.

The Court is crouded with Noblemen, the Dutchess having very much contributed to render it delightful and diverting. 'Twas objected to the Duke, that his Court had too much of Grandeur, which neither Emulation did oblige him to, nor the Revenues fully allow. This is certain, that his capacious Soul, and his splendid manner of living, could represent much more than a Duke of *Courland*.

The Kings of *Poland* are sensible of the benefit and advantage, they have received by the accession of the Dukes of *Courland* to the Crown; knowing very well, tho' tis a *Feudum* or *Fieff* of the Kingdom of *Poland*, yet it is *feudum oblatum non datum*, and that their Predecessors were Powerful Sovereigns before that Revolution; therefore I know not any Prince whatsoever who has so much honour and respect shew'd him by his Superiour, as the Duke of *Courland* has by the Kings of *Poland*; which is chiefly seen when he either in Person, or by his Ambassadors, receives the Inve-

stitution of his Dukedoms : for the Duke has the Prerogative of sending Extraordinary Ambassadors for that Solemnity. I shall here particularize on the Ceremonies which happen at an Investiture, being inform'd by a Gentleman who has been present at the last himself. When the present Duke sent his Ambassadors to King *John 3.* for that purpose, who were Baron *Pattamer*, and *Starosta Firks* ; they made their Publick Entry, and were met half a mile from *Warsaw* by the King's Coach, environed with Royal Laquays and *Heydikes*, with the chief Secretary of State in it, who complemented and invited them into the King's Coach. All the Ambassadors that resided then at Court, as also Princes and Senators, had their Coaches by this Entry. There was a Cavalcade of several hundreds of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and King's Officers, before the Coaches, on very fine Horses ; then followed the Ambassadors, own three Coaches, many led Horses, a Troop of their Horse-Guard, and several Cavaliers and Gentlemen, besides their Liveries and Attendants : And thus they were brought to their Apartments. The day for the Installation being appointed, the Streets from their Lodging to the Castle were on both sides lined with Musketeers, and *Hungarians*. In the old Castle were ranged, the King's Horse-Guards in the right Castle, the Regiment of Foot-Guards,

Guards, with Colours flying, and the Trumpets and Kettle-Drums on the Iron Gallery; the King being set on his Throne, and the Senators of the Kingdom on their Seats, behind whom the Lower-House or Deputies of the Kingdom (for it was a General Diet or Parliament, to make the Ceremony more Illustrious) sat upon Benches; then the King's Coach with a great *Castellan* or Senator of the Crown, with the above-mentioned Crown-Secretary in it, went to fetch the Ambassadors from their Lodgings; and as they arrived at the Castle, all the Martial Musick played: When the Ambassadors came to the Iron-Gate at the Stairs, they were met by three Marshals, two of them for the Crown, which were the two Princes *Lubomiriski*, and one of *Lithuania*, carrying their great Stuffs, and so conducted them to the King's Throne; as they entred and passed towards the King, the Senators rose from their Elbow-Chairs. The Ambassadors having performed their Harangues, and received the *Vexillum*, which is a Standard with the King's Arms on one side and the Dukes on the other, there was upon the King's Throne two low Chairs for the Ambassadors, and whilst the Gentlemen of their Train was kissing the Kings Hands, one after another, they are both invited to sit down upon the Throne, on his left hand, and one of them, the chief,

Baron *Puttkamer*, covered his Head before the King, sitting a little while, and then retired back to the House that was provided for them, in the same manner as they came.

The next day the King made a great Entertainment, to which were invited the Ambassadors from the Emperor, *Brandenburgh*, and *Courland*, who sat all three above all the Senators, that were also at this Feast; and King *John III.* standing up without his Bonet, drank the Health of their Masters, first the Emperors, the Electors of *Brandenburgh*, and then the Duke of *Courland's*.

In *Warsaw*, as well as in other places, the Ambassadors of *Courland* have also the exercise of Criminal Jurisdiction in their House like other Ambassadors.

The *Poles* understand the Forms and Ceremonies of State as well as any Nation; learning it, 'tis likely, in *Italy*, whose People of Quality in *Poland* for the most part Travel. Those that have been in *Poland* know it very well, and *Wickfort* in his Treaty of Ambassadors, observes it very often; therefore the *French*, *Venetians*, the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, and other Princes, use to send their most refined and experienced Ministers thither to Negotiate.

The

The Kings of *Poland*, since the re-union of *Lithuania* to that Crown 1386, till the times of the unfortunate King *John Casimir*, were reckoned among the greatest Christian Monarchs, and the best German Authors, * say, it belongs only to the King of ^{† Gold-} *the Romans*, and the King of *Poland*, to create Sovereign Dukes and Princes, as their ^{Lymnæus} *Vassals*; and when they mention the most ^{and many} considerable Kings, in regard to their ^{other Pub-} *Sphere*, they name four; *Rex Romanorum, Franciæ, Poloniæ, Hungariæ.*

That *Italian* Author, *Paulus Jovius*, says, that there were in those days Three Heroes, viz. the Emperor *Charles V. Francis I. King of France*, and *Sigismund I. King of Poland*, each of which deserved alone to Govern the World, had they not happen'd to live at the same time.

Nothing was so great as the Polish Kings in the 15th and 16th Century, *Sigismund I.* possessed all the Countries between the *Euxine* and *Baltick* Seas, he also Conquered that large Province *Smolensko*, with the capital City of the same name, and the Dutchy of *Severia*, and the Kingdoms of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, as also *Silestia* were possessed by his Family, insomuch that the exorbitant Power and vast Dominions of the House of *Jagello* raised secret Jealousies in the Neighbouring Princes, chiefly in the House of *Austria.*

And

And this *Sigismund* had so much Authority in the Empire, that when he conferred the Title of Duke of *Prussia* upon *Albertus* Marquess of *Brandenburg*, the same Title and Seat, in the Diets of *Germany*, were continued to him, which he had when he was great Master of the Order, and when he depended only from the Emperour.

Samuel Puffendorf in his Description of the Kingdom of *Poland* and its Extent, says, that by the computation of several Authors, there are belonging to the King and Nobility 90000 Cities, Burroughs and Villages. The Bishops and the Secular Clergy have 100000, the Orders, Monks and Nuns, possess 60950 Villages; so that if this account be true, there is still remaining above 250000 Villages, tho' formerly it was infinitely larger, being reckoned by some too large for a Kingdom, for it has been lessend on all sides by the Turks of *Ukraina*, *Podolia*, *Moldavia*, *Walachia*, great and fertile Provinces; by the Muscovite of *Smolensko*, *Kiow*, and Dutchy of *Severia*, by the Swedes of *Livonia*, by the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, of *Prussia*, and by the House of *Austria* of *Sileria*, *Moravia*, &c. yet they are still able to bring into the Field 100000 Horse only of the Nobility and Gentry.

To know the rank the Heermeisters of *Livonia* held in the Empire, you may look in the Acts and Decrees of the Imperial Dyets, and you will find that *Anno 1555*, at *Ausbourg*, the Ambassador of the Master in *Livonia*, had his place above the Cardinal and Bishop of *Ausbourg*, above Count *Palatine* on the *Rhine*, and Duke of *Bavaria*, the Dukes of *Saxony*, the Dukes of *Juliers*, *Cleve*, and *Berg*, *Stetin*, *Pomerania*, *Cassubia*, and *Wenden*, the Landgraves of *Hassia*, the Dukes of *Anbalt*, and many more; there are several Imperial Recesses or Constitutions more to be seen to that purpose.

And tho' the Emperor at that time could not hinder the dismembring of those fine Provinces, as *Prussia* and *Livonia*, from the Empire, yet has it always been and is still protested against; and I am told, that at present the Duke of *Courland* has a vacant place in the Dyet of *Germany*, and when he is named, no body appearing, the Chair that stands for him is turn'd, which they say stands above the Dukes of *Mecklenbourg*.

When King *Sigismundus Augustus* conferred the same Dignity on the Duke of *Courland*, as his Father *Sigismund I.* had on the first Duke of *Prussia*, he expresses it thus:

Ducalem

Ducatem Titulum ad Instar Illustris Domini Ducis in Prussia cum omni Dignitate, Insignibus, Privilegiis Ducalibus tribuimus, &c.

We confer upon him the Ducal Title, in the same manner and with the same Dignities, Honours, and Ducal Privileges, which the Illustrious Duke of Prussia received and enjoys.

And tho' every new Duke receives his Dukedoms from the Crown of Poland, it does no way derogate from him, but he is still esteemed by them, and other Nations, as Sovereign, and Illustrious, as his Ancestors, the Renowned Heer-masters of *Livonia*; and the Considerations his Neighbours have of him, are evident, as will appear, by the Honours done to his Ambassadors, *Oberburggrave Fisher*, who was sent by Duke *James of Courland*, to Queen *Christina*, at her Coronation, and to the Dukes Chancellor, *Felkersamb* under *Riga*, by the Czar of *Moskou*.

During the Truce 1635. between the King of Poland and Queen *Christina* of *Sweden*, did those two Crown'd Heads, with the States of both their Kingdoms, receive the Dukes of *Prussia* and *Courland* pro Procuratoribus Pacis, or, as Mediators of Peace; whereupon the Duke of
Courland

The Thirteenth Letter. 221

Courland sent his Chancellour *Felckersamb* to *Lubeck* as Ambassador.

The King of *Sweden*, *Charles Gustavus*, so renown'd for Valour and Politicks, shew'd such a value for the Duke's, that during the Neutrality, Baron *John Skytte* resided at the Court of *Courland* with the Character of Ambassador from *Sweden*.

The same Duke *James* kept always an Alliance with the Czar of *Muscovy*; where his Ambassadors *Oberburgrave* & *Fisher*, and afterwards his Marschal *Taube*, received very great Honours; and the Czars are as careful and constant in sending their Ambassadors to this Court, as to any other of their Neighbouring Princes.

'Tis the Custom of this Court, to Entertain and to Treat all Ambassadors and Envoys who are sent here, or who pass through this Country, and to defray all their Expences, not only while they reside at Court, but as they pass through the whole Country; which occasions the Treasurer, and Councillors, to suppose the same way of proceeding should be used to the Duke's Ministers Abroad; which is one reason why they scant their Allowance, and do not supply them with what is sufficient to maintain the Figure their Character requires; in Expensive Courts.

Since

Since the World is so infatuated with Standing Armys, to enquire into the Power of a Prince, the first Question they make, is, *what are his standing Forces?* Therefore I let you know, that the Duke with the Nobility, is able to raise 15 or 18 Thousand of as brave Men, as the North affords: But the *Pacta Subjectionis*, to the Crown of *Poland*, and the Protection that Crown owes them, the Assurances also and Privileges from the Dukes to the Nobility, and their own Constitutions, do not suffer an Army in time of Peace, the Inhabitants being exempted from all manner of Taxes, excepting in time of War. Besides the Nobility are so jealous of their Immunities, and of making their Prince too Powerful, having the experience of their Neighbour's Sufferings; that they would choose to be for a while overrun by an Enemy, which they can recover again when he retires, rather than yield to the perpetual Misfortunes which are always the Consequences of a Standing Army. Yet in Emergencies of War, the Nobility is extremely ready and resolute to assist their Prince with their Lives and Fortunes, for the Common Cause; altho for almost two Ages, several Potent Enemies have endeavour'd to subdue them; such was the Conduct and Valour

of the Dukes, and the Vigour and Resolution of the Nobility, that none could keep what they had conquered, but were forced to retire.

And altho no Army is allow'd of, the Duke has his Guards of Horse and Dragoons, and Soldiers sufficient in time of Peace, to maintain his Garisons.

There is no single Dukedom in all the *Roman* Empire, of that Dimension or Extent, nor any of those Princes that has so numerous, free, rich, and untainted Nobility. Before the late Wars with *Sweden* and *Poland*. Duke *James* kept 30 or 40 well-rigg'd Ships, whereof half the number consisted of Men of War and Frigats, well Arm'd and Man'd, some of 80, and of 50, 40, 30 Guns; they were employ'd for making Discoveries as far as *Africa* and *America*, and for Traffick; and *Charles Gustavus*, King of *Sweden*, hath been heard to say, *my Cousin the Duke of Courland, has too much for a Duke, and too little for a King*, and it seems the Jealousie of that Duke's prosperity, together with his ambitious Design of being Master of the *Baltick*, prompted that otherwise great King, to break the Neutrality agreed on, and to surprize and feize the Duke and his whole Family, without any pretence. All the Dukes Treasure was rifled, his Country Ruined,

his Ships dispersed, or seized by Friends and Foes, and all his Projects and great Designs frustrated. I have it from very credible Persons, that have heard it from that unfortunate Duke; that by this *Swedish* unparallel'd Proceeding, he lost Six Millions and a half of *Rixdollars*, computing *damnum emergens*, & *lucrum cessans*; and since that time the Ducal House could never raise it self again to its former Lustre and Riches. These Countrys are not like *England*, and other mild temperate Climates, where they easily recover in Peace; but here the Winter is so very long, and the Seasons short, that permit Trade, that many years are required to make up their losses.

I believe in *England* you have a despicable Notion of a Vassal, and perhaps few understand what is here meant by it; but tis a thing, well known in *Germany* and in *Italy*, † where several very Powerful Princes are Vassals to some other, and sometimes they are greater (*Domino Directo*) than those to whom they pay an acknowledgment. And it is worthy of Remark, that since the Constitution from the Emperor *Henry* the Second's time, the four great Officers of the Empire being also annexed to the Bi-

† *Fleury*
dans les
mœurs des
Israelites,
p. 239.
Nous voyons
des Souve-
rains, qui
sont vas-
saux, &
même Offi-
cers d'au-
tres Souve-
rains comme en *Allemagne* & en *Italie*.

shoprick of *Bamberg*, must pay their Homage there for certain Lands and Towns, which they hold from that Bishop: as the King of *Bohemia* in quality of *Archi-Pincerna Imperii*, is invested by that Bishop for the old Town of *Prague*. The Elector of *Bavaria*, as *Archidapifer Imperii* for *Auerbach* or *Amberg*. The Elector of *Saxony*, *Archi-Mareschallus Imperii*, for the Town of *Wittenberg* and for *Trebiz*. The Elector of *Brandenbourg* *Archi-Camerarius Imperii* for *Custrin*, and its dependencies: which Ceremonies are performed by their Ambassadors or Sub-Officers, with many Formalities. The Bishop with the Ambassadors taking hands, in sign of the acknowledgment of Fealty, which they promise him. The Bishop sits, when he gives the Investitures above-mention'd, and the Ambassadors stand before him.

The Elector of *Saxony* is Vassal to the Abbess of *Quedlinbourg*, and many instances more every body knows, that has read. Nor do the Kings treat them like Vassals, but as *Principes Fiduciarios*. When they have Audience of the King they have it sitting; when they make their Recognizance, they sit upon the same Throne with the King, and cover themselves by his side.

In Ecclesiastical Affairs the Duke is *Summus Episcopus*, Supreme Head of the Church, according to the Agreements of Union with *Poland*. He gives Dispensation to those who Marry within the degrees forbidden.

He has great Power in *Regimine Politico & Seculari*, makes Laws and raises Taxes, in the Assembly with the Nobles of the Land. He has not only *jus currendæ Monetæ*, or Coins his own Money, which is a Power and Profit the Republick of *Poland* does not allow their Kings, but other Royalties, as *jus Fiscæ*, all confiscations, & *jus aggratiandi*, or pardoning Criminals.

† In puncto
liquidæ de-
biti & spe-
cii.

† In matter of liquid Debts and violent Ejection, there goes no Appeal from him, but in other Processes *Juris Civilis*, or of Common-Law, when the Sum is above 500 *Florins*, there may be Appealed to the King; which the Nobility in *Germany* also may do to the Emperour. In Criminal Cases, as in *Atrocissimis Delictis* there goes no Appeal from the Duke.

The *Palatins* or *Woywods*, *Castellans*, or any Senators of the Kingdom of *Poland*, or great Dutchy of *Lithuania*, that have any Estates in the Dukes Dominions, must submit to his Jurisdiction, which is a great Prerogative, for the Laws of *Lithuania*, call

call their Palatines *Principes*; and several Authors say, in *Polonia Palatini veteribus Ducibus successisse creduntur*. 'Tis believed, that the Palatines succeed their ancient Dukes in *Poland*. An Authority like this, and over such powerful Subjects, no Prince whatsoever that is a Member of the Empire can boast of.

There are two sorts of Dukes belonging to *Poland*, one is *cum Jurisdictione Ducali Territoriali*, and has a Juridical and Legislative Power, and are not unlike to Sovereigns, * tho with some dependency; and of that rank were the Dukes of *Masovia*, the Dukes of *Prussia* and of *Courland*. The other Dukes only *gaudent Jure Nobilitari*, or have the Prerogatives of Noblemen, as the Dukes of *Saugse*, *Osbrow*, *Radzivil*, *Denhoff*, *Lubomirski* &c. like those Dukes in *France*, that are only created, or Titular Dukes, without any Jurisdiction.

De Val the King of *France's* Geographer, and those that are grown more expert in that noble Science, name five Dukedoms, that are not now comprehended under the *Roman* Empire, of the same Dignity; *Lorrain*, *Savoy*, *Mantua*, *Parma*,

Sax. Hassendorff ser. Brandenburg, lib. 19. §. 79. Titulum
Semperque aliquando, id est propria potestate Principem ab omni
potestate praeditum; aliquando minus proprie Principem omnia
Superioritatis jura obtinentem.

and *Courland*. All Princes expect the same Treatment, and to be used with the like Forms and Ceremonies, tho they are not all equally Rich and Powerful.

This Nobility is very Free, and jealous of Encroachments on their Liberty, and the mutual Obligation that is between the Prince and Subject, is strictly observed. The Nobility swears to every Duke Fidelity, and the Duke promises not to violate their Rights, Liberties, and Privileges; and the Duke may with reason boast, that he governs a Noble, Free, and brave Nation; whereas most other Princes can only say, they have a despotic Command over an enslaved, dejected, and dispirited People.

*Gastellus
de jure
Publico.*

*Beermannus
& Besoldus*

The learned *German* Authors speaking of Dukes, say, † There is a Rank among Dukes, for he that enjoys more Liberty has the Precedency.

What has been premised has shewn the Duke's Prerogatives, and no Prince in *Germany* has more power by the Law than the Duke of *Courland*; except what is exercised by force, and arbitrary Violence. We see the Dignity of Commanding, is according to the Dignity of the commanded: Commandment over Beasts and Cattle,

† *Datur etiam preferentia inter Duces, nam preferitur is qui majore libertate gaudet.*

The Thirteenth Letter. 229

such as Heardmen and Shepherds have, is a thing contemptible: Commandment over Children, such as Schoolmasters and Tutors have, is a matter of small Honour; commandment over Slaves, is a disparagement, rather than an honour; neither is the commandment of Tyrants much better, over a servile People, dismantled of their Spirits and Generosity of Mind: Lord Bacon Therefore it was ever held, that Honours con. in free Monarchies and Commonwealths, had more sweetness than Tyrannies, because a command over the willing, is more honourable than over the forced and compelled: Wherefore *Virgil*, when he would out of the highest strain of his Art, express the best of human Honours, that he could attribute to *Cesar*, he doth it in these words;

--- *Victorq; Volentes*

--- *Per populos dat jura, viamq; affectat*
Olympo. Geor. 4.

The Nobility here have great Privileges and Immunities, being invested with full Jurisdiction civil and criminal, over their Boors, as also liberty of Trade, without paying any Taxes or Customs either to the King of *Poland*, or the Duke, except by their own free consent in the meeting of the Deputies of the Land; yet they are

very respectful and obedient in all lawful Occasions to their Prince, and so true and loyal, that *there is no example of any Traytor to his Prince or Country among them, in the course of an Age and a half.*

The Nobility in *Poland* enjoy Liberty to a fault, so did of late that of *Denmark*: yet their Kings had no less the *Jura Majestatis* paid and allow'd them in all parts of the World, as other Kings.

The Love and respect which the *Courlanders* bear their Duke, brings to him more advantageous Effects, than the fear and force which other Princes would make use of. The Process and Appeals which the Nobility of *Mecklenbourg*, *Hassia*, and *Holftein*, have had and have still depending before the Emperor, against their Princes, are well known; whereas if any difference arises between this Duke and his Nobles, the two Duchies under him will by no means derogate so much from their Prince, as to make Appeals, but rather use all their Endeavours to compose matters amicably.

With the Nobility of *Pilten*, the circumstances are different, for besides the Duke, the King of *Poland*, the Republic, and the Bishop of *Livonia*, pretend to that Province, and the cause not being yet determin'd, 'tis unavoidable, but that *Lite pendente*, or during the Disputes, some body

or other, principally of those that incline to the other party, will utter their Discontents, and Appeal to the King or Republick.

Of whom shall I ask a true Definition of Liberty, without which mankind is wretched? In *Turky* they Glory in submitting their Necks to the Bow, which they think sends them immediately to Paradise. In *Muscovie* people of the greatest Quality have the Privilege of being beat with a *Knutt*. In *Italy*, happy is he on whom a Church-man vouchsafes to Smile, and an Indulgence cannot be bought too dear. In *France* they boast of their victorious Monarch; the best sort subsist by their Sword, and purchase their King's Renown with their Blood, and the rest content themselves with the liberty of wearing Wooden Shoes, and drinking Water, when they have been hard working in their Vineyards. In *Poland* they have only *Witia Libertatis*, Vices of Liberty, and the same is not enjoy'd by the tenth part of the Nation. In *Livonia* the poor Rusticks take it for a Grace and Mercy, to be severely Whip'd with Rods, for a small fault, and would take it for a heavy injury, if you altered it for any other.

'Tis undeniable, that the Government in *England* is equally ballanc'd and founded upon solid and valuable Reasons, and

Justice is distributed to all sorts of People. You, Sir, that live in the true Element of Liberty, and have still a right Taste and a perfect Idea of it, may justly value the Liberty you have preserved, tho' most part of the World have lost it, who by long Use and Custom are rendred deaf and intensible, to those that advise them for their own good.

Several Travellers who have paid a Visit to *England*, say, *Gaudeant bene Nati*, must only be applied to the *English*, since the Laws and Constitutions of the Nation renders them all happy, and those that have true notions, when they think they may freely Reason, cannot forbear of falling into Raptures, saying, They are persuaded, that whenever the enslaved World is restored from the Enchantments they seem to lie under, to their right Senses again, by that hand, who not only turn'd a great Monarch into a Brute, but continues to do the same by the greatest part of Mankind for their Sins, that then they'll flie to *England* to fetch Models of Humanity, Laws, Liberties, good Sence, Religion, true Eloquence, free Government, and just Reason, as other Nations did formerly from *Delpbes*, *Athens*, and *Rome*: Till then let the numberless Wretches take for their Device a Bird, that has long been

been kept in a Cage, and tho it be opened, and he might if he would, recover his natural Liberty, yet chooses to continue in his Prison, with this Motto, *Consuetudo est Maximus Tyrannus.*

The Duke writes himself thus: *Fredericus Casimirus Dei Gratiâ in Livonia, Curlandia & Semigallia Dux.*

The Emperour gives him the Title *Illustrissimo*, in German, *Durchlauchtigem*, like to other Princes of the Roman Empire.

The King of Poland also writes to him *Illustrissimo.*

The Republick of Poland, and all other Kings, style him *Illustrissimo & Celsissimo.*

The King of France, Cousin.

Of Religion and the Clergy in Livonia.

The Swedes, as they do in all their Dominions, so in *Lifland*, suffer but one Religion, according to *Luther's Doctrine*; exclusive to all others; and though the *Roman Catholicks* make heavy complaints of it, yet they have in one respect more liberty than the *Lutherans* themselves, for they may, if they please, change their Communion, which the *Lutherans* are forbid, under severe Penalties. There is a general Superintendent at *Riga*, and several other Superintendents in the Dukedom

dom and Towns, not unlike Bishops. But since there has been much said of *Swedeland* and its Provinces in the late Relations: I shall refer you thither.

Of the Religions in the Duke of Courland's Dominions.

The Duke of *Courland* himself, and the whole Country, profess the same Confession of *Augsbourg*, or *Lutheran Doctrine*, which is kept yet so pure and free from Innovations, that since the Reformation, there has not happen'd any Schism, or Difference among them, the People are very good Moralists, and shew great Zeal in their Devotions, singing some Psalms that are proper, and many other new Hymns, composed either by *Luther*, or other godly Men, fitted for the several Days, Festivals, and Occasions.

The other Branch of Protestants; whom they call *Calvinists*, are also tolerated in their Religion, for the Dutcheses have since 1645. always been of that Persuasion, and very willingly admit of the *English, Dutch*, and others, into their Chappels, who have no permission of their Religious Exercise in the *Swedish Dominions*: I have seen many *English Merchants* from *Riga*, and other Parts, come here on Festivals, to perform their Devotions; yet methinks the

The Thirteenth Letter. 253

the true Church of *England-Men*, should as well joyn with the *Lutherans*, as *Calvinists*. But this Union should begin in *England*.

There is, besides, a toleration for the old *Greek*, or *Russian*, as well as the *Uniti*, or those of the *Greekish* Church, that acknowledge the *Pope*: But no other Sects, as *Arrians*, *Socinians*, *Arminians*, *Anabaptists*, &c. are suffered *Sub pœna confiscationis honorum*.

Some *Jews* began from the Neighbouring Places in *Poland* and *Lithuania*, to creep in here, part of them being protected by the Duke, and others, by some Noblemen; but the Body of the Nobility design in their next meeting at their *Landtag*, to have them banished: 'Tis incredible how *Poland* and its Provinces are infected and over-run with them, and what a miserable condition they are in, so that the Accomplishment of the Prophets can no where better be seen. Either the State, or their own Extremity should make them take to Husbandry, according to their Primitive Institution, for the Polish Provinces are for the most part Desarts, though the Soil is very Fertile, were the People industrious.

---- *Multos inarata per annos.*
Hesperia est, desuntq; manus postcentibus Arvis.

The

The *Lutheran* Clergy have very good Subſiſtance, and live plentifully upon their *Gleblands*, exerciſing Hoſpitality to Natives and Foreigners with a very good Will, and have great Reſpect ſhewn them by every Body. They have no Tythes, but a Cuſtom of giving the Miniſter ſome Money, or Preſent, after their particular Confeſſion and Abſolution.

There is one learned *Superintendens*, and ſeveral *Præpoſiti*, or *Seniores* over the Clergy, who keep them in good Order by their ſtrict Viſitations, and ſuſpending them as well for Scandals, as Faults; and I never met with any Inferiour Clergy of ſo good Example and Morals, as in this Place, and the Country round about. The Miniſters of Pariſhes are eſtabliſhed by the Duke in thoſe places, where he has alone *Jus Episcopale*; but in thoſe Churches and Pariſhes where the Nobility have *Jus Patronatus vel Compatronatus*, the Nobles have the Nomination, and preſent the Perſon to the Duke to be confirmed by him. There are about One hundred Pariſhes throughout the Country.

It cannot be thought, that either this ſpot of Ground, or all the other Countries, where I have travel'd for theſe ſeveral Years, produces Men that are able to give ſo many Evidences of Piety, Learning, Charity, Eminency for Church, and
State

State Affairs, as the Heads of our Church in England, who are famous all over Europe for their great Learning and Piety; for there has not been since the Reformation, such a set of Apostolick Bishops, as now, particularly the Primate, Archbishop, *Tennison*, whom, for his signal Charities, and exemplary Life, Posterity will rank with the Fathers of the Primitive Church; yet formerly the Pope in the 13th. Century, as a common Father then, invested the *English* and *Livonians* in the same Privileges.

I shall only (for Brevity) alledge the Text as it is in the Body of the Canon Law: *Non licet relictam Fratris in Uxorem accipere. Et de facto ducta separanda est, nisi aliter Ecclesia dispenderit. Idem Livoniensium Episcopus Et eis qui cum ipsa sunt. Fratribus.*
 'Tis not Lawful to Marry a Brother's Widow, and if such Marriage be contracted, they must not be separated, unless the Church dispenses with it. The same Rule is for the Bishop in *Livonia*, and those Brethren that are with him.

Several Casuists alledge this Dispensation, and say, *Gregorius Papa dispensavit cum gente Anglorum ut quis ducere potuerit* 9.

Gregorius Episc. ad Augustinum citat. a Prævidel. variorum Consiliorum. 1. p. 1. n. 32. Eadem Dispensatio facta est Livonibus. c. final. 10. de divort. Prævidel. d. g. n. 32. Paris Consul. 68. n. 138. Christoph. Joachim. Buchholz. n. 6. 46. p. 167. Vide Concilia Parisiensis supra hunc Locum.

In Cor-
 pore Juris
 Canonici
 Pauli Lan-
 celoti Pe-
 rugini De-
 cretal.
 Gregor.
 Papæ 9.
 Compila-
 tio lib. 4.
 Tit. 9. c.

viduam

viduam defuncti fratris. Pope Gregory has allowed this to the *English*, that they might marry the Relict of a deceased Brother, the same Dispensation was given to the *Livonians*.

The Dukes have gratified the King and Republick of *Poland* with two Popish Churches, one is in *Semgalbia* at *Mittau*, where the Jesuits have taken up their Abode, and would fain go on with Colleges, and Schooling, but are not suffered either by the Duke, or Gentry. The other in *Courland*, at *Goldingen*, which is a Parochia, or Curacy; yet they can boast of very few Profelites.

Thus, Sir, I have continued to give you a short and particular Account of the present State of this Court, and since you assure me, that what I have already writ you, is not tedious, but rather entertaining to you, I shall proceed in my Next, to other Particulars. I am, dear Sir.

Tours, &c.

LETTER

LETTER XIV.

Of the Nobility in Curonia, Semgallia, and Pilten; how they derive their Pedigrees from ancient Noble German Families: Much given to Service in Wars. Of the Vulgar German People. Of the great Liberties and Privileges the Gentry of those Dukedoms enjoy; their great Power over their Tenants. Some Traditions in several Families. Of the fair Sex. Of the Customs, Diversions, and Manners in these Countries.

S I R,

YOU have seen by the former, how the ancient Nobility of *Swedish Livonia* has lost its Liberty and Property; but those of *Courland, Semgallia, and Pilten*, enjoy all the Rights and Freedoms they can wish.

'Tis wonderful that those rigorous Proceedings thro' the *Swedish* Dominions, were effected with all Tranquillity; but such were the Divisions in the Senat,
and

and the Timorousness or Pusillanimity of those, that were in Places of Trust and Authority in the Realm, that nothing was attempted to oppose the Fury of those that had possessed the King's Mind with this fatal Execution, which they did to satisfy their own Private Ends and Passions, to the Ruin of so many Thousands, and to the no small prejudice of the Kingdom. The *Swedes* themselves attribute it principally to God's Judgment; as that excellent Historian *Tacitus* ascribes that slavish Patience (*patientiam Servilem*) of the *Roman* Nobility, to the Divine Permission: *Ira illa Numinum in res Romanas fuit.* But the second or apparent Cause, was the King's keeping a Standing Army, which made all Endeavours vain. As to Nobility, We having contributed nothing in our selves towards a noble Birth, this Consideration should take off from the value we fix on our selves from it, but Custom prevails so far as to annex great Ideas to empty Sounds and Titles.

*Judice quem nosti populo —
Qui stupet in Titulis & Imaginibus.*

For my part, I think a Man who has raised himself by his extraordinary Virtue and Merit, has more to boast, and will
be

be more esteemed among judicious People, than a Person who owes all to his Mothers Labour, and not his own, as Cowley has it. But since no distinction is less exposed to Envy, than that which comes from a long train of Succession, tis only to be objected, that the haughtiness of this Nobility goes so far, as to shut the door by which their Ancestors entred first: For in most parts of Germany, Poland, and here, they make vast distinction between an old and a new Nobleman, tho the latter may be infinitely preferable, as to his Merits. This I find to be an old Prejudice among the most Polite Nations; for when Tully was spoken of for Consul, *Callistius* *Pleraq; Nobilitas invidia aestuabat, & quae pollui Consulatum credebat, si cum quamvis egregius homo novus adeptus foret.* Most of the Nobility, enraged with Envy, thought the Consulship polluted, if an upstart Gentleman should obtain it, - tho distinguished by his Merit, and otherwise an excellent Man.

Novi, by the Romans, are those new raised, who did not receive their Nobility from their Ancestors, but obtained it themselves by their own Virtue: Of this latter sort there is hardly any admitted now into the Body of this Nobility. For they have their *Ritterbanck*, Bench of Nobility, or *Catalogum Ordinis Equestris* &

Nobilitaris, which contains about 100 Families, or *Capita Familiarum*, who have at the beginning made a full deduction of their noble Descent before the Duke his Counsel and Commissioners selected for that purpose, and those are the only that pretend to Honours, Dignities, and Offices, having *jus Indigenatus*, exclusive of all others. They keep to those Rules still, which their Ancestors, who were Teutonick Knights were tied to observe, viz. to be of an unspotted Descent for many Generations. The common Rule is to show their Pedigree of 32 Generations, or *Abnen* at least; and when a Gentleman is buried here, which is done with great Solemnity and Splendor, the Minister in the Pulpit, at the end of his Funeral Sermon, does commonly read before the Assembly, the Descent, Names, and Alliances, of the deceased. There often arise Quarrels, wherein one objects to another his being not so good as himself, or that he cannot produce such a long Pedigree, which is held as a mortal Affront, and if it is not determined in their Blood, the Judges decide it, before whom they bring their Genealogies.

May, they are so stiff in their own Conceits, that they not only refuse to receive new Gentry among them, but the ancient German Families have great pains

to

to get the benefit of Naturalization, which they call *jus Indigenatus*, as Baron *Knig Botzeim*, and *Kleist*; who are not only of noble Extraction, out of *Saxony*, the *Palatinate*, and *Pomerania*, but have a great deal of Personal Merit, and have deserved very much of the Prince and Country.

I find that in *England* you had formerly no other Name for People of Birth, but that which the Germans use still, that is, *Edell*, whence comes your Earl, by contraction from *Edel Herr*; till the Normans brought the Word *Gentilhomme* over to you. *Edelman*, *Nobilis*, or *Gentleman*, is the same in *Germany*, *Poland*, and here, as a general denomination for all, that come under the notion of Honour.

The Title which the King of *Poland*, and the Duke give to them, is, *Nobili ac Generoso, dem Wolgebobrnen*; therefore Creation cannot make such a Gentleman, as the Spanish Proverb says, *The King cannot make an Hidalgo*. He may be *Nobilis*, but not *Generosus*; which Mr. *Selden* defines to be *qui bono genere ortus, non degenerat*. The Germans have the word *Wollgebobren*, for which is *Well-born* in *English*.

They do rarely misallye themselves here, tho' great Fortunes should make amends for it, and they keep still (for the most part) to the same Principles by which their Ancestors got their Nobility.

which is Arms : There is hardly a Gentleman in all the Country, that has not been a considerable Officer in the Army, either at home or abroad, and you will find the following Names among the chief Commanders in *France, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Muscou, Germany*; not to name those that served under *Gustavus Adolphus*, there were lately, and are still in *Holland, Col. Nitboff, Col. Frank, Schlippenbach, Fitinghoff, Buddenbrock, Goes, Flawdring, Behr*; in *Denmark, Major General Puttkamer*; in *Sweden, the Lieutenant Generals Grothus and Dalwich, Major General Bistramb*; and which is remarkable, that a Sovereign, and so great a Prince as the King of *Sweden*, should lately trust the Command of his whole Army to a *Couronian* Gentleman, the Field-Marshal *Aschemberg*, in a place where he was *Secundus à Rege*. In *France* there is a General *Rose*, I believe he is now a Duke and Peer of *France*: In *Poland* their best Commanders were always *Courlanders*, as those of the Family of *Denhoff, Brinken, Szoege, Lebell, Koskull, Furstenberg, Blomberg, Rappen, Puttkamer, Wigand, Firx, Recken, Maydell, Bulow, Buttlar, Grothausen, Pletzenberg, &c.* In *Germany, General Major Rummel, Buttlar*, and others: And there are few Families here that have not signalized themselves that way; but I must not
 swell

The Fourteenth Letter. 245

Swel my Letter with Names ; yet I will add one more, *Heyking*, who tho but a Captain of the Artillery, is worthy to be mentioned; for when that famous Fortrefs *Kamieniec* in *Podolia* was surrendred to the *Turks* by *Potocki* the Polish Governour, 1671, after having with great Resolution contested with the Governour, and urg'd him to a brave Defence, all his Arguments being fruitless, he suffered with great reluctancy the surrender of that important Place, which was looked upon as the Bulwark of Christendom ; therefore transported with Zeal, he went into the Magazine of Powder under the Gate, and as soon as he knew the *Turks* were marching in a full Body into the Town, he set fire to the Powder, whereby above 1000 *Turks* were blown up, and were as so many Attendants at his own Funeral.

Some of the *Curish* Nobility are created Princes, Counts, and Barons of the Empire ; of the first was *Caspar Denhoff* ; the same Family were also made Counts of the Empire, whereof there is now one Cardinal *Denhoff*, and many more of that noble ancient Family, who are very eminent in many Courts and Kingdoms, *Buttars* are also Counts, *Puttkamer*, *Blomberg*, *Taube*, Barons of the Empire.

Many of this Nobility are *Senators Regni Poloniae*, as *Falckerfamb, Plater, Burg, Korff, Grotthus*, and if they would turn Papists, many more would be promoted.

They boast that there is hardly a Family among them, that cannot make out *Preuve de Noblesse*, sufficient to qualify them for Knights of *Maltha*.

If the *Courlanders* be not given all to Military Employ, yet they beget Soldiers, as did *Gablen*, who was a Privy Counsellor, and Land-Marshal in *Courland*, Anno 1636, and was Father to *Christoff Bernard von Gablen*, Bishop of *Munster*, who is so well known to *Holland*; for his great Dexterity in Fire-works, and Bombarding.

The great Statesman *Schlippenbath*, whom the King of Sweden, *Charles Gustavus*, made a Count for his Desert, was also of this Country, and who is ignorant of the Achievements of that incomparable *Wrangell*, that, by *Maréchal de Turenne's* own confession, had the Precedency before all the Generals in *Europe*, as being Admiral, as well as General of the *Swedish Fleet* and Forces, whereas *Turenne* was only General by Land.

These Lands being inhabited with a number of ignoble *Germans*, that have settled here, as *Burghers, Citizens, Merchants, Tradesmen, and Handicrafts*, they dare

The Fourteenth Letter. 247

dare not pretend to Gentility, nor the Privileges thereof, and must pay a very awful Respect to the Nobility, where sometimes they meet with hard usage; which is no small discouragement to Trade; yet they live very well either by Oeconomy or Traffick, and produce sometimes extraordinary Men, as one *Lubeck*, of whom you heard before, who raised himself from a mean Condition, and beat the *Swedes* in all Encounters, took their General, with many Colonels and Officers Prisoners, and in the course of three years, whilst that War lasted, in the many Actions, Battles, and Sieges he was in, lost very few of his Men. For this brave Service he was made Colonel, and admitted into the Body of the Gentry, but was soon after kill'd in *Moskou*.

I have not met yet any where Gentry who enjoy so great Liberties, as here, besides their own, they have all the Privileges of the Polish Nobility; who have free Votes in the Electoral Camp, for a new King of *Poland*; for it is not there as in other Dyets, where only the Deputies or Representatives of the Provinces have Suffrages; but in a King's Election, every Gentleman that belongs to *Poland*, or its Provinces, has a Vote.

A Nobleman is absolute Master of any Mines he finds in his own Grounds.

Constitu-
tio Ste-
phani Re-
gis, Anno
1570.

Constit.
tut. Anni
1588.

His House in Town or Country, is a Privileged Place, or *Asylum*, and any body that retires there cannot be taken out by force; yet they may Arrest him, and take him out by course of Law, that crimes may not go unpunished.

Constit.

An 1454
apud
Herbertum.

A Gentleman for a Crime cannot be seized nor imprisoned, or his Goods and Estate confiscated, unless he be first cited by Law and Convicted.

Constit.

An. 1569,
1576;
1587,
1588, &
1550.

Neither does any of his Peasants or Vassals, or Domesticks, pay Custom, Toll, or Tax, for any thing that belongs to them.

No Soldiers are permitted to be Quartered on their Estates.

Constit.

An. 1676.

The new Created Gentlemen, or *Novi Homines*, cannot come to any Dignity, or exercise Magistracy, till the third Generation, nor can they be employed in Ambassys, unless they have done very great and signal Services to the Republick, or are adopted by an ancient noble House into their Arms and Family.

Johan.
Herburt.
de Ful-
stein Sta-
tur Regni
Polon. p.
274. Tit.
Nobilitas.

No Foreigners may come to Preferments either in Church or State, neither Citizens, much less Natural Children of any Nobleman of the Land. Therefore 'tis the highest Injury, to call a Gentleman the Son of a Strumpet: The punishment of such a *latfus Linguae*, or slip of the Tongue, is 60 Marks Fine, besides this publick

The Fourteenth Letter.

publick Recantation or *Palinodia*: *Id quod locutus sum, mentitus sum sicut Canis.*

'Tis no small advantage for these Gentlemen to enjoy the above-mentioned Privileges of Poland, and many more, too tedious to relate, as if they were born Nobles among them. These Immunities and Honours several Foreigners of great Quality have been ambitious of, but few have succeeded in their Requests.

From *Muscovie* some have been adopted out of their *Knez* or Dukes, as *Oginiski*; *Polubinski*, &c. Vide *Saxoniæ* *Obol-ski Orb.* *Polon.*

From *Germany*, *Franciscus Hermannus*, Duke of *Saxony*. An. 1652. *Constit. ap. Harbert.*

From *Britany*, *Henry de Gordon*, Marquis of *Huntley*; who is the only Marquis in *Poland*. 1658.

Out of *Moldavia*, *Stephanus Petrus*; *Palatinus*; or Sovereign of *Moldavia*. 1676.

Out of *Dacia* or *Transylvania*, *Andreas* & *Balthasar Bathorei*. 1588.

Several *German* and *Bohemian* Counts and *Barons*, have also been adopted among the *Polish* Nobility, as Counts *Schaffgotch*, *Uchanski*, &c.

Out of the *Marquisate* of *Brandenburgh* these have been presented with it; *Otto Liber Baro de Schwerin*, *Johan. L. B. de Overbeck*; *Gregorius L. B. de Derfflin-gen*. *Constit.* 1658, & 1685.

Besides

The Fourteenth Letter.

Besides this, the *Curonian* Nobility have *Jus primogenituræ* given them, *per leges publicas*, which is for preservation of Families; also a peculiar Privilege, they call *Jus conjunctæ manus*, whereby in default of Males, they settle the Succession upon another Gentleman, though a Stranger, who pays to the Daughters of the Deceased, (if he leaves any) in Money, the Consideration of three parts of the Value of the whole Inheritance, and keeps the Fourth, which is entailed, and cannot be charged with any Debts *sub vitio nullitatis*, and this *Quarta* is allowed towards the Lustre of the Family.

Of the
Boors, or
Peasants in
Curonia.

They have *absolutum imperium* with the power of Life and Death over their Subjects or Peasants, yet they always in Criminal Cases, keep a Judiciary Court, inviting Judges or *Assessores Judicis*; and besides, there is a sort of Jury of their Equals. Those poor Wretches pay so much Respect to their Lords and Masters, that it comes near Adoration, which makes the Gentry not a little haughty, looking upon themselves to be born with a kind of Sovereignty, like the Noblemen of *Venice*, and therefore very seldom a Nobleman of *Curonia* can settle, or abide any where, or if he does, 'tis with much uneasiness; for here they are all upon level, therefore a Count, or a Baron, that is settled

ded among them, has no Precedency, or more Esteem, than another Gentleman, (that is to say, those who are allowed to be Gentlemen) by reason the Gentry here have the same Liberties and Priviledges as in other places, Counts, Marquesses, or Barons, and are of ancient noble Extraction, without Spot, or Blemish; besides, every thing is so cheap here, that they live in vast Plenty, being furnished with all Necessaries from their Vassals and Peasants almost for nothing, therefore they can at an easie Rate, maintain a great Equipage, and numerous Attendance.

They have *Jus Patronatus* & *Compatronatus* over their Churches, or Parishes; *Jus liberæ venationis*, to Hunt where they please, &c.

In case of a War, where they are sometimes engaged in regard of their Affinity with *Poland*; they can form a considerable Body of good Troops; they choose their own Colonels and Officers, but all are commanded by the Duke, and are not obliged to go further than their own Frontiers, unless the Duke would do it freely, to shew his Affection to the King and Republick, as Duke *Frederick* did 1605. in joining the *Polish* General *Chodkiewicz*, who was not much stronger than three thousand Men; but by this Union of the *Swedish* Forces, they defeated the whole *Swedish*

Piascius
& *Alii.*

Swedish Army, as I related before, but forgot to tell you, that King *Charles IX.* Father of *Gustavus Adolphus*, who commanded the *Swedish* Army, was forewarned by one of his old Colonels, not to let that black Cavalry get over the River, for Duke *Frederic* with the *Curonian* Nobility, were in black Armour, swimming over the River *Duna*, under *Kirkholm*, holding their Arms on high.

Duke *William* also went beyond the Borders, but with his own Troops, the Nobility not following, he took *Petxura* from the *Muscovites*, leaping from a high Tower into the place, with two Gentlemen of the Family of *Tisenhausen*, till the rest followed.

Duke *James* also, when he was yet a Prince, joyned King *Vladislans IV.* of *Poland* before *Smolensko*, with a Body of chosen Troops; that King made him encamp just next to his Tent, whereupon the *Muscovites* presently surrendered. These two famous Actions, as the Battle of *Kirkholm*, and the Siege of *Smolensko* were represented in two large *Tableaux*, or Pictures, and placed at *Warsaw*, in that Room which they call the Marble-Chamber, and where Foreign Ministers, usually meet, and Treat about Leagues and Alliances. The first Picture is there still; but as for the second, when the Ambassadors of *Muscovy* were

The Fourteenth Letter. 253

were to make their late Treaty with King John III. they made it one of their Preliminaries, to have that Picture given up to them, which was done, nor would they enter that Chamber, but rather Treat in another meaner Apartment.

'Tis the manner among them here, to Collect out of Chronicles, Tiltings, Tournaments and Annals, their ancient Histories, and very often we find odd and pleasant Relations in their Traditions: I'll only give you an Instance or two, and desire your Patience.

In the ancient Family of *Puttkamer*, which derives its self Originally from *Pomerania*, where they have built the Town of *Rugenwalde*, An. 1212. to which they have given Priviledges as Sovereigns thereof, and bear in their Scutcheon still the Arms of the old Dukes of *Pomerania*, 'tis related by many credible Authors, That one *Matthias Puttkamer*, Confessor to Duke *Baleslaus X.* of *Pomerania*, An. 1504. He after having said Mass in *Christmas* Night, fell asleep in his Cell, and continued so, till the 13th. Day, which is call'd the Twelfth Day, or three Kings, till being routed by force, he thought 'twas still *Christmas* Night, and was going to say his other two Masses according to the *Romish* Rituel. This Story is odd, and as credible as the History of the Seven Sleepers.

Vid. Joan. micrælum Marti. Rangonem Matt. Merianum in Topograph. Electorat. Brandenburg. Ducatus Pomeraniæ. &c.

I find

Varillas.
Fontenel.
& alii.

† Vid. Di-
alog. 6. de
morts an-
ciens avec
les moder-
nes, entre
Lucrece &
Berbe
Blomberg.

I find here another Story, which is cu-
rious enough; 'tis a secret Record that
has been left of a Lady, who lived in
the time of the Emperor *Charles V.* and
I should not mention it, but that I find
some *French* Authors have already done it
to my Hand. This Lady, out of a high
point of Generosity, and uncommon Ver-
tue, was willing to interpose in behalf of
the Reputation of a Queen and an Em-
peror, who were too nearly related to
have their Intrigue discovered, without
the highest Reflection on them both, and
consented, (her Name being *Barbara Blom-
berg*) to be made the pretence of the Em-
peror's frequent Visits; till after a time,
this unhappy Princess discovered her Con-
dition to the said *Barbara*, and beg'd her
Assistance to save her Honour, in owning
the Child (which was ready to be born)
to be her own, which she consented to,
with an unparalel'd Generosity, and pas-
sed for the Mother of the Child, who
was that famous *Don Jean* of *Austria*. This
was an Action so rare, surprizing, and
worthy of Applause, that some have pre-
ferred her to *Lucretia* † but Time yielded
her that Justice, which she denied her self,
and her Vertue was known, though it
can never be sufficiently admired,

This incomparable Woman was of the
Family of *Blomberg*, or *Blumberg*, who is

The Fourteenth Letter. 255

the Year 1237, in the Days of Chivalry and Croisades came into Livonia, together with the Counts of Danneberg and Lippe, and helped to conquer those Infidels: Their old Seat, Castle and Town of Blomberg, lieth in Westfalia, and belongs now to the Counts of Lippe, and another Seat in the Landgraviate of Baär, which the Counts of Furstemberg, in the Empire of the Blumbergian Line now possess. Another of the Places that belong'd to 'em, was in the Dutchy of Wirtemberg, near Mumpelyard, where stands the Castle of Florimont, or Blomberg.

The Ladies here, are much indebted to the Northern Climate for their fair Skins; they Dress according to the French way.

* Vid. Diplomatum Imperatoris Leopoldi, concessum huic familie, An. 1670. 15 Mens. Maii.

Delentq; pedum vestigia Cauda.

The Poles, Lithuanians, and other Neighbours, think themselves happy in Marrying a Wife from hence. As the Romans formerly coveted the Lacedemonian Ladies for their Vertues. The Custom of working with the Needle, and Spindle, and Weaving, for the Ladies of the greatest Quality, continues here, and has been always used among the most Renowned Nations, as Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans. It is remarkable, that this Custom lasted till

256 *The Fourteenth Letter.*

still among the *Roman Ladies*, even in a corrupted and luxurious Age. For *Augustus* commonly wore his Garments, made by the Empress his Wife, and the Princess's his Sisters and Daughters.

*Interea longum cantu solata laborem,
Arguto Conjux percurrit pectine telas.*

The Stoves which are used here, and in *Germany*, are very convenient in cold Countries, and prevents their being sensible of the sharp and long Frosts. They would be very useful in *England*, for few Coals will warm a great Room, that several can work in each part of the Room without feeling Cold.

*Hic focus & tædæ pingues, hic plurimus ignis.
Semper, & assidua pestes fuligine nigræ.*

These Stoves are made of Earth, and the Fire is kindled from abroad, so that when the Earth is season'd, it gives neither Smoak, nor ill Smell, and costs but little.

One peculiar Custom has been introduced in Honour of Matrimony all *Livonia* over, when it was joyned, and is still in vogue in *Curonia*, that the Ladies don't take their Rank, or Precedency from the Dignity of the Husband; but according to the Date of their Marriage, so that a
Woman

Woman, that is Married to a Captain, or Lieutenant, will go before a General's, Colonel's, or the first Minister's Lady, that has been Married later: It seems to have been introduced in those early Times, when the Land was yet unpeopled, to persuade Women to Marry, and this is *prægnans ratio*, and it is continued to shew and maintain Equality among the Gentry, whereby Ambition, the Root of so many Evils is cut off.

The Diversion the Gentry commonly have, is Hunting and Shooting, which is a kind of *Palæstra* to them; the Woods and Forests abound with Bears, Wolves, Elks, or Elends, Foxes, Lixes, Hares, Roe-Bucks, &c.

The Ladies and Gentlemen take great delight in the Winter to go out in their Sleds, which is a Recreation that pleases all Strangers.

I have seen them open the *Carnaval* with that Sport, in this manner:

First comes a great Sledge, or *Trainéau*, drawn by several Horses, with a dozen of Trumpets and Kettle-Drums founding, then follow the Courtiers with their Ladies two and two together, the *Cavalier* leads and drives one single Horse, sitting, or standing behind the Lady; though the Frost is hard, yet commonly they have

Sunshine and a clear Sky. I could almost wish you in *England* such a *Swedish*, or *Livonian* Winter, especially, if some time could be abated from its Duration, which made that ambitious King *Charles Gustave* (who was so much desirous of establishing a kind of Universal Monarchy in the North) to say, that if there were but one Month less of Winter, and another Month more of Summer, then he would not exchange his Kingdom for any better in the Universe.

The Sleds are very neat, and resemble all sorts of Shapes, as Swans, Doves, Dolphins, Shells, Lyons, Harts, Peacocks finely Gilt and Carved, with Devices, the Horses richly caparison'd full of Bells: The Nobility make their Court in appearing very sumptuously to attend their Prince, who often makes one in this Assembly with the Dutchess: The Ladies are adorn'd with rich Furs, and many Fineries; thus they take their Course up and down the Streets, sometimes 50, sometimes 60 Sleds: If it be Night, The Town is Illuminated, and every *Traineau* has several Flambeaux; when they think fit, they enter some Nobleman's, or Counsellor's House, where they find a warm Reception, with a handfom Collation, and then return to their *Traineaux* again:

The Fourteenth Letter. 259

again : Having made several Circuits, they re-conduct the Duke and Dutcheſs to the Caſtle, where there is commonly a Play acted, and a great Treat given to the Company, that laſts till the Day. There is once or twice a Week a Ball, Maſquerade, or a Wirtſchaft, with great Sump- tuſity, either in the Caſtle, or by ſome of the chief Men.

In Summer-time, the Dutcheſs out of Com- plaiſance to the Duke, whoſe Darling Paſ- ſion is Hunting, dreſſes her ſelf and Ladies as an Amazon, or *Diana*, and thus rides out to ſee the Sport. Fiſhing for another Day, and often playing at Cards. Her Highneſs alſo takes great delight to order and contrive fine Works for the Ladies of her Court, as Embrodery, Tapiftry, or ſome rich Furniture ; the Dutcheſs under- ſtands Muſick, and takes great delight to hear Conſorts of Muſick, and is a great encouraget of all Ingenious Paſtimes.

I don't know any Prince in *Germany*, that could live ſo happily as this Duke, if he pleaſes, having a brave, rich, ancient, and reſpectful Nobility under him ; large Demains, great Revenues, having the Be- nefit of the nearneſs of the Sea for Im- porting, and Exporting, which would much enrich him, if 'twas well manag'd. But Oeconomy is required in a Prince's Court,

as well as in a private Family, or all things will run into Confusion; *Et Abyssus Abyssum invocat.*

The Situation is such, that no Prince hereabouts will suffer him to fall under any other Power, but will rather maintain him, as it happens to *Hamborough*; for the Addition of *Curania* and *Semgallia*, with *Pilten*, to any Potentate, will make him presently endeavour the Mastery of the *Baltick* Sea. What he has to apprehend is from the King of *Sweden*; but the Republick of *Poland*, and especially the Elector of *Brandenburg*, who is not only nearly allied to him, but erects and encourages Trade himself in his own Ports, are powerful enough, to uphold and secure him.

But above all 'tis to be wished, that a good Understanding may continue between the Duke, and the Gentry, who are mighty jealous of their Liberties, and the vain apprehension that the Dukes did endeavour to make themselves Arbitrary, has wrought so far upon the Nobility of *Pilten*, that they did not so readily submit to the Dukes Government, as their own Interest and Security demanded. The first Dukes have govern'd with Authority, and very successfully, and no Factions, or Parties in the Land were heard of, for they would only

The Fourteenth Letter. 261

only employ People of known Integrity, true to their Government and the Countries good ; till that pernicious Maxim, to gain contradicting People, was brought in by giving them Ambts, or Bailwicks, Places and Gifts, which opened the Door to many Malecontents, and Opposers, on purpose to get Preferments, and has made the late Governments uneasy, and the Gentry unquiet. This way may have something of Nobleness in it, in doing good to ones Enemies, but is false Policy, and very detrimental in free Governments.

It was accounted an act of Policy in *France*, when King *Henry IV.* at his accession to the Crown, did not reward the Huguenots, who were his already, and therefore thought only to gain and oblige a new Party, being secure by so many Proofs, of the Faith and true Principles of his old Friends ; but his Case was different from that of other Princes ; and Queen *Elizabeth*, and the wisest as well as most fortunate of *English* Princes, would always lay aside those that had opposed them ; So that a Malecontent was discouraged, and sure never to have any Court Preferment.

I have now sent you the Particulars of *Curonia* and *Semgallia*, there remains still

262 *The Fourteenth Letter.*

to speak of *Pilten*, with an Account of the Jurisdiction, Councillors, and high Officers of the Duke ; but I shall refer it to my next, that I may not wear out your Patience with the length of my Letter, and so make that tedious and unpleasant to you, which I design for your Diversion. However, I hope you will be favourable in your Censure, and believe me to be,

Sir, &c.

LETTER

LETTER XV.

Of the Province of Pilten, formerly a Bishoprick in Curonia: Whence it had that Name. The Duke of Courland's Title to it, and his present Jurisdiction: The Pretensions of the Romish Bishops upon it. The Nobility thereof, and what great Immunities they enjoy, in partaking the same Privileges with the Gentry of Courland, and Semgallen. The Towns and Castles that belong to the Duke in Semgallia: Those appertaining to him in Courland and Pilten. The principal Rivers in his Dominions. The Limits of the Duke's Provinces. The Duke's Revenues uncertain. The Hospitality and Charity of the Curonian Gentry. The Courts of Judicature and Council of the Duke of Courland. Of the Duke's great Officers, Oberhauptmans and Starostas of the Landtags or Assemblies of the States there. Of the Original Natives of Livonia, or the People that are Slaves to their Masters. Some particulars of the great Ambassy from Moscou passing thro' Courland. Of the Livonian Language, resembles that of the

old Britains. Of the Soil, Product, Husbandry. And concludes with the Advantages of the North.

S I R,

ABOUT the year 1219, when King Woldemar of Denmark conquered the greatest part of the *Livonian* Provinces, he also subdued *Courland* or *Curonia*, and being zealous to convert these Infidels to the True Faith; erected a Bishoprick in these parts; and whilst the Danes were disagreeing about the place fit for a Castle (as the new Bishops Residence) their Commander bid them build it near the River *Windau*, just where the *Pilten* stands (which in old *Danish* signifies a Boy) and thence it hath the name of *Pilten*. A few years after, all *Livonia*, with the Bishop of *Curonia*, and the other Bishops in that Province, came to be Members of the *Roman Germanick* Empire, as I remark'd before, and is to be seen by the several *Recessus Imperii*, and many Concessions, Privileges, and Confirmations granted by the Emperours, not only to the Bishops, but to several of the Nobility and Gentry, inhabiting *Curonia*, and the Bishoprick of *Pilten*; and so it continued till 1559, when the last Bishop thereof, *Johannes a Monnighusen*, being in a great Consternation,

tion, by the *Muscovite* Inundations, sold his two Bishopricks, *Piltzen* and *Oesel*, to King *Frederick II.* in *Denmark*, who gave them to his Brother, Duke *Magnus* of *Holstein*, for his *Apanage*, as I have formerly mentioned in my Letters of *Livonia*. This Prince being a *Lutheran*, secularized this Bishoprick, and gave large Possessions and Gifts to the Nobility, and several of his deserving Friends or Servants, out of it; who by cultivating the Land, Peopling and Stocking it, and the Introduction of Trade, and other industrious Means, have rendered it, one of the most considerable and fertile Provinces in *Livonia*.

When *Godhard*, the last great Master of the *Teutonic* Order, submitted all *Lifland* to the Crown of *Poland*, it was stipulated that *Piltzen* should be joyned to the Dukedom of *Cowland*, by King *Sigismundus Augustus*, who expresses himself in these Terms, *Præterea inter cetera, & hoc inter nos & Illustritatem ejus convenit, ut premutatione Episcopatus Curonienfis, pro Sonnenburga Arce Illustrissimus Holstatiæ Dux Magnus contentetur, quam ad rem, nostram illi recipimus operam, ut cum reliqua Curonia Episcopatu quoq; Curonienfi Illustritas ejus potiatur.*

After the Death of Duke *Magnus*, which hapned 1583, Duke *Godhard* sent to the Nobility of *Piltzen*, to represent to them
the

the Equity, Necessity, and Interest they had to joyn with him, and that both the Kings of Poland, *Sigismund Augustus*, and *Stephanus*, had consented, that after Duke *Magnus's* Decease *Pilten* should immediately belong to Duke *Gothard*: That Duke *Magnus* himself in his life time had settled that Bishoprick, and bequeathed it to the young Prince of *Curland*, and that the Gentry of *Pilten* had also at that very time declared, that in case of their Duke's Death, they would not submit to any body but the said Duke of *Curland*: Besides, Cardinal *Radzivil*, sent at the same time, in the name of the King of Poland, to exhort them, that if they would not submit immediately to the Crown of Poland, they might do it to Duke *Gottbard*, who was a German Prince of their own Nation and Religion, and who would obtain the Confirmation thereof from Poland: Yet such was their Resolution, that they declared, the Right that had been in Duke *Magnus* was devolved to the Crown of *Denmark*, where they had already made their Addresses; whereupon Hostilities began between Polish and Piltish Troops, and King *Steuens* of Poland resolved to reduce them by force: The King of *Denmark* prepared also for a War, to maintain his Right; but they were both prevented by the Mediation of *George Frederick*, Marquis of *Brandenburgh*,

denburgh, and Duke of *Prussia*; whereby the Territory of *Piltten* was given up to the King of *Poland*, and since the Inhabitants thereof had for many years embraced the Confession of *Augsbourg*, the same Religion only was to be continued in it: But the King of *Poland* was to pay to the King of *Denmark* the Sum of 30000 Crowns; this Money was advanced by the said Marquiss of *Brandenbourg*, who had *Piltten* as a Mortgage for it; which afterwards was made over to the Dutcheſs of *Brandenbourg-Anſpach*, Siſter to Duke *Chriſtian* of *Lunenboarg* and *Brunſwig*, 1617. but a Nobleman of *Curland*, nam'd *Maydel*, redeem'd the Mortgage of this Dutcheſs, and had it confirm'd to him by the King of *Poland*; as a *Staroſta* of *Piltten*.

The Ducal Houſe of *Curland* ever ſince, has ſought to vindicate its Right and Pretentions to it, *via juris*; in the *Polish* Courts and Dyets of the Republick, and has obtain'd ſeveral favourable Decrees and Reſcripta: But ſome of the *Piltiſh* Nobility, very obſtinateſy refus'd to ſubmit to it; one party would depend immediately from the Crown of *Poland*, and were erecting their own Court of Judicature, from whence the Appeals ſhould go to the King of *Poland*; but thoſe of other Sentiments, would acknowledge the Duke's
Juris-

Jurisdiction, yet would tie up his hands so, and take off from his Prerogative, as to leave him only the Name of their Prince. This contest has lasted many years, and has cost the Dukes vast Sums, and been the occasion of endless Troubles. Whenever this District is threatned by Wars, or Invasions from abroad, or Quarters and Taxes from *Poland*, then they are willing to submit to the Duke, and desire his Protection.

In the War between *Poland* and *Sweden*, Anno 1656. the *Swedes* had taken Quarters in *Piltten*, as a Province of *Poland*. Duke *James* of *Curland* eas'd them of that Burthen, by paying a good Sum of Money to the *Swedes*, and made them partake of the benefit of Neutrality, which he then had stipulated for his other Dukedoms; but soon after the *Swedes* broke the Neutrality, and treated them all in a hostile manner; yet after the Peace was concluded, Anno 1660, the Gentry of *Piltten* did submit to the Duke, in a Treaty at *Grobin*, on mighty advantageous Terms, yet so that the King of *Poland's* Assent should be obtained. Baron *Maydell* kept the Town and Ambt of *Piltten*, the Duke redeemed the other Mortgaged Demains, and obtained the Jurisdiction over that whole Province, *per Constitutionem Regni Poloniae*, or by Act of Parliament: which
he

he exercises and maintains to this day: yet there passed many Explanations and Clauses, caused by some of the discontented Nobility; who were countenanc'd in it by the *Poles*, that were glad to keep the matter in suspence, which brought Money into their Pursses, and whereby they gave opportunity to the Clergy to play them a Popish Trick; for they unmasked themselves, and began to claim *Pilten* as a Bishoprick of the See of *Rome*, and therefore would have it reduced to its primitive Foundation.

By the Pope's Letters of Admonition, and the Jesuit's Factions, that part of *Lithuania* belonging to *Poland*, and *Pilten*, had a Bishop set over 'em, and by their importunity, there also was made a Constitution or Act of Parliament, wherein the Republick of *Poland* appointed a Commission to enquire into the matter in Dispute, and to refer it to the King's Determination; whereupon 1686, some of the Commissioners came to *Pilten*, and cited the Parties before them, but the Noblemen shewed themselves zealous and true Protestants, and protested against all their Proceedings, which they say were utterly against their Privileges, contrary to the Agreement between *Denmark* and *Poland*, and against the King's Confirmations

tions of their Liberties. Wherefore on this occasion they readily Voted to stand by the Duke, and would by no means consent to acknowledge the Validity of that Commission, but went away with the utmost dissatisfaction, leaving a Lieutenant Colonel in *Pilten*, with some Troops, to defend the Church from any Popish attempt.

The Commissioners nevertheless, tho' all Parties were retired, pronounced a Decree in Favour of the Bishop, leaving the Confirmation of it to the King, returned to their respective Habitations; having first threatned the *Landhofmeister Puttkamer*, and the *Oberhauptman, Blumberg*, as Authors of that vigorous Opposition, *vid. Kelch*

Altho the Bishop has got as favourable a Sentence as he could wish, yet nothing has been attempted in it hitherto; for King *John III.* to whose final Decision the Republick had referred it, kept only to the Terms of deliberating upon it, without confirming the Sentence during his Life.

The Dukes Pretensions are originally founded upon Justice, and the Gentrys Religion, Liberties, Estates and Privileges, have been confirmed by all the successive Kings, nor did *Poland* ever know *Pilten* as a Bishoprick, but as a District, or Secu-
lar

lar Province; yet they are sometimes so much influenced by the Jesuits and Court of Rome, as to threaten to bring them again under a Bishop's Power. 'Tis no wonder the Pope, with his Creatures, are so desirous of this Province; for if ever it should again be reduced under their Arbitrary Power, it would be as fat a Bishoprick as any is in Poland, or other Kingdoms. At present there is not one Polish Gentleman in it; but is inhabited by Noblemen of the Lutheran Perswasion. The Families here, in *Curland* and *Semgallen*, are so much united, and their Interest so inseparable, that they will always choose to stand and fall by one another.

The Gentry of this Province having lived in peace these many years, in so fruitful a Soyl, and in a manner of Independency, they have vastly enriched themselves. Baron *Maydell* of *Dondangen*, a Gentleman excellently qualified, is computed to be worth a Million of *Florins*, and has a Tract of Land above 50 English Miles, full of Vassals and Tenants, near the Sea-shore. The *Behrs* have the Castles of *Edwahlen*, *Schleck*, and many more Seats, and make a great Figure; so does Land-Marshal *Szoeg*, of the Family of *Mandevil*, at his fine Seat of *Kazdangen*; who has a plentiful Estate, as also *Blomberg* of *Dserwen*, and *Stroken*, and particularly that great

great and numerous Family of *Sacken* or *Osten*, who have many fine Seats and Castles, as *Sackenhufen*, *Virginal*, *Babten Apricken*, &c.

The Proximity of the Sea, is a mighty advantage to them, from whose Scituation they export great store of the Product of their Lands, and principally Corn in great abundance, which is excellent, and much coveted by the industrious *Hollanders*, who fetch it every year with their Ships, and pay ready Money for it.

The Duke is still in Possession of this Province, and exercises the Juridical Court by an *Oberhauptman*, or chief Magistrate, over the Nobility and Burghers, where they must appear in all Judicatory Proceedings, as well as other Cases, and it is called *Judicium primæ Instantiæ*; from this Court they Appeal to the Duke. The present *Oberhauptman* is a *Blomberg*; a Person highly esteemed for his Learning, Piety, and Integrity, and has a great Deference and Respect paid him, as formerly his Ancestors, *Otto* and *Henry de Blomberg*, were honoured with, whose Names and Arms we find amongst those of the higher Nobility (*Die Herren Standspersonen*) at the Council of *Constance*, Anno Christi 1414.

The Nobility of *Curonia*, *Semgallia*, and *Piltten*, are the same; their Estates, Lands, and

and Families, are intermixed by continual Alliances; and therefore my account, must also be promiscuously understood as of one and the same Nation. They are all much inclined to Hospitality, and there being very slender provision made for a Traveller, in the Publick Inns, any Body may go to a Nobleman's House, where they are received and civilly treated for several days, without any other acknowledgment than that of Thanks. I happen'd to Travel with some Company in the Country, in their Sleds, and had the misfortune to bait in an Inn, where there was nothing to be had: Wherefore we sent to a Gentleman's House, to intreat some Provision for our Money, it belonged to one Baron *Taubc*: he presently sent a Servant, and generously invited us home; which we excusing, in an instant we were presented with 5 or 6 Dishes of hot Meat, Wine, Brandy, and strong Drink, for us and our Servants, and with Forrage for our Horses; and when we offered the Person that brought it Money, he refused it, saying, his Master had given him orders to the contrary, and we were all utter strangers to this Gentleman.

The true marks *Tacitus* gives of the Ancient Germans, you find yet in these Gentlemen here remaining. *Convictibus & Hospitiis non alta gens effusius indulget: Quemcumque mortalium arcere recto nefas habetur, pro fortuna quisq; apparatus epulis excipit.*

274 The Fifteenth Letter.

De Moribus German. c. 21. Seq. *Cum defecere, qui modo hospes fuerat, moderator Hospitii & Comes proximam domum non invitati adeunt. Nec interest pari humanitate excipiunt, notum ignotumq; quantum ad jus Hospitii nemo disternit, &c.*

No Nation delights more in Feasting and Hospitality, than this: 'tis reckoned next to a crime among them, to deny the benefit of their House to any body whatsoever. Every one makes much of his Guest, and entertains him according to his Ability, and when all the Provision is spent, the Landlord carries him along with him to his Neighbours House, where they are received and treated in the same friendly manner, tho they came uninvited; nor is there any distinction made between Acquaintance or Strangers, they are equally welcome, &c. and a little after, *Die noctemq; continuare potando, nulli probum.* To spend day and Night in Drinking, is a reproach to none.

The Swedish Goths indulged themselves formerly with the same freedom of Living, and Charles II. King of Sweden, when (in his time) the usual Hospitality began to decay, thought himself obliged to Enact a Law whereby it was ordered, that the House which a Stranger should three times be deny'd the use of, after his request to be entertain'd in it, should be burn'd.

One ill Custom prevails yet with them, that is Duelling, which commonly arises by their Quarrels, at their frequent Feasts, and

Johannes Magnus, lib. 4. Hist. Suec. Goth. cap. 1. & 2.

d from immoderate Drinking, whence
ey fight, and very often kill one ano-
er: 'Tis not always done in the first
at of passion, but the next day, or some
ne after, deliberately, with several For-
alities, either on Horseback or on Foot,
Pistols or Sword; he that refuses a
hallenge is look'd upon as a degenerate
d unworthy Person, and he that gives
s Adversary his Death's wound, must
ake the best of his way out of the Land,
ll he can get his Pardon, for in *recenti*
imite they are Imprisoned; and if con-
cted by the Laws, they lose their Heads;
o they seldom suffer; notwithstanding
any are kill'd in such Quarrels.

*The Towns and Castles that belong to the
Duke of Sengallia, are*

M*ittau*, the chief Town of that Dutchy,
and the Residence, as well as the
burial-place of the Dukes; it's a large
well-peopled City; the Houses some of
brick, some of Timber, and some of mix'd
Materials; the Streets have hitherto been
inpaved, for it lieth low, and has had no
stone Quarries found near it, till this year
or two, wherewith they begin to build
the Town *à la Moderne*, and to pave it.
It has been Fortified with as many Bul-
warks as *Groningen* in *Holland*; but in the
Swedish Wars it has been much ruined.
The Castle lieth upon the River *Aa*, that
has a deep Channel, which might carry
Ships, if those of *Riga* did not think it
their

276. *The Fourteenth Letter.*

their interest to oppose it: Wherefore they have choak'd up the mouth of this River. It falls into the *Duna* by *Dunamünder Ebene*. The Castle is pretty strong, and built *l'Antique*, and there is kept a good Garrison in it. The Duke designs and beginning to build, a fine new Palace there. He hath several fine Country Houses for his Diversion about the Town, as *Wanzau*, *Brandenburgh*, *Ekoffchen*, &c.

Bauske, is another strong Castle upon Rock, with a Town near it, on the River *Mussa*. This Fortress was taken by King *Gustavus Adolphus* himself; for a *Hauptman Buttlar*, whose Preference to a Civil Office, refus'd the surrender of it, and tho he was no Soldier of Profession yet defended it bravely, and was kill'd in the Storm, when it was carry'd by the glorious King. Besides there are the Castles of *Selbourg* and *Doblen*.

The Towns and Castles of the Dukes in Curland or Curonia.

Goldingen, the chief Town in it, hath a very fine Castle, 'twas one of the Hanse Towns, and lieth at the River *Windau*, as does the Castle *Schruuden*. *Windau* and *Libau*, two goodly Sea-port Towns. *Windau* lieth at the mouth of the River of the same name, and has a Castle: Here and in *Libau*, the Duke has his Ships built, his Country abounding with all Necessaries for *Libau* drives the greatest Trade in the Duke's Territories, its situation is most advan

advantageous than the rest, it has a good load, and the Harbour might easily, with some cost, be made convenient. Had the *altick* a Tide, which would constantly owre the Banks and growing Beaches, would be very commodious.

Angermunde, lieth in a Bay of the *Baltick*, between *Riga* and *Windau*. There are also several inland Burroughs and Castles, as *Frauenbourg*, *Candau*, *Grobin*, *Darben*, *Zabeln*, *Tuckumb*, *Talsen*, &c.

Some of the Nobility have their own Castles, as *Baron Puttkamer*, the Castle of *Nersten*, belonging formerly to the Family of *Plettenberg*. *Reck*, the Castle of *Frauenbourg*. *Grothaus*, the Castle of *Rundsdahl*. *Sacken*, the Castle of *Kerkling*. The *Swerins*, the Castle of *Alswangén*. *Firks*, the Castle of *Nurmus*. *Nolden*, the Castle of *Wirgen*, and many more, where they live like little Sovereigns.

The Principal Rivers are,

THE *Dubna* (or *Rubon*, by *Ptol.*) where of one half determines the Limits between *Sweden* and *Semgallia*, it falls into the *Baltick* two Leagues below *Riga*.

It passes by *Mittau*, and falls into the *Dubna*. *Windau*, takes its rise in *Samogitia*, and falls into the *Baltick* under the Town *Windau*. *Abou*, *Berse*, *Bartau*, *Mussa*, *Anger*, &c.

The Towns and Burroughs are inhabited by true *Germans* of the inferiour sort, they have their own Magistrate and Privileges from the Dukes, according to *Jus*

Magdobicum; some of them live in the Country, where they have Fiefs or Lands of the Duke, and are called his *Vassals*, or *Lehnsteute*; being obliged to appear in Arms, in case of necessity, and form a peculiar Body, under the Command of Officers appointed by the Duke.

By the assistance of the above-named Burrough of *Zabeln*, the *Curonians* have in the former Age, once defeated the *Muscovites*, wherein a Courish Peasant has taken a Duke of *Russia* Prisoner: The great heaps of Earth call'd *Tumul*, shew that there has been in that place a Battle fought, and the Heirs of that Peasant, or Country-Clown, shew at this very time the Bonet of that Prince, and one of his Spurs. The Bonet is in a shape of a *Flora*, or Bishops-Hat, and one may see the place where there have been several rows of large Pearls set in it; there still remain some rows of the smaller sort of Pearl upon it. The Spur is large, enamel'd with green. The Peasant has been made Free, with his Posterity, for this Action, and rewarded with a considerable Farm. 'Tis probable, that the Borough *Zabeln* was then built, and had its name from those rich Furs which they call *Zabels*, which was part of the booty they gained by the *Muscovites* Defeat. Those Peasants relate also, that the *Muscovites* made an Incurfion as far as *Hasenpott* in *Pilten*, where they were struck with a kind of Blindness; if so, it was

'twas no great difficulty to kill them. It often happens in Winter, Flakes of Snow beat with such violence (if the wind is high) in the faces of those who march against it, that it brings an easie Victory to the other party. This is not Recorded in History, but is delivered down to us by constant Tradition: yet there must be something of Truth in it, because that great Tyrant *Iwan Baslides*, when he over-ran *Livania*, in a barbarous manner, as I mentioned, yet would he never attack *Courland*, calling it *Gotteslandchen*, or *God's little Land*, and all his Successors in their Wars allowed freely a Neutrality to the Dukes, and kept it very strictly.

He might well call this Land little, in comparison of his own vast and unmeasurable Provinces, that reach from near the *Baltick* to *China*, and are composed of above 30 Nations, almost unknown to us. The little figure that some States make abroad, is often their best security, like obscurity to private Men, *bene qui latuit, bene vixit*. How many Commonwealths of old, and Cities now had stood, if they had made less noise, and kept quietly within themselves, only to their own Principles, *Ut nec facta audita forent Pelopidarum*,

Cowley.

'Tis otherwise with a powerful Nation that stands upon its own bottom, and depends upon its own Native Force, it ought not only to look their envious Neighbours in the Face, but should

if possible, look them out of Consternation; whereas a smaller State, tho' preserved by Privileges and Laws, is too weakly defended against the Snares and ambitious Designs of their more potent Neighbours.

*Dulcis inexpertis Cultura potentis Amittit
Expertus metuit ---*

The Limits of this little Tract of Land, comprehending *Curonia*, *Semgallia*, and *Districtus Piltensis*, are in length above 60 German Leagues, computing 5 English Miles to each League, and the breadth of it is different, in some places above 30 German Leagues, in some not above 10 or 12.

Almost two thirds of all the Lands belong to the Duke, and make up his *Demeines*, which are divided into many *Ambts* or *Ballages*, some of them are farmed for 10000, some 12000 Crowns per An. some less: I believe there are above 60 of them: The Revenues thereof cannot be exactly discovered, for they rise and fall; and many of them are mortgaged to the Nobility: Yet you may guess by Duke James's having kept so many Ships, and extending his Conquests to *Africa* and *America*, where he built and kept considerable Forts and Garisons, as *Gambia* in *Africa*, which in that unfortunate Swedish War, was seized by the English, under pretence, that if any other but the English Nation should be Master of it, 'twould hurt their Trade, yet King Charles II. left that Duke liberty to Trade thither, and some *Echelles* or *Factories*

Tobago

Tobago in America, he possesses, under the protection of the Crown of *England*; and altho vast Expences and many endeavours have been made to settle in it, yet by reason of distance, loss of time, and mis-managements, it has been hitherto to no purpose, and it seems the Application to Augment the Revenues of his own Lands at home, has profited the present Duke much more; for since he has applied himself to the improvement of them, he has done it effectually, to the great increase of his Revenue.

Those *Ambts* or *Demaines*, are managed by Gentlemen, and are commonly a recompence for long Services, and they always raise themselves by the Stewardship of 'em, as it is a common thing every where to grow rich at the expence of their Master.

Here one may see the different Effects between a Free and Arbitrary Government; whilst *Swedish Livonia* was left by their Privileges and Liberties the Land flourished, the Nobility was rich, the ground well cultivated, and the Villages inhabited; but as soon as the deceased King was declared Sovereign, without Limitation, and was prevailed upon by bad Councillors (who would insinuate themselves into his favour by flattery, and build their fortunes on the Ruins of the true antient Nobles) to seize, under several pretences, the Noblemen and Gentries Lands, and to reduce them to the Crown, by Self-Interested Commissioners, that Country is in a manner desolate: For where-

whereas the Gentry used to mind Oeconomy, and to maintain their Boors, they being now ruined by this seizure, their Estates were let or farmed, for a great part, to *Partizans*, and all sorts of Leeches, who like true Cormorants, Blood-suckers, and Harpys, squeez'd all they could out of the poor People, had no care of their Stocks, and were only for present profit; besides there hap'ning lately several years of scarcity and Famine, and no body taking care to support the Farmers, or manage the Ground, the People laboured under the most deplorable Want. Whereas in these Provinces belonging to the Duke, all things have the face of Plenty. The Gentry are able and very careful to maintain their Peasants, and keep them strictly occupied in matters of Husbandry; if they have not sufficient Provision, they furnish them with Seed for their Ground, and stock them with Cattle, and all Necessaries for their Sustainance; so that all live comfortably, notwithstanding they are Slaves to their Landlords.

Boni pastoris est, tondere pecus non desubere.

This must be said in praise of the Inhabitants of *Curonia*, that they are generally very Charitable: I have seen whole droves of poor neighbouring People passing thro' the Country from North *Livonia*, begging Bread, and they have been readily relieved here; I am told, that a great many of them, that lie near *Moskou* are gone thither; they shew'd me Bread made in *Swedish*
Lifland.

Listland of Bark of Trees, for the *Boors*, that no Dog ready to perish for Hunger would eat, and I am assured, that a multitude of Parishes are deserted, and some thousands of People have been destroy'd there by Famine, though the King of *Sweden* being made sensible thereof, did make some Distributions of Corn, and Charities among them, yet it came not soon enough, and the small quantity did them little good.

The Courts of Judicatory, and Counsel of the Duke of Courland.

THE Administration of Justice consists either in Ecclesiastical, Civil, or Criminal Cases. In the first, the Duke is himself *Supremas Episcopus*, or supream Head of the Church, and when he keeps this Court, which is call'd *Judicium Ducale Consistoriale*, there sit some of his supream Councillors, as also the Superintendents, and some *Præpositi*, or *Seniores* of the Clergy, with him in it; and from this Court there is no Appeal to the King, *etiam in causa nobilium*.

In Civil Matters, are the *Oberhauptmans*, or supream Starostas, *Judices primæ Instantiæ*, or the first Judges, as also the *Hauptmans*, or Starostas, when a Gentleman complains of a Citizen, or one Citizen of another; from this inferiour Court they may appeal to the Dukes *Judicium Aulicum*, wherein the Duke himself presides, and has his four supream Councillors, as his

his *Assessores*, and besides two Counsellors of State sitting with him; from this Court a Gentleman only may appeal to the King of *Poland*, when the Sum exceeds five hundred Florins; but the Citizens have not this benefit of Appeal allow'd them.

In Criminal Cases the said four supreme Counsellors, and four supreme Starostas, or Oberhauptmans with the two Counsellors of State, are the Judges, wherein only Cases of Appeal, between the Nobility, or a Citizen against a Nobleman, are determin'd; and from this Court no Appeals are allow'd in *publicis delictis*; or publick Crimes, that are expressed in their Law, or Statute-Books, but in other Cases they may appeal to the King in *causa appellabilis*.

The Hauptmans or Starostas have also their Criminal Court over the Citizens that belong to their *Forum*, or Court.

In *puncto spoliis*, or violent Ejection, when the Actor, or Plaintiff proves it, and his former Possession, no benefit of Appeal is allowed to the *Spoliator*, and which is remarkable, there is but one single Judge, *viz.* the Oberhauptman of that District, who may alone, without *Assessores*, or Associate Judges, examine, or determine it, and this is enacted in *odium spoliis*, nor is there in any Appeal allowed from his Sentence.

Under every Oberhauptman there is an Executor of Justice, call'd *Manrichter*, who in Civil Cases, especially in *puncto liquidi debiti*, levies the Debt, or Demand, by way of Distress.

The

The Forms of Government and Jurisdiction in *Pilten* differ in some things from the *Curonian* Method. There is one Oberhauptman, residing and keeping his Court of Justice in *Hasenpot*, with his *Assessores*, who must be Nobles, from him the Appeals go to the Duke, who sits with the Landraths of *Pilten*, or Counsellors of State, to determine Causes, *Salva Appellatione ad Regem*.

The Laws in these Provinces are short, plain and easie, and most of the Gentry plead themselves; I don't believe there are above six or seven Lawyers, or Advocates in it, that can live by their Practice. They don't love to make themselves a Prey to Lawyers, and I have observed, that there is a Combination of true Hearted excellent Men, that as soon they perceive a Fire breaking out between Neighbours or Friends, they vigorously and successfully for the most part compose and quench it by fair Means, I must name two of them, whom I have known, one *Landrath Szoeg*, the other *Derschau*, an ingenious Man, and others.

— *Aversos soliti componere Amicos.*

And if this won't do, then the Parties often choose to determine their Differences by a Duel, (which they call the way of Honour) rather than by Law; but against this the Duke and the Landtags have enacted wholesome Laws, and 'tis hop'd will effectually prevent the fatal Consequences of it.

The

The Duke has all his great Officers like other Sovereign Princes, the chief of which are the Four Supreme Counsellors or **Vide Mi- Oberats.** 1. The *Landhoffmeister*, who **crælium** is at present Baron *Puttkamer*, who **Meria-** derives his Pedigree from a very ancient **num, Ran-** noble Family in *Pomerania*, where they **gonem &** have been great Lords under the Name of **alios.** *Palatini totius Pomeraniæ, & Domini Terrarum Tuchliæ, Rugenwaldiæ & Slaviniæ.* This prime Minister is a Man of very extraordinary Accomplishments, and of great and profound Learning in all Sciences; in his Youth he has studied in the University of *Oxford*, and by his great Genius for all things, has advanced himself to be chief Minister of State in his own Country; though of a different Religion from that established by the Law of the Land, he being of that Perswasion they call *Cabralists*, or Reformed; he is also blest with a great Estate, having no less than 10 or 12 thousand Crowns per An. Revenue, which is as good as so many Pounds in *England*.

2. The second Oberrat is the Chancellor, a Nobleman, call'd *Brakell*, a very civil, obliging, and eloquent Person.

3. Is the supreme Burgrave, or Oberburggraff, call'd *Brinck*, a Man of no common Merits, well versed in the Laws of the Land, in whom the Duke confides much, and whom he has raised to a considerable fortune.

4. Is the Land-Marshal, or supreme Marshal *Szoeg* of that Noble and old Family

* A certain English Roman Priest, who calls himself Guilielmus Fel-le Doctore Domini-canus, hath Dedicated to this Baron Puttkamer, a Book, wherein he calls him justly, Compendium ingeniorum, & in istis Septentrionalibus partibus

mily of the *Mandevils* in *Pomerania*, he is both Learned and Polite, having had all the advantage of Education, has travell'd and seen the World in these more refined Times, and deserves the Esteem, His Prince and Country have of his Ability, but having a great Estate of his own, he is now quitting his publick Employments to retire thither.

Besides these Oberrats, there are five Oberhauptmans, or supreme Starostas, two in *Curonia*, for *Goldingen*, and for *Tuckumb*; the other two in *Semgallia*, for *Selbourg* and for *Mittau*.

The fifth Oberhauptman is of *Pilten*, where there are several Landrats or Counsellors of State.

The Oberhauptmans keep their Juridical Courts with their Assessores, who must be Gentlemen, in the Noblemens Civil, and the Burghers Criminal Causes, *Salva appellatione ad Principem*.

Moreover, there are eight Hauptmans, or Starostas in both the Duchies, at *Bauske*, *Doblen*, *Frauenbourg*, *Candan*, *Schrun-den*, *Durben*, *Grobin*, and *Windau*. These have Jurisdiction over the Dukes Vassals, either Citizens or Boors, in their several precincts, and may Sentence them in Criminal as well as Civil Causes.

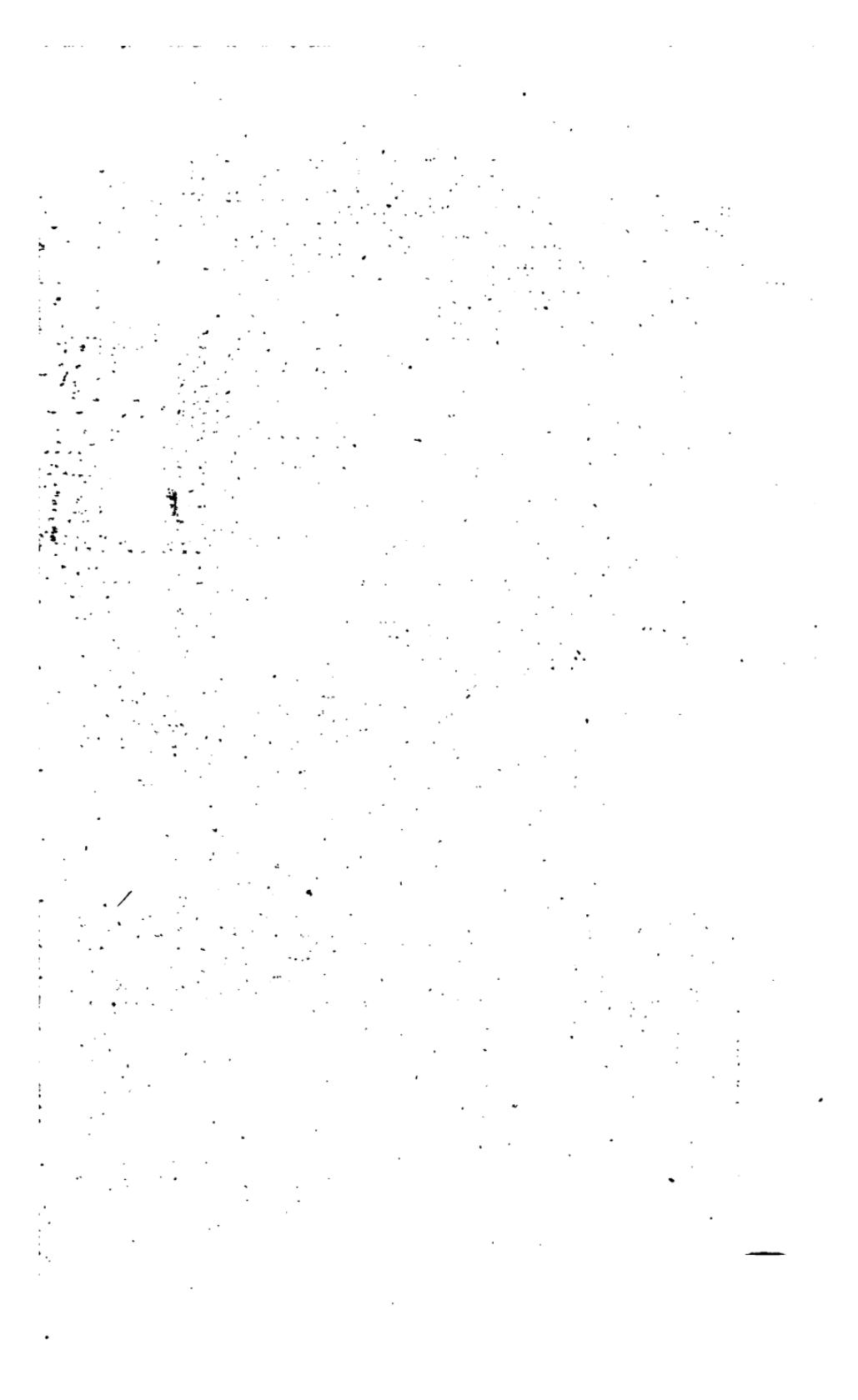
There is one Hauptman more of *Neuhausen* in *districtu Piltensi*. They all are, and ought to be Noble, Natives, and Landed Men.

These

These Starostas or Hauptmen are taken from the Gentry, the Oberhauptmans from the Hauptmens, and the supream Counsellors of Oberrats from the Oberhauptmans; yet so, as the Duke may choose a Chancellor, whom he pleases out of the Nobility, that is qualified for that Post. All these Places are for Lives.

As often as the Urgencies of State require, the Duke sends out his Letters of Summons to the Starostas and Oberhauptmans, together with the *Deliberatoria*, or Points, proposed to be debated on in their Assemblies, requiring them to cause Deputies or Representatives of the Gentry to be elected in their respective Jurisdictions against a certain fix'd Day; whereupon the Gentry meet in their several Precincts, where they elect, and instruct fit Persons, prescribing them, what they are to do, in like manner as in *Poland*. They afterwards meet at *Mittau*, where they choose their Speaker, or Marshal, and consult in *Commune* with the Dukes four supream Councillors, about the good of the Publick; neither Taxes can be raised, nor new Laws made, nor old ones interpreted without a mutual and unanimous Agreement in this their Meeting, which they call *Landtag*.

The Landtags of the Nobility of *Piltzen* are kept asunder, in *Goldingen*, where the *Ducal Piltish Landrats* consult with their Deputies.





FRIDERICUS WILHELMUS

*in Livonia Curlandia et Semigallia
Dux natus 1692.*

*In teneris qui magna sapit, si passibus
Procedat, minimo tempore quantus erit?*

*quis
1718*

Letter XVI.

Of the Duke of Courland's decease, and the Succession of his only Prince. Of the Elector of Brandenburg's greatness. Of Prussia, its Limits and Name. Division of Royal and Ducal Prussia. The Antiquity of Prussia. The grant of it by the Emperor to the Teutonick Order. The Ancient Kings thereof. The Nobility in it. Of an Inquisition formerly in Germany and Prussia. University in Konisberg. Of Copernicus the great Mathematician. The Electrides of the Ancients are said to be Prussia & Curoonia. Sterling in England comes from Easterlings or Prussians.

S I R,

I Am now arrived at the *Hague*, after having made a Tour through several German Courts; and since your Complaisance and Friendship leads you to tell me, you Interest your self in whatever concerns me, and desire to hear the particular occurrences of my Journey,

U

I

290 *The Sixteenth Letter.*

I have therefore sent you the following Account.

The Duke of *Courland* dyed 22 *Jan*, 1698. and is succeeded by his only Son and Heir *Frederick William* the present Duke, who is under six years of age, and the Supreme Councillors, or *Ober-rats*, have taken the Regency upon them, during his minority, according to the fundamental Laws of the Land.

* *Ex formula Regiminis,*

Anni, 1617. § 4. Principem & abesse a Ducatu vel infirmum esse, vel etiam mori contigerit, Praefati Consilii Jurisdictionem & judicia exercebunt, Mandata & Sententias, aliaq; omnia administrationis Munia Principis hominis, quamdiu in vivis erit, expediant, ac promulgabunt. Atq; haec Jurisdictio eorum etiam mortuo Principe indivisa, atq; in Solidum censeri debet, ut uno pluribq; eorum defunctis, reliqui munere suo plene fungantur, jure tamen Sacrae Regiae Majestatis & Reipub. personis & in omnibus Salvo.

The Dutchess remain'd in an insupportable affliction, and such deep impressions did her grief make, that her life was almost despaired of. The Elector of *Brandenburg* her Brother, understanding this her excess of sorrow, sent an Envoy *Mons. Princen*, a very accomplished and eloquent person, who endeavoured to comfort her, by giving her mighty assurances of his Masters entire Love and Affection to her, and that he would on all occasions shew his tender Concern for her Highness and the young Duke, in maintaining and supporting their Interest as he would his own.

The Sixteenth Letter. 291

Baron *Blomberg* was appointed Envoy to go to several *German* Princes, as well as other Courts, by the Dutchess *Dowager*, and the Regency in the young Duke's name, to give notice of the late Duke's decease, and to desire the continuance of their friendship. We prepared to leave *Mittau*, where the face of all things was so very mournful, that the thoughts of leaving it was a kind of refreshment. f

Having left *Mittau* about the end of *April* 1698, we set forward for *Konigsberg*, where the Elector of *Brandenburg* then was, though most of his Court was at *Berlin*; for He came thither by way of retirement. (He has a fancy for this Town, it being the place of his Birth.) Nevertheless he appeared with great Splendour and Magnificence. The Audience being performed with usual solemnities, and a particular kind reception, as coming from his beloved Sister. We made haste to continue our Journey; the Elector giving order we should be furnished with Carriages and conveniences throughout his Territories.

The Elector is a very powerful Prince, not inferiour to some Kings: He has a great and Royal Soul, and is a Father to his people; the meanest of his Subjects may have easie access to him, and

292 *The Sixteenth Letter.*

liberty to offer their complaints. 'Tis part of the happiness of his Subjects, that he loves Magnificence, whereby the Money circulates, which contributes to the enriching of his people. He does by all means encourage Trade; and 'tis likely, that in a short time you will see a great part of the *Baltick* Trade brought to *Pillau* and *Konigsberg*.

His profound Judgment is evident in the choice of his Ministers, who are very Wise and Able Statesmen, fit for a Prince that would be great and happy. He was accompanied with one of his Brethren, Prince *Christian Louis*, which is the youngest of them, and with a few of his Privy Council. The Baron *Colb. de Wartenberg* highly possesses his Master's favour, he is a Man of Birth, and excellent Wit and Judgment. The *Her Fuchs* a man of Polite Learning, Florid Speech, and a very understanding Politician; besides several others who are very eminent.

His Electoral Highness hath a vast extent of Dominion, reaching from *Memel* (which was formerly a part of *Lithonia*) to *Cleves*, which lyes upon *Holland* and the adjacent Countries.

His Troops are all brave well chosen men, and esteem'd next to the Emperors Veteran Troops: He now maintains 30 or 40 thousand men. The

The Sixteenth Letter. 293

The late Elector, that Great *Frederic William*, who was the first that did invite, relieve and establish, not only in *Prussia*, but all over his Dominions, those that were persecuted, and did fly for their Religion out of *France*, where many families are settled, live comfortably, and advance Traffic and Manufactures, to the welfare of those lands, without prejudice to the other Electoral Subjects. This present Elector has not only followed herein the steps of his Glorious Father, but extended his Charity further to those that seek his Protection and generous Assistance from the *Palatinate*, on the same account.

That eminent and famous Minister *Æsch. Spanheimus*, in his large and learned Treatise on the Emperor *Julian*, most deservedly exalting his Prince's Actions, smilhes his Address thus. *Alia Ina decora jam amittq, que Te potentia, Viribus, provinciarum amplitudine, Regibus parem; dignitate proximum; animo, Virtute, fide, multis superiorem, certatim ambiunt.*

We then travell'd through *Prussia* in our way to *Berlin*; but I must not leave this Country, without giving you some account of it.

Prussia is one of the most fertile, populous, rich and considerable Countreys

of Europe, and produces every thing that is profitable or useful to Mankind. *Sebast. Munsterus* in his *Cosmography*, makes this high-flown Elogy of it; that if *Jupiter* should chance to fall from the Sky (at which time we must suppose him to have drunk large draughts of Nectar) he could not happily fall into a better Country.

It is extended along the *Baltick* Shoar Northwards, till it meets with *Samogitia*, which cuts it off from *Curland*; to the East 'tis bordered by *Lithuania*; to the South by the *Polish* Provinces *Masovia* and *Pollachia*; to the West by *Cassalia*, *Pomerellia* and *Cojavia*, other *Polish* Territories; its length from South to North, beginning at the City of *Thorn*, to *Madmel* a Town and Fortress on the *Caronian* Lake, or rather three Leagues beyond it, to a Village called *Nimurske*, where *Samogitia* intervenes, is reckoned 55 *German* Leagues; the breadth from the *Baltick* to *Lithuania*, or *Masovia* consists of 24 Leagues, reckoning 15 leag. to a degree.

Prussia is now divided between the Crown of *Poland*, and the Elector of *Brandenbourg*: *Danzig*, *Thorn*, *Elbing*, *Mariembourg* and *Culm*, are the most considerable Towns belonging to the former; as also several other Provinces, and the fat Bishoprick of *Warmita*. But *Königsberg* or *Regiomontum*, a mighty large

The Sixteenth Letter. 295

large trading City, *Bartenstein, Tilsa, Inster-*
bourg, Rastembourg, Brandenbourg, Memmel,
Paffenheim, Pillau, Fridland, Heiligenbeil,
Holland, Ragmit, Tapiau, Labiau, Welau,
Marienwerder, and many more to the
 latter; I find that in the time of the
Marian ¹ *Tentonick* Order, there were
 then in *Prussia* 72 Castles and Fortresses,
 besides 62 wall'd Towns.

The Ancient *Prussians* being Heathens,
 were very troublesome and destructive to
 the Province of *Conradus*, Duke of *Ma-*
sovie; who hearing of the bravery and
 growing fame of the *Marian Tentonick*
 Order, under their Master *Hermannus a*
Saltza, desired them to come to his
 assistance, promising him a fine tract of
 Land, *Culme* and *Lobau*, besides what
 they could conquer from the *Prussians*,
 who thereupon advised with the Pope,
 Emperor and several Princes of the
 Empire, and the Knights of his Order,
 who were willing to engage in it; but
 desired a grant from the Emperor *Fre-*
doric II who gave them a *Diploma*, 1226.
 wherein are these words among others,

Proposuit coram nobis, quod devotus
Noster Conradus Dux Masovia & Cujavia
promisit, & obtulit ei providere, & fratri-
bus suis de terra, que vocatur Culmen, &
in alia terra inter Marchiam suam videlicet
& consinia Pruthenorum, ita quidem, ut

296 *The Sixteenth Letter.*

laborem assumerent, & insisterent. opportum
 ad ingrediendum & obtinendum terram
 Prussiae ad honorem & gloriam veri Dei,
 quam Promissionem recepisse distulerat, &
 Celsitudinem nostram suppliciter implorabat,
 quod si dignaremur annuere votis suis, ut
 auctoritate Nostra fretus inciperet aggredi
 & prosequi tantum Opus, & ut nostra sibi
 & Domui suae concederet, & confirmaret
 Serenitas, tum terram, quam praedictus Dux
 donare debebat, quam totam terram, quae
 in partibus Prussiae per eorum instantiam
 fuerat acquisita & insuper domum suam
 immunitatibus libertatibus & aliis concessi-
 onibus quas de dono terrae Dnis. praefati &
 de Prussiae conquestione petebat, nostrae ma-
 nificentiae privilegia maneremus ipse oblatum
 domum dicti ducis reciperet & ad ingressum
 & conquestionem terrae continuis, & inde-
 fessis laboribus bona domus exponeret & per-
 sonas: Nos igitur attendentes promptam
 & expositam devotionem ejusdem Magistri,
 qua pro terra ipsa suae domui acquirenda
 ferventer in Domino estuabat, & quod
 terra ipsa sub Monarchia imperii est conten-
 ta: confidentes quoque de prudentia Magistri,
 ejusdem, quod homo sit potens Opere &
 Sermone, & per suam suorumque fratrum in-
 stantiam potenter incipiet & conquestionem
 terrae viriliter prosequetur, nec desisset inuti-
 liter ab inceptis, auctoritatem eidem Magi-
 stro, successoribus ejus & domui suae in per-

The Sixteenth Letter. 297

petuum tam predictam terra, quam a pre-
 scripto duce recipiet, ut promisit, & quamcumq;
 aliam dabit, nec non totam terram, quam in
 partibus Prussiae conquirit, Domino favente
 velut vetus & debitum ejus Imperii in mon-
 tibus, planicie, fluminibus nemoribus & in
 Mari, ut eam liberam ab omni servitio &
 exactione teneant immunitem, & nulli re-
 spondere proinde teneantur, &c.

The German Knights according to Hartknock.
 these Authors entred Prussia 1230, and
 tho they employed all their might and
 power, and were constantly supplied
 with men from Germany, and had sever-
 al Crusades raised in their favour, yet
 could they hardly master those Infidels
 in the course of 53 years. They have at
 last utterly extirpated the Natives there-
 of, for there is hardly any body that un-
 derstands the old Prussian Language, and
 the whole Land, Towns as well as the
 Country, is inhabited by genuine Ger-
 mans, nor is there any other Language
 spoken but High-dutch; except in Polish
 Prussia, and the borders that lye near
 that Kingdom, where Polish is used.

Historians agree, that the name of Dithmar-
 Prussia has not been known to Strangers Merf-
 before the 10th Century, when it was purgen.
 called Pruzzia and Prucia; the first Adamus
 Authors called the Inhabitants thereof Bremen-
 also Brutios, and when in those days of Helmol-
dus. Clu-
 ver.
 old,

298 *The Sixteenth Letter.*

Caspar
Henne
berger.

old, the *Masovians* would give them the Nickname of *Brutos* or *Brutenos*, i. e. brutish and dull people, they were so provoked, as to begin a War with them on that account; nor would they lay down their Arms, till those of *Masovia* promised not to call them any more *Brutos* for the future, but *Prussos* vel *Prutenos*, i. e. according to the old *Prussian* style, *Præscientes*, or fore-knowing: for the Ancient *Prussians* thought themselves to have more wit and understanding than their Neighbours:

Erasmus
stella.
Kojalo-
witsAlex.
Guagnin.
Miffenta.

Some Authors alledge, that before the arrival of the *Germans*, there were Kings, or Princes, that govern'd in *Prussia*, whose Names were *Waidevutus* and *Prutenus*; and they tell you a story, how one of them came to be elected King: Divisions arising among themselves, and threatenng dangers from their enemies, they consulted how to prevent their Ruine; after several fruitless endeavours to settle their Government, this *Waidevutus* spoke with so much eloquence, in convincing them, that their only safety would be to choose a King; and alledged the example of Bees, who exactly obeyed their King, under whom they lived so orderly and safely; whereupon the Assembly chose him for their King: but this is contradicted by *Hartknoch*.

The Sixteenth Letter. 299

I can give but a cursory Observation of the most remarkable occurrences, for the History of the ancient Wars, the government of the *Teutonick* Order, and other revolutions would be extremely tedious; therefore you will remember my former Letter at the beginning about *Laodunia*, where I gave you an Idea of it in a compendious way, till the times of the Elector *Fred. William*, who anno 1657. obtained *per pacta Velaventia, Bisdagshensia, vel Brombergensia, supremum & absolutum dominium* or absolute power over that part that was called *Prussia Ducata*, and which he held till then as a *Fiefdom*, or Fief from the Crown of *Poland*. Some have thought, that thereby it is become a Province of the Empire; which is a mistake, for it is now an independent Principality, and has no concern in any thing with the *Roman Empire*.

The Gentry and Commons throughout *Prussia* are all of them *Germans* in all respects, and it has as ancient and rich Nobility as any where: who came thither with the *Teutonick* Order, or transplanted afterwards: as

The Counts and Burgaves of *Dobna*, who have settled in *Prussia* since the 11th Century. *Wallenrod* since 1250. *Reder*, who came originally out of

Fran-

300 The Sixteenth Letter.

Francia 1261. about the same time the *Sack* or *Sacken* were already known here, who have spread copious branches in *Caronia*. *Tettau* from *Bohemia*, whence they came to assist the *Marian Order* with Troops in *Prussia* 1404. *Truchless* have settled there 1477, and are by origin *Franconians*. *Renter* out of *Austria* 1470. *Ostau* 1434. The Barons of *Eytenburg* come from *Saxony*, they first took up their abode there 1454. *Schlieben* 1460. About the same time the Family of the *Rappen* came thither from *Livonia*; *Creutz* out of *Mishia*; the Barons of *Kittlitz* out of *Silesia*; the Barons of *Heydeck* out of *Franconia*; *Schenck* from *Turingia*; *Kalckstein* and *Polentz* from *Lusatia*; *Podewels*, *Borch*, and *Baton Szwerin* from *Pomerania*; *Halle* from the Dutchy of *Brunswick*; *Koenigseck* from *Suabia*; *Brunsen* from *Switzerland*; the Counts of *DeEuboff* from *Livonia*; *Nettelhorst* and *Nolda* from *Caronia*; *Baron Hoverbeck* from *Poland*; *Baron Dobrzinski* from *Bohemia*; *De la Cave* from *France*. Besides these there are *Dorflinge*, *Auer*, *Bodenbruch*, *Eppingen*, *Falckenhan*, *Fincken*, *Goltzen*, *Groeben*, *Hauchwitz*, *Lehnmald*, *Lehdorff*, *Oelsen*, *Packmore*, and many more noble and unspotted Families.

The Sixteenth Letter. 301

Besides these, several of the *Polish* Nobility have been Naturaliz'd in *Prussia*; and 'tis remarkable that there is a great difference made between the *Prussian* and *Polish* Nobility; for a *Prussian* Gentleman may purchase Estates or *Bona terrestria* throughout *Poland*; he may possess them as a native *Polander*, and enjoy all Dignities and Honours of that Kingdom in his own right; but a *Polish* Nobleman has not the same liberty in *Prussia*; but must first obtain *Jus Indigenatus* in the Assembly of the States of *Prussia* called *Landtags*: which is very difficultly granted, after many endeavours and great expences.

John Sobieski, afterwards that Brave *Joan.*
King of *Poland*, was first naturalized in *Prussia*, before he could obtain Werda de Indigenatu Prussie.
Polish Prussia, before he could obtain Dignities, Possessions or Estates there; as also *Andreas Morstin* Great Treasurer of *Poland*; *Bielinski*, and Prince *Radzivil*, &c.

The professed Religion established by Law throughout the Land is the Confession of *Augsbourg*, or *Lutheran* persuasion; though the *Roman* Catholicks have the free exercise of their Religion. I find that in the time of the *Tentonick* Order there has been a kind of Inquisition here, whereof the Tribunal was in *Germany*; 'twas call'd *Judicium occultum*,

302 *The Sixteenth Letter.*

Marqu.
Freherus
de judicio
Westfal.
Henricus
Meibom.

Gryphi-
ander &
Conring.
Winkel-
man &
alii.

nam, Jus Vetitum, Jus Sicambicum, item Lex Secreti Judicii; they derive the Institution of it from the Emperor *Charlemagne*, who, after he had subdued the *Sicambres* and *Westphalians*, and converted them to the Christian Faith; seeing that the New Converts did not persevere in their Confession, but that many renounced again that Holy Religion, he establish'd in most of the Cities and Corporations there; some wise, pious, and honest men, to watch over them, and to exercise that above-named Jurisdiction; whereby, as soon as they perceived any body revolting from Christianity, they had full power to apprehend and to dispatch him privately, without any other form of Law; wherefore 'twas call'd *Judicium occultum*, and in *German* *Vomer-Recht*, from the *Latin* *Vermibi*, because 'twas a dreadful and sharp Judicature; and although at the first institution thereof perhaps no innocent people suffered; yet by process of time those Judges abusing their power, condemned and sacrificed many that were not guilty: so that at last it became a cruel and insupportable oppression, which obliged the several Emperours, *Sigismundus*, *Fridericus III.* and *Maximilian I.* to endeavour all they could the abolishing of it; yet all their pains proved

The Sixteenth Letter. 303

ved ineffectual; till the Emperor *Charles V.* utterly extirpated this bloody Tribunal.

In *Konigsberg* is a celebrated University, founded *anno 1544.* by *Albertus Duke of Prussia*, and therein have flourish'd several eminent persons in all faculties: it is called *Regiomontum*, from King *Ottacarus* of *Bohemia*, to whose honour 'twas built *anno 1255.* by the *German Knights*.

Frauenburg, a small Town, has a very fine Cathedral called *Warmia*, is seated on a great Lake called *Frisch-baff vel Mare Rencus*: This Town belongs to the Bishoprick *Warmia* in *Polsk Prussia*, and is famous for having been the habitation of *Copernicus*, who was Canon of that place. Notwithstanding his System, which by some was thought contradictory to Scripture, I find him to have been a man of great Piety and Religion: His Character was such in this place, and the Motto which he chose, and which is set as his Epitaph, is a very good argument of it, His Burial-place is in *Thorn*, which was reckon'd the finest City in *Prussia*, where he also was born. His Effigie is made kneeling before a Crucifix, with these words, which he frequently us'd:

Non

304 *The Sixteenth Letter.*

*Non parem Pauli gratiam requiro,
Veniã Petri neq; posco, sed quã
In Crucis ligno dederas latroni
sedulus oro.*

*Nicolao Copernico Thornnensi absolutè sub-
tilitatis*

*Mathematico, ne tanti Viri apud exteros
celeberr. in sua*

*Patria periret memoria, hoc monumentum
positum. Mort.*

*Varmia in suo Canonicatu Anno 1543, die
4. * etatis LXXIII.*

Lord Bacon. 'Tis an assured Truth, and a Conclusion drawn from Experience (says an eminent *English* Author) that a little, or superficial taste of Philosophy may perhaps incline the mind of man to Atheism, but a full draught thereof brings the mind back again to Religion. For in the entrance of Philosophy, when the Second Causes, which are next to the Sences, offer themselves to the mind of men, an oblivion of the highest cause may creep in: But when a man passes on further, and beholds the Confederacy and Continuation of Causes, and the Works of Providence, then, according to the Allegory of the Poets, he will easily believe, that the highest link of

N4

The Sixteenth Letter. 305

Nature's Chain must needs be tyed to the foot of *Jupiter's* Chair:

That is, there is such a dependance of all Natural things on their Maker, that the height of knowledge cannot but lift mens minds up to Heaven, where the Author is; and enforce a Veneration of him. And so this learned mans sublime speculation and his profound consideration of Nature, did render him both a great Astronomer and a pious man; the strength of Reason pressing him to conclude that the wonderful Machines of the Heavens, which were the great object of his study, could not be the work of Chance or dull senseless Matter; nor that the most admirable Celerity of those vast bodies, or their Regular motions, in so thin, so loose, and so mutable a body, as the Aery heaven is, could possibly be performed and continued without the guidance of an omnipotent hand.

A searching Modern Author proves ^{Hartsheden.} very learnedly the Antiquity of the Inhabitants of *Prussia* and *Cuxonia*, from their trading in Amber, which Commodity no other shoar except theirs produced: if so, then the World must have been acquainted with them in the times of the first, that is, the *Babylonian* and *Diodorus* *Assyrian* Monarchies, when the Religi- ^{Siculus.} ^{Stimig. &}

306 The Sixteenth Letter.

ous Poets (who 'tis well known wrapp'd up true History under the shells of Fables) publish'd, that after *Phaeton's* fall, the *Heliades* his Sisters mourned for him to that degree, that they were turned into high Trees on the borders of the River *Eridanus* : and that after this their Metamorphosis they could not forbear weeping, and their tears falling into the said River, were turned into *Electrum Glessum*, or *Succinum*, which is all one, and signifies white or yellow Amber, which by the agitation of that River was carried to some Islands called *Electrides* from *Electrum* : Now this *Prussian* Author shews, that these *Electrides* are no other but the Proviace *Sambland* in *Prussia*, the *Curonian* and *Prussian* Lakes, the *Werder*, &c. The same Author gives convincing Arguments, that the Tract of Land near the Sea, where *Prussia* and *Curonia* is now, has been anciently inhabited by the *Æstii*, wherof *Tacitus* says ; *Dextro Suevici maris Littore Æstiorum gentes alluuntur*, &c. And a little after : *Sed & Mare scrutantur, ac soli omnium succinum quod ipsi glessum vocant, inter Vada atq; in ipso littore legunt*, that none but they alone gathered Amber. *Cassiodorus* who lived in the VI. Century, has also recorded a Letter which *Theodoricus* a King of the *Goths* writes to

De moribus German. cap. 45.

Lib. 5. var. rar. Epist.

to

The Sixteenth Letter. 307

to these *Æstii*, thanking them for the Present they sent him in Amber; which he tells them was very acceptable: that their Ambassadors who brought it, could not inform him neither how nor whence it came, and that their Country alone produced it. The Letter begins thus:

Æstis Theodoricus Rex: Illo & Illo Legatis vestris venientibus grande vos studium Notitiæ nostræ habuisse cognovimus, ut in Oceani litoribus constituti cum nostrâ mente Jungamini: Snavis nobis & admodum grata petitiô, ut ad Vos perveniret fama nostrâ, ad quos nulla potuimus destinare Mandata. Ideo salutatione Vos affectuosa requirentes, indicamus saccina, quæ a Vobis per horum portitores dicta sunt, grato animo fuisse suscepta: quæ ad Vos Oceani unda descendens hanc levisimam substantiam, sicut & vestrorum relatio continebat, exportat. Sed unde veniat incognitum vos habere dixerunt: quam ante omnes homines, Patria Vestra offerente suscipitis.

The *Prussians* have had very early knowledge and perfection in Coynage, so that foreign Nations far and near deriv'd their skill in the Mint from them; this is principally seen in the *English* Gail: word *Sterling*; which is derived from Wacsius. *Easterlings*, or the Inhabitants of *Prussia*. in Glossario ad

Doctissimus Eques (Spelmanus) eorum Matt. Parisien. in voce Ster- *potius elegit opinionem, qui a Germanis* ing:

308 *The Sixteenth Letter.*

*Mercatoribus circa Gedani Elbingeque par-
tes, quos Esterlings adhuc dicimus, Ster-
lingos nostros deducunt, quasi illi in Angli-
am venientes artem purgandi Argenti etiam
flandi & ferendi celebrem reddidissent,
nomenque ipsorum facto deinceps reliquissent,
quod satis est probabile.*

The Rivers that are most considerable
in Prussia are *Vistula Weixel germanis*,
which exonerates itself by *Danzig* into
the *Baltick*; *Prejela, Memell* or *Chronks*
by *Ptolomy, Passarge, Elbing, Alle, Sir-
guna, Ossa, Drebnitz, Radune, Motlau,
Berscho, Bro, &c.* They give an ac-
count of two thousand thirty seven great
and small *Meers*, or Lakes of sweet Wa-
ter throughout Prussia, abounding with
all sorts of Fish: in one of them is a
moving or wandring Island, whereof

In Histo-
ria orbis
terrarum,
Cap. V.

Becmannus gives this account: *Alia In-
sula in lacu Borussiae ad oppidum Gerdauen
(decem Milliaribus Regiomonto) quam
congruo naturae suae nomine dasSchwimbruch
& das Schwimbroeck vocant ac longitudi-
nem CCCL. & latitudinem CCL. passuum
habet. Incolae sicubi appellit armenta sua
in eam abigunt, quae si contigerit eam a
vento rursus alio profelli tamdiu hic mo-
rari oportet donec alio iterum appulerit.*

They give you an account here, of a
Prussian Country Clown, who swallow-
ed his Knife 1643. which was taken

out

The Sixteenth Letter. 309

out again by an incision in his Stomach, and he lived many years after. The Knife is still kept in the Library at *Ko-nigsberg*, the particulars thereof being set down in several Books, I shall make no further mention of it.

This account having carried me further than I design'd, I shall break off here, and the next Post I shall continue the relation of my Journey.

Hague, 8th Aug.

1698.

X 3. *Let-*

Letter XVII.

A further Account of the Electoral House of Brandenburg. Of Berlin the Residence of the Elector. Of his Dominions. Of some Courts in Saxony. Of Hanover, and that Electoral House, with the Dominions belonging to it, and to Zell. Of the Abbess of Hervorden. Of the Court of Hesse Cassel, and its Provinces, with some remarkable passages of the Ancestors of the Princes of the House. Of the Landgrave of Hesse-Hombourg. Of the City of Cologne. Of the Court of Nassau Sigen. The bribery, usury and industry of the Hollanders.

S I R,

HAVING Orders to wait on the Electors two Brothers, we went to Swette, which is the Residence of the Margrave Philip, and thence to Quilitz, where Margrave Albert passed the Summer: His ordinary Residence is at Sonnenburg, as being Master (that is in the Brandenburg Territories) of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, which is the same with the Order of Maltha. The

The Seventeenth Letter. 311.

The first of *June* 1698. we arrived at *Berlin*, where the Envoy had Audience of the Electoral Prince and Princess.

Frederick William, born *August* the 4th, 1688. is the only Son by the present Electress, who in all appearance will one day be the envy of his Neighbours, and the glory of his Subjects: the daily example of his Illustrious Father will much contribute towards it, under the wise and careful conduct of his Governour the Count *de Dohna*.

The Princess Electoral is by a former Marriage with a Princess of *Hessen Cassel*.

Berlin, the ordinary Residence of his Electoral Highness, is an ample, fair, and well built Town, and for its large Streets, divers great Squares, number of Hotels, handsome Suburbs, pleasant Walks and Plantations, and the Magnificent Palace of the Prince, 'tis one of the most delightful and finest Towns throughout *Germany*. It is seated in a sandy barren ground, in the Marquissate of *Brandenburg*, upon the River *Spre*, which divides it into two parts, the one of which has the name of *Coln* or *Cologne*, where the Prince's Castle or Palace stands, and the other that of *Berlin*. The River makes its situation very profitable, for great Barks do arrive frequently

312 *The Seventeenth Letter.*

quently from *Hamborough*, and other Cities which are upon the *Elbe* and the *Oder*; for *Spree* communicates with those two Rivers, by means of the Canals, that have been drawn from it. *Berlin* has on one side Vines, on the other Ponds, and on the third a Forest full of Game: Besides many splendid and pleasant Country seats, near it, as *Postdam*, *Vranieburg*, *Luxemburg*, and others.

The Dominions belonging to this Elector, may be learnt in his Title, which is:

Frederick III. by the Grace of God Margrave of *Brandenbourg*, *Archicamerer* and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire; Duke of *Prussia*, of *Magdebourg*, of *Halle*, of *Cleves*, *Juliacum*, *Benger*, *Stein*, *Pomerania* in *Cassubia* and *Kaudalia*, and of *Grossen* and *Swibus* (which lies in *Silesia*) Burgrave of *Nuremberg*, Duke of *Halberstatt*, *Minden* and *Cammin*, Count of *Hohenzollern*, of *Mark* and *Ravensberg*, Lord of *Ravenstein*, of *Lawenbourg* and *Buttow*, &c.

From *Berlin* we came into *Saxony* to the Court of *Saxe Zeitz*: Duke *Maurice William*, the chief of that Branch, married Princess *Maria Emilia*, Dowager of *Mecklenbourg*, Daughter to *Frederick William* Elector of *Brandenbourg*, and Sister

The Seventeenth Letter. 313

Sister to the Dutchess of *Courl.* Compliments being over, we made haste to *Saxe Merseburg*, where the Dowager Dutchess *Erdmuth Dorothea* keeps a very pretty Court.

We made a very short stay there, and then set forward for *Hannover*, where the Electress of *Brandenburg* was with her Mother the Electress Dowager of *Hannover*. We arrived there *June 19*. As soon as the Audience was performed to the Elector, the two Electresses, the Prince Electoral and his Sister, we took a particular view of this polite and agreeable Court, though at that time there was a great alloy to the magnificence and pleasures, which renders it so much admired by all Strangers, on account of the mourning for the late Elector *Fernest Augustus*.

This illustrious and August House was then retired to *Herrhausen* (a place near *Hannover*) which is situated in a very pleasant plain, where the Gardens afford variety of delights; with the shady Walks giving a pleasing melancholy: In some places the Ornaments and Statues raise your thoughts to admiration of the Workmanship, and the reflexion on the ancient Histories which are there represented. The fragrancy of the Parterres, and the spacious admirable Orangerie ravish

314 *The Seventeenth Letter.*

with our senses with its sweetness and beauty: in other places you are refreshed with Cascades, surprized with Labyrinths, and agreeably employed in beholding a large, growing Vegetative Theatre, artificially contrived and cut out in greens; what is finished is magnificent, but much more is designed. These spacious and most delightful Gardens are ordered by the directions of that incomparable Princess *Sophia* Electress Dowager, whose Wit and Judgment is much above her Sex; and she has such an even temper of mind, and such a command of her Reason, as were sufficient to support the misfortunes of her youth with that Constancy the Philosophers so much boast of, and this vigour of her mind is attended with a healthful and strong Constitution. Her Highness speaks the *English* Language as perfectly as if she had been educated at *Whitehall*; and the *English* who travel thither receive gracious marks of her condescending goodness and obliging manner; where-with she engages all the World.

Her Daughter, the Electress of *Brandenburg*, in all things equals her Illustrious Ancestors: She inherits all their Wit and Beauty; the charms of this Princess are such as have not any parallel; in a word, her Wit and Virtues answer the Beauty of her person. The

The Seventeenth Letter. 315

The late Elector had a great Soul, and loved Magnificence : He built a very stately house for Opera's, where he entertain'd excellent *Italian* Musick and Actors ; though some did fancy that the splendid and sumptuous way of living exhausted his Treasury, yet his Conduct and Prudence was evident in all things, and at his decease, he left great Summs in his Coffers, and ordered liberal rewards to his Ministers. The Bishoprick of *Osnabrug* was alienated by his Death, which goes alternatively from a Lutheran to a Catholick Prince, the revenue thereof amounted to near a 100000 Rixdollars.

His Son the present Elector *George Lewis*, born *May* 28. 1660. is a Valiant, Wise and Just Prince : His Countenance carries both a noble haughtiness, and an engaging sweetness, which claims respect and love from all that see him ; some have thought he resembles the King of *France*. He disposes his Revenues with great prudence, and makes business his pleasure. This wise management of affairs must necessarily augment the grandeur and renown of that Prince.

George Augustus, Prince Electoral, born *Octob.* 30. 1683. is a very lovely young Prince, and well instructed in all that a great Prince ought to know. He has a
sur-

316 *The Seventeenth Letter.*

surprizing readiness of Wit, and a pregnancy of Judgment above his years. To be well read in History, and to perform their exercises readily and gracefully, is what others may attain to; but that sweetness and equality of temper and obliging comportment, whereby he gains the Love of every one, is peculiar to himself: In all things this Prince's disposition is form'd to render a people happy.

Walking in the Gardens of *Herrhausen*, I have heard him extol the excellency of the *English* Government, saying that no other is comparable to the *English* Constitution, which renders Justice, Ease and Liberty to every rank of Men.

Though *Hannover* and *Zell* are separate branches, and are governed by their respective Princes, yet is there such an harmony between them, as is rarely to be found in any other Sovereign House; there is an Agreement made between them, and confirmed by the Emperour for uniting them after the decease of the present Duke of *Zell*, which is to continue inseparable to the Primogeniture. This Union will render it very great and powerful, not only from the rich Mines, populous Cities, extent of Dominions, and number of Forces; but al-

The Seventeenth Letter. 317

So in regard of the convenient Situation, their Provinces being watered by the *Elbe*, by means of which River they communicate with the Ocean, and on the other side they easily reach to the *Baltick*.

Besides *Hannover* the Dominions of that Elector are the Dutchy of *Calenberg*, where are the Towns of *Calenberg*, *Hamelén*, *Newstat*, *Goetingen*, *Nordheim*, *Muenden*, *Ustar*, *Hardeggen*, &c.

The Dukedom of *Grubenhagen*, with the Towns of *Eimbeck*, *Osterrode*, *Herzberg*, *Scharzfels*, *Lauterberg*, *Andreasberg*, *Clausthal*, *Zellerfeld*, *Altenau*, *Elbingeroode*, &c.

Four great *Ambts* or Demains of the Bishoprick of *Hildesheim*, as *Coldingen*, *Luttern*, *Barenberg* and *Westerhoff*.

Of *Saxe Lawenbourg* they are lately possessed as Successors of Duke *Henry Leo*.

The Duke of *Zell* possesses,

The Dutchy of *Lunenbourg*, the County of *Diepholt*, the Upper and Lower County of *Hoya*, the County of *Danneberg*. The chief Towns are, *Lunenburg*, *Zell*, *Danneburg*, *Harburg*, *Wimfen*, *Gifhorn*, *Borchdorp*, *Walfrade* and *Ultzen*.

They also have pretensions to the *Eichsfeld*, and to the greatest part of the Bishoprick *Hildesheim*.

This

318 *The Seventeenth Letter.*

This House understands wherein consists true grandeur (which few of the other Princes in *Germany* consult) they not only know how to govern well at home; but also give good impressions and advantageous Ideas abroad in foreign Courts by their Ministers, whom they enable to keep up a figure, and to support their Character for the honour of their Masters, and choose wise persons, who have a delicacy of Judgment for the conduct of affairs, as lately the Baron *Grote*, and at present Baron *Schick* in *England*, and Baron *Bothmer*, who formerly was at the Imperial Court, and is now in *Holland*, &c.

These Princes keep a very magnificent Table, nicely and Royally furnish'd, without any force or obligation to drink (which is not to be avoided at the neighbouring Courts.) Their diversions are polite, ingenious, and learned conversation, fine Musick, &c. The two Electresses greatly encourage Wit and Curious Knowledge, on which account they favourably entertained the old Philosopher *Helmont*. They have a particular manner here of taking the Air, which is very sociable and pleasant, it is called the *Wurst*, which is a low and long Machine with Seats, to hold 12 or 14 persons, who sit back to back.

This

The Seventeenth Letter. 319.

This is drawn by Horfes in fine even Meadows.

I have often thought of the juſt Character which the *French* Ambaſſador *Le Chevalier Terlon* gives in his Memoires to the preſent King of *France*. concerning theſe Princes, where he ſays, *La Maifon de Brunſwig & de Lunebourg eſt l'honneur de l'Allemagne, par les grandes qualitez & le merite des Princes de cette Tige.*

We quitted this Court with regret the 25th of *June*, and began our Journey to *Herford*, which is an Abbey founded by the Emperor *Ludovicus Pius*, Son to *Charlemain*, anno 828. it is commonly governed by ſome Princes of a Sovereign Houſe, and is now the Reſidence of the Princeſs *Charlotta Sophia* of *Courland*, who is Abbeſs thereof, and Princeſs of the Empire; it belongs to the Circle of *Weſtphalia*, and ſhe has a Seſſion in the Empire upon the Bench among the Prelates of the *Rhine*.

This Princeſs has a large ſhare of Beauty, Wit and Goodneſs, her humour is generous and obliging: ſhe had a great love for her deceaſed Brother, the Duke of *Courland*; and therefore we were received with extraordinary kindneſs. She is of a very haughty Spirit, and cannot reſolve to ſubmit to the Elector of *Brandenburg*'s Pretenſions of Superiority and Rights

320 *The Seventeenth Letter.*

Rights of Prerogative to this *Stift*, or Abbey, which lies in the County of *Ravensberg* belonging to *Brandenburg*: but being a near Relation, and Cousin German to his Electoral Highness, 'tis not doubted but an accommodation will be soon found out.

Our next Journey was to *Cassel*, the Residence of the Landgrave of *Hesse*; this is a very agreeable and accomplished Court, the Landgrave being one of the most considerable and powerful Princes of the Empire; he keeps brave and well chosen Troops, which he never employs but in a just cause.

The House of *Hesse* is one of the most illustrious in *Germany* for its Antiquity, mighty Alliances, and the great Men it has produced; it comes originally from the Emperor *Charlemain*, and their Ancestors have been Dukes of *Brabant* and Landgraves of *Thuringia*. For the Princes of *Hesse* are lineally descended from *Henry* of *Brabant*, born 1245, called *l'Enfant* or the Child, because he was in the Cradle when his Father died, and was Heir to his Mother *Sophia's*, Estate of *Hesse* and *Thuringia*. The States of *Hesse* demanding him, he was carried thither by his Mother at 3 years of Age.

This same *Henry l'Enfant de Brabant* has been so generous as to quit that large
and

The Seventeenth Letter. 321

nd fine Country of *Thuringia*, to redeem his Guardian, *Albert Duke of Brunswick*, whom Margrave *Henry* of *Misnia* kept prisoner, and thereby only *Hesse* remain'd to him.

Louis II. born 1402. called *Debonnaire*, refused the Imperial Crown offered him, Apr. 1453. alledging he had not Study and Learning sufficient to qualify him for an Emperor. He was called to inherit *Brabant*, which belonged of right to him, and whilst he was going to take possession thereof, the Duke of *Burgundy*, who also pretended to it, in the sight of his Wife, threatned him with a War. *Louis* out of love to Peace turned back, saying he had Land enough for himself and Children, without shedding Christian blood to gain a new Country.

Philip called the Magnanimous was one of the greatest Princes in his time: He was born 1504. near his Fathers Camp, whence it was presaged that he would be a Warriour. He established the Protestant Religion in his Country, finish'd the Wars of the Boors, and re-establish'd *Ulric Duke of Wirtemberg*. He was also one of the chief of the *Smalcaldian League* for the Liberty of *Germany*. He was us'd to say, that if he was younger, he would go at the
Y head

322 *The Seventeenth Letter.*

Vide Sleidan.

head of an Army to recover his right in *Brabant*. He is famous for his Imprisonment by the Emperor *Charles V.* which happened by a *Ruse*, which was an equivocation in the *German Tongue*. He sent Forces to assist the *French Huguenots*.

He was of a great and high spirit, extremely bold and daring, but not without Prudence and Conduct. He was a lover of Learning, and founded the University of *Marpurg*. He consulted *Luther* about marrying another Lady, besides his Dutcheſs, *Luther* allow'd of a left-handed Wife, considering the Princes Constitution; Nature having been more liberal to him than usual, and therefore he married *An. 1540. Margaretha Saal,* besides his living Dutcheſs *Christina* of *Saxe*.

Teubner.

William called the Sage, was his Son, who was very learned, and made War against the Emperor *Charles V.* and delivered his Father from Prison; he had a great share in the publick Affairs of *Germany*, and died 1592. this *William* was a great Astrologer, and they tell you, that when his Dutcheſs was ready to lie in, he made strict Calculations on the conjunction of the Planets; the Women interrupted him, telling that the Land-gravin was near delivery, at which he being perplexed, desired them if it was possible to retard the Birth for a little while

The Seventeenth Letter. 323

while, till some bad Aspects were over ; but instantly news was brought him of the Birth of a Son, which exceedingly troubled him ; foreseeing that he would be mighty unhappy, which proved so ; for this Prince called *Maurice*, born 1572. was a learned and valiant, but very unfortunate Prince. He quitted the Lutheran Religion and turned Calvinist, had War with the Emperor *Ferdinand II.* who took *Marpurg* from him, and forc'd him to resign the Government to his Son *William the Constant* 1626. who made a great figure in the German War. He married *Amelia Elizabetha* of *Hanau*, the Heroine of the Age, for after the Death of the Landgrave, 1637, she supported by Arms the declining Government, augmented her Sons Estates by the Treaty of *Munster*, raised Fortifications, and so died 1651.

William VI. her Son, was one of the Confederate Generals upon the *Rhine* ; he united the County of *Schaumburg* to his Dominions, and married *Hedwig Sophia*, Princess of *Brandenburg*, Daughter to the Elector *George William*, and died 1683.

Charles, born *August 3.* 1654. took the Regency upon him, 1677. who is the present Landgrave. His Titles are Landgrave of *Hesse*, Prince of *Hirschfeld*, Count of *Catzenellebogen*, *Dietz*, *Ziegenhain*,

324 *The Seventeenth Letter.*

bain, Nidda, Schaumburg, Lord of Eppstein, Pless, Itter, and Franckenstein, &c.
Prince of the Holy Empire.

This Prince possesses all the good qualities, which were so much admired in his Ancestors, and is master of all the perfections that are required to make an excellent Sovereign.

His person is graceful, and all his Actions discover a magnanimous, bountiful and attracting temper: He is learned himself, and encourages it in others.

His passion for glory and common Liberty is such, that he always forgets his particular Interest, for the sake of the Public.

But above all he is a very Religious Prince. *Accessit meritis Tuis cunctis laudibus pretiosior Fides, quam Divina diligunt, Mortalia venerantur.* And extends his generous Liberality and Charity to the French Protestants and *Vandois*.

The Landgravin, *Maria Amalia*, Daughter to *Jacobus*, Duke of Courland by *Louisa Charlotta* of Brandenburg, was married to the Landgrave, 1673. who is a Princess of most extraordinary Vertue and Piety, and of exemplary Prudence and Goodness, so that in her Court all Moral accomplishments are in their full Lustre, Pious and Religious persons there meet with the encouragement they ought to find in every Court. Hea.

The Seventeenth Letter. 325

Heaven has blest them with a happy Issue of Princes and Princesses ; the example which this Illustrious Race have before them, joyn'd to their Wit and excellent Natural disposition, must give them a most considerable rank among the Princes of this Age.

No Prince is better serv'd than this, and that by the judicious choice of persons excellently qualified for their great Posts, as Baron *Goerits*, President of the Council, Count *Lippe*, General of his Forces, Baron *Kettler*, Great Marschal of the Court, and Monsieur *Tettan*, Colonel of the Guards, all of them extraordinary Men, with several more.

The next Court we arriv'd at was *Hesse Homburg*.

Frederick, born May 30. 1633. is the present Landgrave of *Homburg*. He was first married to *Margaretha* Countess of *Brabe*, a rich Widow to two Counts of *Oxenstern* ; she died without Children.

Secondly, to Princess *Louisa Elizabeth*, Daughter to Duke *Jacobus* of *Courland* ; she died 1690. by whom he has several Princes and Princesses, who have very great and eminent qualities worthy their high birth.

The present Landgravin is a Countess of *Leiningen*. The Landgrave is a Mar- tial Prince, having from his youth gi-

326 *The Seventeenth Letter.*

ven signal proofs of a brave General, He served under *Charles Gustavus* King of *Sweden*, and at the Siege of *Copenhagen* he had a Leg shot off by a Cannon-bullet, which he supplied with a Wooden one; and I have been told, that his Wooden Leg has also been shot off under *Stetin*, when the Elector of *Brandenburg* took it from the *Swedes*, where this Prince commanded the *Brandenburg* Cavalry. 'Twas he that engaged first the *Swedish* Army, when it was defeated at *Febrberlin* 1675. and always has been fortunate, his Valour meeting with equal success.

He has truly the mien of a Hero; and is very affable and generous in all his actions; therefore what was said in the Life of a famous *French* General may justly be applied here. *Un Generosite, qui est Mere de la Valour a la guerre, l'est aussi de la Courtoise, & on voit peu d'hommes Vaillans qui ne soyent Courtois.*

In the Life
of Mareschal
de Toiras

He has had an unfortunate passion for Chymistry, which has been the weakness of many a great Prince and wise man, and generally proves the ruin of their Fortunes and Families. The Ancients did represent Chymistry by *Pulcan*, who was black and filthy, beyond the power of fire to purifie; so does this cloud and darken the understanding:
they

The Seventeenth Letter. 327

they are *Vulcan*-like in perpetual labour and toil, neglecting the care of themselves and Families in pursuit of their Project, melting down their Estates and Possessions, till they are reduced to Ashes, and at the end nothing but Smoke remains. But he did not so indifferently engage in this bewitching Curiosity: He soon discover'd the Vanity of it, and caused some of those pretenders to great knowledge to be severely punished.

Since he retired from publick Commands in the Army, he diverts himself with fine Building, and the improvement of his Revenues, having purchased to his Paternal Inheritance, *Bingenheim* and *Weverlingen*, with their dependencies. *Gaudet tellus Vomere Laureato* 
coli Vitrici Imperatoris dextera fructuum
ubertate superbit.

Plinius de
Scipione.

From *Hamburg* we passed through the Ancient City of *Cologne*, which is called the *Rome* of *Germany*, for its Greatness, its Senate, and fine Buildings: Its Metropolitan Church *St Peter's*, would be one of the most magnificent in the world were it finish'd. Though this Town is free, yet it does homage to their Archbishop, the Elector; and swear Allegiance upon condition, that he will preserve the Priviledges it enjoys. Their Oath to him is in these terms: *We the*

328 *The Seventeenth Letter.*

free Citizens of Cologne, for this day and for ever, do promise to N. M. Arch-bishop of Cologne, to be faithful and assisting to him, so long as he shall maintain us in our Rights, Honours, and our ancient Priviledges, we, our Wives, our Children, and our City of Cologne. So help us God and his Saints. The Arch-bishop obliges himself to the City by a Writing, wherein he promises to keep their Priviledges inviolably, and confirms all their Rights and Franchises old and new.

This looks more like an Agreement between Allies, than an acknowledgment or accepting of Sovereignty.

This City has always been jealous of its Liberty, and has hitherto preserved it very well, notwithstanding several attempts against it. One Arch-bishop in the year 1297. thought to subdue them by force; and to that intent marched with an Army towards them, the Citizens hearing of it, put themselves in Arms, and march'd out to meet him; they laid the Keys of the City in the Field as the price of the Victory, and then bravely fought for their Liberty. Their just Cause prevail'd, and they utterly defeated the Arch-bishops forces, together with his design, and so return'd with Triumph to their City; and still upon that day celebrate the memory of this important Victory.

The

The Seventeenth Letter: 329

The Arch-bishop nevertheless exercises Justice by his Officers in all Criminal Cases in the Town, which is otherwise free, and immediately depending on the Empire. But the Towns-people do not suffer him to make any long stay with them, nor come with a great Train, which has been the occasion of several debates these many Ages, and is the reason why that Prelate keeps his Residence for the most part at *Bonne*.

One of the Citizens there told us, that a Child of 8 or 9 years was admitted into the Senate-house for a remembrance of an expedient, which anciently a Child of that age found out: His Father coming home from the Senate very melancholy, his Son entreated him earnestly to know the cause of his chagrin: At last he told him, that their Elector demanded a City-Gate to be delivered to him, and the ill consequences that might ensue; and that they did not know how to refuse it. The Child presently answered, Why should this trouble you? let them take a Gate out of the Wall, and send it him to *Bonne*, and then presently wall up the vacancy. Which the Senate approved of, and accordingly the Gate was sent; this so vexed the Arch-bishop, that 'tis said he dyed for grief.

We

330 *The Seventeenth Letter.*

We left *Cologne*, and pass'd through the Datchy of *Berguin*, belonging to the Elector Palatine, which is very mountainous, and uneasy to travel in. This Princes Subjects are mightily oppressed; you cannot travel here, tho' in haste, without making some discoveries of it. As we pass'd through the Woods, seeing a smook coming out of a Tree, we sent one to look whence it proceeded; it was found to be a man smoking Tobacco in a hollow Tree, shaking for fear when he saw us approaching. He prostrated himself before us, and begg'd we would not inform against him; for he said he had not money enough to purchase a Licence to Smoke, and being much troubled with defluxions, nothing else gave him relief; we promis'd not to make discovery of it, and so left him: as we pass'd we met with several other instances of their misery.

After a difficult passage over the Mountains and rugged ways, we arriv'd at *Sigen*, a Town and Residence of the Princes of *Nassau*, whereof the elder Branch are Catholicks, and the other Reformed: These two Branches possess the Town in common between them, but have besides separate Demands and Territories. The Town and Palace belonging to the Protestant Prince has been

The Seventeenth Letter. 331

been lately burnt down, whereby that House has sustained very great damage. The first Dutchess of the deceased Duke of *Courland* was Sister to the late Prince of *Nassau Sigen*, who left the present Princess Dowager with one only Son.

Having notified the Dukes death to the Princess, who is very generous, bountifull and renown'd for prudence, we made all expedition to return to *Cologne*, where we had left the greatest part of our Attendance, because of the Mountains and ill ways.

From *Cologne* we embarked upon the *Rhine*, towards *Holland*; this famous River is the greatest in *Europe*, next the *Danube*, but it affords a much better prospect, being bordered on each side with fine Towns and Vineyards; 'tis noted for the excellent Wine that grows on its banks.

August 5. we reach'd the *Hague*. His Majesty of *Great Britain* was then just arrived here; where he is the Darling and the Joy of the People; for they are sensible of the blessing that this glorious Monarch is to them, and they are well satisfied that his Life is their best security, and therefore they do joyfully contribute to what they think may make it long and comfortable.

The

332 *The Seventeenth Letter.*

The next day his Majesty was graciously pleased to admit the Envoy to his Audience, for the King made a short stay here, from whence he went to *Loo*.

Aug. 15. the Envoy had publick Audience of the States General in their full Assembly, with all the usual Ceremonies, after which we went to *Amsterdam*, and other considerable Towns. The Bravery, Wisdom and Industry of this people is wonderful, and as they have thereby framed their happy constitution, so by the same means they preserve the glory of this their establishment, which scarce can suffer any further increase.

They are preservers of their own Liberties, and defenders of that of others, and in general they are the most painful and diligent people on earth, whether it be from the situation of their Country, in which if they be not laborious they cannot live, from their own inclination addicted to parsimony, or from Custom in the way of Education.

The Equity and Justice of the Magistrate prevent all outcries against Bribery, and the Laws are strictly put in execution; in fine, the opposition they have always made to their mighty Adversaries are sufficient proofs of their wisdom, riches and power.

Thus

The Seventeenth Letter. 333

Thus, Sir, I have endeavoured to give you an account of what I thought most material and remarkable in my journey; and though I did not depend on your friendship, I know your humour and good sense is much above cavilling, and free from the Spleen of those peevish Wits, whose sole pleasure and distinguishing quality is an ill-natured Censure and Criticism. The advantage of your Conversation for these two years past, was wanting to render my Letters more agreeable, by giving them a turn of Stile, and correct Expression, which is ordinary to your discourse, and is one reason among many others that every one is desirous to be esteemed,

S I R,

Hague, Aug. 18.
1698.

Your

Post-

Postscript.

LEST I should not see you as soon as I P wish, I will inform you, that the Envoy having received Instructions to treat about the Island of *Tobago*, either with Captain *Point* (if he is in a condition to undertake it) or else with some other able Merchants, several of the *Dutch* are willing to enter into this affair; but the agreement with them is deferred till we see what the *English* design in it; if you know any Merchants of *Barbadoes*, or other sufficient persons that will engage in it, the terms will be advantageous for them, the Dukes Title being indisputably good, were his power equal; he concludes that he may depend on the Friendship and protection of the Crown of *England*, according to the Treaty made *An. 1664. 17 Novemb.* and especially considering the ready assistance which Duke *James* gave to *Charles I.* during his Civil Wars, at which time he furnished him with Ships, Ammunitions
and