

In this state of things, New-York endeavoured to obtain the honour of effecting a compromise between the mother-country and the colonies; but the documents transmitted to the British parliament with a view to this desirable end were rejected, because they emanated from a body not recognised in England. The parliament declared, that in pursuance of the fundamental law of 1689, only the laws and commons in parliament assembled, and no other body in the British empire, had the right of making any regulation with regard to taxes! It cannot be doubted that it would have been very possible to give to the British empire a constitution, in which its provinces should be admitted to their reasonable share of influence; in which case, the freedom and power of the state would have been established on new foundations, and Great Britain would still have continued at the head of the empire, until the maturity of the New World should at length have rendered it necessary to transport the seat of supreme power across the Atlantic; but a measure of this kind required more wisdom and foresight than swayed the British councils at this period.<sup>(1)</sup>

During all these occurrences, lord North, who at that time swayed the destinies of the empire, seemed to have as little apprehension of interference on the part of the house of Bourbon, as if the court of Versailles had been wholly inaccessible to the suggestions of jealousy or revenge; or as if the cause of a government against its subjects was invariably considered as the cause of all governments. Deaf to the warning voice of the earl of Chatham and his associates in opposition, and reckless of consequences, he compelled the Americans to withdraw from the British dominions, by prohibiting all commerce with them; by excluding them from the fishery of Newfoundland; by extending a correctional law to all the states which had sent deputies to congress; and, finally, by declaring their ships to be lawful prizes to the English letters-of-marque. The result of these unwise and odious proceedings will come to be detailed in a subsequent Letter. Before we close the present, it may be proper to take a brief survey of the domestic state of affairs, and notice a few of the principal incidents which occurred during this period.

From the first moment of the accession of George III. to the throne, the earl of Bute had become an object of jealousy, and his conduct was vigilantly scrutinized. This nobleman had been much about the person of the prince before his elevation, and the attachment of his royal master to him was no secret. On the resignation of lord Holderness he was appointed to the office of secretary of state, and his influence in the cabinet was for some years paramount. But satisfied with having restored peace to the country, and finding his popularity much on the decline, he retired from office, resigning the seals on the 8th of April, 1763. His partiality for the Scotch people was a common topic of complaint; but would have been less censurable had he promoted or rewarded only persons of worth and merit. His political principles were those of toryism, with which he was thought to have inoculated the mind of his royal master. His attachment to them, however, might have been easily pardoned, had he only opposed the licentiousness of the whigs, without inculcating arbitrary and unconstitutional principles.

The earl of Bute was succeeded in office by Mr. George Grenville, who had scarcely got seated in the cabinet, when he found himself involved in a contest, which drew the marked attention of the whole country. John Wilkes, member for the borough of Aylesbury, perceiving that ministers were not much in favour with the public, and that the king, in consequence of his partiality for the tories, was less popular than he had been, commenced a career of vigorous opposition against both, in the hope of profiting

have been too numerous, and a general one, signed by every complainant, too voluminous and unwieldy. The right of petitioning involves a choice of the mode.—Am. Ed.

(1) The idea conveyed in the concluding sentence of this paragraph, must strike the American reader as romantic and Utopian. The history of past ages furnishes no testimony in its favour; and a moderate knowledge of human nature will readily detect its fallacy. The emigration of the court of Portugal to Brazil is not analogous, because that was a flight for personal safety. The relation between old governments and their prosperous colonies, like that between parents and enterprising children, must ultimately be dissolved. The period must arrive when the latter will "set up for themselves," and form independent establishments—"peaceably if they can—forcibly if they must."—Am. Ed.

by the embarrassment of the cabinet, and the discontents of the country. His first onset was an attack of the speech delivered by his majesty at the close of the session, charging it with containing infamous fallacies, and affirming, that the whole was a most abandoned instance of ministerial effrontery. A warrant, directed generally against the authors, printers, and publishers of this abusive paper, was instantly issued and delivered to the messengers of the secretary of state's office, who, having ascertained that Wilkes was the writer of the libel, seized his papers, and carried him before the earl of Halifax, who committed him to the tower; but, on application to the court of common pleas, he so successfully pleaded his privileges as a member of parliament, that he procured his release.

The case of Wilkes now became every where the chief topic of conversation, and the meeting of parliament was anticipated with extraordinary interest. It involved two questions highly important to British subjects: the extent of parliamentary privilege, and the legality of general warrants. The lords and commons, after several animated debates, denied that privilege extended to the case of a seditious libel; but they left the other point undetermined. Wilkes was expelled the house of commons for the offensive publication; and, as he was then residing in France, a sentence of outlawry was issued against him. The cause of an individual thus became that of the public. The populace almost idolized the man, regarding him in the light of a martyr to liberty; and even those who despised his character were ready to support him for what they called the general interest. His name was now familiar to politicians of every class. His personal appearance was far from prepossessing, and in his manners he was not only dissipated but licentious. His exertions, however, against an unpopular ministry seemed to atone for every deficiency and every vice; and when he returned to England, he was saluted wherever he appeared. In short, this contest so occupied the public mind, that it now took precedence of every other subject. Wilkes brought his action at law against the under-secretary of state for seizing his papers; the cause was tried before lord chief justice Pratt and a special jury, when he obtained a verdict in his favour, with a thousand pounds damages. In his charge to the jury, the learned judge explicitly declared his opinion against the legality of general warrants, or those in which no names are specified. We shall now turn our attention for a while to the continent of Europe.

## LETTER II.

*A View of the Affairs of the northern States of Europe—Russia—Prussia—Austria—and Poland; from the Treaty of Hubertsberg to the Treaty of Teschen, in Upper Silesia, A. D. 1763 to 1779.*

AFTER the death of Elizabeth Petrovna, empress of Russia, Peter the Third recalled to his councils general Münnich, L'Estocq, Bestucheff, and Ernest von Biren, who had been the favourites and victims of the preceding administrations. Münnich had been twenty years in a state of exile, during which time he had occupied himself with instructing young men in geometry and engineering, and in projecting a number of plans for the service of the empire. This hero, now eighty years of age, was triumphantly received by the officers whom thirty years before he had led to conquest. He addressed the emperor on the qualities of the Russian army in these words: "Where is the people to be found who, like the Russians, are able to penetrate through all Europe with no other provision than the flesh of horses, and no better drink than their blood or the milk of mares? who can pass the widest rivers, without the help of bridges, as compact as our battalions, as light as our Cossacks?" The veteran, who found his ruling passion strengthen with his years, was reinstated in all his dignities.

It was the favourite object with Peter the Third to destroy the power of

strike coins of silver and gold, under the title of the king and republic of Poland, of far less than their nominal value; and compelled all those from whom his subjects made purchases to take them in payment, while he refused to receive any other than the good old coin of the country, for the stores which he accumulated. He oppressed commerce by the imposition of new duties, and gave occasion to the plundering or shutting up of the granaries of Poland, during a period of almost universal famine in Europe. The oppression and distress of Great Poland rose to such a height, that the peasants, with their wives and children, and accompanied even by capitulars from Gnesna, fled in troops towards the forests of Lithuania, and the frontiers of Austria. Many perished in the journey by the hands of robbers, or of the enemy, or fell exhausted by their sufferings. The aged parents of the fugitives were fettered and ill-treated in their native country, because they could not prevent the emigration of their children; and those who had daughters were obliged to deliver up a certain number, provided with portions, for the Prussian colonies.

These proceedings at length opened the eyes of the confederates, and marshal Zarembo first offered his services to king Stanislaus, in order to effect a union between the conflicting parties, for the preservation of their common country; but the king in all probability considered this proposal to be already too late. The party of the emperor Joseph in the court of Vienna was about this period engaged in combating the religious adherence of Maria Theresa to her promises, and the rights of others. She in vain represented the consequences of infringing the public morality; and the salt works of Vié-litschka, which yielded an annual produce of six hundred thousand cwt. were now taken possession of by the Austrians.

At length, on the 26th of September, 1772, thirteen hundred years from the period when a system of co-existent states began, after the destruction of the western empire, to be formed in Europe, the first important blow was given to the maxims and compacts on which their existence and the balance of their power had been gradually established. The ambassadors of Maria Theresa, of the empress and autocrat Catharine the Second, and of the king of Prussia, in the name of their respective courts, informed the king and the republic of Poland, that the three powers, in order to prevent farther bloodshed, and to restore peace to Poland, had agreed among themselves to insist upon their indisputable claims to some of the provinces of that country; and therefore demanded, that a diet be held for the purpose of settling the new boundaries, in concert with them.

It pleased the great Governor of the universe, at this time, to allow the crowned heads of the north of Europe to give the world a striking exhibition of their courtly morality. The iniquitous scheme of the dismemberment of Poland is said to have originated in the mind of Frederick. Having added Silesia to the dominions which he inherited from his father, he professed to be greatly alarmed at the progress of the Russian arms, in wresting the province of Moldavia from the Turks. Peace, if he might obtain credit for knowing his own mind, was the chief wish of his heart, as he was now in the decline of life, and was no longer inflamed with martial glory! but he concluded, that the disorders of Poland would afford him an opportunity of strengthening his dominions, which it would be unwise in him to neglect. The emperor of Austria was equally apprehensive of danger, and therefore did not scruple to make advances to a prince with whom his mother had long been at variance. He visited Frederick at Neiss in Silesia, in 1769, (1) and a confidential intercourse of sentiments took place between the monarchs. They pledged themselves to unite for the maintenance of the peace of Germany; and it was hinted by the Prussian monarch, that if the czarina could not easily be brought to reason, a threefold partition of Poland might remove all difficulties. The emperor Joseph had no qualms of conscience on the subject; he was neither so disinterested nor so just as to resist or condemn

(1) Gillies's View of the Reign of Frederick II. chap. vi.

the proposition, though prudential reasons were in favour of keeping it secret for a time. In the following year, the two crowned heads had another meeting; and prince Kaunitz had also long conferences with the king, to whose interests he promised to attend. Prince Henry, soon after, visiting Petersburg on pretence of amusement, disclosed the project to Catharine, by whom it was not disapproved. As, however, she still insisted on extravagant terms of peace, Maria Theresa and her son ordered military preparations; and an armed party entering Poland, seized the lordship of Zips. (1)

This invasion accelerated the adjustment of the treaty. Frederick drew the outlines of a plan; but Catharine, in her *contre projet*, demanded a much greater portion of the spoils than he was willing to allow, and exacted new terms of alliance more favourable to herself than to her royal confederate. These requisitions delayed the settlement, and the various parties were busily employed in making out each his own preferable right to the spoliation. Prussia could go back for several centuries, and demonstrate, by an appeal to treaties, that certain provinces of the Polish territory had belonged to his ancestors, the electors of Brandenburg. A treaty had been concluded in 1657, by which the Poles assigned the sum of four hundred thousand dollars on the security of the city of Elbing, to the elector of Brandenburg, who was to deliver them from the Swedish arms; but the promise then made had never been fulfilled!

But Frederick, with his well-known goodness and moderation, only desires, *in satisfaction of all these claims*, to be now put in possession of Pomerellia, the districts on the Netze, the vaivodeship of Marienburg, the bishoprick of Ermeland, the district of Michelau, and the bishoprick and vaivodeship of Culm. As he leaves Poland in possession of Dantzic and Thorn, he trusts that the republic will grant him, as a friend and good neighbour (which it is consonant with his system always to remain), a suitable compensation for the sacrifices which he thus offers to make. He has only one thing more to add, which is, that while the king abandons his claim to Dantzic as a property, his majesty does not mean to renounce the harbour of that city, nor the customs collected in it; for Dantzic had only enjoyed by sufferance the use of that harbour, which was a monastic estate belonging to the abbey of Oliva, and had been made, by permission of that establishment, in the year 1647, because the Neufahrwassar was no longer capable of admitting ships. Dantzic had promised to pay the abbot an annual rent of one hundred dollars during ninety-three years; a period which had long since elapsed. Besides, neither the city nor the abbot possesses any territorial sovereignty: the whole country belongs to the lord of Pomerellia, and the king is the successor of Mistewyn, duke of Pommern-Dantzic. The king of Poland, indeed, who was at that time sovereign of the country, approved the contract; but that circumstance cannot be binding on a king of Prussia; and the abbot, as an ecclesiastic, was forbidden by the canon law to grant any lease for a longer period than ten years. Dantzic, it is true, has erected the harbour at an immense expense: but that process, after all, was only an inundation of a portion of land, and could not possibly prejudice the territorial rights of the sovereign. Besides which, according to the Roman law, the harbour could not belong to Dantzic, because the coast on which it was situated is the property of another power. The king, consistently with the moderation which characterizes all actions of the monarch of Prussia, will not forbid the city to make use of the harbour; but to expect him to forego the profit arising from its use, would be a most impudent demand. Culm and Wermeland can only be considered as a very small indemnification for his magnanimous renunciation of his claims to Dantzic itself, to Thorn, and to a compensation for several centuries of unjust dispossession!

The whole of Polish Prussia, together with the district of the Netze, was therefore occupied; by which transaction, the state of Prussia became a continuous territory from Glatz to Memel, and acquired the fertile districts of

(1) Œuvres Posthumes du Roi de Prusse.

Culm, Elbing, and Marienburg. The king became master of the cathedral of Wermeland, and possessed an annual income of 300,000 dollars, and of the only mouths of the Vistula which yet remained navigable. All the inhabitants of these districts were compelled to take the oath of allegiance within fourteen days.

Austria had equally weighty reasons to allege for the conduct she was now compelled to adopt. It was now five hundred and ninety years since Casimir, the second king of Poland, transferred the two royal Polish fiefs of Zator and Auschwitz to his cousin Mscislaf, duke of Teschen in Upper Silesia; but as the edicts of Poland became afterward so tumultuous, that the princes of Silesia could not attend them consistently with their own dignity, Casimir of Teschen, in 1289, transferred his feudal duties to Venceslaf, king of Bohemia; and Poland finally consented to the transaction. "It is true that Casimir the Fourth, by the fortune of arms, had three hundred and twenty years ago reconquered, on behalf of Poland, these territories which his ancestors had formerly forfeited to the military superiority of Bohemia, in the year 1462. But Zator and Auschwitz were conferred on him only for his life. It must be confessed, that these territories have always remained in the hands of his successors, and there is no record that they have ever been required to give them up; but this must be ascribed to the peculiar and well-known magnanimity, and moderation, and goodness, of the illustrious archducal family. It is to be lamented, that under the present constitution of Poland, there is so little ground to hope that the republic will manifest such a sense of justice, as spontaneously to restore Galicia, Lodomeria, Zator, and Auschwitz. The empress-queen, however, will employ the power conferred upon her by God, with the mildness which is hereditary in her family; and instead of rigorously demanding the whole of her rights, will content herself with a very moderate equivalent—consisting of two-thirds of Upper Poland, Pokulia, and some districts of Podolia and Volhynia; which contain in the whole about two hundred and fifty cities and large towns, fifty smaller places, six thousand three hundred villages, and two millions five hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants." So much for the conscience of Maria Theresa, and the pleas on which her claims were founded.

The empress of Russia took possession of an important part of the grand principality of Lithuania, and of the vaivodeship of Minsk, Vitensk, and Mscislaf, with so little embarrassment, that it did not even appear necessary to her to publish the grounds of her proceeding. She allowed the inhabitants three months to remove themselves.

The king and senate of Poland lamented this unhappy destiny of their country, attributed the origin of the party dissensions to the influence of foreigners, displayed the evidences of their rights, alleged the compacts, and referred to the guarantee under which they had been concluded, appealed from the violence of the superior power and unjust arms of their enemies, and protested before the almighty Governor of the universe against this crying oppression.

The king of Prussia continued to raise the tolls collected in the harbour of Dantzic to an intolerable height, and the city was urged, by all possible means, to surrender itself voluntarily to his sway. He summoned a diet at Lissa, to counteract that of Warsaw, and confiscated the estates of all such nobles as refused to acknowledge their allegiance. The empress of Russia also took possession of the wealth of prince Charles Radzyvil, and of Constantine and Adam Czartorisky. When an offer of restoration was made to Radzyvil, he replied, "I am a free-born man; my ancestors were free; and though in adversity, I will also die free." The countess Vielpolska died by her own hands; and all those who were worthy of their ancestors quitted their country, now subjected to a foreign yoke. But the complaints of the oppressed were not necessary to the judgment passed by all Europe on this transaction, and it will be confirmed by the latest posterity.

The subjects of the republic were reduced from seven or eight to four mil-

lions, and its revenues were proportionably diminished. Instead of one hundred senators, only thirty-eight were assembled at the diet. The archbishop primate, the grand chancellor of Lithuania, the grand marshal, and their friends, absented themselves from the servile assembly and repaired to Cracow. The diet, although surrounded by an armed force, began with a protest by all the deputies of Podolia and Volhynia. The consequence was, that the foreign soldiers were quartered by hundreds upon all those nobles who were attached to the cause of independence. Eight days were allowed to the diet to conform to the wishes of the allied powers; and it was declared, that in case of refusal, thirty thousand men should enter the city at the expiration of that period, and their obstinacy should be subdued by all possible means. On the seventh day, a great number of the deputies left the city, and the remainder subscribed the terms by which Poland was compelled, not only to renounce all claim to, and all connexion with, the district of which she had been deprived, but to engage to protect the three confederated powers in the possession of the countries they had seized.

The latter now established a permanent council, which was dependent on themselves, and could easily be influenced according to their pleasure. The king of Prussia declared, that if the republic did not place this council in actual existence on a certain day, he would consider its refusal or delay as a declaration of war; and he, at the same time, demanded possession of a district on the Netze, not usually bounded by the river, but which was occasionally covered with its waters during extraordinary floods. The Austrian commissioners of boundaries drew a line from the mouth of one river to another, and demanded all the districts comprised within the windings of the streams, as the shores of these rivers. Instances frequently occurred in which a district was usurped, without assigning any reason whatever. And a similar proceeding often took place out of pure philanthropy, in which the object of the appropriation was to relieve the country people from illegitimate authority. The permanent council was established: it consisted of forty senators and noblemen, nominated by the diet, who continue in office until the succeeding session of that assembly, and transact all military and foreign affairs, with the business of the high police. It can expound the laws, but cannot make them.

Prussia was in some instances obliged to abandon a part of the districts which it had seized; but before these temporary possessions were relinquished, the flocks were driven away, the forests cut down, the magazines emptied, even the most necessary implements taken away, and the taxes raised by anticipation.(1)

## LETTER III.

*Rupture between Russia and Turkey.—English Fleet under Admiral Elphinstone assists the Russians, and defeats the Turks.—Dreadful Ravages of the Plague at Moscow and the Country adjacent. A. D. 1768—1774.*

THE protection which the confederates received in Turkey, and mutual complaints concerning the incursions of the wandering hordes of Tartars and Cossacks, had some years before furnished a pretence for war between the Porte and the Russians. It was in reality impossible that the Turks could contemplate with indifference the transactions which took place in Poland; and the French court, in the miserable condition in which it was at that time placed, possessed no other means of assisting the Poles than by giving occasion to some diversion which might otherwise engage the attention of the Russians.

(1) Wrayall's Memoirs of the courts of Berlin, Dresden, Warsaw, and Vienna.—Tooke's Life of Catherine the Second.—Gillies's Life of Frederic the Great.—Coxe's Travels in Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark.—Posthumous Works of the King of Prussia, by Holcroft.

Denmark, and thus revenge the family of Holstein, from which he was descended. He offended the nobles of Russia, whose power he was desirous of circumscribing; the clergy, by his regulations against images and their long beards; and his own soldiers, by the preference which he gave to the guards of Holstein. Having thus created a host of malecontents, and neglected to deprive them of the power of injuring him, he furnished a leader to his enemies in the person of his own consort. With Catharine he had lived on very indifferent terms; and, displeased with her conduct, probably not without sufficient cause, he certainly intended to divorce her; nor was it certain whether he would declare her son, Paul Petrovitch, as his successor. Hence, individuals of totally dissimilar characters, as count Panin, Rasumofsky, the brothers Orloff, the procurator-general Globoff, prince Barjatinsky, and others, were associated in a conspiracy against him. They gained over the senate and the synod, and towards the end of June, 1762, Peter the Third was deposed, as has been already related.<sup>(1)</sup>

The empress Catharine now confirmed the clergy in the enjoyment of their images, beads, and revenues, and discharged the German guard. A manifesto was published, in which the empress proclaimed the danger to which the holy traditions of the church had been exposed; that the honour of the Russian army had been compromised by a hasty peace with Prussia; that Peter the Third had been so ungrateful as not to weep for the death of his very dear aunt, the empress Elizabeth; so ungodly as to neglect to attend sermons; and so absurd as to clothe the troops in different uniforms, as though they had more than one master; and, lastly, this singular piece of finesse adverted to the fate which Catharine herself had narrowly escaped when "it pleased Providence to take away the emperor Peter by a hemorrhoidal colic."

The innocent Ivan, who had received the title of emperor of Russia while yet in his cradle, was now in his twenty-fourth year, and had been retained a captive in the prison of Schlüssenburg. In 1764, the holy synod thought proper to recommend this unfortunate youth to the empress as a husband; a proposal which put her in remembrance that Ivan's rights might yet possibly be advocated. Some person, whether with a good or bad intention is not certain, at this period incited the Cossack Mirowitz to attempt the liberation of this unfortunate youth. The empress was absent from the residence, when Mirowitz gained over some soldiers to his views, and broke into the prison by night. Ivan was asleep; and when the two officers who were guarding him perceived the object of the attack, they recollected the orders which they had received to put him to death in the event of any such attempt. Awaked by the noise of firearms, and observing the menacing looks of the guards, he sprung up, and endeavoured to defend himself. He seized the sword of one of the assassins and broke it; he implored mercy—but he was despatched by four wounds! He was a youth of fine person, but necessarily ignorant and uninformed, from continued solitary confinement. When Mirowitz saw his blood, he wept aloud, and immediately surrendered himself. The two murderers fled into Denmark for a short time; they then returned to Russia, and received promotion for their villany. Public opinion ascribed the arrangements of this affair to the empress, who, though she rewarded the murderers, could not prevent their becoming the objects of general abhorrence. Mirowitz was tried as a perturbator of the public peace. He faced his judges with coolness, from a confident expectation of pardon; and after he had been condemned to decapitation, he walked to the scaffold with the same appearance of unconcern. He was then miserably disappointed, for no reprieve was announced.

In order to obliterate the impressions which these foul deeds might leave on the minds of her subjects, Catharine now undertook with great eagerness to prosecute the works commenced by Peter the Great; and in these affairs she employed general Münnich, the only public officer now alive who had

(1) See Vol. II. Part II. Letter XXXIV.

served under Peter, and had attained the age of eighty-four. One of his former adjutants said of him, "He was a severe master; but I felt myself greater as his adjutant, than in my present independent command."

THE CALAMITIES OF POLAND. A. D. 1764.

The demise of Augustus the Third, king of Poland, who was of the family of Saxony, occurred a short time after the accession of Catharine to the throne of the czars. At this period the empress had entered into a treaty of alliance for eight years with the king of Prussia; a treaty which obliged each party to assist the other, in any war in which either of them might be engaged, with at least ten thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, and not to make peace except by mutual concurrence. This treaty made it the interest of Austria to have a Saxon prince on the throne of Poland, who might not be entirely dependent on Russia and Prussia. Saxony had a party in that country; but that of Russia, which was still more powerful, and especially the family of Czartorisky, favoured the pretensions of Stanislaus Poniatowsky, who had acquired the confidence of the empress. His understanding and character were generally received in so favourable a light, that even his adversaries still wished that at least he might remain the second person in the state. A third party was formed, perhaps under the secret guidance of the Prussian monarch, by Zamoisly, which, from a professed regard to the interests of the country, seemed to wish to avoid all foreign interference with its concerns. The diet was tumultuous; and this afforded a pretext to the empress Catharine, as a *neighbour* and *friend* of Poland, to send some troops to Warsaw. The party of Czartorisky had the best concerted system; whatever they wished to accomplish was proposed by others. They guided all the decisions, while in appearance they only accommodated themselves to the universal will: and their language was so moderate and obliging, that any opposition to it had the appearance of violence and rudeness. The king of Prussia left these affairs to the empress of Russia.

On the day of election, general Mocronofsky interposed his vote against any transaction that should take place under such circumstances, but was compelled by the ill treatment he met with to withdraw his opposition. Prince Adam Czartorisky, grand cup-bearer of Lithuania, became marshal of the diet; upon which the two generalissimos of the crown, two Potockys, prince Radzyvil, Poninsky, and four thousand of their adherents, quitted Warsaw, followed by the grand-treasurer with the vaivode of Volhynia. But Branicky, who was regarded as the head of this party, was deprived of his dignity, as a man who had withdrawn from the service of his country, and the duties of his office, at so critical a moment. Soltyk, bishop of Cracow, with thirty senators and sixty deputies, gave their free votes; and some regiments refused to obey any new generalissimo. But Branicky, who was an old man, surrounded by hordes who were neither unanimous nor could be kept in order, was unable to maintain his cause; and prince Radzyvil, Potocky of Kyow, and others, dispersed to their several fortresses. The diet now decided that the new monarch must be a Piast, a native of the country, possessed of estates in Poland, young, strong, handsome, and friendly to the customs of his country. Stanislaus was elected.

A. D. 1766.—In the second year of his reign, the friendship subsisting between the new king Stanislaus, and the Czartorisky, began already to cool. The latter seemed to wish to exercise the sovereignty under his name, and complained that he abandoned himself to favourites. The French politeness of his manners formed a striking contrast with the rough simplicity of the prevailing habits of the Poles. The tolerant principles of the king were condemned in the sermons and pastoral letters of the clergy, because he had assented to the demands of Russia and Prussia, which, supported by Great Britain and Denmark, required that the dissidents, consisting of Christians of the Protestant and Greek churches, should be re-established in their ancient and natural equality of rights. These powers also demanded that

the boundary between Russia and Poland should be more accurately determined, and that Poland should form an alliance with Prussia. Under pretence of imparting a greater degree of order and consistency to the constitution, they proposed that only a majority of votes, instead of unanimity, should be requisite at the elections; that the revenues should be augmented by bestowing on the king some new duties, and a fourth part of the income of the Starosties; and that these regulations, with respect to which the king was obliged to coincide with both the powers, should be executed by forty deputies, elected by a majority of votes.

All the great prelates, with the exception of the primate and two bishops, thirty senators, and one hundred and eighty country deputies, protested against these arrangements: and the king at length renounced the new duties, contenting himself with an indemnification of two hundred thousand florins, which he also promised to expend exclusively among the nobles, in the establishment of a guard of honour. This project, by means of which it was proposed to attach the nobles to his interest, was decried as tyrannical, and of dangerous consequence to the country. As the ferment continued to increase, two thousand eight hundred Russians were quartered in the estates of the bishop of Cracow; and one thousand five hundred in those of the bishop of Wilna; while four thousand were encamped around Warsaw. Many of the senators, however, were not yet discouraged, but resolved, as they said, rather to die than to sacrifice the republic to him who had been elected for the purpose of maintaining it. "Speak then," said the bishop of Moravia to the archbishop primate.—"Speak wretch, for the religion by which thou art fattened, or retire into thy primitive nothingness." The same prelate, also, thus addressed bishop Pajaskofsky: "Thy heart is capable of all manner of corruption—sell thyself therefore to the highest bidder!" The popular indignation compelled the king to abandon all thoughts of introducing the proposed regulations. The dissidents were, indeed, allowed to exercise their religious duties in places where they already possessed churches: but this was only on condition that those buildings should not be enlarged; and the clergy of the Greek church were permitted the liberty of performing baptisms, marriages, and burials, on condition that the customary fees should be previously paid to their Catholic brethren.

From this period the parties entered into confederations: in the first place at Sluck, in the vaivodeship of Novgorod, situated in Black Russia, under major-general Glabofsky; and afterward at Thorn, under lieutenant Goltz. Twenty-four confederations were formed in Lithuania, the professed object of which was resistance to the influence of foreign states; but they were probably as much directed against the dissidents. Prince Radzyvil, who was at the head of these Lithuanian confederations, procured, in 1767, the assembling of an extraordinary diet at Cracow.

The first sittings of this assembly were so tumultuous, that it was impossible to collect the votes; upon which the Russians entered the town, seized Solyk, the zealous bishop of Cracow, the bishop of Kyow, the vaivode of Cracow, count Rzovusky, and several of the senators, all of whom they sent as prisoners into Russia. The terror which this measure inspired served only to increase the tumult; and the diet separated, after having chosen sixty deputies, who were commissioned to treat with the Russian ambassador on the present state of affairs.

It was now agreed to grant the king one million five hundred thousand florins, and prince Radzyvil, to whom the republic owed three millions, six hundred thousand, as a first instalment in payment of his demand; to intrust all business which had hitherto been conducted by the pope's nuncio to a synod, to which his holiness should be pleased to give the permanent authority of a *legatus à latere*; and faithfully to observe the alliance with Russia, according to the treaty concluded in the year 1686, and deposited in the archives of the country.

The partisans of this compromise were threatened by the nuncio with the great ban; and the pope himself wrote to the king, that he ought rather to

abandon his crown than countenance such scandalous proceedings. But, notwithstanding this opposition, the compact was confirmed by the diet, the public taxes were fixed at twenty-three millions, and a treaty of guarantee was renewed with Russia.

The dissidents were detested, as the party which had given occasion to the injuries inflicted on the independence of the country, and were subjected to all possible oppressions. A confederation was formed against them at Bar, under marshal Krazinsky; one at Halriz, under Potocky; and another at Lublin; which latter place was, on that account, set on fire by the Russian artillery. Civil war now arose in all its horrors: the Russians increased their force to a degree which could not be a matter of indifference to the Turks, and conquered Bar, seizing all the wealth of Podolia, Volhynia, and the Ukraine. Krazinsky and Potocky threw themselves into the Turkish fortress of Chotin. The terrors of this war of religion was augmented by the incessant incursions of the Haidamaks, who entered the country from the Russian viceroyalty of Elizabethgorod. On one occasion, they burnt ten towns and one hundred and thirty villages; and on another, three of the former and fifty of the latter. The Jews were every where committed to massacre and the flames, and the roads were covered with dead bodies, until at length neither man nor beast was to be found alive within sixty miles of the borders. The Russians, in the mean time, were besieging Cracow, where the confederates for a long time held out against famine and pestilence. Martin Ludomitzsky, in the utmost extremity, made a sally, in which he lost one-half of his followers; but he made good his retreat with the rest through the midst of the enemy. The Russians extended themselves over all the vaivodeships, in order that the confederates might be prevented from forming a union in any part. That party, however, brought reinforcements out of Turkey, and the detestation inspired by their wanton cruelties, exceeded the terror of their first revenge. In the year 1769 the king proclaimed them rebels; and they declared his authority illegitimate. Thirteen contests took place in the course of one month, and the progress of the war was only arrested by the devastations of pestilence. Two hundred and fifty thousand men died within the space of a few weeks in Volhynia, the Ukraine, and Podolia. Kaminiok was abandoned by its garrison, and all its inhabitants, and the whole force of the confederates crowded towards Great Poland.

While the Russians favoured the dissidents, the court of Vienna appeared to incline to the cause of the confederates. It refused, however, to take part in these disturbances; and even in the beginning of the Turkish war occasioned by them, that court declared, that it would adhere to its neutrality, and only placed troops in a few districts immediately bordering on Hungary. But when the confederation of Bar earnestly entreated the empress Maria Theresa not to take any advantage of the disasters of a people who had been compelled to take up arms for the liberty of their country, and for the religious rights of their forefathers, she declared publicly, that she was willing to protect those communities only which were not foreign to her as queen of Hungary, from the evils of this dreadful period; and gave verbal assurance, that she was affected with the misfortunes of the confederates; and that although the situation of political affairs did not allow her to assist them with an armed force, they might nevertheless depend on her for all the favour it was in her power to show them.

This declaration was almost immediately succeeded by a movement of the Austrian army, which inspired the confederates with the most flattering hopes; but on the other side a body of Prussian troops approached the frontiers, as if to form a cordon against the pestilence which was now exercising its ravages in Poland. Frederick collected a tribute from the vaivodeship of Great Poland, under the pretext of obtaining compensation for the expense which he had been obliged to incur by the defective condition of their police; but the compassion of mankind was excited, when he afterward tore twelve thousand families from their native country, in order to transplant them into his colonies in the Mark and in Pomerania. He proceeded to